

Scientific Authority, Nationalism, and Colonial Entanglements
between Germany, Spain, and the Philippines, 1850 to 1900

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Abstract

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This dissertation analyzes the impact of German anthropology and natural history on colonialism and nationalism in Germany, Spain, the Philippines, and the United States during the second half of the nineteenth-century. In their scientific tracts, German authors rehearsed the construction of racial categories among colonized peoples in the years prior to the acquisition of formal colonies in Imperial Germany and portrayed their writings about Filipinos as superior to all that had been previously produced. Spanish writers subsequently translated several German studies to promote continued economic exploitation of the Philippines and uphold notions of Spaniards' racial supremacy over Filipinos. However, Filipino authors also employed the translations, first to demand colonial reform and to examine civilizations in the Philippines before and after the arrival of the Spanish, and later to formulate nationalist arguments. By the 1880s, the writings of Filipino intellectuals found an audience in newly established German scientific associations, such as the German Society for Anthropology, Ethnology, and Prehistory, and German-language

periodicals dealing with anthropology, ethnology, geography, and folklore. Into the 1890s, Filipino nationalists used scientific authority and references to German studies of the Philippines in polemics against Spanish authors who opposed colonial reform. After the U.S. defeat of Spain and refusal to grant Philippine independence in 1898, pro- and anti-imperialists in the United States also utilized evidence produced by German scholars to argue for and against colonization of the islands. Ultimately, this dissertation demonstrates that the creation and circulation of anthropological tracts and natural histories in a colonial context by foreign scholars contains the potential to support multiple imperialist and nationalist projects simultaneously.

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As has been observed elsewhere, history and autobiography often intersect. I did not initially enter the University of Washington Graduate History Program with the intention of studying German colonialism. Rather, like many students of modern German history, I sought to pursue questions surrounding National Socialism. To this end, much of my early coursework dealt with the Holocaust and Second World War. I ultimately composed a research paper investigating memory and Jewish identity using the Viennese author Hugo Bettauer as a case study. His situation seemed exceptional because he converted from Judaism to Christianity at the age of eighteen, published an anti-racist novel, *The City without Jews (Die Stadt ohne Juden)* (1922), and edited and wrote for a magazine advocating open conversations about sexuality.¹ He was assassinated by a Nazi in 1925, some thirteen years before Germany annexed Austria, and he was my great-grandfather.² Due to the close proximity of Bettauer and National Socialism to me personally, however, I decided against researching a topic directly related to the Holocaust for my dissertation. Instead, I took up the not completely unrelated subject of German colonialism, which was also deeply implicated in questions surrounding race.

Professor Vicente L. Rafael first alerted me to the importance of Germany to the Filipino doctor and nationalist José Rizal, who traveled to and worked in Imperial Germany during the 1880s, published his anti-colonial novel *Noli me tângere* in Berlin in 1887, and conducted an extensive correspondence with the Austrian ethnologist Ferdinand Blumentritt from 1886-1896.³

¹Murray G. Hall, *Der Fall Bettauer* (Vienna: Löcker, 1978); Hugo Bettauer, *Die Stadt ohne Juden: ein Roman von übermorgen* (Vienna: Gloriette-Verlag, 1922); and Hugo Bettauer, "Die erotische Revolution," *Er und Sie: Wochenschrift für Lebenskultur und Erotik*, no. 1 (14 February 1924): 1.

²"New Yorker is Shot by Vienna Dentist," *New York Times*, 11 March 1925; and "Hugo Bettauer Dies of Wounds," *ibid.*, 27 March 1925.

³The following sources were essential for understanding the Filipino nationalist's interest in Germany: José Rizal, *Diarios y memorias* (Manila: Comisión Nacional del Centenario de José Rizal, 1961); José Rizal, *Noli me*

With scant background in the history of the Philippines, my work was cut out for me and I immersed myself in Philippine and Southeast Asian studies. At the same time, I set about reading through the voluminous writings of Rizal and Blumentritt.⁴ Basing a dissertation in history solely on the correspondence between two people began to seem too narrow in scope, however, and my advisor Professor Uta G. Poiger recommended that I attempt to locate other German-speakers who studied the Philippines and other Filipinos who may have had some connection to Germany.

Very little mention of the Philippines appeared in the secondary literature on nineteenth-century Germany, but because of Rizal's prominence, there were a good number of secondary works on Philippine history that identified German scholars who had studied the peoples of the Spanish colony.⁵ I began researching the German-language scholarship on the Philippines, which was written primarily in the form of anthropology and natural history, and as I read through this material, I was astonished to discover that in addition to producing much information about Filipinos, German scholars also frequently remarked on the Spanish, often critically, and particularly regarding their apparent lack of knowledge about the Philippines.⁶ I

tángere: novela tagala (Berlin: Berliner Buchdruckerei-Actien-Gesellschaft, [1887]); and José Rizal, *The Rizal-Blumentritt Correspondence*, 2 vols. (Manila: National Historical Institute, 1992).

⁴The following works contain full, though not complete, bibliographies of the writings of Rizal and Blumentritt respectively: Wenceslao E. Retana, *Vida y escritos del dr. José Rizal* (Madrid: Librería General de Victoriano Suárez, 1907), 457-75; and La Secretaría de la Asamblea Filipina, *Asamblea filipina, tercera legislatua, segundo periodo extraordinario de sesiones, documento no. 6633—A1: vida y obras de Ferdinand Blumentritt* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1914).

⁵Most important among these were William Henry Scott, ed., *German Travelers on the Cordillera (1860-1890)* (Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, 1975); John N. Schumacher, *The Propaganda Movement: 1880-1895: The Creators of a Filipino Consciousness, the Makers of Revolution* (Manila: Solidaridad Publishing House, 1973); Hermógenes E. Bacareza, *A History of Philippine-German Relations* (Quezon City: National Economic and Development Authority, 1980); and Resil B. Mojares, *Brains of the Nation: Pedro Paterno, T.H. Pardo de Tavera, Isabelo de los Reyes and the Production of Modern Knowledge* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2006).

⁶These sources were crucial to locating works by German scholars on the Philippines and other topics: August Schuberg, "Carl Semper," *Arbeiten aus dem Zoologisch-Zootomischen Institut in Würzburg* 10, no. 2 (1895); Albert Grünwedel, ed., *Südinische Volksstämme*, vol I of *Aus Fedor Jagor's Nachlass: Mit Unterstützung der Jagor-Stiftung* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1914); Rudolf Virchow, ed., *General-Register zu Band I-XX (1869-1888) der Zeitschrift für Ethnologie und der Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und*

did not feel fully secure in accepting the Germans' view without finding out what the state of Spanish-language sources looked like from 1850-1900. Hence, the Spanish perspective became an additional dimension to the dissertation.

It turned out that the Germans' assessment of contemporary Spanish knowledge was not altogether incorrect. Compared to the Germans, very few Spanish writings about the Philippines were published from 1850-1875 and in fact several German studies were translated into Spanish during the 1870s and 80s. The translations served to spur greater attention to the Philippines among Spanish authors, as larger numbers of Spanish-language writings about the colony appeared after 1875. Meanwhile, the question of Filipinos and Germany lingered. After surveying the writings of several other Filipino nationalists, colleagues of Rizal, it became clear that they contained frequent references to the German studies that had been translated into Spanish. German-speaking scholars eventually translated, published, and cited numbers of Filipinos' writings. The back story of Rizal and Blumentritt had come full circle.

Yet, to my surprise, I soon found that the story of German-language scholarship and Filipino nationalism continued even after the execution of Rizal at the hands of the Spanish colonial authorities following the outbreak of the Philippine Revolution in 1896. On the one hand, Filipino revolutionaries corresponded with Blumentritt and other German-speaking scholars during the wars against Spain and the United States. On the other hand, U.S. pro- and anti-imperialists alike appropriated the writings of Germans and Filipinos in debates about Filipinos' readiness for independence and the necessity of the U.S. annexation of the Philippines. Several sources published in the United States helped demonstrate the continuation of imperialist and

Urgeschichte (Berlin: A. Ascher & Co., 1894); and The Library of Congress and the Bureau of Insular Affairs, War Department, *57th Congress, 2nd Session, Senate, Document No. 74: Bibliography of the Philippine Islands* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1903).

nationalist uses of scientific ideas in the context of the Philippines through the early twentieth-century.

Because this dissertation analyzes political ideas in scientific writing and scientific ideas in political writing, it is based for the most part on published sources. Fortunately, over the course of researching this material, many of these publications have been digitized and thus made available through the world-wide web. Scientific, political, and popular periodicals in German, Spanish, English, French, and Dutch are accessible wholly or in part and the majority of studies of the Philippines published during the nineteenth-century by German, Spanish, Filipino, U.S., British, and French authors may also be found on the internet. I obtained other materials through the University of Washington Libraries Interlibrary Loan Department from libraries and archives in the United States, Australia, the Netherlands, Germany, Canada, the Czech Republic, and Spain. I also researched the holdings of various German, Austrian, Czech, Spanish, Filipino, and U.S. archives. Due to the emphasis on the transmission and reception of scientific and political ideas, however, the published writings by German, Spanish, Filipino, and U.S. authors played a more central role in the dissertation than archival materials, which merely reiterated the perspectives put forward in the numerous publications.

Although I believed that I had left my family history behind in examining the German colonial past, a photograph (see Fig. A1) that I encountered in a collection of my family's memorabilia revealed that this was not fully the case. The image depicts a group of individuals that include Rudolf Virchow, the president and co-founder of the German Society for Anthropology, Ethnology, and Prehistory, seated in the middle of the second row, and Geza Kobler, my other great-grandfather, in the first row, second from the right, among those standing. As will be shown in the discussion that follows, Virchow is a key figure in this

dissertation. The date and the occasion for which the photograph was taken are unknown. It is known that Kobler became Head of the Internal Division of the National Hospital in Sarajevo in 1893, before serving as the Medical Chief of the Bosnia-Herzegovina state government from 1901-18.⁷ Thus, my ancestor was part of the use of medical science for the “internal colonialism” of the Habsburg Empire in Bosnia before and during the Great War, an event which ultimately resulted in the loss of colonies for Imperial Germany and Austria-Hungary both within and beyond European borders.⁸



Figure A1: Rudolf Virchow, Geza Kobler, et al.

Kobler’s daughter Hedwig (“Hedy”), my grandmother, later recorded her memories of Sarajevo, the city of her birth, in the years prior to its destruction by civil war during the 1990s.

⁷Lavoslav Glesinger, “Wien und die Medizin in Kroatien,” in *Wien und die Weltmedizin*, ed. Erna Lesky (Wien: Böhlau, 1974), 127.

⁸For a discussion of the practice of “internal colonialism” in the context of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, see Katherine Verdery, “Internal Colonialism in Austria-Hungary,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 2, no. 3 (1979): 378-99.

She described it in an interesting blend of nostalgic and colonial language as a “Turkish town conquered by the Austrians” that was nonetheless “still very picturesque.” She recalled in particular that “doctors were not permitted to help sick women in the harems without special permission of the husbands and only with other great formalities.” She also seemed to remember that the local “houses were walled in and the windows had bars.” It is remarkable that such differences with the Bosnian population formed the basis of her memories of the city. She later contributed to the intertwined histories of anthropology in Germany and the United States by translating the letters and diaries of Franz Boas he wrote while on the Northwest Coast.⁹ Even in attempting to leave the personal aside, the alternative road still led me to a topic not disconnected from my family’s history.¹⁰

Situated in the context of the late imperial United States, this dissertation, similar to the writings it analyzes, has only come to being by the circulation of people and texts through global transportation and communication networks. These technologies still have two sides: on the one hand, they continue to contribute to inequalities between rich and poor countries and the wealthy and impoverished peoples residing in them. On the other hand, however, they hold the potential to expose animal cruelty, human rights, and environmental abuses across the world to audiences possessing the economic, political, and military force to halt them. The production of knowledge remains far from neutral therefore and persists in serving as the handmaiden of global projects for and against conquest and liberation.

⁹Ronald P. Rohner, ed., *The Ethnography of Franz Boas: Letters and Diaries of Franz Boas Written on the Northwest Coast From 1886-1931*, trans. Hedy Parker (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969).

¹⁰It is not altogether true that I ceased researching Bettauer and National Socialism while writing this dissertation. In December 2009, I learned that my grandfather’s brother Helmut had been murdered in Auschwitz in October 1942, a fact previously unknown by my family. *Gedenkbuch: Opfer der Verfolgung der Juden unter der nationalsozialistischen Gewaltherrschaft in Deutschland 1933-1945*, 2 vols. (Koblenz: Bundesarchiv, 1986): 1: 118; and Serge Klarsfeld and Maxime Steinberg, *Mémorial de la déportation des juifs de Belgique* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1982), 42 & 108.

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DEDICATION

To my wife, Stephanie.

Introduction

“Absolute Ignorance of Our Political and Social State”: German Scientific Authority, Spanish Colonialism, and Filipino Nationalism

On February 11, 1900, the German naturalist Fedor Jagor, best-known for his extensive 1873 study of the Spanish colony *Travels in the Philippines* passed away at the age of 83. Less than a month later, on March 3, Rudolf Virchow, the president and co-founder of the German Society for Anthropology, Ethnology, and Prehistory (DGAEU), received a letter from Felipe Agoncillo, Minister Plenipotentiary of the First Philippine Republic, and thus a diplomat with full governmental authority. The Philippines had proclaimed independence from Spain on June 12, 1898 during the Spanish-American War. Filipinos had been in armed revolt against Spain since 1896 and allied with the United States in the Spanish-American War, but a secret protocol between the United States and Spain agreeing to hold a peace conference in Paris betrayed the nation’s independence. Agoncillo lobbied for formal recognition of the Philippine Republic in Washington, D.C. as well as Paris, where the treaty between the United States and Spain was eventually signed in 1898. When Agoncillo’s subsequent efforts to block ratification of the Treaty of Paris in the U.S. Senate proved unsuccessful, hostilities between the Filipinos and the United States broke out in 1899.¹

Originally composed in French, I quote Agoncillo’s letter to Virchow here in full because it introduces the key themes that this dissertation explores: German anthropology and natural

¹F. Jagor, *Reisen in den Philippinen: Mit Zahlreichen Abbildungen und Einer Karte* (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1873); Esteban A. De Ocampo and Alfred B. Saulo, *First Filipino Diplomat: Felipe Agoncillo, 1859-1941* (Manila: National Historical Institute, 1977); Erwin Heinz Ackerknecht, *Rudolf Virchow: Doctor, Statesman, Anthropologist* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1953); “Sitzung vom 17. Februar 1900,” *Verhandlungen der Berliner Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 32 (1900): (91-92); and “Sitzung vom 17. März 1900,” *ibid.*, (167-168). The “proceedings” (*Verhandlungen*) of the Berlin branch of the DGAEU were included in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* beginning in 1871 and were differentiated from articles paginated in the journal by page numbers in parenthesis.

history of the Philippines, critiques of colonialism, and the appropriation of science by Filipino nationalists.

Sir, Science has just suffered a painful loss through the death of the illustrious scholar Jagor: to his memory the Philippine nation that I have the honor of representing, dedicates the expression of its most profound regrets.

We will always maintain an enthusiastic admiration for him who during his life devoted his studies to this country that refuses slavery and fights for its independence, the only source of its progress and well being.

In recent years, the laws of destiny have brought a series of German scholars such as Semper, Schadenberg, and Joest, who have devoted to my unfortunate country works of the kind with which the Philippine nation contracted a debt of eternal gratitude toward German science.

We are confident that you, whose scholarly reputation is universal, will continue to give some thought to the Philippine Islands in your scientific treatises, of the same sort as Misters Bastian, Meyer, and Blumentritt, and we will be eternally grateful. We have dedicated a special reverence to science and human progress, although the critics have not failed, being in absolute ignorance of our political and social state, to wish to support the false theory that we are incapable of all civilization and of all instruction, thus condemning us to eternal slavery.²

Considering Agoncillo's role as a diplomat in the negotiations between the United States, Spain, and the Philippine Republic, it may seem surprising that he wrote of a "debt of eternal gratitude toward German science."³

German scholars first visited the colony during the 1850s and started publishing their findings in the 1860s. They ultimately produced a myriad of writings about the Philippines that appeared in a variety of publications, all of which helped establish their careers in academic institutional life. They made presentations before professional scholarly societies and published chapters, books, travel reports, photo albums, monographs and articles on the agriculture, trade,

²"Sitzung vom 17. März 1900," (167-168). In a prior work published by Agoncillo using a pseudonym, the Filipino diplomat wrote an article for a U.S. periodical that used science and understanding of contemporary global imperial politics as means of defending Filipinos' civilized existence in racial terms. He compared the U.S. presence in the Philippines to the British conquest of Sudan, observing that "the Filipinos have been described in serious American journals as akin to the hordes of the Khalifa; and the idea has prevailed that it required only some unknown American Kitchener to march triumphantly from north to south to make the military occupation complete. We have been presented by your popular press as if we were Africans or Mohawk Indians. We smile, and deplore the want of ethnological knowledge on the part of our literary friends. We are none of these. We are simply Filipinos." Semper Vigilans, "Aguinaldo's case against the United States. By a Filipino," *North American Review* 169, no. 514 (1899): 426-27. He concluded with the remark about Filipinos that "we are a virile race." *Ibid.*, 432.

³Agoncillo was not the only Filipino revolutionary who conveyed condolences to the DGAEU after the death of Jagor. On May 31, 1900, Virchow received one such letter composed in Spanish from Emiliano Riego de Dios and Vicente Lukban in Hong Kong. "Sitzung vom 23. Juni 1900," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 32 (1900): (345). Dios (1864-1926) and Lukban (1860-1916) were leaders in a variety of capacities in the Philippine revolution temporarily living in exile in Hong Kong as part of the peace terms between Spain and the Filipino revolutionaries in 1897. Both leaders returned to the Philippines after 1898. Carlos Quirino, *Who's Who in Philippine History* (Manila: Tahanan Books, 1995), 131-32 & 176-77.

colonial history, ethnology, folklore, languages, natural history, economy, zoology and geography of the Philippines. Jagor (1817-1900) traveled through the Spanish colony in 1859-60, but was not the first German scholar to do so. Adolf Bastian (1826-1905), co-founder of the German *Journal of Ethnology*, visited the colony during a trip to various countries during the 1850s, and Carl Semper (1832-1893) traveled in the Philippines from 1858-65.⁴ Other German scholars soon followed.

Adolf Bernhard (A. B.) Meyer (1840-1911) visited the Philippines during the early 1870s, and Alexander Schadenberg (1851-1896) lived, worked, and traveled in the Spanish colony from 1879-96. Finally, Wilhelm Joest (1852-1897) journeyed through the Philippines on a trip through Asia from 1879-81 and Hans Meyer (1858-1929) stopped there during a world tour he conducted from 1881-83. Although Ferdinand Blumentritt (1853-1913) never visited the Spanish colony, he was nonetheless the most prolific writer about the Philippines. Virchow (1821-1902) never traveled there either, but still published articles and presentations on Filipinos.⁵ Both used materials accumulated and studies produced by other Germans. In part building on connections to German residents in the Philippines, German scholars established themselves as scientific authorities on the colony and its peoples, projecting what Agoncillo described in the case of Virchow as a “universal scholarly reputation.”

⁴“Sitzung vom 17. Februar 1900,” (91-92); Adolf Bastian, *Reisen im Indischen Archipel: Singapore, Batavia, Manilla und Japan*, vol. 5 of *Die Voelker des Oestlichen Asien: Studien und Reisen* (Jena: Hermann Costenoble, 1869); and August Schubert, “Carl Semper,” *Arbeiten aus dem Zoologisch-Zootomischen Institut in Würzburg* 10, no. 2 (1895): iii-xxii.

⁵Rolf Hertel, “Zum Gedenken an Dr. Adolf Bernhard Meyer, Direktor des Königlichen Zoologischen und Anthropologisch-Ethnographischen Museums zu Dresden von 1874 bis 1906,” *Zoologische Abhandlungen aus dem Staatlichen Museum für Tierkunde Dresden* 46 (1990-91): 118-20; Otto Scheerer, “Alexander Schadenberg, His Life and Work in the Philippines,” *The Philippine Journal of Science* 22, no. 4 (1923): 447-48; “Sitzung am 21. Juli 1883,” *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 15 (1883): (329-30); Adolf Mießler, “Berühmte Geographen, Naturforscher und Reisende: Wilhelm Joest,” *Deutsche Rundschau für Geographie und Statistik* 9 (1887): 427-28; Hans Meyer, *Eine Weltreise: Plaudereien aus einer zweijährigen Erdumsegelung* (Leipzig: Bibliographischen Instituts, 1885); Harry Sichrovsky, *Der Revolutionär von Leitmeritz: Ferdinand Blumentritt und der philippinische Freiheitskampf* (Vienna: Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1983); and Rudolf Virchow, ed., *General-Register zu Band I-XX (1869-1888) der Zeitschrift für Ethnologie und der Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte* (Berlin: A. Ascher & Co., 1894).

By 1900, the “German science” identified by the Filipino diplomat among anthropologists, ethnologists, and naturalists generally signified a powerful empirical method for the creation of objective knowledge.⁶ In his history of anthropology in Imperial Germany, Andrew Zimmerman describes the conscious rejection of humanistic emphasis on classical Greco-Roman, literary, and philological traditions among German anthropologists, who instead turned toward the natural scientific privileging of observation and experimentation. Zimmerman also identifies connections between the anthropologists and the *Kulturkampf*, a series of anti-Catholic laws passed in the 1870s and advocated publically Virchow. Zimmerman interprets anthropologists’ dismissal of humanism and participation in the anti-Catholic campaign as an assault on the old order, with which the German bourgeoisie had competed for political power throughout the nineteenth-century. The production of science hence acted as a means of establishing authority, he argues, in the cultural sphere, as compensation for the inability to fully take part in Imperial German political life.⁷ German scholars articulated similar sentiments in their studies of the Philippines, echoing the anti-humanism and anti-Catholicism in discrediting Spanish knowledge: these stances ultimately appealed to Filipino nationalists.

The trajectory of Filipino nationalism ran parallel to the rise of German-language scholarship and the unification of Imperial Germany. Nineteenth-century economic growth, stimulated in large part by foreign trade, resulted in the formation of a middle class in the colony consisting of Filipinos, Spanish and Chinese mestizos, and creoles, Spaniards born in the Philippines.

Political opportunity did not accommodate the aspirations of the emergent Philippine

⁶In nineteenth-century Germany, “anthropology” (*Anthropologie*) was roughly the contemporary equivalent to physical anthropology as was “ethnology” (*Ethnologie*) to today’s cultural anthropology. Andrew Zimmerman, “Adventures in the Skin Trade: German Anthropology and Colonial Corporeality,” in *Worldly Provincialism: German Anthropology in the Age of Empire*, eds. H. Glenn Penny and Matti Bunzl (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003), 156-57, n. 2.

⁷Andrew Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Anthihumanism in Imperial Germany* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001).

bourgeoisie, however, as European-born Spaniards sought to preserve their customary privileged positions within the colonial government and religious orders.⁸ Educated Filipinos eventually used the Germans' studies as evidence in their own writings about the Philippines, its inhabitants, and their "political and social state."

Yet, it was the Spanish who had initially translated certain Germans' writings about the colony in order to use them for conserving imperial rule without realizing the political ends to which Filipinos would put them. Several Spanish authors adopted portions of the translated German texts in their writings about the commercial potential in the islands, while others reverted to the traditional justification for colonizing the Philippines by arguing that Spain's role in the archipelago had been and continued to be the lone source of civilization, an image that depended upon depicting Filipinos as "incapable of all civilization and of all instruction," to use Agoncillo's words. The will to maintain possession of the Philippines became particularly acute during the nineteenth-century, when Spain lost the majority of its American colonies following the wars of liberation after 1824. Although the Philippines had held representation in the Spanish Parliament during the early part of the century, the government in Spain renounced this after 1837, even as Cuba and Puerto Rico, two other remaining colonies, retained their rights to partake in metropolitan politics.⁹ Denying Filipinos a share in government in Spain was predicated on a racist assumption of Filipinos' incapacity for participating in politics, an ideology that legitimized continued domination over the Philippines.

Pro-imperialists in the United States used similar race-based claims about Filipinos' facility for political autonomy as justification for their desires to colonize the Philippines in the

⁸Vicente L. Rafael, *The Promise of the Foreign: Nationalism and the Technics of Translation in the Spanish Philippines* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005), 5-11.

⁹For further discussion of the politics of the Spanish colonial world during the nineteenth-century, see Josep M. Fradera, *Colonias para después de un imperio* (Barcelona: Edicions Bellaterra, 2005).

aftermath of Spanish rule. Although initially allied against Spain in the 1898 Spanish-American War, U.S. and Filipino forces turned against each other in the following year, after the U.S. refusal to recognize Philippine independence. Paul A. Kramer describes the Philippine-American War (1899-1902) as a “race war,” in which certain discussions in the United States characterized Filipinos as uncivilized and therefore savage as a means of warranting the reconquest and subsequent colonization of the Philippines.¹⁰ As Agoncillo’s letter points out, Filipinos repudiated arguments about their lack of civilization in part through recourse to scientific authorities such as Jagor and other German scholars.

Filipino authors contested Spanish and U.S. portraits of their countrymen by demonstrating the colonizers’ “absolute ignorance” of the Philippines and Filipinos. Through their uses of science, Filipinos rendered the suggestion that they were uncivilized a “false theory,” as Agoncillo termed it.¹¹ At the same time, they created a self image associated with “independence,” “progress,” and “general well being” in direct contrast to the colonizers who enforced “slavery.” Slavery was a problematic label for nations that claimed to endorse freedom and equality, such as the United States, as Michael Salman shows in his study of slavery in the Philippines during the American period.¹² While Filipino nationalists’ appropriations of German science contained an emancipatory dimension, they also inherited some of the exclusionary aspects inherent to this particular form of scientific authority. As Filomeno Aguilar, Jr. and Resil

¹⁰See Paul A. Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States and the Philippines* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), ch. 2, “From Hide to Heart: The Philippine-American War as Race War,” 87-158.

¹¹Writing about a different though not unrelated context, Nancy Leys Stepan and Sander L. Gilman show how African-American and Jewish-European intellectuals used science to counter scientific racism from 1870-1920. “Appropriating the Idioms of Science: The Rejection of Scientific Racism,” in *The “Racial” Economy of Science: Toward a Democratic Future*, ed. Sandra Harding (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993), 170-94.

¹²Michael Salman observes that the “early *ilustrado* nationalists in the 1880s and the popular nationalist movements that sprouted and multiplied during the 1896 revolution concurred in calling colonialism a form of slavery” still during the late Spanish colonial era of Philippine history. Michael Salman, *The Embarrassment of Slavery: Controversies over Bondage and Nationalism in the American Colonial Philippines* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 11.

B. Mojares observe in their respective analyses of the relations between late-nineteenth-century Filipino nationalism and science, some educated Filipinos also used scientific authority to assert their places in the Philippines as elite, educated men superior to women as well as non-Christian Filipinos.¹³

Although Agoncillo's letter is silent on this aspect, German scholarship on the Philippines was not chiefly dedicated to critiquing Spanish knowledge, and in fact, contained elements of German colonial ambition. Without a unified state until 1871, Germans did not directly engage in formal overseas colonization until 1884, though they still transmitted colonial discourses in political writing and literature in the several decades preceding unification and engaged in trade with other European colonies.¹⁴ In comparison to Britain, France, or Spain, German colonization arrived later and was briefer in duration, but at its onset, no one could predict its abrupt end following the German defeat in the First World War in 1918. Two different diplomatic episodes with Spain during 1885 involving the Caroline Islands and the Sulu Archipelago, territories directly neighboring the Philippines, demonstrate that the threat of German colonization remained ever-present.¹⁵ Yet, as George Steinmetz argues in a study of German colonies in

¹³Filomeno V. Aguilar, Jr., "Tracing Origins: *Ilustrado* Nationalism and the Racial Science of Migration Waves," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 64, no. 3 (2005): 605-37; and Resil B. Mojares, *Brains of the Nation: Pedro Paterno, T.H. Pardo de Tavera, Isabelo de los Reyes and the Production of Modern Knowledge* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2006).

¹⁴See, for example, Matthew P. Fitzpatrick, *Liberal Imperialism in Germany: Expansionism and Nationalism, 1848-1884* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2008); and Susanne Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies: Conquest, Family, and Nation in Precolonial Germany, 1770-1870* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997).

¹⁵When Imperial Germany made claims to Spanish territory east of the Philippines in 1885, it led to the "Caroline Crisis." One author shows how the Spanish press was particularly vocal in its anti-German sentiment surrounding the crisis, leading eventually to mass anti-German demonstrations. Ingrid Schulze, "El papel de la prensa española en el conflicto de las Islas Carolinas," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 186 (1989): 267-302. For other assessments of the crisis, see Jesús Salgado Alba, "Las Islas Carolinas y el Almirante Cano Manuel y Luque," *Revista de Historia Naval* 12, no. 44 (1994): 57-60; Agustín R. Rodríguez González, "La Crisis de las Carolinas," *Cuadernos de Historia Contemporánea* 13 (1991): 25-46; and María Dolores Elizade Pérez-Grueso, "La ocupación española de las Islas Carolinas," *Revista de Historia Naval* 6, no. 21 (1988): 77-93.

During the nineteenth-century, German merchants traded with the Sultan of Sulu, an archipelago southwest of the Philippines, as Spain continued its attempted conquest of the islands, an endeavor that had gone on since the early years of the seventeenth-century. After Spain seized two German vessels in 1873, while blockading Sulu, Germany launched a diplomatic protest, which led to the First Sulu Protocol permitting German trade and lifting the

Namibia, China, and Samoa, “blueprints for colonialism were prepared not so much in Europe’s official foreign ministries as in the scholar’s study, the traveler’s diary, and the playwright’s tale of Oceanic shipwreck and African adventure.”¹⁶ Hence, even before German unification and the acquisition of overseas colonies, scientific texts were setting the stage for the later actualization of Imperial Germany’s entrance into the age of imperialism.

Because the production and circulation of science in the Philippines during the second half of the nineteenth-century served so many simultaneous and frequently conflicting interests, this dissertation addresses the following questions: how did German natural history, anthropology, and ethnology produced in and on the Philippines constitute colonial knowledge, or science in the service of colonialism? How did German studies of the Spanish colony contain, as well as provoke, nationalist sentiments? What was the wider context of the reception of German science in nineteenth-century Spain? Finally, what was the role of German-language scholarship in Filipinos’ political, literary, and scientific writing about the Philippines? In considering these questions, this thesis hopes to advance our understanding of the interrelations between scientific authority, colonialism, and nationalism at the same time that it widens the historical perspectives on these practices within German, Spanish, and Filipino historiographies.

“A Conquest of the Intellect”: German Scholarship, Circulation, and Colonialism in the Philippines

Investigating the production and circulation of German-language scholarship on the Philippines helps to more clearly reveal the connections between knowledge and empire beyond

blockade. After the 1876 Spanish occupation of Sulu, Germans continued to trade with the sultan until Spanish sovereignty was officially recognized in the 1885 Second Sulu Protocol. For the texts of the two Sulu Protocols as well as relevant background information regarding Germans’ roles in Spain’s attempts to conquer Sulu, see Gregorio F. Zaide, ed., *Documentary Sources of Philippine History*, vol. 7 (Manila: National Book Store, 1990), 297-99 & 342-45.

¹⁶George Steinmetz, *The Devil’s Handwriting: Precoloniality and the German Colonial State in Qingdao, Samoa, and Southwest Africa* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 25.

the boundaries of formal German colonialism. In his comprehensive history of nineteenth-century Germany, David Blackbourn points out that while formal German colonies possessed “embarrassingly little economic significance,” it was in fact within “non-German colonies” that Imperial Germany’s “economic success was greatest.” He ultimately argues that “German informal imperialism was the real success story,” defining informal colonialism as the “achievement of economic penetration without political annexation or control.”¹⁷ Thus, formal German colonies were only one possible location for the creation of German knowledge in a colonial setting during the nineteenth-century.¹⁸

Because German studies of the Philippines were produced in the context of a colony, they must be conceived of as a form of colonial knowledge. As David N. Livingstone points out in his study of the circulation of science (*italics in original*), “place is essential to the *generation* of knowledge.”¹⁹ Besides revealing the anti-humanist orientation of anthropological methodology in Imperial Germany, Andrew Zimmerman demonstrates scholars’ dependency on source material obtained from “imperialist networks,” though he describes these generally as originating from formal German colonial sources, without directly distinguishing these from informal colonial outlets.²⁰ This dissertation builds on his work by focusing particularly on the years before formal German colonization of overseas territories in Africa, Asia, and the Pacific Islands

¹⁷David Blackbourn, *History of Germany, 1780-1918: The Long Nineteenth Century*, 2nd ed. (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2003), 252-53.

¹⁸In another example involving German colonial science in a non-German colony in Southeast Asia, Carl Heinrich Stratz served as a doctor in the Netherlands East Indies colonial service in Indonesia and wrote a gynecological survey of Javanese women that was published in both German and Dutch. C. H. Stratz, *Die Frauen auf Java: Eine gynäkologische Studie* (Stuttgart: Enke, 1897); and C. H. Stratz, *De Vrouwen op Java: Eene Gynaecologische Studie* (Amsterdam: Scheltema & Holkema, 1897). Stratz later published a book offering health advice and several others about the beauty of the female body based on a variety of racial comparisons using photographs and illustrations of women from around the world. For further discussion of the impact of Stratz on ideas about beauty and race in Germany, see Michael Hau, *The Cult of Health and Beauty in Germany: A Social History, 1890-1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003).

¹⁹David N. Livingstone, *Putting Science in its Place: Geographies of Scientific Knowledge* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 11.

²⁰Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism*, 158.

and using German scientific writing on the Philippines as a case study. Albeit in something of a different context, Fa-ti Fan describes the operations of British scientists in domains not under formal colonial rule in China as “scientific imperialism,” but set within “informal empire.”²¹ German anthropologist and naturalists also worked beyond areas under formal German control, but still within colonial networks, in generating the numerous studies of the Philippines they published in the second half of the nineteenth-century.

Due to the comprehensive and in-depth quality of their natural histories of the Philippines as well as their impact on later German, Spanish, and Filipino writing about the colony, the first two chapters of this dissertation closely analyze the studies of Semper and Jagor. The first chapter argues that these natural histories constituted colonial knowledge because they marked differences between Europeans and non-Europeans, using the dichotomy of “cultural peoples” (*Kulturvölker*) and “natural peoples” (*Naturvölker*) based on their respective capacities to dominate nature and other people. The German naturalists portrayed Filipinos as either dependent upon nature or unable to maintain political sovereignty, while they depicted Europeans as masters over both nature and the peoples of the Philippines, thereby identifying with and justifying Spanish colonization of the country. Ideologically, their natural histories promoted colonialism in the archipelago because they reinforced racial hierarchies that located Europeans above Filipinos.

In addition to these two studies bolstering colonial ideas surrounding race, their translation into the Spanish language points to more direct ways in which they contributed to colonialism. Spanish writers used the Germans’ natural histories to call for continued exploitation of the Philippines. Moreover, by projecting authority over knowledge about colonized peoples, the

²¹Fa-ti Fan, *British Naturalists in Qing China: Science, Empire, and Cultural Encounter* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), 64.

studies also acted as a staging ground for future German colonial ideology, practicing in the construction in pre-colonial scientific texts what would later become the foundation of “native policy,” the central focus of the colonial state, according to George Steinmetz.²² As such, they not only underwrote Spanish colonialism, but also constituted a site for the articulation of German colonial aspirations.

The second chapter examines Semper’s and Jagor’s studies for their juxtaposition of Spanish colonialism and German knowledge, and explores how the naturalists used ideas about people’s capacity for domination to form comparisons between Europeans. In their discussions of colonial knowledge, history, administration, clergy, and economic conduct, they portrayed the Spanish as inept. At the same time, they celebrated the German ability to produce accurate information about the Philippines, in part by instrumentalizing Filipinos for this kind of work, and in explicitly contrasting their results with Spanish knowledge and sovereignty over the colony and its peoples. Their natural histories thus identified differences between both Europeans and Asians as well as Germans and Spaniards. Other German anthropologists were quick to build on the contributions made by Semper and Jagor.

Besides locating different Filipino peoples in a racial hierarchy, German scholars claimed an inability on the part of the Spanish to produce scientific knowledge about the Philippines and its peoples. Criticisms of Spanish colonies that concurrently suggested German superiority did not originate in the Philippines, however. As Susanne Zantop observes in her analysis of “colonial fantasies,” which examines Germans’ writings about the Spanish empire in the Americas during the century preceding German unification, “by imagining colonial scenarios that allowed for an identification with the role of conqueror or colonizer,” German authors, including those producing scientific narratives, “could create a colonial universe of their own and insert

²²Steinmetz, *The Devil’s Handwriting*, 41.

themselves into it.” At the same time, she shows that Germans writing about this colonial world constructed a “national identity in opposition to the perceived racial, sexual, ethnic, or national characteristics of others, Europeans and non-Europeans alike.”²³ This dissertation expands on Zantop’s study by analyzing German writings on the Philippines in the second half of the nineteenth-century, but unlike her work involving German writings on Latin America, it focuses specifically on scientific texts, and also investigates their reception among Spaniards and Filipinos.

Europeans frequently justified colonialism through an ideology of race that alleged their supremacy over non-Europeans, although racist concepts were not exclusive to imperial settings alone. In his study of anthropology in Imperial Germany, for example, Andrew Zimmerman demonstrates that Europeans’ constructions of race involving non-Europeans helped them understand themselves in racial terms. He explains that German anthropologists used a study of school children in order to identify the racial attributes of people in Germany; as Zimmerman concludes, “anthropologists thus made their notions of race, which they had developed in studies of non-Europeans, relevant also to European identity.”²⁴ This dissertation will attempt to extend Zimmerman’s claims by showing that discussions of race and civilization in the Philippines among German natural histories, anthropologies, and ethnographies categorized Filipinos at the same time that they also differentiated between Europeans.

The third chapter examines German anthropological studies of the Philippines, investigating how they too had a dual role, as both a form of knowledge that supported colonialism and a space for the critique of Spain in the islands based on the lack of Spanish understanding of Filipinos. This chapter analyzes Schadenberg, Joest, Bastian, A. B. Meyer, Blumentritt, Hans

²³Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies*, 6-7.

²⁴Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Anthihumanism*, 135.

Meyer, and other German scholars to show how their studies of the Philippines constituted colonial knowledge. These studies depended upon the circulation of people, objects, and written texts through colonial networks to produce information about Filipinos; at the same time, they reinforced present Spanish and future German colonial ideology in portraying Filipinos as uncivilized.²⁵ Yet, like Semper and Jagor, these German scholars also exhibited nationalist sentiments by contrasting their scientific portraits of Filipinos with a general absence of Spanish knowledge about them.

Besides expanding historians' conceptions of German science and empire, I wish to reconsider some claims about the history of anthropology in Germany. In their introduction to a volume on German anthropology, Matti Bunzl and H. Glenn Penny suggest a "turn" and "abrupt shift" at the end of the nineteenth-century toward a greater stress on questions involving nation and race.²⁶ The present discussion does not wish to underplay the increased attention to the twin themes of nation and race in German anthropology around 1900, but rather to show that they came into being, even if in something of a different constellation, beforehand. Germans' studies of the Philippines demonstrate a sustained focus on race at the same time that their uniform renunciation of Spanish knowledge about Filipinos reveals nationalist sentiments.

German-speakers led the way in producing knowledge about the Philippines and Filipinos during the second half of the nineteenth-century, and thereby undertook what Susanne Zantop describes as the "conquest of the intellect."²⁷ While their studies fortified Spanish colonialism

²⁵For an extensive listing of German-language texts on the Philippines, see *Bibliography of the Philippine Islands*.

²⁶Matti Bunzl and H. Glenn Penny, "Introduction: Rethinking German Anthropology, Colonialism, and Race," in *Worldly Provincialism*, 17.

²⁷In the second chapter of her study entitled, "A Conquest of the Intellect," Susanne Zantop writes that the (italics in original) "trend toward the systematization of knowledge [*Verwissenschaftlichung*] and toward globalization, finally, allowed not just explorers, but armchair travelers to engage in conquest and exploration activity by establishing intellectual hegemony over elusive, resistant, even contradictory materials." Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies*, 36.

on the one hand, they also introduced a German colonial alternative on the other hand. Marking difference in scientific writings created in the context of a colony was not limited to distinguishing colonizers from the colonized therefore, but included contrasts between colonizing peoples as well. Germans were not the only authors writing about the Philippines to employ such devices.

Translation and Authority: Science, Colonialism, and Nationalism in Spain and the Philippines

German ideas pervaded nineteenth-century Spanish society in significant, visible, and ambivalent ways due to a growing attention to liberalism, secularism, and science. Moreover, interest in heretical Protestantism had haunted proponents of Catholicism in Spain since the days of the sixteenth-century Reformation. Despite characterizations to the contrary by German scholars writing about the Philippines, science was an important aspect of nineteenth-century cultural and intellectual life in Spain, as Dale J. Pratt shows.²⁸ The ideas of Darwin, for example, transmitted in part through the works of his most ardent German popularizer Ernst Haeckel, dominated scientific discussions in Spain after the 1868 Revolution. Peregrín Casanova Ciurana was an influential Spanish Darwinist who studied under Haeckel at the University of Jena in the early 1870s and Spanish translations of Haeckel's texts appeared almost immediately after their publication in Germany, going through several editions and printings.²⁹ Translating German science thus had an important and potentially divisive impact in Spain in the second half of the nineteenth-century.

²⁸Dale J. Pratt, *Signs of Science: Literature, Science, and Spanish Modernity since 1868* (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 2001).

²⁹Alfred Kelly, *The Descent of Darwin: The Popularization of Darwinism in Germany, 1860-1914* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1981); Carmelo Lisón Tolosana, *Antropología social en España* (Madrid: Siglo XXI de España Editores, 1971), 107; Pratt, *Signs of Science*, 24 & 30; and E. Haeckel, *La evolución y el trasformismo* (Madrid: Rollo, 1886).

Spanish authors used Germans' scholarly writings about the Philippines to promote continued colonization, another effort that was not without precedent. In his study of European debates about the Spanish Empire, Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra confirms that the Spanish crown used science in order to strengthen claims to its American colonies during the eighteenth-century. He writes that Spaniards were "trained in French and German schools, to improve the output of mines by introducing technical innovations," for example, and at the same time, that a "strong nationalistic undercurrent underlined all efforts: cartography and taxonomy were to help preserve the Spanish names of plants and places, and the new expeditions were to prove to northern Europeans that Spaniards were reliable philosophical observers."³⁰ Hence, there existed a practice in Spain of employing scientific technologies, including those of foreign powers, in the service of retaining its overseas territories, a situation that also contained nationalist dimensions.

Spaniards translated German scientific works that described natural resources, Filipinos, and colonial history in support of Spain's rule over the Philippines. Identifying economic resources in the islands promised extended financial and political benefit from one major colony that remained following the loss of others. Further incorporation of the Philippine economy and peoples into the growing world market only stood to legitimize Spain's continued presence there as a civilizing force and source of increasing profits for Spanish commercial interests. Because of the critical remarks contained in them, the translations of Germans' studies also encouraged Spaniards to increase their attention to the Philippines, where they brought forward tropes about their modern-day civilizing mission.

At the same time that they adopted the portions of German writings that promised to boost the extension of their colonial project in the archipelago, Spanish writers refuted German claims

³⁰Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *How to Write the History of the New World: Histories, Epistemologies, and Identities in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 160.

about their lack of knowledge of the Philippines by reaffirming the place of Spain as the traditional source of science and progress in the islands. As Christopher Schmidt-Nowara shows in his discussion of relations between mother country and colonies in Spain, the “empire bequeathed to nineteenth-century patriots a deep layer of scholarly authority, historical sources, responses to foreign critics of Spain and rhetorical styles for forging national histories.”³¹

Spanish scientific, historical, and literary writings about the Philippines after 1868 reasserted national, racial, and cultural dominance over the inhabitants of the colony, which in turn acted as justification for colonization. Yet, Filipino authors also participated in these debates about the country and its peoples using the translations of German scientific studies.

Because certain German texts written about the Philippines, such as that composed by Jagor, were translated into Spanish, Filipinos literate in the language of the colonizers also gained access to German scientific writings about the islands. This was an unintended effect of the translations, which had been explicitly dedicated to the maintenance of Spanish colonial rule. In his study of translation and conversion in the Spanish colonial Philippines, Vicente L. Rafael uses vernacular Filipino language grammars and dictionaries employed by Christian missionaries in the islands to suggest that translation “tended to cast intentions adrift, now laying, now subverting the ideological grounds of colonial hegemony.”³² Similar gaps between the language and meanings of the colonizers and their subsequent reception among the colonized manifested in the Spanish translations of German scientific texts, since they portrayed Spanish knowledge of the Philippines as defective and represented a form of authority that originated outside of Spain. While Spanish authors used the parts of the translations that allowed them to encourage greater

³¹Christopher Schmidt-Nowara, “‘La España Ultramarina’: Colonialism and Nation-Building in Nineteenth-Century Spain,” *European History Quarterly* 34 (2004): 205.

³²Vicente L. Rafael, *Contracting Colonialism: Translation and Christian Conversion in Tagalog Society under Early Spanish Rule* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993), 21.

economic exploitation of the archipelago, Filipinos employed the portions of the texts that depicted the pre-colonial Philippine society as evidence to contradict the allegation that civilization arrived in the islands with Spanish rule. Filipinos also adopted elements of the Germans' writings that decried the colonial administration as a means of claiming the need for systematic reform. By identifying areas where Spaniards lacked authority, Filipino authors were establishing their own.

In recognizing a situation in which Spain was forced to rely on outsiders, as in the translations of German scientific texts, Filipino authors were able to uncover particular limitations within Spanish colonial power. Making use of the German studies was more than a rhetorical device, however, because Germany also represented a threat to the Spanish presence in the Philippines as a potential substitute colonial sovereign. Since most educated Filipinos were writing from the Spanish metropole in an atmosphere characterized by what John N. Schumacher describes in his study of late nineteenth-century Filipino nationalism as "Germanophobia," their engagements with German scholarship operated on two levels simultaneously.³³ On the one hand, they lent credibility and authority to Filipinos' arguments on behalf of colonial reform and Philippine civilization. On the other hand, however, they subtly suggested what the possible consequences of forestalling reform might be, with Spain losing its grip on the Philippines, only to fall into the hands of a rival like Germany.

The fourth chapter examines the reception of Germans' studies of the Philippines among Spanish and Filipino writers to show how they evoked nationalist reactions among both. Spanish authors adopted the portions of Germans' studies that served their interests in maintaining rule over the Philippines, but also spurned their critiques by marking Germans as different from the

³³John N. Schumacher, *The Propaganda Movement: 1880-1895: The Creators of a Filipino Consciousness, the Makers of Revolution* (Manila: Solidaridad Publishing House, 1973), 92.

Spanish. Identifying Germans as foreigners distanced them from the Spanish tradition of possessing and producing knowledge about the Philippines for more than three centuries. The conventional Spanish view of Filipinos portrayed them as uncivilized prior to the conquest and subsequent colonization by Spain. Yet, Filipino authors, including the lawyer Gregorio Sancianco (1852-1897), orator and polemicist Graciano López Jaena (1856-1897), poet and novelist Pedro Alejandro Paterno (1857-1911), and medical doctor and writer José Rizal (1861-1896), portrayed themselves as civilized and used evidence provided by German texts to back their arguments.³⁴

Building on their earlier writings, Filipinos, such as Paterno, Rizal, Isabelo de los Reyes (1864-1928), and Mariano Ponce (1863-1918), not only cited and quoted from German-language scholarship in their works, but also produced scientific studies that German scholars translated, published, and integrated into their own studies.³⁵ In her analysis of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century European travel writing, Mary Louise Pratt employs the term “autoethnography” to describe examples where (italics in original) “colonized subjects undertake to represent themselves in ways that *engage with* the colonizer’s terms.”³⁶ Recognizing “autoethnography”

³⁴Quirino, ed., *Philippine History*, 130, 161, 178 & 186-87; Schumacher, *Propaganda Movement*, 21-22, 26-28; Gregorio Sancianco y Goson, *El progreso de Filipinas: estudios económicos, administrativos y políticos* (Madrid: J. M. Perez, 1881); Graciano López Jaena, *Discursos y artículos varios*, new ed. (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1951); Pedro Alejandro Paterno, *Sampaguitas* (Madrid: F. Cao y D. de Val, 1881); Alejandro Paterno, *Ninay (costumbres filipinas)* (Madrid: Fortanet, 1885); José Rizal, *Letters between Rizal and Family Members, 1876-1896* (Manila: National Historical Institute, 1993); and José Rizal, *Noli me tângere: novela tagala* (Berlin: Berliner Buchdruckerei-Actien-Gesellschaft, [1887]).

³⁵Pedro A. Paterno, *La antigua civilización tagálog (apuntes)* (Madrid: Tipografía de Manuel G. Hernandez, 1887); Pedro A. Paterno, *Los itas* (Madrid: Imprenta de los Sucesores de Cuesta, 1890); Pedro A. Paterno, *El cristianismo en la antigua civilización tagálog* (Madrid: Imprenta Moderna, 1892); Pedro A. Paterno, *El barangay* (Madrid: Imprenta de los Sucesores de Cuesta, 1892); Pedro A. Paterno, *La familia tagalog en la historia universal* (Madrid: Imprenta de los Sucesores de Cuesta, 1892); José Rizal, “tagalische Verskunst,” *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 19 (1887): (293-95); José Rizal, ed., *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas, por el dr. Antonio de Morga* (Paris: Garnier, 1890); José Rizal, *The Rizal-Blumentritt Correspondence*, 2 vols. (Manila: National Historical Institute, 1992); Quirino, ed., *Philippine History*, 72 & 167; Isabelo de los Reyes, *Artículos varios sobre etnografía, historia y costumbres del país* (Manila: Librería Universal de Perdiguero, 1887); Isabelo de los Reyes, *El folk-lore filipino*, 2 vols. (Manila: Chofré y C., 1889-1890); and Mariano Ponce, “Folk-lore bulaqueño,” in *ibid.*, 2: 41-80.

³⁶Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2008), 9.

in the context of Filipino nationalism allows us to understand its potential political power as a scientific practice in a colonial setting. As Filipino scientists produced novel knowledge about the Philippines and its inhabitants, they established intellectual mastery over both subjects and thus also rejected claims about their racial inferiority and incapacity for participating in politics.

The production of science assisted other efforts that Filipinos were launching on behalf of colonial reform and against Spanish racism. Hiromi Mizuno's study defines "scientific nationalism" in twentieth-century Japan as a "kind of nationalism that believes that science and technology are the most urgent and important aspects for the integrity, survival, and progress of the nation."³⁷ Science as a strand of nationalist ideology was not limited to colonial powers in the twentieth-century, such as the Japanese Empire, however. As the case of the Philippines demonstrates, colonized peoples used scientific nationalism to champion claims for self-rule and postcolonial liberation.³⁸ Colonized people had as much at stake as colonial powers in the use of science and technology in envisioning the postcolonial nation, often long before official political independence.

Scientific arguments and Germanophobia continued to serve Filipinos agitating for colonial reforms and against Spanish racism into the 1890s. Articles published in the Filipino bi-weekly nationalist newspaper *Solidarity* from 1889-1895 made frequent reference to scientific studies of the Philippines and its peoples at the same time that the periodical contained items about contemporary German diplomatic and colonial politics. Blumentritt contributed writings and information to the Filipino nationalist publication, which also contained further news about

³⁷Hiromi Mizuno, *Science for the Empire: Scientific Nationalism in Modern Japan* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2009), 12.

³⁸Chittabrata Palit explores a similar example in Bengal, describing the construction of "national science" among Indian elites as a "reply" to the construction of "colonial science" by the British. He focuses in particular on Mahendralal Sircar (1833-1904), a Bengali doctor who founded the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science in 1876. Chittabrata Palit, *Science and Nationalism in Bengal, 1876-1947* (Kolkata: Institute of Historical Studies, 2004), 1-2 & 14-15.

German scholars, including Jagor and A. B. Meyer.³⁹ German anthropologists, ethnologists, and naturalists continued to exchange letters with Filipino nationalists through the Philippine Revolution, Spanish-American War, and Philippine-American War.⁴⁰ Hence, Agoncillo's and other Filipinos' letters to the DGAEU become less surprising when seen against the backdrop of this on-going correspondence.

The fifth and final chapter analyzes the work of Filipino scholars writing about the Philippines as an expression of nationalism. Filipino authors examined the cultures of their ancestors prior to the Spanish conquest, and thereby disputed the suggestion that Spain was synonymous with civilization in the Philippines. Others investigated Filipino history and culture as it existed under the Spanish colonial yoke to show that it had degraded civilization in the Philippines in several instances. Meanwhile, German scholars further validated these efforts through translations, publications, citations and discussions of Filipino scientists' works in their own studies. Filipinos ultimately used scientific knowledge of the Philippines and its peoples to argue for independence from Spain and later the United States, demonstrating the use of science for the causes of national liberation and decolonization.

Yet, ideology remains only one aspect of any revolutionary movement and by no means guarantees its success. When armed conflict between Filipino revolutionaries and Spanish colonial forces broke out in 1896, the question of reform became moot and the use of scientific ideology receded before the military struggle. German scholars kept abreast of developments in the Spanish colonies through their correspondence with Filipino revolutionaries, though their assistance was moral rather than material. While a cease-fire was agreed upon in 1897,

³⁹*La Solidaridad*, 7 vols. (Manila: Fundación Santiago, 1996).

⁴⁰Rizal, *Blumentritt Correspondence*; José Rizal, *Epistolario Rizalino*, 5 vols. (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1930-31); and Mariano Ponce, *Cartas sobre de revolución, 1897-1900* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1932).

hostilities resumed in 1898 in the context of the Spanish-American War, during which advocates of the Philippine Republic declared independence.

When the United States refused to recognize Philippine independence and instead colonized the islands after the defeat of Spain, German-language scholarship on the Philippines again came into the service of colonialism as translations of works by Jagor, A. B. Meyer, Blumentritt, and Virchow appeared in English after 1898 and Filipinos revived scientific arguments in defense of their independence and capacity for self-rule, as Agoncillo's letter to Berlin demonstrates. The conclusion recaps the importance of science for colonialism and nationalism by turning briefly to the initial U.S. colonization of the Philippines and the uses of German-language studies. It also shows how the Austrian ethnologist Ferdinand Blumentritt, alongside Filipino nationalists, used ethnology to argue against a U.S. take-over.

This dissertation brings together the intertwined histories of science, colonialism, and nationalism. It shows that science has the potential to support colonial rule, when constructed in a colonial context, whether produced by the colonizing power or not. It further demonstrates that the production of knowledge also lends itself to a variety of expressions of nationalist authority. Finally, this study suggests that scientific ideas have the potential to both strengthen and subvert colonialism and nationalism.

Chapter 1

German Naturalists in the Philippines: Constructing Race, Nature, and Colonialism

In 1869, the German naturalist Carl Semper published a natural history of the Philippines that depicted nature as an integrated whole with plants, animals, minerals, and people all existing in an interrelated system. An excerpt from the opening chapter of his book portrayed the flora and fauna of the Spanish colony as a simultaneous source of beauty and devastation. Rather than presenting a portrait of a colonial order, however, the description projected a natural order that effaced colonialism almost entirely. The only traces of the colony surfaced in the figures of the “sugar plantations” and the “Indio,” though both remained “under” nature, which stood poised to determine their intertwined destinies.¹ The image also catalogued the natural environment with geology, botany, zoology, and ethnology, as the respective vehicles which promised to reveal the mechanics of this multifaceted yet crucially interconnected whole.

At the same time that the picture erased colonialism, it also reinforced it. The production of the portrait itself was only possible because colonialism bound its elements in their particular configuration, without which the viewer would not be privileged to access, narrate, and thus create the view in the same way. Without colonialism as the base upon which the scene was founded, an entirely different image may have come into view. Yet, it was only through colonial domination that the scene could be witnessed and subsequently narrated at all. It also presented a significant contrast between the viewer and the objects—the earth, plants, animals, and Filipinos—being viewed. The German naturalist’s perspective thus differed little from that of a Spanish colonizer, seeing the terrain as a possession with the objects under this colonizing gaze discovered, named, and ordered into hierarchies of meaning and value.

¹C. Semper, *Die Philippinen und ihre Bewohner: Sechs Skizzen* (Würzburg: A. Stuber’s Buchhandlung, 1869), 4.

While the image built up the colonial order by positioning the author as the master of nature and Filipinos as subject to its power, it simultaneously reflected other orders, including economic, patriarchal, and scientific. In this portrait, natural resources lay waiting to be extracted and integrated into the markets of global capital. The bourgeois male viewer witnessed beauty in both the natural landscape and the “beauties of the country,” creating a feminized natural environment and a Filipino femininity that took its cue from nature, having “copied this art,” according to Semper’s description.² Finally, it presented in science an ability to master nature, as if a capricious woman, through viewing, naming, ordering, narrating, and ultimately taming, domesticating, and dominating the environment with knowledge, a force to which all things are subject.³

Semper’s edenic if not outright biblical portrait of the Philippines, replete with “snake” and plague of “locusts,” “famine” and “flood,” presented nature as an ever-present, but Janus-faced entity that surrounds human civilization while providing sustenance, beauty and life or conversely disease, destruction, and death.⁴ Writing as a naturalist (*Naturforscher*), Semper’s narrative practices were rooted in the tradition set forth by the earlier nineteenth-century German naturalist and scientific traveler Alexander von Humboldt, who in his multi-volume work

²Ibid.

³In discussing the “increasing intellectualization and rationalization” of modern life in a lecture he delivered immediately following WWI, entitled “Science as a Vocation,” the sociologist Max Weber suggested that “there are no mysterious incalculable forces that come into play, but rather that one can, in principle, master all things by calculation.” Indeed, naturalists believed that their scientific practices gave them the authority to construct knowledge about the world, as in their writings one sees them “master all things by calculation.” It is this authority or mastery that leads Weber to argue that “the world is disenchanted,” because “one need no longer have recourse to magical means in order to master or implore the spirits, as did the savage, for whom such mysterious powers existed. Technical means and calculations perform the service.” Max Weber, “Science as a Vocation,” in *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, trans. and eds. H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958), 139. Rather than the world being “disenchanted,” however, I would argue that it has been re-enchanted with the “magical means” of science, with its “technical means and calculations,” which “perform the service” of empowering the “spirits” of “intellectualization and rationalization.” Weber also makes a crucial distinction between the scientist and the “savage,” a contrast that had been built in part initially by naturalists, such as Semper.

⁴Semper, *Bewohner*, 5.

Cosmos, portrayed nature as a unified whole, combining an aesthetic and scientific view in his total presentation of nature. He addressed, for example, earthquakes, volcanoes, meteorology, climatology, geography of plants and animals, man, races, and languages as parts of a universal natural order.⁵ Lynn K. Nyhart examines his influence on the study of zoology in Germany, the foundation of Semper's academic background, writing that the "'Humboldtian' tradition of natural history that provided the main avenue for zoological research before mid-century did not separate zoology from other areas of inquiry but instead viewed animals, plants, and the earth itself in interacting pieces of a self-sustaining whole." Scholars like Semper, she observes, "sought to collect, name, and classify as many of these entities as possible, and to discover the laws underlying the geographical and historical patterns they presented."⁶

This chapter will investigate the ways that Semper and another German naturalist, Fedor Jagor, constructed colonial knowledge by focusing on two natural historical texts that they composed as the result of their travels in the Philippines during the late 1850s and early 1860s. Semper's *The Philippines and their Inhabitants* (1869) and Jagor's *Travels in the Philippines* (1873) both discussed a variety of information about the Spanish colony, including its geology, geography, economy, history, ethnology, botany, zoology, philology, and politics.⁷ Although created before the acquisition of overseas colonies in Germany, their natural histories still dealt with colonized peoples and portrayed Filipinos as racially inferior. Semper and Jagor also identified with and mimicked the Spanish conquest at the same time that they described

⁵Alexander von Humboldt, *Kosmos: Entwurf einer physischen Weltbeschreibung*, 5 vols. (Stuttgart: Gotta, 1845-1862).

⁶Lynn K. Nyhart, *Biology Takes Form: Animal Morphology and the German Universities, 1800-1900* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1995), 91-92.

⁷Semper, *Bewohner*; and F. Jagor, *Reisen in den Philippinen: Mit Zahlreichen Abbildungen und Einer Karte* (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1873). References to these sources will appear parenthetically in the text hereafter.

commercial opportunities in the colony. The German naturalists' studies rehearsed and therefore anticipated Germany's entrance into the age of empire.

Both Semper and Jagor came from middle class backgrounds. Semper was born in Altona in 1832, the son of the industrialist Johann Carl Semper. He pursued comparative morphology, the study of animal forms, and histology, the anatomy of cells and tissues, at the University of Würzburg before completing his doctorate there in 1856. Semper left Hamburg in 1858 for the Philippines, traveling around the Cape of Good Hope and through Singapore and China, before arriving in Manila.⁸ Jagor was born in Berlin in 1817, the son of a Russian-émigré, who eventually became a famous hotel owner. In order to prepare his son for taking over the business, Jagor's father sent him to southern France to study the language, still the lingua franca of European elites during the nineteenth-century, but after traveling to Paris, according to his obituary, Jagor attended "learned and technical schools," where he became interested in "geology, ethnology, and drawing." Jagor left Hamburg in 1857 and traveled in Singapore, Java, and Malacca for the next eighteen months before arriving in the Philippines.⁹

Historians of Britain show a mutually beneficial relationship between the construction of natural history and the empire.¹⁰ Historians of Germany demonstrate the influence of ideas first disseminated by the British naturalist Charles Darwin, particularly within the context of Social Darwinism and the construction of racial ideology, though they have paid less attention to

⁸August Schuberg, "Carl Semper," *Arbeiten aus dem Zoologisch-Zootomischen Institut in Würzburg*, vol. 10 (no. 2, 1895): III-IV.

⁹"Sitzung vom 17. Februar 1900," *Verhandlungen der Berliner Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 32 (1900): (91); and F. Jagor, *Singapore, Malacca, Java: Reiseskizzen* (Berlin: Verlag von Julius Springer, 1866), III & 3.

¹⁰For two recent works that examine the relations of natural history to British imperialism in both the early modern and modern eras, see Sarah Irving, *Natural Science and the Origins of the British Empire* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2008); and Fa-ti Fan, *British Naturalists in Qing China: Science, Empire, and Cultural Encounter* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004).

German naturalists' scientific work and potential links to empire in Germany.¹¹ Lynn K. Nyhart traces the emergence of a “biological perspective” that first appeared among naturalists and other scientists in Germany, and subsequently informed the popularization of science in public settings such as museums, zoos, and primary schools. While she confesses that colonialism did not “play a prominent role” in her study, she still concedes that “it certainly facilitated the global collecting of specimens from the mid-1880s to 1914.”¹² The present chapter will attempt to show that colonialism played a central role in Semper's and Jagor's texts, even though they were produced prior to Germany becoming a colonial power.

This examination of the two German natural histories of the Philippines builds on the approach to the intellectual history of colonialism adopted by Susanne Zantop. In her study of Germans' writings about the Spanish empire in the Americas during the century preceding the 1871 unification of Imperial Germany, she argues that German authors, including those producing scientific narratives, constructed a “colonial imagination.”¹³ The same was true of Semper's and Jagor's studies of the Philippines. Yet, besides serving as examples of German colonial fantasies, the natural histories also supported actual colonialism as it existed in the islands, after their translation into Spanish.

In investigating the links between colonialism and German natural histories of the Philippines, this chapter will address the following questions: how did Semper and Jagor's texts

¹¹See, for example, Alfred Kelly, *The Descent of Darwin: The Popularization of Darwinism in Germany, 1860-1914* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1981); Richard Weikart, *From Darwin to Hitler: Evolutionary Ethics, Eugenics, and Racism in Germany* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004); and Sander Gilman, *H.G. Bronn, Ernst Haeckel, and the Origins of German Darwinism: A Study in Translation and Transformation* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2008).

¹²Lynn K. Nyhart, *Making Modern Nature: The Rise of the Biological Perspective in Germany* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009). Elsewhere, the same author explores the use of biology as an instructional tool in German public primary schools. See Lynn K. Nyhart, “Teaching Community via Biology in Late-Nineteenth-Century Germany,” *Osiris* 17 (2002): 141-70.

¹³Susanne Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies: Conquest, Family, and Nation in Precolonial Germany, 1770-1870* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997), 8.

categorize Filipinos and distinguish them from one another based on their relationships with their natural environments? How did they further classify Filipinos based on their political structures? To what degree did they ultimately identify with the Spanish conquest? Also, how did the scientific work of the German naturalists mimic colonial conquest, discovery, and commercial exploitation of the Philippines? Lastly, how did their work directly connect to German informal and Spanish formal colonialism in the Philippines and thereby constitute colonial science? In pursuing these questions, this chapter shows more fully that Semper's and Jagor's natural histories prefigured the racial ideologies and territorial conquests of later German imperial projects and simultaneously augmented existing Spanish empire in the islands.

Natural Environments, Racial Hierarchies, and Domination

Semper and Jagor narrated Filipinos' relationships to their natural environments in terms of dependency, which immediately separated them from people like themselves, who subjugated nature. In his history of anthropology in Imperial Germany, Andrew Zimmerman describes German anthropologists' beliefs that humans unable to dominate nature were "natural peoples" (*Naturvölker*), whereas those who were able to control their natural environments were "cultural peoples" (*Kulturvölker*).¹⁴ In their portraits of Filipinos, Semper's and Jagor's natural histories similarly depicted them as "natural peoples" and hence suggested their inferiority to "cultural peoples," such as Germans and Spaniards. For example, in the transition from his discussion of the geology, climate, and zoology of the Spanish colony to its human inhabitants, Semper stated that the remainder of his work would explore "whether and how the people of the Philippines have been able to free themselves in their historical development from the shackles which nature

¹⁴Andrew Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism in Imperial Germany* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 38.

has lain upon them” (47). This comment reflected his perspective as one of the “cultural peoples” who puts nature in chains, rather than the reverse. Semper’s idea of Filipinos’ affiliation to nature was one of dependency, or, as the analogy of shackles he employed suggests, slavery, as opposed to mastery. However, he also presented the possibility that Filipinos could break the shackles of nature.

Instead of using the comparison of bondage, Jagor described Filipinos’ relationship to nature in terms of expedience, implying a certain level of passivity. He noted of the Philippines that “mankind can utilize very many things for his own purposes directly from the hands of nature and create for himself through minor toil relatively great convenience” (33). Jagor’s observation associated Filipinos with “the hands of nature” and “minor toil,” and thus distinguished them from “cultural peoples” who use their own hands to conduct great toil. Whether imagining a relationship of master and slave or mother and child, both German naturalists portrayed Filipinos as dependent upon nature. Yet, Semper and Jagor also distinguished between groups of Filipinos based on their varying capacities for interacting with the natural landscape.

In their discussions of the first inhabitants of the Philippines called “Negritos” (literally, “little Negroes”) by the Spanish, both German naturalists subordinated them to other Filipinos based on their relationship with the natural environment. Semper dubbed them “children of nature” (51), for example, and Jagor observed that they lived by the “spontaneous products of nature” (106).¹⁵ Both described them further in terms of deficiencies, with Semper noting that they existed “without significant trade” and “without agriculture” (51) and Jagor that they conducted “no agriculture” and “live outdoors almost without shelter” (106). The German naturalists thus portrayed the Negritos in terms of their almost complete dependency on nature

¹⁵Semper also described the Negritos in relation to the “hunted animals of the forest—deer, pigs—and the fish of the sea and rivers, their only food” (52).

and lack of mastery over it since these Filipinos apparently did not make considerable use of agriculture, trade, or housing.

Conversely, both German naturalists described Malays as more skillful than the Negritos due to their abilities to “cultivate” (*bauen*) their natural environments through systematic agriculture and constructing sedentary dwellings. Jagor contrasted the Bicolis, for example, a Malay group residing in southern Luzon, to the Negritos on the basis of the former living in “comfortable huts” and “cultivating” (106) certain crops. Similarly, Semper wrote of the Irayas of northern Luzon, that because of their “agriculture” and “great skill, which expresses itself in the construction of their houses as in their ornaments,” they were “far superior to the pure Negritos” (56). Because of their productive capacity, he suggested furthermore that they were “less dependent on nature” (56) and possessed an “incipient domination of man over the forces of nature” (57). Nevertheless, Semper concluded that the Irayas also “obey” nature and it therefore still “governs them” (57), like the Negritos. Although judged as more advanced than the Negritos based on their ability to cultivate, Malays too, in the eyes of the German naturalists, were nonetheless dependent upon nature and hence a “natural people” vastly different from “cultural people,” such as Semper, Jagor and the Spanish colonizers.

It was not just in depicting Filipinos’ relationships with nature in terms of dependency that the German naturalists demonstrated their uncultivated state, however, but also through discussion of their history. About the Negritos, for example, Semper wrote that their past resided in “impenetrable darkness” because they constructed “no monuments” (48). Without the benefit of studying such artifacts, Semper resorted to a regional comparison that was built upon a racial hierarchy. Based on common physiological traits, such as skin color, he concluded that the Negritos were either a “lower stage of development left standing” or a “degenerate branch” (49)

of the Papuas of neighboring New Guinea. In both scenarios, Semper imagined the Negritos' existence in hierarchical terms conceiving of stages of development and branches in which they were "lower" or "degenerate" in relation to other peoples.

Like Semper, Jagor employed comparison to compensate for his lack of information about the Negritos' history, but which nevertheless sustained the idea of their lesser position among peoples of the Philippines. Also using a hierarchy based on similar racial characteristics, Jagor compared the Negritos' "grade of civilization" (124) to Pacific Islanders. He concluded that because they had access to gold, iron, and weaving, the Negritos were higher than the Polynesians, but because they did not possess dogs, pigs, or chickens, they were also lower in certain ways. Whether more or less civilized than Pacific Islanders, Jagor still clearly implied that the Negritos were beneath Germans or Spaniards, next to whom he did not even attempt to compare them, since such a juxtaposition was not necessary, confident as he was that "natural peoples" existed in one category, while "cultural peoples" resided in another.

Both naturalists appeared to know a little more about the history of the Malays in the Philippines, though the pictures they provided were far from complete and continued to serve as a demonstration of their uncivilized nature. Although Semper distinguished an "initial migration of Malays" to the Philippines, he nevertheless lamented that they had left neither "monuments" nor "historical documents" (53) from their earlier resettlement.¹⁶ From Semper's perspective, the Malays were thus similar to the Negritos in their difference from "cultural peoples" who constructed monuments and produced historical documents. In contrast to Semper, Jagor

¹⁶Filomeno V. Aguilar, Jr. shows how theories of migrations to the Philippines have persisted up to the present day, without much substantial evidence, and based on arguments about superior civilization brought by the immigrants. Aguilar focuses on the Austrian ethnologist Ferdinand Blumentritt's diffusion of this migration theory among early Filipino nationalists, but as this chapter points out, such theories circulated among German scholars, such as Semper, earlier than Blumentritt. Filomeno V. Aguilar, Jr., "Tracing Origins: *Ilustrado* Nationalism and the Racial Science of Migration Waves," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 64, no. 3 (Aug. 2005): 605-37.

identified a type of monument the Malays created that he used to conceive of and represent their history more clearly.

Still envisioning Filipinos as dependent on nature via expediency and therefore passivity, Jagor described the typical Malay village as proximate to a river in which “on its banks, and especially on its broad mouth the huts of the natives rise on stilts, stilt-houses of immediate apparent convenience” (34). While his comment reads like an echo of both naturalists’ discussions of Filipinos’ relations to their natural environments, Jagor’s identification of “stilt-houses” (*Pfahlbauten*) simultaneously linked them to prehistoric Europeans. Despite the presence of the stilt-house as a traditional abode in both the Philippines and elsewhere across island and mainland Southeast Asia, its existence also signified a relic of European prehistory.¹⁷ Concurrent to the German naturalists’ studies of the Philippines, academic and amateur investigators in Europe sought to examine the remains of similar structures apparently built by primitive Europeans.¹⁸ Hence, both German naturalists stressed Filipinos’ status as “natural

¹⁷In his history of early modern Southeast Asia, Anthony Reid writes that “by preference Southeast Asians lived in houses elevated on poles, whether on the coastal plains, as a precaution against the annual floods, or in the most remote highland villages, where security against human and animal predators may have been the major motive.” Anthony Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce 1450-1680: Volume One: The Lands below the Winds* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 5.

¹⁸In the winter of 1853-1854, the remains of several prehistoric structures were exposed by unusually low water levels in Switzerland. The subsequent discovery and excavation of these stilt-houses led to further study of these structures around Europe and the world thereafter. From studies conducted on the initial Swiss discoveries, Dr. Ferdinand Keller, president of the antiquarian society of Zurich, published a series of reports between the 1850s and 1870s. See, for example, F. Keller, “Die keltischen Pfahlbauten in den Schweizerseen,” *Mittheilungen der Antiquarischen Gesellschaft zu Zürich* 9 (1853-56): 65-100; Ferdinand Keller, “Die Pfahlbauten. Zweiter Bericht,” *ibid.* 12 (1858-60): 111-56; Ferd. Keller, “Pfahlbauten. Vierter Bericht,” *ibid.* 14 (1861-63): 1-35; and Ferdinand Keller, “Pfahlbauten. Siebenter Bericht,” *ibid.* 19 (1876): 1-41.

Besides Jagor’s mention of stilt-houses above, he also published an article on the topic. See “über moderne Pfahlbauten in Asien,” *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 4 (1872): (125-27). Jagor also observed them in a travel account that resulted from his journeys elsewhere in Southeast Asia. He noted that stilt-houses exist “in many Malay countries” and described a scene similar to that depicted in Fig. 1.1 from a site in Indonesia as “a poor, dirty little village, but interesting as an example of a modern stilt-house.” F. Jagor, *Singapore, Malacca, Java: Reiseskizzen* (Berlin: Verlag von Julius Springer, 1866), 175 & 194. Although Semper referred to the “remains of stilt-houses in Europe” (48) and noted of Malay tribes’ that “they constructed on stilts” (61) their storehouses, he did not imply that the structure represented a prehistoric dwelling, as Jagor had done.

peoples” in discussions of their histories, claiming both a lack of monuments and the continued use of prehistoric primitive lodging in the modern age.

In order to augment his discussion of Filipinos’ dwellings, Jagor included an illustration depicting a stilt-house as part of a tableau entitled “Life on the Water” (34) (see Fig. 1.1). The image presents an idyllic scene with nature intimately entwined with people’s needs, subtly implying a relationship based on bondage. Shrouded in darkness on the left side of the image, a woman and child peer out of their stilt house, the emblem of a primitive existence with nature looming above and human beings below. People are unclothed, bathing in the same river where primeval vessels conduct commerce and animals and children roam wild.

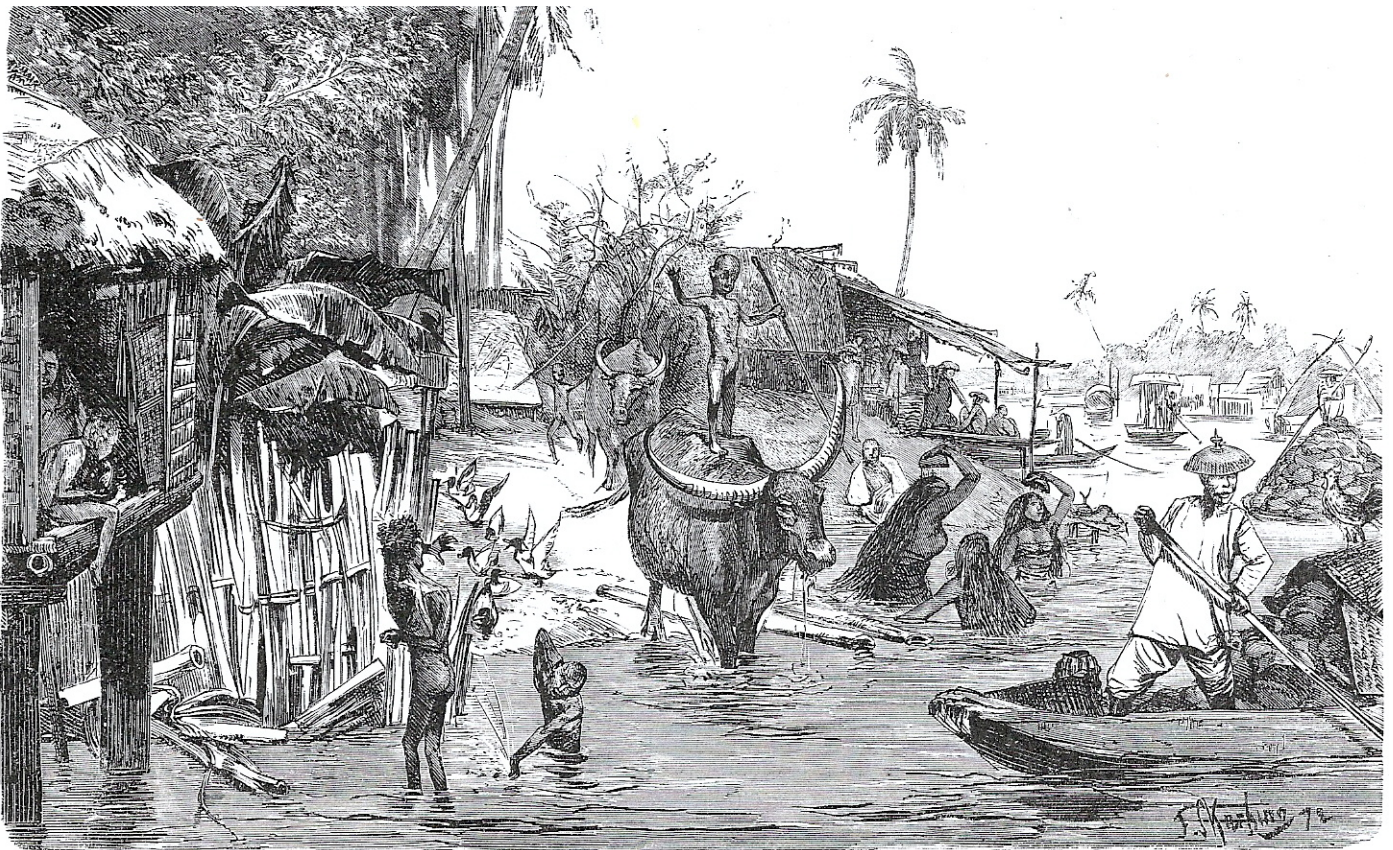


Figure 1.1: “Life on the Water” (34).

Semper and Jagor portrayed Filipinos as similar in their dependency on nature, deficient historical consciousness, and lack of refinement in comparison to “cultural peoples.” Yet, in

their descriptions of the relations between Malays and Negritos, peoples distinguished by greater or lesser power over their natural environments, they also deployed ideas about demographic destruction. About the presence of Negritos in the islands of the southern Philippines, for example, Semper claimed that they had been “entirely eradicated” (49), suggesting they had resided there at one point, but that other peoples had absorbed, displaced, or destroyed them.¹⁹ He also identified the need “to salvage” any remnants of the original Negrito language before their “complete destruction” (138, n. 5).²⁰

Jagor similarly described the Malays’ relationship to the Negritos in terms of dominance. He noted that they “possess” the coastline, the most advantageous territory in the islands, whereas the Negritos “are either enslaved by them or forced into the forests” (162). The differing capabilities of the two peoples also led Jagor to observe the potential for the destruction of the Negritos, because “free intercourse between one people at the level of agriculture and another living primarily by the hunt, frequently leads to the extermination of the latter” (162-63). It was only through the intervention of the Spanish, Jagor pointed out, that had saved the Negritos from “total extinction” (162).

In considering different groups of Filipinos, both German naturalists presumed that people with greater power over their natural environment ordinarily dominate those with less control over their surroundings. Such thinking also justified the Spanish colonization of the Philippines as part of the natural order it conceived. It is remarkable that Semper and Jagor used the language of racial annihilation in explaining relations between the peoples of the Philippines

¹⁹For his only evidence of traces of Negritos in the southern Philippines, Semper noted of the Mamanuas of Mindanao that they “have black blood in their veins,” which he noted made them a “mixed race people, that is recognizable as such at first sight” (49).

²⁰Further obstacles for Semper gaining access to the Negritos’ language included the facts that “we can never expect more than a few sparse words from travelers, and the Spanish priests are now less inclined than ever to turn some attention to this degenerate race of men” (138, n. 5).

since it presaged that which appeared in later German National Socialist ideology and genocidal policies. These examples support Detlev Peukert's thesis that the logic of nineteenth-century science laid the foundation for the racist and exterminationist practices of German National Socialism.²¹ Because of their ability to create categories into which every aspect of the Philippines fit, a supreme expression of a people's capacity to dominate its natural environment through knowledge production, "cultural peoples" stood at the top of Semper's and Jagor's natural order both implicitly and explicitly. The construction of knowledge about colonized peoples thus held the promise of using race to suggest the superiority of the colonizers, even if, as in the present instance, it was German scholars, rather than Spanish ones who created this information about Filipinos.

Filipino States and Spanish Colonization

When both Semper and Jagor depicted differences between Filipinos based on their respective abilities to dominate their natural environments, they portrayed them as inferior to "cultural peoples." The same was true of the German naturalists' narratives of Filipino political power, which they depicted as lacking authority, stability, and sovereignty. Although they set aside the question of dependency on nature, Semper and Jagor still gauged Filipinos according to their capacity to maintain government and associated different groups with particular religions. The range of peoples that the German naturalists considered included "pagan" (*Heiden*) Filipinos, in addition to Islamic Malays and Christian Spanish.

Despite categorizing them as "natural peoples," Semper and Jagor still agreed that the "pagan" Malays existed in a government characterized by centralized rule. Although Susanne

²¹Detlev Peukert, "The Genesis of the 'Final Solution' from the Spirit of Science," in *Nazism and German Society, 1933-1945*, ed. David F. Crew (New York: Routledge, 1994), 274-99.

Zantop writes that “enlightened German commentators of the late eighteenth century tended to side demonstratively with the indigenous populations,” there was little or nothing of the myth of the noble savage in Semper’s and Jagor’s discussions of the “pagan” Malays’ political structures.²² Both naturalists represented these Filipinos’ government in diminutive terms, describing such rulers as “petty” (*klein*).²³ Semper and Jagor used the term petty to designate both the extent of their power as well as the style of their rule.

As clan leaders, these rulers’ sovereignty was severely constrained, the German naturalists claimed. Semper wrote, for example, that their power rarely extended beyond the “area of the village” (63) where they ruled. Jagor noted that their inability to establish widespread political order gave way to a situation in which they “feuded” (280) with one another. The German naturalists further underscored the sense of disorder when they outlined the character of their government. Semper claimed that the “pagan” Malay leaders possessed “natural cruelty and vindictiveness” (67), while Jagor associated them with “great despotism” (280). Hence, the German defined “pagan” Malay government by limited power and unstable rule.²⁴

Even though the “pagan” Malays were able to conquer Negritos, who were organized in “bands” (*Truppen*), they could not withstand the advent of Islamic power to the islands, the naturalists explained.²⁵ Semper and Jagor both identified religious conversion as a critical part of the initial Muslim entry into the Philippines. Semper claimed, for example, that Filipinos

²²Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies*, 40. For discussions of Germans’ historical perceptions of Native Americans, see Colin G. Calloway, Gerd Gemünden, and Susanne Zantop, eds., *Germans and Indians: Fantasies, Encounters, Projections* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002).

²³Semper wrote, for example, that each Malay clan was ruled by a “prince,” something clearly lesser than a king or emperor, before the advent of either Islam or Christianity in the Philippines, although he noted that the Spanish described such rulers as a “king” or “petty king” (63). Jagor concurred in reporting that the animistic Malays were governed by “petty chiefs” (280).

²⁴As he did in his discussion of Malays’ initial domination over nature, Semper concluded of their political structures that the “beginning of state-building appears to have been made at only a few points” (63).

²⁵Semper wrote that the Negritos’ socio-political organization was minimal, living in “small bands of 6-8 families” (52), and devoted solely to hunting and gathering. Jagor also noted of the few he observed in Angat and Mariveles, two towns from different provinces in central Luzon, that they “cohabit in large bands” (106).

exchanged their traditional beliefs for the “religious fanaticism” (67) of Islam. Jagor wrote, however, that Filipinos were only “superficially converted to Islam” (280). Although the religion helped Islamic Malays migrating to the Philippines organize government, Semper and Jagor implied that it was fated for failure, beset as it was by “fanaticism” and being “superficial.”

The perceived lack of meaningful and binding connections to the new religion consequently manifested in instability among the Malay Islamic state, the German naturalists suggested. Semper described the appropriation of the existing government by the new rulers, in which the original clan system “was placed with greater skill into a central power dependent on a confederation of individual princes” (67). While more sophisticated than the pre-existing system, the confederation had “only weak alliance with the highest authority,” a structure that Semper described as a “type of aristocratic republic” (67).

Because of the decentralized organization of the Muslim state, however, disorder again prevailed, according to both German naturalists. Although Jagor conceded that in the pre-Spanish Philippines the population was “civilized at a relatively high grade,” he portrayed it as having descended into a “lower level of culture,” due to “small wars” (287). According to Semper, the weak state structure had consequences similar to those described by Jagor, in which the “citizens very naturally cling to their personal independence and are constantly prone to conflict and strife” (68). Even though Islamic rule in the Philippines prevailed over “pagan” government, the German naturalists reported, it still failed to stand up to the order brought by Spanish colonizers.

Before they even began to narrate the Spanish conquest, Semper and Jagor described it as if inevitable, due to Filipinos’ unsteady political structures, another suggestion that implied an inherent preeminence of “cultural peoples.” Semper contrasted the Spanish, for example, to the

“meager energy and political fragmentation of the natives” (73). Jagor too noted that the “character of the population as well as their political institutions favored the occupation” of the islands by the Spanish, since there was “no mighty empire, no ancient dynasty, no influential priest class to overcome, and no patriotic traditions to suppress” (280). In depicting the pre-Spanish Philippines as a history of disorder, it operated as a justification for the Spanish conquest, which Semper and Jagor viewed as bringing the necessary stability to the archipelago.

Besides the seemingly unstable political landscape before the Spanish came to the Philippines, both naturalists further attributed the success of the Spanish conquest to their military organization and racial supremacy. Semper wrote, for example, that it was the “organization of their conquest” that enabled the Spanish “to produce the astonishingly rapid success of their enterprises” (70), which included the introduction of Christianity to the Philippines. Jagor more directly attributed the triumph of the Spanish conquest to military technology and race. After the advent of the Spanish to the Philippines, he wrote, they encountered “all along the mouths of rivers, sea-faring peoples living under several chieftains, who either after a brief struggle succumbed to the superior discipline and better weapons of the Spaniards or willingly subjected themselves to the superior race” (162). For Jagor, military technologies were the product of racial dominance, since both resulted in the defeat and subjugation of Filipinos.²⁶ In presenting Spain’s conquest of the Philippines as a *fait accompli*, the German naturalists justified Spanish empire in the islands.

Both wrote further about the conquest in admiring terms, focusing in particular on the efforts of the Spanish conquistador Juan de Salcedo. Semper, for example, characterized him by “restless activity and great vigor” (71), traits that also contrasted Filipinos, about whom the

²⁶Jagor made a related comparison in noting that the “despotic rule of the chiefs and slavery were abolished soon after the arrival of the Spaniards, and instead of the frequent raids and wars came peace and security” (31).

German naturalist stated, as quoted above, that they possessed “meager energy” (73). Jagor too discussed the “deeds” of Salcedo, whom he described as the “most outstanding of all conquistadors,” though the Spaniard met significant resistance when he “penetrated the interior” (283) of the islands.²⁷ Just as Salcedo helped bring Philippine territory into the possession of Spain, the German naturalists writing of the conquistador brought him into their possession as a representative of the power of “cultural peoples” and the legitimacy of their dominion over “natural peoples.”

Science, Conquest, and Colonial Commerce

Not unlike their portrayals of Salcedo’s exploits, both German naturalists described their movements into the “interior” (*Innere*) of the Philippines in terms of “penetration” (*Vordringen*) of various natural landscapes that had not received sufficient attention or description in previous European travel accounts and scientific texts. Hence, in a discussion of his journey into the “interior” (96, n. 4) of the southern island of Mindanao, Semper related his attempted “penetration” (6) of the land, though he was ultimately unsuccessful due to cholera, pirates, lack of shoes, and rough roads. Jagor too was prevented from “penetrating” (111) a crater edge, and he and his entourage later spent two days attempting “to penetrate” (138) a forest. Their attention to the natural environment in terms of interior spaces to be penetrated demonstrated that their scientific endeavors simultaneously expressed colonialist urges while employing masculinist language.²⁸

²⁷Jagor even quoted a Spanish chronicler who described Salcedo as the “Cortes of the Philippines” (284).

²⁸Similar to the perspective adopted in the present discussion, Warwick Anderson shows how scientific writings about nature “shaped masculinist European and North American self-perceptions (civilizing, containing, controlling) even as they provided opportunities for disciplining tropical bodies and botany (luxuriant, wasteful, extravagant, grotesque).” Warwick Anderson, “The Natures of Culture: Environment and Race in the Colonial Tropics,” in *Nature in the Global South: Environmental Projects in South and Southeast Asia*, eds. Paul Greenough and Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), 29-30.

Just as they celebrated the Spanish take-over as a marker of technological and racial primacy, so too did Semper and Jagor carry on the conquest using different sorts of instruments that likewise signified their mastery over the Philippines. Michael Adas demonstrates that Europeans used “machines as the measure of men” as a means of promoting ideas of their ascendancy over non-Europeans and focused on the particular apparatuses used in science and technology from the early modern era through the twentieth-century.²⁹ The German naturalists projected their authority as knowledgeable men partly through the host of technologies they employed in their scientific conquests in the Spanish colony. Semper made use of fishing nets, harpoons, fishing poles, an aquarium, butterfly nets, boxes, microscopes, a telescope, a measuring line and compass in addition to the materials needed to sketch and paint the objects he was observing.³⁰ Jagor used devices such as a camera, “telescope” (70), “strong European shoes” (154), and a “thermometer” (172), in addition to performing “barometrical measurements” (161, n. 91).³¹ They did not merely make use of equipment for amassing data for the production of knowledge, however.

The German naturalists more explicitly exhibited their colonizing colors in performances of technological domination threatening Filipinos with the force of arms in microcosmic examples of gunboat diplomacy. When traveling in northern Luzon, for example, Semper encountered the Catalanganes, who refused food for the German naturalist and his party. This led Semper to

²⁹Michael Adas, *Machines as the Measure of Men: Science, Technology, and Ideologies of Western Dominance* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1989).

³⁰“Kleinere Mittheilungen und Correspondenz-Nachrichten. Reiseberichte des Herrn Dr. Carl Semper. Erster Brief aus Singapore,” *Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftliche Zoologie* 10, no. 1 (1860): 179-180; and Karl Semper, *Die Palau-Inseln im Stillen Ocean: Reiseerlebnisse* (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1873), 9.

³¹Anne Larsen shows that British naturalists used standardized methods and instruments in collecting and systematizing geological, botanical, and zoological specimens with particular tools devoted to each. These included hammers for breaking rocks, heavy shoes for hiking, packing boxes, knives for scraping mollusks from rocks, buckets for water, guns for birds, vials, pins, trowels, and nets among other devices. “Equipment for the Field,” in *Cultures of Natural History*, eds. N. Jardine, J. A. Secord, and E. C. Spary (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 358-77.

write of the meeting that he was “forced to rob the food supplies using firearms” (55). He attempted to reverse or disguise the unequal terms of power by claiming that his action was not his choice, but that he was “forced” (*gezwungen*). In a parallel instance, Jagor, while attempting to arrange a boat for transportation, used a “shot from a revolver” to induce Filipinos on the island of Samar “to build a bamboo raft” (193) for him. Hence, when pressed, the German naturalists were not adverse to the use of firearms to accomplish their scientific missions.

Susanne Zantop demonstrates the German naturalist Alexander von Humboldt’s affinity to Christopher Columbus in addition to later German authors’ conception of Humboldt as a second Columbus, and argues about the scientific traveler’s writing on South America, that he “intellectually took on the legacy of the conquista, changed its nature, and opened up the continent for renewed exploration and colonization.”³² In the tradition of Humboldt (and Columbus), Semper and Jagor made “discoveries” (*Entdeckungen*) of animal species in the Philippines. Semper classified numerous “new species” of sea-cucumbers and land mollusks he acquired during his travels in the Philippines and the “*Hydrophis Semperi*,” a freshwater sea snake he collected, was named after him.³³ Jagor too obtained “new snake species,” which he catalogued along with “collections of mammals.”³⁴ Capitalizing on his role as a discoverer of new species, Jagor named a snake “*Typhlops Jagorii*” and a bat “*Pachysoma (Ptenochirus) Jagorii*,” two animals he collected in the Philippines.³⁵

³²Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies*, 168.

³³C. Semper, *Holothurien*, vol. 1 of *Reisen im Archipel der Philippinen* (Wiesbaden: C.W. Kreidel’s Verlag, 1868); C. Semper, *Landmollusken*, vol. 3 of *Reisen im Archipel der Philippinen* (Wiesbaden: C.W. Kreidel’s Verlag, 1870); and Samuel Garman, “New and Little-Known Reptiles and Fishes in the Museum Collection,” *Bulletin of the Museum of Comparative Zoölogy at Harvard College* 8 (1880-81): 85.

³⁴“17. März Gesamtsitzung der Akademie,” *Monatsberichte der Königlichen Preufs. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Aus dem Jahr 1859* (1860): 269; and “25. Juli Gesamtsitzung der Akademie,” *Monatsberichte der Königlichen Preufs. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Aus dem Jahr 1861* (1862): 706.

³⁵“18. Juli Gesamtsitzung der Akademie,” *Monatsberichte der Königlichen Preufs. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Aus dem Jahr 1861* (1862): 684; and “25. Juli Gesamtsitzung,” 707.

Besides viewing the Philippines as a field for performing scientific discoveries, Semper and Jagor's travel accounts presented the natural environment as a set of commodities and extolled the potential for commercial agricultural expansion in the colony due to the "fertility" (*Fruchtbarkeit*) of the soil.³⁶ To this end, they focused on numbers of animal, vegetable, and mineral "products" (*Produkte*) in their texts, and located them in taxonomical orders using Latin designations, which were more familiar in most instances than their local names to Semper's and Jagor's readers as the universal European natural scientific nomenclature, though the German naturalists nonetheless included both names for the sake of reference and possible utility.³⁷ In her study of eighteenth-century European naturalists' texts, Mary Louise Pratt points out that they "produced commercially exploitable knowledge."³⁸ Likewise, Semper's and Jagor's texts spoke to a dual commerce of nineteenth-century science and industry, two realms with overlapping intentions to extract from and exploit natural environments.

Recent studies of anthropology in Imperial Germany show that the scientific and commercial value of physical objects grew in importance for the study of non-European peoples over the nineteenth-century.³⁹ Hence, in addition to the importance they assigned to plant and animal specimens as objects of scholarship and trade, Semper and Jagor collected human artifacts and remains with an eye toward their places in emerging academic and popular markets. Semper described his attempt to obtain such items from the Manguianes of the southern island of

³⁶Semper, for example, referred to the "astonishing fertility of the country" (60), while Jagor too identified the "extraordinary fertility of the soil" (8).

³⁷Semper described the potential for locating commodities in his remark that "everywhere a rich and light harvest is offered to the coastal-inhabiting Malays on the exploitation of valuable products of the tropical ocean" (24). Jagor observed that the "California, Japan, China, and Australia seem naturally to be the chief consumers of the colonial products of the Philippines" (64-65).

³⁸Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2008), 33.

³⁹See, for example, Rainer F. Buschmann, *Anthropology's Global Histories: The Ethnographic Frontier in German New Guinea, 1870-1935* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009); H. Glenn Penny, *Objects of Culture: Ethnology and Ethnographic Museums in Imperial Germany* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002); and Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism*.

Mindanao, while visiting the “family grave” of his “hosts.” In this endeavor, he seemed to have overstepped certain boundaries, however, evidenced in his explanation that “I tried in vain to induce the people to sell me one of these skeletons with the coffin.” He admitted that he was obliged instead to “content myself with a pair of poorly preserved skulls that lay in the grass next to the grave stones.”⁴⁰ Here Semper’s attempt at commercial exchange failed, yet he nevertheless came away with human remains, even if apparently not the more valuable prizes he had initially sought.⁴¹

Jagor, on the other hand, seemed to have greater success than his fellow-German naturalist. To cite one example, Jagor visited grave sites on the isle of Samar, where he sought “coffins, several skulls and glazed shards” (208). Ultimately, he was able to acquire “several skulls and a child’s coffin” from Filipino collectors in addition to a coffin with a “mummy” and “pottery shards” (208) when he visited the site himself. The German naturalists narrated these extractions in a matter-of-fact tone that exhibited no sense of wrongdoing in the least. The practice only became a problem for them when they were prevented from accomplishing their scientific work in the colony. They seemed to think little or nothing about the value of artifacts and human remains for Filipinos.

Collecting was scientific on the one hand, but could also be a lucrative enterprise on the other, as was shown in the German naturalists’ discussions of opportunities to sell specimens.

⁴⁰Carl Semper, “Reise durch die nördlichen Provinzen der Insel Luzon,” *Zeitschrift für Allgemeine Erdkunde* 13 (1862): 96. Although he did not describe this episode directly in his travel account, he still cited the article in which it appeared (139, n. 8), and thereby provided some connection between the two texts.

In an article on the links between colonialism and anthropology in Imperial Germany, Andrew Zimmerman remarks that “the simplest way to acquire body parts for anthropological collections was through grave robbery,” which was, he explains, “a common practice among travelers collecting for anthropological purposes, who often covertly exhumed corpses and shipped them to Berlin.” As in the case of Semper, “grave robbing thus often involved the cooperation of indigenous groups,” Zimmerman continues, “who were thus also sometimes able to successfully deny anthropologists the corpses of their compatriots.” Andrew Zimmerman, “Adventures in the Skin Trade: German Anthropology and Colonial Corporeality,” in *Worldly Provincialism: German Anthropology in the Age of Empire*, eds. H. Glenn Penny and Matti Bunzl (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003), 168.

⁴¹While visiting the Irayas of northern Luzon, Semper remarked that he and his companions were received with a “hospitable reception” that included “gifts of all kinds” (55), though he did not specify what these gifts were.

For example, Semper extensively collected sea-cucumbers for his zoological research, but also described their global commercial value at the same time. He called the species by their scientific name “holothurians” in addition to referring to them as “trepang,” the way they were known “commercially” (24).⁴² He also included statistics from 1864 and 1865 on the monetary value of the “trepang trade” (29) in the Philippines.

Also addressing the prospects for collecting in the Philippines using a commercial perspective, Jagor remarked in the foreword to his account that “the naturalist finds hardly anywhere a greater abundance of unexcavated treasures” and “a lack of money would richly cover your travel costs from the sale of collections” (vi).⁴³ Jagor hinted at the economy of collecting, money from which could assist the naturalist’s career and scientific work. At the same time, he seemed to be beckoning to others to follow in his footsteps, indicating a potentially widening demand for the accumulation and consumption of various natural items. The German naturalists’ collecting practices were thus conceived in a manner similar to industrial capitalism in seeking new terrains for the recovery of resources to be inserted and circulated in global marketplaces.

Even though their practices—traveling, collecting, classifying the natural environment, bullying Filipinos with guns—did not take place in a German colony, they still occurred in a

⁴²He published an entire zoological study of sea-cucumbers in the year previous to the appearance of his natural history and also included discussion of their commercial value. See Semper, *Holothurien*, 172-74. While in the Palau Islands, a neighboring Spanish colony to which he traveled from the Philippines, Semper collected trepang, from the Malay name for sea-cucumber, which he noted had been systematically used “to sell” as food in Europe. Semper, *Die Palau-Inseln*, 109.

⁴³Not long after his arrival, Jagor sent a report from Manila back to Berlin in 1859 that “provided instructions for the collection of natural scientific objects.” “17. März Gesamtsitzung der Akademie,” 269.

Semper described his experiences performing scientific work while aboard ship on the way to Southeast Asia in a report he sent from Singapore that was subsequently published in the *Journal of Scientific Zoology*. The naturalist narrated his failed attempts to use a microscope and read in the absence of light. After being foiled in trying to draw and paint, Semper remarked about working on a ship that “one can collect, and that is all” and concluded the report with the vow to “never again to enter a merchant ship with the intent to work on it.” “Reiseberichte Semper. Erster Brief,” 180 & 182. Besides providing insight into the naturalist’s work, his report also shows how merchant vessels transported scientists to their destinations in the field, including those in colonies, such as the Philippines.

colonial context and performed the operation of discovering, naming, ordering, and extracting materials from a colonized territory that both German naturalists recognized for their commercial value as potential objects of study and consumption. These undertakings were less related to the formal colonialism that involved extending sovereignty directly over non-national spaces, and should be seen instead within the context of informal German colonialism that Matthew P. Fitzpatrick characterizes by “trading outposts and private sector colonies.”⁴⁴ It was not solely Semper and Jagor’s (con)quests for mineral, animal, and human artifacts, described in terms of “penetration,” that linked their travel accounts and the scientific practices underpinning them to colonialism, however. Their connections to colonial officials and the Spanish imperial project more directly demonstrated their work as colonial science.

Friendship, Translation, and Colonial Science

While they wrote about all aspects of the Philippines as “outsiders” (*Fremden*), a term both authors referenced frequently, in part appealing to and identifying with German, European, and world-wide audiences less familiar with the subject matter, Semper and Jagor grounded their knowledge on privileged access to inside information about the Spanish colony, having traveled there and spent significant time studying the archipelago. They were insiders because their texts narrated their activities in and around the Philippines and spoke from their personal and first-person perspectives. Yet, at the same time, they remained self-consciously and culturally outside of the Philippines, as their respective texts related, because their accumulation and interpretation of data enabled them to transcend this world in order to objectively view and subsequently represent it as a whole. Hence, their ability to know and narrate the Philippines reflected their

⁴⁴Matthew P. Fitzpatrick, *Liberal Imperialism in Germany: Expansionism and Nationalism, 1848-1884* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2008), 6.

relationship with it: in order to be known, it had to become familiarized and integrated into the series of hierarchies that both authors called “natural history” (*Naturforschung*). Constructing this knowledge could not take place without establishing intimate relationships with the people and natural environment of the Philippines, however.

Both texts included remarks involving “friendship” (*Freundschaft*) that helped uphold bourgeois notions of civility, and, at the same time, ground their studies in what they projected to their audiences as scientific authority.⁴⁵ For example, in the dedication to his study, Semper wrote in “thankful friendship” to the Prussian Consul in the colonial capital, Moritz Herrmann of Manila, whom he described as the “active promoter of my scientific endeavors” (n.p.).⁴⁶ He also identified the colonial official Don Claudio Montero as a friend in addition to being the “knowledgeable as well as energetic Head of the present Philippine Hydrographic Commission” (98, n. 11). Because he possessed friends in Herrmann and Montero, Semper was able to affiliate himself with their qualities as knowledgeable insiders and hence build his scientific credibility in part through these connections to German informal and Spanish formal colonialism.

Jagor too established himself as an insider and linked his study to science using the bond of friendship. He described his friendship with Spaniards, Filipinos, and resident foreigners, all of whom helped link the German traveler to an insider perspective. It was also his friendship with academically-trained scientists in Imperial Germany that lent greater credibility to his work. In his preface, for example, Jagor wrote that “two treatises constitute the most valuable scientific

⁴⁵For a work that argues for the necessity of trust in producing science in early modern England, see Steven Shapin, *A Social History of Truth: Civility and Science in Seventeenth-Century England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994). Although Shapin’s focus is on aristocratic gentlemen scientists, similar notions of civility prevailed in the present instance among the bourgeois naturalists Semper and Jagor.

⁴⁶Hermógenes E. Bacareza, *A History of Philippine-German Relations* (Quezon City, Philippines: National Economic and Development Authority, 1980), 44.

part of the book, to which the author owes to the friendship of Professors Roth and Virchow” (vi).⁴⁷ It was precisely the scientific authority projected in the German naturalists’ narratives that most directly linked them to colonialism in the Philippines and established their places as colonial science.

In the year following the publication of Jagor’s text, the colonial forestry inspector for the Philippines, Sebastián Vidal produced a study of forests in the Spanish colony that drew on the German naturalists’ works. He discussed their importance to the current body of knowledge about the Philippines in the preface to his text, applauding the “ardor of German travelers, like Semper and Jagor,” whose works presented “all aspects under which those islands exist and represent.”⁴⁸ The Spanish colonial official employed their studies in a variety of ways. He used Semper’s information about Mindanao, because it addressed the “habits, customs, costumes and weapons” of the people there and allowed the Spaniard to produce information about the population of the southern island. Vidal added that “I recommend reading the study of Semper about the pagan peoples of the Philippines” and also pointed out that “Semper has a nice study of the origin and progress of Islam in the Far East.” The places of Jagor’s work were less prominent in the main text, though the Spanish forestry engineer also incorporated it, remarking that “my vanity has been satisfied somewhat reading the geological description that Dr. Jagor previously made of the coast of Albay and both Camarines.”⁴⁹ The utility to which Vidal put the German naturalists’ works was too great not to share with others, however.

⁴⁷The two treatises to which Jagor referred were J. [Justus] Roth, “Ueber die geologische Beschaffenheit der Philippinen” (333-54), and Rud. Virchow, “Ueber alte und neue Schädel von den Philippinen” (355-77). Semper too included an article published by another scholar in his work. His colleague from the University of Kiel wrote the following work: Gustav Karsten, “Ueber das Klima der Philippinen” (111-30).

⁴⁸S. Vidal y Soler, *Memoria sobre los montes de Filipinas* (Madrid: Aribau & Co., 1874), ii.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, 188, 195, 207 & 214. In Vidal’s “List of Important Works and Articles Referencing the Countries of the Far East,” he cited texts to which Jagor had referred in his study, including those the German naturalist alluded to “frequently.” *Ibid.*, 237 & 260. Jagor’s work thus helped Vidal identify sources with which the Spaniard was unfamiliar.

In the same year as the publication of his study of forests in the Philippines, Vidal translated parts of Semper's text into Spanish and translated the entirety of Jagor's work the next year.⁵⁰ Even though he did not explain the reasons behind his translation of parts of Semper's study, maintaining Spanish rule in the Philippines could not but have benefitted from the additional information about the natural resources and peoples of the colony, particularly in their emphasis on natural hierarchies that justified colonization at every level. The colonial official nonetheless made these intentions clear in the translator's preface to the Spanish edition of Jagor's natural history of the islands.

In describing the reasons for producing the Spanish translation, Vidal explained the importance of science to retaining the colony in the Philippines. He wrote that Jagor's text "contributes to the most exact knowledge of the unique jewel that we own in the Far East." Knowledge was thus key to keeping the colony in Spanish hands, particularly in the face of the loss of the majority of the American possessions earlier in the century, as was shown by the "support given by enthusiastic senior officials for the study of our overseas provinces," Vidal added. The translator hoped the work of Jagor made available in Spanish would awaken the "desire to undertake travel and study" of the Philippines among fellow Spaniards.⁵¹ That the German naturalists' works were translated into Spanish represents one level of their reception in Spain, and their continued appearance in Spanish writings about the Philippines over the next years indicates an even wider welcome.

⁵⁰Don Carlos Semper, "El clima de Filipinas y su influencia en el mundo orgánico," *Estudios sobre el clima de Filipinas*, trans. Sebastián Vidal y Soler (Madrid: M. Minuesa, 1874), 5-18; Don G. Karsten, "Noticias sobre el clima de Filipinas," *ibid.*, 19-44; Carlos Semper, "Los negritos y tribus malayas idólatras de Filipinas," trans. Sebastián Vidal, *El Bazar: Revista Ilustrada* 1 (1874): 443-46, 455-59 & 470-74; and F. Jagor, *Viajes por Filipinas*, trans. S. Vidal y Soler (Madrid: Aribau and Co., 1875). Vidal translated the third and fourth sketches in Semper's text, entitled "Das Klima und das organische Leben" (34-47) and "Die Negrito's und die heidnischen malaiischen Stämme" (48-64), in addition to Gustav Karsten, "Ueber das Klima der Philippinen" (111-30).

⁵¹Jagor, *Viajes*, vii-viii.

Citations of Semper's and Jagor's natural histories continued to surface in a variety of Spanish sources on the Philippines in the decade following Vidal's translations. References to the works of both German naturalists showed up in a publication by Vidal that cataloged "forest products" from the Philippines to be presented to the 1876 Bicentennial Exhibition held in Philadelphia.⁵² Sometimes the work of one or the other naturalist appeared in passing in a book or a bibliography, as with an 1877 study of the Lepanto district and an 1880 text that discussed gold deposits in the Philippines.⁵³ Another work dealing with agriculture in the colony published in 1881 also mentioned both Semper and Jagor in regard to their studies of climate in the islands.⁵⁴ An historical, geographic and statistical study of the Philippines published in Spain in 1883 also referenced the work of the two German naturalists.⁵⁵ In it, Jagor was found alongside "other foreign writers" in their attention to the possibilities surrounding "coal production in the islands," about which the author argued that "if any industry can offer an abundant future to our

⁵²*Memoria-catálogo de la colección de productos forestales, presentada por la Inspeccion General de Montes de Filipinas en la Exposicion Universal de Filadelfia* (Manila: Revista Mercantil, 1875). The text is divided into two parts, the first offering a "natural description" of the Philippines in general followed by specific discussion of individual islands, while the second includes the "catalog" of products. Ibid., 3 & 49. Discussion of Semper, Jagor, and their work appears in the first part in both the general description as well as individual descriptions of islands. Ibid., 11, 13, 16, 21 & 28.

⁵³Maximino Lillo de Gracia, *Filipinas, distrito de Lepanto: descripción general acompañada de itinerario* (Manila: Colegio de Santo Tomas, 1877), 49; and El Marqués de Caicedo, *El oro: su explotación y consideraciones acerca de los yacimientos auríferos de la Islas Filipinas* (Madrid: Ramon Moreno y Ricardo Rojas, 1880), 41. Semper emerged in the first source in a quote involving geological data, while Jagor, *Viajes* was cited in the second source.

The work of both German naturalists showed up in several Spanish periodicals as well, sometimes briefly and other times more extensively. For example, an article on the province of Zambales in a Spanish geography journal quoted information about Filipinos in the province from the translation of Jagor's work. Francisco Cañamaque, "La provincia de Zambales: monografía," *Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Madrid* 9 (1880): 290-92. Another article from a Spanish natural history journal dealing with *Odonata*, an order of aquatic insects, discussed and cited Semper's work in profusion, mostly in reference to particular species local to the Philippines. Edm. de Séllys-Longchamps, "Odonates des Philippines," *Anales de la Sociedad Española de Historia Natural* 11 (1882): 5-24, 26, & 28-33.

⁵⁴Zoilo Espejo, *La agricultura en Filipinas* (Madrid: Manuel G. Hernandez, 1881), 10 & 13.

⁵⁵In the conclusion to his "description of the races that occupy our Philippine Archipelago," the author pointed to the work of Semper as authoritative on the topic. Francisco Javier de Moya y Jiménez, *Las Islas Filipinas en 1882: estudios históricos, geográficos, estadísticos y descriptivos* (Madrid: F. Fernandez, 1883), 81. The author also remarked on Semper's studies of animal life in the Philippines. Ibid., 140.

colony, it is, without doubt, the exploitation of its coal.”⁵⁶ The information amassed by the Germans came in handy when reconsidering the best means of exploiting the Philippines, it seemed to many Spaniards writing about the colony.



Figure 1.2: “Tagalogs” from Jordana, *archipiélago filipino*, 54

Vidal’s colleague, Ramón Jordana, also a forestry engineer, produced a natural history of the Philippines that drew on the works of the German naturalists as well. He described Semper as an “outstanding zoologist” and Jagor as an “erudite and wise observer.”⁵⁷ Faithful to the method of natural history, Jordana’s work comprised two parts, with the first addressing geography through sections devoted to topography, hydrography, meteorology, and population, while the second covered geology, zoology, and botany. Like the works of Semper and Jagor, Jordana’s text described Filipinos. In addressing the Christianized Tagalogs, the Spanish author also used ideas about nature to assert their inferiority, characterizing these Filipinos as “indolent and neglectful

⁵⁶Ibid., 136. The same work included mention of Jagor with regard to geysers, population statistics, and mountain climbing in the Philippines. Ibid., 139, 153 & 348.

⁵⁷Ramón Jordana y Morera, *Bosquejo geográfico é historico-natural de archipiélago filipino* (Madrid: Moreno y Rojas, 1885), 2.

by nature.”⁵⁸ Jordana even included an illustration of two Tagalog men that showed them in poses as if ready to perform labor (see Fig. 1.2). Jordana’s natural history of the Philippines thus buttressed the Spanish colonial order at the same time that it built its foundations in part on the work of Semper and Jagor.

Natural history enabled a Spanish recolonization of the Philippines in its re-presentation of natural, racial, and political orders with precedents initially set by German scholars and subsequently continued by Spanish authors. The texts of Semper and Jagor therefore must be seen as examples of colonial science, even if they were not produced in or explicitly for a German colony. Their authors actively identified themselves as friends of people in the colony, and the subsequent reception via translation and circulation of their work among Spaniards writing about the Philippines most clearly confirms the place of their natural histories in the service of Spanish colonialism.

Conclusion

Although Semper’s and Jagor’s studies sustained Spanish colonialism in the Philippines, this fact did not preclude the future possibility of German colonization of part or all of the islands. In his discussion of the centuries-long struggle of the Spanish in conquering the Sulu archipelago southwest of the Philippines, for example, Jagor noted that “not long ago, the Sultan of Sulu offered sovereignty over his territory to the King of Prussia” (182, n. 100). Although “his offer was refused” (182, n. 100), Jagor reported, it still demonstrated the very real potentiality of a German colonial replacement for Spain. At the same time, independent German merchants

⁵⁸Ibid., 54.

supplied the sultanate in its conflict against the Spanish during the 1860s and 70s, as Volker Schult shows, demonstrating another avenue for German colonial interests in the vicinity.⁵⁹

A more direct example of the naturalists' work rehearsing German imperialism is found in a text that resulted from Semper's travels in the Palau Islands, part of the Spanish colony comprising the Caroline Islands, east of the Philippines. Even though a German reviewer dubbed the account produced by the German naturalist a "novel" (*Roman*) in 1873, the year it was published, its use changed as the Imperial German appetite for colonies increased.⁶⁰ In 1899, Spain sold the Carolines to Germany as part of the diplomatic settlement following the 1898 Spanish-American War, and Semper's colonial science fiction suddenly became an important reality for the German Empire, as it was used in part to help facilitate the establishment of a German colony there, despite having been produced more than a generation beforehand.⁶¹ The geographer Alfred Kirchhof, in a review of Semper's account published in the *German Colonial Times* in 1899, described its "particularly high value," due to the fact that it dealt with "our new wards, the inhabitants of Palau." Although the geographer too recognized it as a "novel" (*Roman*), he argued that it was "more valuable" than others because it gave access to the "mental life of natural peoples in general."⁶²

⁵⁹Volker Schult, "Sulu and Germany in the Late Nineteenth Century," *Philippine Studies* 48 (2000): 81-89. For another look at the same subject by this author, see Volker Schult, "Sultans and Adventurers: German Blockade-runners in the Sulu Archipelago," *ibid.* 50 (2002): 395-415. The Sultan of Sulu smuggled goods into his territory through a site called "Kampong German" during Spanish blockade. James Francis Warren, *The Sulu Zone, 1768-1898: The Dynamics of External Trade, Slavery, and Ethnicity in the Transformation of a Southeast Asian Maritime State*, 2nd ed. (Singapore: National University of Singapore Press, 2007), 117.

⁶⁰Semper, *Die Palau-Inseln*; and Heinrich Rückert, "Neue Reiseliteratur," *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung*, November 6, 1873, 707.

⁶¹The introduction to the English edition of Semper's study of the Palaus notes that the German naturalist's friendships were built upon by later colonial officials. Karl Semper, *The Palau Islands in the Pacific Ocean*, trans. Mark Berg (Guam: Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam, 1982), iii-iv.

⁶²A. Kirchhoff, "Die Palau-Inseln im Stillen Ocean," *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung* 16, no. 37 (1899): 341. An abridged edition of Semper's work was published after the First World War, see Karl Semper, *Auf den Palau-Inseln: Ein Südsee-Idyll* (Berlin: Ullstein, 1925), suggesting an on-going interest in his remarks and personalized narrative as well as possible nostalgia for the German empire and its colonial aspirations, both of which had been laid to rest by the German defeat.

This chapter has attempted to show that Semper's and Jagor's natural histories of the Philippines constituted colonial knowledge because they upheld real and imagined colonialism in their discussions of Filipinos, the Spanish conquest, and the natural environment. They described Filipinos as dependent upon nature and lacking historical consciousness, different from "cultural peoples" like themselves and the Spanish colonizers. The German naturalists also located Filipinos in racial hierarchies that suggested stronger peoples' inherent dominion over weaker ones, which in turn helped them distinguish between Filipino peoples and their political structures, all of which failed to maintain order, they argued. Thus, Semper and Jagor justified Spanish imperialism on the bases of race and politics simultaneously.

The German naturalists heroicized the Spanish conquest, emphasizing what they described as the organizational superiority of the conquerors. They celebrated Juan de Salcedo in particular and implied that their work carried on his initial efforts, still through technological means, but with science rather than the sword. For Semper and Jagor, the natural environment existed as a set of resources subject to capture, study, and global exchange and consumption. The German naturalists collected natural and human specimens as they narrated a landscape pregnant with exploitative possibilities for men of science and industry alike. Semper and Jagor were not adverse to shows of force before Filipinos, threatening them with firearms if their demands remained unheeded. They grounded their scientific credibility on their friendships with insiders, people in the Philippines, and thereby upheld bourgeois notions of civility by building trust and confidence among their readers. With the translation of their works, Spanish authors used them to pursue further possibilities for maintaining rule over the Philippines.

Both German naturalists built their careers on their travels in the Philippines. Semper arrived home from the Spanish colony in 1865, and subsequently joined the faculty of the University of

Würzburg, served in the Franco-Prussian War, and produced numerous publications resulting from his travels in the Philippines, before becoming director of the Würzburg Zoological Institute. He suffered a stroke in 1887, however, from which he never fully recovered and died in 1893.⁶³ Jagor too built his career on his initial travels in the Philippines. After his return from the Spanish colony, the philosophical faculty at the University of Berlin granted him an honorary doctorate for his work. He traveled to India and Burma from 1873-1876 and again visited South and Southeast Asia from 1890-1893, traveling to India and Indonesia before returning home via the United States. Jagor died in 1900.⁶⁴

While the German naturalists' texts assisted continued Spanish colonization of the Philippines, they also anticipated future German colonization. Engagements with the Sulu Sultanate and the Caroline Islands, both adjacent to the Philippines, demonstrate that German imperial interests lay none too distant from Spanish colonialism in the area and hence the prospect of a German alternative to Spanish rule in the Philippines remained ever-present. The legacy of Semper's and Jagor's work for later German, Spanish, and Filipino authors writing about the Philippines is far-reaching, and therefore will surface in each of the subsequent chapters of this dissertation. The following chapter will look at Semper's and Jagor's discussion of Spanish rule in the colony in order to show how in addition to supporting actual and imaginary colonialism in the Philippines, their natural histories also articulated German nationalism.

⁶³Schuberg, "Semper," iii-vii. For a general list of Semper's publications, see *ibid.*, xix-xxii.

⁶⁴Albert Grünwedel, ed., *Südindische Volksstämme*, vol. I of *Aus Fedor Jagor's Nachlass: Mit Unterstützung der Jagor-Stiftung* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1914), i-iii; and "Sitzung vom 17. Februar 1900," (91-92).

Chapter 2

“The Most Accurate Knowledge of the Country and Its Inhabitants”: Scientific Conquest, Spanish Colonialism, and German Nationalism in the Philippines

In 1861, the *Journal of General Geography* published a report by the German naturalist Carl Semper recounting his travels in the northeastern provinces of Luzon, the northern-most and largest island in the Philippines, which also held the city of Manila, the Spanish colonial capital. Since knowledge of the peoples in these provinces of Luzon remained wanting, despite the nearly three centuries of Spanish rule, his aim was to gather as much ethnological data as he could. A passage in his report directly juxtaposed the naturalist’s scientific efforts with the activities of the Spanish colonial government in a way that privileged the former and disparaged the latter. He wrote that “it is strange that the most accurate knowledge of the country and its inhabitants here is confined to a particular few tribes.” Semper also explained that “to accurately instruct oneself in Manila especially about northern Luzon is nearly an impossibility.” The German naturalist concluded that “this is due to the nature of the administration of the country.”¹

Semper criticized Spanish colonialism in the Philippines on several interrelated levels. He linked a lack of knowledge to colonial administration using class, education, religion, and masculinity. His comments reveal an attitude of “anti-conquest,” the phrase Mary Louise Pratt employs in her study of travel writing to explain European authors’ narrative “strategies of innocence.”² Yet, it seems that Semper was not rejecting colonialism as much as he was proposing the need for a different model that was better organized.

Semper constructed a persona grounded in science that promoted the use of knowledge for imperial domination as a contrast to the military conquests undertaken by the Spanish, which he

¹Carl Semper, “Reise durch die nordöstlichen Provinzen der Insel Luzon,” *Zeitschrift für Allgemeine Erdkunde* 10 (1861): 249. References to this source will appear parenthetically in the text hereafter, unless otherwise noted.

²Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2008), 9.

argued “remained without any use” (250). His emphasis on science was by no means unusual among nineteenth-century European empire-builders. As Christopher A. Bayly suggests in his study of the applications of knowledge in the British Raj in India, the “quality of military and political intelligence available to European colonial powers was evidently a critical determinant of their success in conquest and profitable governance.”³ Semper claimed that the converse was the case in the Philippines, however, and that an absence of information was detrimental to the maintenance of colonial power. The problems the naturalist outlined about colonial rule in the islands also reflected a sense of national superiority, for Semper implied that German hegemony would be more effective.

Beginning with a critique of failings in the accumulation of knowledge, Semper marked the Spanish as inferior to himself in ways that simultaneously pointed to a grander German alternative. Semper participated in a project similar to what Susanne Zantop has observed about German writings involving Spanish colonies in the Americas that expressed ideas about nationhood in Germany. She argues that “by inscribing Germans into a colonial script, German writers were able to define what was ‘German’ and what was ‘un-German.’”⁴ A German nation-state or colonial state would include trained officials who utilized knowledge for the “administration of the country,” rather than employing “clerks, who for the most part are without any schooling” and “clergy, whose education is primitive at best” (249), the German naturalist suggested. Semper hence articulated German supremacy by putting forward a set of characteristics describing the Spanish colonial administration.

³C. A. Bayly, *Empire and Information: Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India, 1780-1870* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 1.

⁴Susanne Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies: Conquest, Family, and Nation in Precolonial Germany, 1770-1870* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997), 38.

Further differentiating himself from the Spanish, the German naturalist also bound knowledge and colonial domination to manhood. Although Semper identified provincial governors explicitly as men who were “very intelligent and informed” and “possess the most accurate knowledge,” they did not serve in the colonial capital and the “fulfillment of their professional duties” (250) actually prevented the dissemination of their intelligence, he wrote. In contrast to the men of knowledge, like the provincial governors and Semper himself, stood the “fantasizers” (250), again referring to the clerks and clergy, figures apparently more feminine or infantile than masculine to the German naturalist. Additionally, Spanish military operations were “scattered” and “without result” (250), hardly the ideal attributes of male power. Semper therefore suggested divergence between Germany and Spain in the context of colonialism in the Philippines founded on science, colonial rule, and proper masculinity as the central means of discrimination.

The German naturalist’s points complicate scholars’ standard conceptions of gender dynamics in colonial contexts. In her study of masculinity in nineteenth-century colonial India, Mrinalini Sinha examines discussions of English and Bengali men as masculinized and feminized respectively.⁵ Yet, this chapter will attempt to demonstrate that definitions of manhood not only divided colonizer from colonized, but also acted to distinguish one set of colonizers from another. These ideas of difference involving colonizers reveal that colonial settings also operated as an arena for playing out national concerns. In articulating an attitude of German ascendancy, Semper’s remarks about the Spanish colony thus display a simultaneous nationalist-colonialist dialogue.

⁵Mrinalini Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity: The ‘Manly Englishman’ and the ‘Effeminate Bengali’ in the Late Nineteenth Century* (Manchester, England: Manchester University Press, 1995).

Semper was not the only German naturalist to travel to the Philippines in the second half of the nineteenth-century and exhibit such dualistic sentiments in his writings, however. Like Semper, Fedor Jagor also visited the islands in the late 1850s and early 1860s and wrote critically about Spanish colonial rule. This chapter will analyze these two authors' writings, focusing mainly on Semper's *The Philippines and Its Inhabitants* (1869) and Jagor's *Travels in the Philippines* (1873) for their assertions of German national superiority and suggestions of a colonial replacement for the Spanish.⁶ By juxtaposing Germans and Spaniards, their narratives divulge that scientific ideas formed in colonial contexts were intertwined with nationalist considerations.

Perhaps surprisingly, at the time of their travels in the Philippines, there existed no Imperial Germany and hence no German colonies. The German naturalists' comments about the Spanish colony thus projected a set of ideals that still resided in an imaginary realm. It was this very imagination, however, that made Semper's and Jagor's discussion nationalistic, and by extension imperialist, forecasting the actualization of the Imperial German nation-state in 1871 and its subsequent establishment of overseas colonies in Africa, Asia, and Oceania beginning in 1884. These German natural histories produced in the Philippines offered an arena for playing out ideas about nations and colonies, even in their absence, as a testing ground for future possibilities.

In examining the writings of Semper and Jagor, this chapter will address the following questions: how did these German naturalists project scientific authority over the Philippines in the production of written sources, statistics and maps? Also, how did they distinguish themselves from the Spanish in their discussions of the historical and contemporary practices of conquest, Catholicism, government, and economy in the colony? Finally, how did the naturalists

⁶C. Semper, *Die Philippinen und ihre Bewohner: Sechs Skizzen* (Würzburg: A. Stuber's Buchhandlung, 1869); and F. Jagor, *Reisen in den Philippinen: Mit Zahlreichen Abbildungen und Einer Karte* (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1873). References to these sources will appear parenthetically in the text hereafter.

further critique the Spanish and promote a German colonial stand-in by commending Chinese industry and Filipinos' scientific work? Although their studies depicted Filipinos as less civilized than the Spanish and thereby fortified the dichotomy between “cultural peoples” (*Kulturvölker*) and “natural peoples” (*Naturvölker*) that was similar to the division between “modern” and “primitive” employed in the English-speaking world, they also registered significant deviations between one “cultural” people and another.

Writing about the Philippines

In their attempts to present comprehensive portraits of the Philippines, Semper and Jagor included in their narratives citations of and commentary on Spanish written accounts, statistical tables, and maps. At the same time that they sought to provide total representations of the islands, the German naturalists described numerous examples of Spanish information about the islands as incomplete, inaccurate, or altogether absent. While such attitudes were not unusual among authors justifying the contributions of their works to existing bodies of scholarship, Semper's and Jagor's commentary on Spanish knowledge about the Philippines undermined colonial authority and suggested a better-quality German substitute.

Both German naturalists projected absolute authority over knowledge of the Philippines from the onset of their respective accounts. On the first page of Semper's narrative, for example, he described it as a “clear picture of the country and its peoples” ([1]). If an author's attention to a variety of interrelated topics was testament to the clarity of a work, then Semper's study readily accomplished this aim, addressing the geology, climate, zoology, botany, ethnology, history, and contemporary politics of the Philippines, arranged into of six “sketches” (*Skizzen*), which appeared under the following titles: “The Volcanoes of the Philippines” (3-18), “The Reefs and

Sea Life” (19-33), “The Climate and Organic Life” (34-47), “The Negritos and the Pagan Malay Tribes” (48-64), “The Muslims and the Beginning of the Christian Era” (65-75), and “The Contemporary Christian Age” (76-91). It seemed that there was no subject that the German naturalist had failed to consider.

The same total view appeared in Jagor’s account, except that it was published after Semper’s and thus had to offer something new. Indeed, he did not disappoint. Besides the “numerous illustrations” promised on the title page, the sheer volume of Jagor’s study was more than two-and-a-half times that of Semper’s. Publishing his work second allowed Jagor to explore certain topics in further depth and introduce new material that had come to light in the intervening four years since Semper’s study appeared.⁷ Although the two years he spent in the Spanish colony hardly compared to the seven that Semper had stayed, the twenty-seven chapters and extensive appendix provided Jagor with an authority that enabled him to claim confidently in the foreword to the work that his was a “true depiction” (v) of the Philippines at least equal to, if not exceeding, Semper’s. Rather than seeing them as competing with one another, however, it is more appropriate to think of the works as complements that provided two authoritative and thorough perspectives established in the same scholarly domain.

Semper and Jagor drew upon previous works about the Philippines at the same time that they demonstrated the excellence of their studies in comparison to those produced earlier. The “notes” (92-143) appended to Semper’s narrative, for example, included extensive citations and commentary for each portion and made up more than a third of the overall text. Jagor included 172 numbered footnotes containing further discussion and quotations alongside additional notes indicated by asterisks, daggers, and reference marks. The naturalists also cited their own

⁷The subjects covered in Jagor’s text are too numerous to usefully list here, though they are generally the same as those addressed by Semper, but with some different emphases and much more description and commentary.

previously published writings and their accounts included essays by other German scholars who used data gathered from their travels in the Spanish colony.⁸

While Semper and Jagor presented their own information as comprehensive, credible, and objective, they portrayed Spanish knowledge about the Philippines as absent, inaccurate, or incomplete, and therefore in dire need of revision, a contrast that justified their own studies of the colony at the same time that it attested to the greater caliber of their methods for producing knowledge. In order to compensate for problems with contemporary Spanish sources, the German naturalists turned to Spanish chronicles of the islands produced in earlier centuries. For example, in attempting to locate information about the early history of warfare between Spain and Muslims in the Philippines, Semper explained that “unfortunately, one is forced, here as everywhere else, to go back to the voluminous historical works of the clerical orders” (140, n. 2). Jagor employed the same method in his study, supplementing his firsthand observations with materials “which had to be in part painstakingly read out of weighty tedious chronicles of the monks” (v). On the one hand, the naturalists’ use of older Spanish writings underscored the scarcity of valid sources in the present day. On the other hand, it allowed Semper and Jagor to

⁸Semper included part of an article of his published previously in the *Journal for Scientific Zoology* (n. 1, 100-109) that rejected Darwinian theory as applied to coral reefs. He also cited his 1868 work on sea-cucumbers and two ethnological articles from the *Journal of General Geography*. Carl Semper, “Reiseberichte von Herrn Dr. Carl Semper. Briefliche Mittheilung an A. Kölliker (Taf. XXXVIII und XXXIX.),” *Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftliche Zoologie* 13, no. 4 (1863): 563-69; C. Semper, *Holothurien*, vol. 1 of *Reisen im Archipel der Philippinen* (Wiesbaden: C.W. Kreidel’s Verlag, 1868); Semper, “nordöstlichen Provinzen,” 249-66; and Carl Semper, “Reise durch die nordlichen Provinzen der Insel Luzon,” *Zeitschrift für Allgemeine Erdkunde* 13 (1862): 81-97.

Jagor cited his earlier travel account of Southeast Asia on several occasions and noted in the foreword that portions of the work, “particularly from the twentieth chapter” (vi), had appeared in the *Journal of Ethnology*. F. Jagor, *Singapore, Malacca, Java: Reiseskizzen* (Berlin: Verlag von Julius Springer, 1866); Fedor Jagor, “Grabstätten zu Nipa-Nipa, Philippinen,” *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 1 (1869): 80-81; “die Philippinen und ihre Bewohner,” *ibid.* 2 (1870): 148-51; “über die Negritos der Philippinen,” *ibid.* 3 (1871): 43; and “über moderne Pfahlbauten in Asien,” *ibid.* 4 (1872): (125-27).

Semper’s colleague from the University of Kiel, Gustav Karsten, produced an essay entitled, “Ueber das Klima der Philippinen” (111-30) that appeared in the endnotes. Jagor included two additional essays in the appendix to his work. J. Roth, “Ueber die geologische Beschaffenheit der Philippinen” (333-54), and Rud. Virchow, “Ueber älteren und neueren Bewohner der Philippinen” (355-77).

demonstrate their skill in compiling and discerning validity within the extant documents dealing with the Philippines.

By closely reading as much available source material as possible, the German naturalists were able to uncover and sometimes rectify erroneous data in both Spanish chronicles and recent writing. Jagor located an older Spanish source, for example, that incorrectly called the island of Cebu another name for Luzon, leading the German naturalist to characterize the chronicle as “very unreliable” (98).⁹ In another instance, Jagor described the work of the contemporary Spanish author Sinibaldo de Mas as one of the most reliable among recent Spanish writings, though it had been written nearly a generation prior to the arrival of both German naturalists in the Philippines.¹⁰ Yet, in depicting the “ancient inhabitants of the archipelago,” to Jagor’s seeming chagrin, Mas “wrote without information about the source” (210).

Semper subjected Spanish sources to comparison and critique. In reading manuals and atlases for information about volcanoes in the Philippines, he encountered “significant uncertainty,” which Semper attempted to rectify with a “compilation of information from earlier authors” (92, n. 1). He quickly discovered, however, that “all later Spanish authors simply copied” (93, n. 1) the writings of Francisco Combés and Pedro Murillo Velarde from earlier centuries.¹¹ These references to the uncritical use of sources and errors in Spanish writing about the Philippines only highlighted the more advanced quality of the works of the German naturalists.¹²

⁹Jagor here referenced Marcelo de Ribandeneira, *Historia de las Islas del archipiélago Filipino y reinos de a gran China, Tartaria, Cochinchina, Malaca, Siam, Cambodge y Japón* (Barcelona: Gabriel Graells, 1601).

¹⁰Sinibaldo de Mas, *Informe sobre el estado de las Islas Filipinas en 1842*, 3 vols. (Madrid: F. Sánchez, 1843).

¹¹Semper referred to Francisco Combés, *Historia de las islas de Mindanao, Jolo, y sus adyacentes: progressos de la religion, y armas católicas* (Madrid: Pablo de Val, 1667); and Pedro Murillo Velarde, *Historia de la provincial de Philipinas de la Compañía de Jesus: segunda parte, que comprehende los progresos de esta provincial desde el año 1616 hasta el de 1716* (Manila: Imprenta de la Compañía de Jesus, 1749).

¹²The German naturalists employed the accounts of other European observers in their studies, but also found inconsistencies among them. Like the chronicles of the Spanish, Semper found “contradictory information” (5) in

Semper also employed Spanish chronicles to expose false information disseminated by the Catholic Church in the colony about the history of Spain in the Philippines. He challenged the claim, for example, that “priests brought to the natives not only art and industry, but also even the cultivation of rice” (139, n. 11). Citing works by Combés and Joaquin Martínez de Zúñiga, he not only refuted the argument about the clergy, but also showed that there had been a thriving “trade before the arrival of the Spanish” (139, n. 11) in the islands.¹³ Semper also used Combés and the chronicler Gaspar de San Agustín to overturn the contemporary opinion found in “all the recent works of the Spaniards about the Philippines” that Christian conversion in the islands took place “unsupported by the force of arms” (141, n. 4).¹⁴ The German naturalist’s examination of sources, whether intentionally or not, dismantled aspects of current colonial ideology about the benevolent, peaceful, and civilizing contributions of the Catholic Church.

Information produced by the contemporary Spanish clergy was not merely biased due to its religious purpose, but also appeared to lack a depth of understanding. Attempting to use material produced by Spanish “monks” (*Mönche*) about the Filipino people known as the Bicol, Jagor found the information “unsubstantial” (119). Like Semper, he relied on older sources instead, in this case referencing the early seventeenth-century account of the Spanish chronicler Antonio de Morga.¹⁵ The German naturalists’ remarks were not unlike the “epistemological disputes” Jorge

writings of British authors, for example, and that a French traveler “intentionally disseminates a romantic darkness” (94, n. 1). Information in the text of another Frenchman was “very exaggerated” (138, n. 7), he wrote later on. Jagor noted an inconsistency in a French translation from the original text (110) and described an English linguistic source as “defective” (124). He also observed that a different British traveler had “omitted” (204) part of a source, forcing Jagor to return to the original.

¹³Combés, *Historia de las Islas de Mindanao, Jolo, y sus adyacentes*; and Joaquín Martínez de Zúñiga, *Historia de las Islas Filipinas* (Sampaloc: Pedro Argüelles de la Concepción, 1803).

¹⁴Combés, *Historia de las Islas de Mindanao, Jolo, y sus adyacentes*; and Gaspar de San Agustín, *Conquistas de las Islas Filipinas, la temporal, por las armas del señor Don Phelipe Segundo y Prudente; y la espiritual, por los religiosos del orden de nuestro padre San Augustin* (Madrid: Manuel Ruiz de Morga, 1698).

¹⁵Antonio de Morga, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas* (Mexico: Geronymo Balli, 1609). This source had been reissued in English as Antonio de Morga, *The Philippine Islands, Moluccas, Siam, Cambodia, Japan, and China at the Close of the Sixteenth-Century*, trans. Henry E. J. Stanley (London: Hakluyt Society, 1868). Although Semper apparently did not have access to it, Jagor made extensive use of Morga’s narrative in his text.

Cañizares-Esguerra analyzes in eighteenth-century European writings about the history of the Americas that called into question the trustworthiness of sixteenth-century Spanish observers.¹⁶ In the case of the Philippines, it was the work of Semper and Jagor that demonstrated the best methodology for the production of information about the Spanish colony.

Illustrating the Philippines with Statistics and Maps

The German naturalists' uses of statistics represented another means by which they projected credibility, authority, and dominance over knowledge of the Philippines that was also predicated in part on identifying errors, omissions, and inferiority in Spanish data. Statistics enable a consolidation and simultaneous narration of time and place by juxtaposing elements along vertical and horizontal axes that demonstrate numeric trends and values with an aura of precision, if, indeed, the numbers do not lie. At the same time, the naturalists' various statistical tables relating information about trade revealed a potential commercial perspective to their studies. For example, Semper inserted a table that depicted the "export of the four most important products" (29) from 1864 and 1865. Jagor too included statistics related to commerce that showed "Abaca Exports" (253) to various points in Europe, North America, and Asia from 1861-1871. His study also contained tables displaying "mineral ores" (147, n. 85), tobacco production (163, n. 154), and the chief exports from the colony's three largest ports (316), in addition to one that translated the "measures, weights, and coinage" (xv-xvi) in the colony to assist German audiences with his several economic discussions.

Although less overtly dedicated to commercial concerns, Semper's and Jagor's extensive attention to climatological data also spoke to readers prospecting for market opportunities in the

¹⁶Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *How to Write the History of the New World: Histories, Epistemologies, and Identities in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 1.

islands, since certain ventures would be rendered less possible or profitable without suitable weather conditions. They each included substantial statistics on temperature, humidity, air pressure, and wind directions, for example. These links between science and capitalism further validate Matthew P. Fitzpatrick's recent study of debates surrounding nationhood and the acquisition of overseas territories from 1848 through the years preceding formal German colonization in 1884. He identifies a "deep-rootedness of German imperialist sentiment, particularly amongst Germany's ascendant liberals, or in terms of social strata, Germany's mercantile *Wirtschaftsbürgertum* and its complement, the educated *Bildungsbürgertum*."¹⁷ Semper's and Jagor's scientific narratives thus appealed to national and imperial concerns in Germany by including data related to opportunities for commercial investment.

The use of statistics not only lent scholarly authority to the German naturalists' presentation of information and uncovered links between science and trade, but also, at least in principle, offered the promise of more effective colonial rule in the Philippines. Yet, Semper and Jagor suggested the opposite was the case in the Philippines by showing that a lack of information compromised colonial power. Their comments about statistics, like their remarks involving written sources, reflected their belief in the instability of Spanish colonial knowledge that emblemized larger overall problems with colonial rule in the Philippines. Because Chinese inhabitants of the colony controlled the trade in sea-cucumbers, for example, it was impossible to obtain "reliable information" (26) about this industry, Semper observed. The same was true of the pearl trade, he noted, and therefore "also here no reliable information" (27) existed.

¹⁷Matthew P. Fitzpatrick, *Liberal Imperialism in Germany: Expansionism and Nationalism, 1848-1884* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2008), 5. Both were members of the educated middle class (*Bildungsbürgertum*): Semper was the son of an industrialist and completed his doctorate at the University of Würzburg before traveling to the Philippines. As the son of a famous Russian hotel proprietor in Berlin, Jagor came from a similar social strata, though he was educated in France prior to his sojourn in the Spanish colony. August Schubert, "Carl Semper," *Arbeiten aus dem Zoologisch-Zoatomischen Institut in Würzburg* 10, no. 2 (1895): iii-iv; and "Sitzung vom 17. Februar 1900," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 32 (1900): (91).

It was not merely Chinese-dominated trade that rendered data inaccessible, however, because products traded by the Spanish were still “missing all statistical information” (27), Semper explained. He concluded his discussion of marine life in the Philippines with the remark that seafood was a “not unimportant article of trade in the commerce of the inhabitants,” but that “unfortunately, all accurate statistical information is lacking in general” (32). The German naturalist’s wish to provide precise numbers about colonial trade demonstrated his presumption that accessing such data would on the whole assist the economy, a self-evident central impetus of any colonial enterprise. Yet, the absence of commercial statistics seemed to suggest that such information was unimportant to the Spanish.

Jagor attempted to use demographic information produced by the Spanish in his study of the Philippines, but encountered obstacles similar to those Semper described that also more generally reflected an unstable colonial regime. Jagor included a table depicting government administrative ranks by office, district, name, dominant dialect, population, and numbers of villages for Luzon, the Visayas (central islands), Mindanao (the southern-most island), and the farther islands under Spanish rule, including the Carolines and Marianas. He had obtained the data from Vicente Barrantes, the Spanish Secretary-General of the Philippines, he pointed out, but “arranged them differently,” since they were “infected with errors” and riddled with “abnormalities” (44). Statistical tables could reflect and help retain colonial order by emplotting colonized people and territories on a comparative grid, but they could also reveal disorder by showing a state unsure of its position, others’ places, and thus lacking power. From the German naturalists’ perspectives, a lack of accurate statistics compromised sovereignty, since it demonstrated the limits of what was known and thus what could be utilized profitably by the colonial state. While Semper and Jagor projected scientific authority and appealed to German

trade interests with their uses of statistical tables, they also demonstrated a shortage of colonial control with their descriptions of Spanish statistics.

As another means of accurately representing information while concurrently scrutinizing Spanish knowledge, the German naturalists incorporated maps into their studies of the Philippines. Semper's text contained two: the first depicted the reef around the isle of Bohol in the Visayas and the second showed the entire archipelago in its regional context with Taiwan to the north, China to the northwest, the China Sea to the west, Borneo to the southwest, the island of Celebes to the south, and the Pacific Ocean to the east. Jagor's book included a large foldout map containing several different views. The upper portion held the largest map, which illustrated his travel routes in southern Luzon and adjacent islands. Along the bottom, three smaller inset maps showed his travels on the islands of Samar and Leyte in the Visayas, a general view of the archipelago with the names of provinces, and another offering a geological portrait of silica, or flint, formations from Albay Province. Maps thus assisted the German naturalists with demonstrating their local and universal scientific understanding of the Spanish colony.

Similar to written sources and statistics, their maps juxtaposed superior and inferior knowledge of the Philippines. Semper and Jagor both used the cartographic study of the Spaniard Francisco Coëllo as a starting point for their maps. His effort had been part of a project to create a comprehensive atlas of Spain's colonies, though it was never completed.¹⁸ Both naturalists added further geographic and geological information to the original Spanish map and thereby highlighted its incompleteness. Moreover, they pointed out numerous errors that

¹⁸See Francisco Coëllo, Pascual Madoz, and Antonio Morata, *Islas Filipinas* (Madrid: n.p., 1852), which was part of the *Atlas de España y sus posesiones de ultramar: diccionario geografico-estadístico-histórico de España* (Madrid: n.p., 1848-1868).

Coëllo's atlas contained and corrected them in their accounts.¹⁹ Although the late J. B. Harley wrote about the history of cartography that “as much as guns and warships, maps have been the weapons of imperialism,” the studies of Semper and Jagor demonstrated that the Spanish did not capitalize on this instrument of empire in the Philippines to the extent they should have.²⁰



Figure 2.1: detail of Jagor's map of the Philippines depicting the southern islands (end materials)

By revealing the uncertain state of geographic knowledge in Coëllo's map, the German naturalists highlighted a more widespread lack of colonial authority in the Philippines. Jagor directly addressed the absence of colonial power in the archipelago when he asserted that “in

¹⁹Semper in a travel report, quoted above in the introduction to this chapter, described a location from the map of Coëllo as “absolutely incorrect.” Semper, “nordöstlichen Provinzen,” 249. Also addressing a lack of geographic knowledge in a different travel report, Semper remarked that “not so very long ago, this mountain country was still a terra incognita to the Spaniards.” Semper, “nordlichen Provinzen,” 86-87.

Jagor wrote that the map of Coëllo listed the wrong name (91), was “incorrect” (164, n.), used a different name (187), was “erroneous” (203) about another name, and reported incorrect number of leagues (224). Finally, Jagor compared the Spaniard's measurements of areas of islands to three others' measurements (317), though each reported different total areas.

²⁰J. B. Harley, “Maps, Knowledge, and Power,” in *The New Nature of Maps: Essays in the History of Cartography*, ed. Paul Laxton (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 57.

reality Spanish sovereignty reaches neither in the south nor in the north to these outermost borders, as it also does not extend everywhere into the interior of the islands” (39) and illustrated the point with one of his maps of the Philippines. His map depicting a general view of the islands showed the physical boundary of Spanish rule using a dotted line to exhibit the “southern boundary of the span of possession” (*Südgrenze der span Besitzungen*) (end materials) covering only approximately the northern third of Paláuan and the northern half of Mindanao, two southern islands (see Fig. 2.1).

Knowledge production also operated implicitly as a domain by which the German naturalists asserted masculine power, in a figuration that Mary Louise Pratt describes as the “seeing-man,” or the male knowledgeable subject “whose imperial eyes passively look out and possess.”²¹ Conversely, if the Spanish were unable to know the Philippines, they could not effectively rule the islands, and if they were unable to maintain dominion, then they lacked certain power, a less than ideal trait as far as men were concerned. By identifying problems with the production of knowledge in the Philippines, Semper and Jagor suggested that Spanish colonial authority, and by association male hegemony, was precarious. The German naturalists further set themselves apart from the Spanish in their discussions of the conquest of the islands that also linked colonial rule to ideas about masculinity.

The Spanish Conquest of the Philippines

Semper and Jagor additionally separated themselves from the Spanish with their descriptions of the conquest of the islands. Although they had knowledge of the Spanish subjugation of the islands, as far as their places as Germans were concerned, Semper and Jagor were strangers to this historical experience, a reality which offered them an arena to point out problems and claim

²¹Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 9.

innocence, perspectives that further underscored their senses of national superiority.²² The naturalists' discussions of the conquest of the Philippines differentiated the Spanish from the Germans using colonial history, to which they were external. While they related a story from the past of Europeans triumphing over non-Europeans, their remarks about the arrival of the Spanish in the islands echoed previous writings about Spanish colonies in the Americas that begat the "Black Legend."²³

Like European authors who described Spanish cruelties in the Americas as a contrast to their own nations' colonial aspirations and practices, Semper and Jagor wrote about the conquest as mere guests. The Germans were nothing like the Spanish "feudal lords" (*Lehnsherren*) who subjected Filipinos to a series of "extortions" (*Erpressungen*) before fettering them as "slaves" (*Sklaven*).²⁴ This key event in the history of the Philippines represented a central symbol of the Spanish in the islands and a crucial means of distinguishing them from Semper and Jagor in both the past and the present, eras that appeared to be one and the same from the Germans' perspectives.

²²Their perspectives on the Spanish take-over of the Philippines were similar to German authors writing about the Spanish colonies in the Americas from a "position as outsider looking in" that Susanne Zantop examines, adopting a stance which enabled them to become "freer to assume the distanced, 'disinterested' voice of the critic who discusses issues 'systematically' and 'in principle.'" Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies*, 38.

²³Although the term "Black Legend" (*leyenda negra*) was first deployed in 1914, the ideas that led to its articulation began to be assembled not long after 1492, and increased in intensity after the Protestant Reformation, succeeding religious wars, and continued European colonization of the Americas, Africa, and Asia. Julián Juderías, *La leyenda negra y la verdad histórica* (Madrid: Tip. de la "Rev. de Arch., Bibl. y Museos," 1914). The academic study of European debates about the Spanish Empire in the Americas continued with Antonello Gerbi, *La disputa del Nuovo Mondo: Storia di un polemica, 1750-1900* (Milan: R. Ricciardi, 1955). In the succeeding generations, historians have looked at particular nations', such as those of England and the Netherlands, participation in these debates. William S. Maltby, *The Black Legend in England* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1971); and Benjamin Schmidt, *Innocence Abroad: The Dutch Imagination and the New World 1570-1670* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

²⁴Semper wrote in some detail of the "expeditions of conquest" (70) after which Filipinos fell under the "yoke of the feudal lords" as "slaves" compelled to pay tribute, which was part of the "extortions" (74) expected from a monarchical take-over. Jagor too narrated the Spanish "conquest" with Filipino "slaves" required to pay tribute, as the result of the arrival of "feudal lords" and their subsequent "extortions" (283).

The initial Spanish take-over might have been excusable as an inevitable vestige of a past age if it had resulted in a favorable outcome, but military conquests continued in the present day, the German naturalists reported. Both Semper and Jagor identified the presence of Filipinos “independent” (*unabhängigen*) from Spanish rule in the interior of Luzon and Islamic sultanates in the southern islands that had also maintained their “independence” (*Unabhängigkeit*).²⁵ Because Spain had failed to establish enduring rule in the Philippines, the contemporary conquests underscored the incomplete nature of colonial power in the islands. Although the persistence of an elusive, yet ever-present, historical foe provided the promise of mobilizing military will, the continuous struggle against Filipinos suggested a miscarriage of military might, since unconquered peoples threatened colonial domination and only cost the treasury without contributing to it.²⁶

The necessity of perpetual conquest also signified a colony that had changed very little in the three centuries since the advent of the Spanish who still contended with non-Christian Filipinos, as if on crusade. The Spanish had even dubbed the Filipino Muslims “Moors” (*Moros*), despite their distance as Malay-speakers from the ethnicities of North Africa first linked to competition with Christian kingdoms on the Iberian peninsula during the Middle Ages.²⁷ As further condemnation of the lack of Spanish sovereignty in the islands, both German naturalists

²⁵Semper wrote of Filipino peoples in Luzon that “the number of still independent, unconverted to Christianity, pagan tribes of this race is very large” (53). About the southern islands, he observed that the “sultans of Buhay, Mindanao and Sulu have preserved their independence against the expeditions of the Spanish up to the present day” (66-67). Jagor reported that the Spanish had not managed “to conquer the independent tribes in the interior” (162) of Luzon. He also noted that “numerous savage tribes in the interior [of Luzon] and the Muslim states of Mindanao and the Sulu archipelago have preserved their independence up to the present” (280).

²⁶In direct distinction to the inability of the Spanish military to unify and maintain sovereignty over the Philippines, successful wars against Denmark (1864), Austria (1866), and France (1870-71) led to the unification of Imperial Germany during the time Semper and Jagor composed and published their studies. For discussion of these conflicts, see Dennis E. Showalter, *The Wars of German Unification* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004).

²⁷Jagor explained that in the Philippines, “Moors here are called pirates, because they, like the former Moors in Spain, are Muslim” (88). Semper wrote that not even the introduction of “steam-powered gunboats” had enabled the Spanish “to eradicate” the threat of the “Moors” (140, n. 1) from the southern Philippines.

frequently remarked on the presence of “pirates” (*Piraten*) in the Philippines in their texts.²⁸ Jagor even included an image of an enfeebled Spanish fortification used against piracy that suggested the futility and limited nature of colonial power in the islands (see Fig. 2.2).



Figure 2.2: “fortress against privateers” (141)

The German naturalists also pointed out the sexual aspect of the Spanish conquest noting the presence of mestizos, people of mixed Spanish and Filipino ancestry, whose very existence intimated a carnal union between colonizer and colonized. Semper explained, for example, that “already in the early years of the occupation, marriages between Spaniards and women from Cebu and Manila were held” (88). Jagor commented on these interracial relations in the present day, identifying the existence of a “very numerous class of mestizos” (28). In these remarks, the German naturalists implied discrepancies between themselves and the Spanish based on the initial and subsequent sexual relations with Filipinos.

Although Semper did not explicitly take his analysis in this direction, Jagor also contrasted Germans to the Spanish on the basis of race and sex.²⁹ The German naturalist claimed that the Spanish (and Portuguese) were the “only Europeans” able to live in “tropical countries” and “intermix themselves permanently with natives” (29). To back up this information, Jagor cited

²⁸On several occasions, Semper mentioned “pirates” (6, 9, 44, 69, 83, 140). Jagor too referred to them in many instances, but described them and other outlaws in different ways, as “pirates” (98, 180, 188), “robbers” (51, 93, 163, 182), “privateers” (88, 92, 139, 190, 196, 197, 273, 285), and “tulisanes,” the Spanish-Philippine name for “street robbers” (181). Jagor elsewhere in his narrative brought up “smugglers” (139), “smuggling” (266), “piracy” (88 & 181, n. 99), and “robbery” (50, 92, 180, 181, n. 99, 235, 240).

²⁹Semper did write about Spanish mestizos that in their “facial features” their “Tagalog mothers always leave behind some traces of their race,” and also described Chinese mestizos, those of mixed Chinese and Filipino origin, as an “active and intelligent race” (89).

an entry in the French *Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Medical Sciences* (1861) on acclimatization by the doctor, anthropologist and demographer Louis Bertillon that racialized the Spanish.³⁰ This “capacity of the Spanish” to acclimatize was due, the German naturalist continued, to their “strong mixing with Syrian and African blood” (29, n. 28). This he contrasted to “unmixed Indo-Europeans” (29, n. 28), among whom he presumably counted Germans such as himself.³¹ Conceiving of national difference was thus only one short step from constructing racial difference at the same time that his observation anticipated debates about race mixing during the period of formal colonial acquisition in Imperial Germany after 1884 that Pascal Grosse and Laura Wildenthal show in their studies of German imperialism.³²

While certain scholars describe masculinity in terms of crisis or hegemony, the naturalists’ comments about the Spanish conquest and its aftermath reveal a subtler distinction.³³ The military operations and sexual relations with Filipinos among Spanish men did not exactly represent a crisis to either Semper or Jagor, though they were certainly not ideal. Instead, marking these Spanish exploits as different from their own appeared to emphasize the naturalists’ notions of a bourgeois gender and familial order, still in the context of a colony, where a German model would be preferable.³⁴ The German naturalists differentiated themselves

³⁰Louis Bertillon, “Acclimatement, Acclimatation,” *Dictionnaire Encyclopédique des Sciences Médicales* (Paris: Masson et Fils, 1861), 270-323. In the article, the French scholar claimed of the history of the Iberian Peninsula that “African blood was three times widely infused into the veins of the Spanish.” *Ibid.*, 289.

³¹Jagor’s claims seem to at least partially affirm Walter D. Mignolo’s argument that the “Black Legend” contributed to notions of “internal imperial difference” in Europe that subsequently “inaugurated a racialized discourse within, that is, internal to, capitalist empires of the West.” Walter D. Mignolo, “What Does the Black Legend Have to Do with Race?” in *Rereading the Black Legend: The Discourses of Religious and Racial Difference in the Renaissance Empires*, eds. Margaret R. Green, Walter D. Mignolo, and Maureen Quilligan (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 322.

³²Pascal Grosse, *Kolonialismus, Eugenik und Bürgerliche Gesellschaft in Deutschland 1850-1918* (New York: Campus Verlag, 2000); and Lora Wildenthal, *German Women for Empire, 1894-1945* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001).

³³See, for example, Peter Davies, “Introduction: ‘Crisis’ or ‘Hegemony’? Approaches to Masculinity,” *Edinburgh German Yearbook* 2 (2008): 1-19.

³⁴As Susanne Zantop writes, “the re-presentation of past heroic ventures and the critique of the ‘excesses’ committed by others provided Germans with spaces for the inscription of their own identities as ‘different’ (= better)

from the Spanish and their conquest of the Philippines on the basis of history, military power, and interracial sexual relations. They described these features of Spanish colonialism in the islands from the perspective of outsiders and thereby presented themselves as innocent of these apparently dubious acts. Marking dissimilarity from the Spanish also presented an exceptional German alternative that maintained distance from this historical experience.

Catholicism in the Philippines

The German naturalists' portrait of Catholicism in the Philippines took place on similar grounds. Catholic missionary efforts in the Philippines had initially been part of the sixteenth-century conquest, but like the incomplete military efforts, converting Filipinos to Christianity, in order to bind them more closely to colonial rule, had failed according to the German naturalists.³⁵ They suggested that Catholicism alienated the converts, instead of linking Filipinos to the state. Semper provided a telling example of the disconnection when he noted that Filipinos in northwest Luzon had been Christian before 1700, but "now they are all pagan again" (81). He earlier described those who abandoned colonial society as "cristianos remontados," preferring the mountain land of northern Luzon over the "punishing arm of the authorities" (54). Jagor also related the flight from colonial rule in the figure of the "Remontado," as another kind of Filipino able to achieve "independence" (106) from Spanish rule.

In the minds of the German naturalists, conversion seemed doomed as they portrayed Catholicism as a superficial belief system. Semper claimed, for example, that Christianity did little to alter Filipinos' traditional convictions and instead "only covered the ancient religious

colonists," which constituted in her view "anticipatory identities into which they could slip once the economic and political conditions permitted state-sponsored colonial activity or imperialist expansion on a grand scale." Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies*, 7.

³⁵Semper explained that "zealous missionaries" (74) arrived on the heels of the Spanish military effort, and Jagor too noted that "clerical orders" sent "missionaries" following the "military undertakings" (31) of the Spanish.

customs as a convenient guise” (81). He wrote further of Filipinos that “the same people today go to church to pray to their Christian god, but tomorrow they pray to their pagan gods” (81). Jagor too portrayed conversion as an unsuccessful enterprise, describing Catholicism as a “foreign religion” to Filipinos and similar to Semper’s claims, asserted that it “did not penetrate into the interior with them” (31).

The Catholic Church in the Philippines represented another relic from the past that remained in the colony in the present and further differentiated the German naturalists from the Spanish. In his study of anticlericalism in nineteenth-century Germany, Michael B. Gross shows that opponents of Catholicism viewed the faith as the antithesis of science. He describes a Catholic resurgence in Germany in the decades following the failed 1848 revolutions that included increased missionary activity with revival meetings, masses, confessions, exorcisms, sermons coupled with a more vocal anticlericalism on the part of certain non-Catholics. While anti-Catholic attitudes culminated in the *Kulturkampf*, a series of laws designed to limit the power of the Catholic Church in the newly-unified Imperial Germany, Gross demonstrates that fears of Catholic revival preceded the discriminatory laws of the 1870s by at least a generation. He writes that anticlerical opinion portrayed the Catholic Church as representative of “dogma, superstition, stupidity, subservience, intolerance, and irrationalism.”³⁶

Jagor highlighted clerical ignorance in an anecdote involving his experience staying at a convento, the name for the priests’ quarters in the Philippines that also frequently accommodated travelers in the colony. He noted that the dwelling was “extremely dirty,” and that his host, a priest, was “full of longing for conversion” (49). The German naturalist was subsequently subjected to a “long geographical examination about the difference between Prussia and Russia,

³⁶Michael B. Gross, *The War against Catholicism: Liberalism and the Anti-Catholic Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2004), 295.

and whether the great Nuremberg was capital of the grand duchy or of the empire of Russia” (49). The priest explained furthermore that the “English stood on the point of returning to the fold of the Christian church, and the ‘others’ would also then soon follow” (49). The depiction of an uninformed, if not infantilistic, priest thus emphasized the naturalist’s knowledge, at the same time that it reflected adversely on the Spanish for continuing to rely on the Catholic Church in the colony.³⁷

Despite the seeming inability to convert Filipinos and ignorance among the clergy, both Semper and Jagor explained that the Catholic Church governed the colonial education system. This further contributed to their negative appraisal of the Spanish in the Philippines. In his study of the bourgeoisie in nineteenth-century Germany, Jürgen Kocka argues that education was essential to the “world-image and self-image” of the German middle classes, because it served as a “foundation for their dealings with each other and a line of demarcation from others.”³⁸ Unlike the case in Germany, Semper explained that both public and university education were in the “hands of the priests” (80). In his discussion of village schools, Jagor identified similar arrangements, reporting that the “schools are under the supervision of the local priest” (128).

Also in contrast to German schooling, Catholic education in the colony scarcely instilled basic literacy among students, the naturalists claimed. Semper wrote about provincial education that “other than reading and writing only spiritual songs and Christian doctrine are taught” (80-81). Again emphasizing the failure of the colonial state to produce accurate information, Semper surmised that the number of Filipinos “able to read and write should seemingly be large,” but he

³⁷Jagor wrote further of Spanish priests that the “largest portion of these men emerged from the lowest social strata” (96) in Spain, and even compared them to “Sancho Panza” (97), the servant of Don Quixote from Miguel de Cervantes’ immortal parody of Late Medieval Spain.

³⁸Jürgen Kocka, “Middle Class and Authoritarian State: Toward a History of the German ‘Bürgertum’ in the Nineteenth Century,” trans. Jeremiah Riemer in *Industrial Culture and Bourgeois Society: Business, Labor, and Bureaucracy in Modern Germany* (New York: Berghahn Books, 1999), 196.

could not know for sure because “with the complete unreliability of all statistical information, nothing certain can be said about this” (81). Even though a survey of Filipino literacy had been conducted in 1863, Semper reported that its results were not published since they would have revealed the “most egregious” (81) failings in the colonial education system.

Yet, even basic instruction in the Spanish language was absent, the German naturalists indicated. For example, Semper noted the use of “native dialect” and the “ancient Malay alphabet” (81) instead of Spanish on the east coast of Mindanao. In the appendix to his work, Jagor included a German translation of the “Tagalog Our Father” (*Tagalische Vater Unser*) (312), demonstrating another example of the absence of Spanish language. He wrote further that while lessons took place in Spanish, the teacher “does not understand it himself,” and claimed that the “priests have no inclination to change these conditions that are conducive to their power” (128). In the eyes of Semper and Jagor, the Catholic Church in the Philippines with both conversion and education hardly contributed to, but rather hindered, the colonial order.

Part of the weakness of Catholic religion and education in general stemmed from particular ulterior motives by the clergy, the German naturalists indicated. Semper wrote, for example, that the priests intervened inappropriately in the private lives of Filipinos as they knew “all secrets of family life” (79). Jagor explored the issue in greater detail, claiming that priests carried on “massive debauchery” and kept their quarters “full of pretty young women” (97). He also described a Tagalog grammar designed especially for use by the clergy in the confessional that addressed “sexual intercourse” (98). The clergy not only pried into the domestic lives of Filipinos, but also engaged in concubinage, according to Jagor. He wrote, for example, that “young women who have children as mistresses of Europeans consider it an honor. All the more is this the case when the child is from a clergyman; the priest always supports his children, but

under assumed names” (129). The German naturalists’ claims were consistent with fears of the Catholic Church in nineteenth-century Germany and operated as another means of distinguishing themselves from the Spanish.

The ineffective missionary efforts, superficiality of the faith, ignorance, domination of colonial education, and abuse of Filipinos’ personal boundaries all divided the Catholic Church in the Philippines from the German naturalists. Yet, the integration of the Catholic Church into colonial government seemed as much, if not more, alien to the experiences of the German naturalists. Contrary to the situation in Germany, Semper reported that the clergy exerted a “more direct influence” (79) on local politics than government officials. Jagor wrote likewise that the local priest in the Philippines acted as “not only pastor, but also representative of the government” (97). The central presence of the clergy in Philippine politics represented a blatant departure from rational state administration.

Governing the Philippines

Like the unsuccessful production of knowledge, conquests, and activities of the Catholic Church in the Philippines, the German naturalists used descriptions of the colonial government to differentiate the Spanish from themselves. Instead of a colonial officialdom founded on skill and impartiality with the most capable men administering the colony, they observed that a system of patronage determined the personnel that served in particular government posts. From their German background, Semper and Jagor envisioned a rational and efficient bureaucratic government run by trained and trustworthy officials, similar to what John R. Gillis describes in

his history of the Prussian bureaucracy as an “administrative ethos.”³⁹ Yet, the character of Spanish colonial officials appeared to be the opposite of this ideal.

The German naturalists characterized the Spanish in the colony in general as lacking knowledge and class status. For example, in a letter that he wrote in 1859 and later published in a zoological journal, Semper observed about the Philippines that the “vast majority of the Spaniards are crude, uneducated people and they all have entirely different interests than I. They also little concern themselves with the country and people, so that one can receive only very little useful information from them.”⁴⁰ He portrayed the colonizers as anti-intellectual, a quality he associated with being “crude.” Jagor more specifically identified the Spaniards in the Philippines as originating from an inferior class. He wrote of them that a “sizeable portion consist of subordinate officials, soldiers and sailors, political criminals and those politically inconvenient, whom the motherland discarded, also frequently of adventurers, who lack the means and probably even as much the wish to return, because how wonderful is their life here compared to what they would have to lead in their homeland” (28). Although considered underlings or political outcasts in Spain, the status of such individuals in the Philippines was improved by virtue of their positions as Spaniards.

The same sorts of lower class Spaniards occupied government posts, the German naturalists reported. Different from the sentiments expressed in the 1859 letter, Semper remarked that he “intentionally softened the strong expressions in the text” (141, n. 1) about colonial officials in the Philippines, though he incorporated the comments of two Spanish authors writing earlier in the nineteenth-century nonetheless. Semper cited the observations of Sinibaldo de Mas, who

³⁹John R. Gillis, *The Prussian Bureaucracy in Crisis, 1840-1860: Origins of an Administrative Ethos* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1971).

⁴⁰Carl Semper, “Kleinere Mittheilungen. Reisebericht des Herrn Dr. Semper. (Fortsetzung),” *Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftliche Zoologie* 11, no. 1 (1862): 100.

wrote that Spaniards in the Philippines “belong to the scum of the nation,” and Tomás de Comyn, who explained that “very often a barber or the lackey of a governor, a sailor or a deserter suddenly change into an alcalde, or a military governor of a populated district” (141-42, n. 1).⁴¹ Besides critiquing the fact that men from the lower strata administered the state, Semper also complained that “politically unpopular persons were frequently picked for governors and the highest offices of the colony” (77). For Semper, installing stooges and flunkies in colonial posts did little to uphold effective government. Semper’s citations lent credibility to his claims at the same time that they further contrasted him from the unsophisticated men administering the colonial government.

Both naturalists attributed the entrance of unqualified officials in government to the Spanish system of patronage, another leftover from the past, like conquests and Catholicism, that still lingered in the present. For example, Semper explained that official positions in the colonial government “were created and distributed to reward loyal servants” (77). Jagor claimed further of officials that they either “bought their positions or acquired them by favor” (99). These realities were antithetical to the German naturalists’ overall belief in middle class professionalism.⁴² Favoritism and simony, or the buying of offices, starkly varied from the German naturalists’ notions of government constituted by meritocracy.

Yet, patronage apparently helped resolve political issues in the Spanish metropole, even if it did little to assist governing the colony. Jagor pointed out, for example, that Spaniards acquired their positions less “through ability and merit than political intrigues” (102), which often resulted

⁴¹Mas, *Informe*; and Tomás de Comyn, *Estado de las Islas Filipinas en 1810* (Madrid: Imprenta de Repullés, 1820). Semper quoted from the latter Spaniard’s remark that “indeed, it is something quite common to see a hairdresser or a lackey of the governor, a sailor or a deserter suddenly transformed into an alcalde or military head of a populated province.” Comyn, *Filipinas*, 134.

⁴²As David Blackbourn writes in his history of nineteenth-century Germany, bourgeois men held “a shared belief in property, hard work, competition, achievement, and the rewards and recognition that were expected to flow from them; in rationality, the rule of law, and the importance of living life by rules.” David Blackbourn, *History of Germany 1780-1918: The Long Nineteenth Century*, 2nd ed. (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 161.

in a “war for offices” (102, n. 60). The German naturalist reported that the position of an *alcalde*, an official in charge of a town administration and judiciary, was once given away “three times in one day” (102, n. 60). Instead of waging war against unconquered Filipinos, Spanish candidates fought one another for government positions, whether or not they had any inkling of the particular duties that these offices required.

The German naturalists thus suggested that an administration predicated on patronage contributed to colonial disorder with men in offices unqualified for their jobs. Jagor explicitly described an unqualified Spanish figure as having arrived in the Philippines “without previous practice in official business, often without education and knowledge and without the mental and moral characteristics necessary for one in such an influential and responsible office” (99). The German naturalists’ points about the colonial government acted as a critique on the one hand and an articulation of a superior, yet unrealized, option that efficiently and effectively maintained sovereignty on the other hand.

While unqualified Spaniards administered the colony, Semper and Jagor also pointed out that Filipinos, whether capable of operating government or not, had little to no prospect for advancement in official and clerical positions. Even though certain Filipinos received nominal authority, the Spanish denied them any real share of official power in the colony.⁴³ Semper’s and Jagor’s stance seemed less an expression of sympathy for the political plight of Filipinos, however, than it was about demonstrating the arbitrary nature of Spanish political patronage.

⁴³Semper described the Spanish granting “honorary offices” (74) to Filipinos after the conquest and elsewhere noted the presence of “native priests” (77). Yet, he explained further that the Spanish “never allowed a native to rise through the ranks of the lowest civil officers” and that Filipino priests only advanced in the “rarest of exceptions” (77). Semper concluded that “all of the highest official positions of the military and civil administration were occupied by Spaniards from Spain” (77).

Jagor wrote that Filipino leaders received the Spanish “title Don,” like elite Spaniards, and that “native priests” (104) were part of the Catholic clergy in the colony. He added that Filipinos in government had little “privilege” and that with the excesses of the Spanish conquest “the government alienated a class of natives who could have been a mainstay of their power” (281).

The German naturalists portrayed the relationship between colonizer and colonized as a divide with the refusal to integrate Filipinos into government as a missed opportunity to bridge the split.

Making some connection with Filipinos seemed all the more important in light of their long-standing tradition of revolt that Semper and Jagor recounted.⁴⁴ Here too the German naturalists suggested that a more capable colonial state would have been able to remedy these uprisings. Recent rebellions, they explained, were predicated in part on the Spanish mismanagement of the colonial state and exclusion of Filipinos from a stake in government. Semper described an 1823 revolt, for example, that he claimed stemmed from a “desire for greater political autonomy and self-government” (90). Jagor characterized the 1872 Cavite Mutiny in comparison to the 1823 uprising as “much more dangerous not only for Spanish rule, but for the entire European population,” since as he claimed, “thousands of natives were ready to bear down on the *caras blancas* (the white faces) and kill them all” (286). The threat of revolt signified the greatest problem with colonial government and could have been avoided altogether if the Spanish had effectively ruled the Philippines the German naturalists suggested.

Industry in the Philippines

The Philippines also lacked a successful economy, according to the German naturalists. Early in his study of the colony, Jagor directly linked Catholicism and political patronage to the economy when he argued that the Spanish “had in their colonization in part a religious purpose in view, but the crown found a great source of influence in the distribution of extremely lucrative colonial offices. The crown, as well as its favorites, only had the immediate exploitation of the

⁴⁴Semper noted, for example, that “multiple rebellions were attempted against the new order” (71) that reflected a “universal longing for freedom from the Spanish yoke” (72-3) and were undertaken by a “unification of otherwise separate tribes” (73). Jagor more directly attributed uprisings by Filipinos to the character of the Spanish government, writing that the “severities and indiscretions of the administration and its implements, even superstitious misunderstandings have caused many a rebellion among the natives” (285).

colony in mind and had neither the intention nor the power to open up the natural wealth of the country through agriculture and trade” (13). True to a dual scientific and commercial perspective, the German naturalist identified the need to commodify the colony’s natural resources, but suggested that the weaknesses of the state inhibited the integration of the Philippines into the contemporary capitalist order.

Similar to the distribution of political offices, the Spanish crown initially granted monopolies on trade in the Philippines as its economic policy following the conquest, the German naturalists related. Yet, the same privileges prevailed in the present day, they pointed out. Semper wrote that Spanish economic policy still contained “monopolistic tendencies or protectionist prejudices” (88), for example. Jagor on the other hand identified “spoiled” (9) Spaniards comfortable in their positions as “monopolists” (10). If the monopolies had led to economic growth in the islands, the German naturalists might have had different attitudes about them, but the policy did little to improve the colonial economy, they asserted.

Instead of opening the colony to world trade, Spain relied on economic protectionism in the Philippines, the German naturalists explained. Semper wrote, for example, that colonial trade was characterized by “oppressive rules” that actually “prevented the development of commerce” and resulted in economic “decay” (85). Jagor claimed in the first chapter of his account that “although the Philippines belongs to Spain, almost no trade takes place between the two countries” (4). Like Semper, he described trade regulations that were “antiquated” and “artificially restrictive” (8). By pointing out deficiencies with the Spanish economic organization of the Philippines, the naturalists implied that a different power, such as Germany, could more effectively colonize the islands.⁴⁵

⁴⁵Mary Louise Pratt describes the writings of the European “capitalist vanguard” to South America that depict situations in which “travelers struggle in unequal battle against scarcity, inefficiency, laziness, discomfort, poor

Also related to Spanish economic organization, both German naturalists described Filipinos under colonial rule as “indolent” (*indolenten*).⁴⁶ In doing so, they redeployed a myth that Syed Hussein Alatas examines as a part of long-standing colonial ideology across Southeast Asia.⁴⁷ Characterizing Filipinos as “indolent” justified colonialism at the same time that it offered a pretext for their re-domestication, education, and ultimate civilization by a different colonial power, such as Germany.⁴⁸ Even though they did not do so directly, Semper and Jagor implied that Filipino indolence was the result of a deficient state that had failed to civilize them, since both demonstrated that trade had been a significant feature of the islands before the advent of the Spanish.

The German naturalists outlined a Philippine civilization prior to the arrival of Spain that conducted regional commerce.⁴⁹ Whether the German naturalists believed that Filipino indolence had been the product of Spanish colonization remained unclear in their accounts. The portrayals of Filipinos before and after colonization in their writings nonetheless offered to their readers the possibility of attributing the origins of indolence in the Philippines to the presence of

horses, bad roads, bad weather, delays.” She remarks further that “Spanish American society is mainly encoded in this literature as logistical obstacles to the forward movement of the Europeans.” Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 145. The narratives of Semper and Jagor attempted to present a portrait of Spanish economic backwardness in the Philippines in a similar manner.

⁴⁶Semper mentioned “indolent” (89) Filipinos in passing in his narrative, similar to how Jagor too identified “indolent” (126) Filipinos. Semper also used the same phrase in his scientific study of sea-cucumbers in the Philippines. Semper, “Holothurien,” 72.

⁴⁷Syed Hussein Alatas, *The Myth of the Lazy Native: A Study in the Image of Malays, Filipinos, and Javanese from the 16th to the 20th Century and Its Function in the Ideology of Colonial Capitalism* (London: Frank Cass, 1977).

⁴⁸German trade with the Philippines increased during the second half of the nineteenth-century, though not without protectionist responses by Spain beginning in the 1880s. Hermógenes E. Bacareza, *A History of Philippine-German Relations* (Quezon City, Philippines: National Economic and Development Authority, 1980); and Wigan Salazar, “British and German Passivity in the Face of the Spanish Neo-Mercantilist Resurgence in the Philippines, c. 1883-1898,” *Itinerario* 21 (1997): 124-53.

⁴⁹Semper wrote that an “active trade, particularly with China” (82) took place and that “long before the Christian era, Manila was an entrepôt for Chinese goods, an emporium of a Chinese-Malay trade” (140, n. 11). Jagor reported that at the time of the appearance of the Spanish “natives were clothed in silk and cotton fabrics, which were introduced by Chinese ships in exchange for gold dust, mahogany, sea-cucumbers, edible birds’ nests, and skins” (9-10). He also explained that “the islands also had commerce with Japan, Cambodia, Siam, the Moluccas, and the Malay Archipelago” (10).

Spain. Although the naturalists did not directly examine why Filipinos had not been rendered more productive in over three centuries of Spanish rule, such a question may have been implicit in the minds of their German audiences in considering Spain as a colonial power in general.

Jagor argued that the colonizers themselves were lazy. For example, he wrote of the Spanish that they “arrive without knowledge of the country, entirely unprepared; many are so lazy that they never learn the language, even if they marry in the country” (28). Elsewhere, Jagor identified a “low respect” (102, n. 59) for labor in Spain and that among Spaniards “one does not like to work and wishes to live in luxury” (102, n. 60). Hence, it was the Spanish themselves who were “lazy” and did “not like to work,” according to the German naturalist, who built on a long-standing idea about the Spanish from both within and outside of Spain.⁵⁰

As further testimony to the weakness of colonial economic policies, the German naturalists described the Chinese inhabitants of the Philippines as the epitome of modern industry in contrast to the Spanish. For example, Semper noted that the trepang (sea-cucumber) market “lies exclusively in the hands of the Chinese” (26) and also that “the trade in pearls in Manila is entirely in the hands of the Chinese” (27).⁵¹ Furthermore, the German naturalist characterized the Chinese inhabitants of the Philippines in general as the “Englishmen of the East” (86). By showing the Chinese controlling particular sectors of commerce in the colony and associating them with the English, the quintessence of industry in the nineteenth-century world, Semper illustrated the frailty of the Spanish economy in the Philippines on two levels. First, Spain did

⁵⁰See, for example, Ruth MacKay, *“Lazy, Improvident People”: Myth and Reality in the Writing of Spanish History* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006). Jagor also made the following inspecific statement about laziness in the colony and its effect on the economy, for example: “In Europe, an entrepreneur can often calculate with reasonable certainty the cost of an item in advance. In the Philippines, this is not always so easy. Aside from the unreliability of labor, the regularity of the delivery of raw materials is disturbed not only by laziness and caprice, but by envy and mistrust” (217).

⁵¹Semper also discussed the Chinese domination of the sea-cucumber trade in the Philippines in his zoological study of the species. Semper, “Holothurien,” 172.

not dominate its own markets in the colony, and second, the Chinese community there was clearly more capable than the Spanish at succeeding in business.

Jagor too described the Chinese in the Philippines in terms of their industry. He confirmed Semper's observations about their commercial dominance, noting that in the Philippines the "traders are almost all Chinese" (125). Their economic abilities enabled them to colonize the colony, as "they have through hard work and commercial skills almost completely appropriated the retail trade. The sale of European imported goods is exclusively in their hands" (274). The fact that they alone exchanged European goods in the Philippines was damning testimony to Spanish colonial trade policy. Jagor concluded his discussion of the Chinese in the Philippines by attributing to them a list of bourgeois characteristics, claiming that "no people come close to them in industry, frugality, perseverance, shrewdness, skill and ruthlessness in mercantile business" (275).⁵² The German naturalists' emphasis on and identification with Chinese industriousness contrasted the economy of the Spanish colony at the same time that it implied that a German colonial order would more capably integrate the islands into world markets.⁵³

⁵²Jagor went into greater detail than Semper about the history of the Chinese community in the Philippines. Periodically over the course of Spanish colonization, hostilities against the Chinese took place, he reported. In the early seventeenth century, for example, he wrote that the population was subject to "extermination" and later in the century a "large number were slaughtered in their ghetto" (273), paralleling Medieval European treatment of Jewish people. Nevertheless, the Chinese populace returned the Philippines, despite being subjected to periodic expulsions, and continued to occupy positions as traders. Accusations of "poisoning" wells during a cholera outbreak in 1819 led to the final "butchery" (274) of Chinese inhabitants in the colony, Jagor explained. Rather than massacring Chinese people, however, now the government sought "to inhibit" their "activity" through "taxes" (275).

⁵³Semper seemed to express admiration for the efforts of a Chinese man named Tuason, who founded the "largest banking business in Manila" that continued to remain "in the hands of his children and grandchildren" (89) in the present day.

The limits of Jagor's identification with the Chinese more clearly came to light when he discussed the "penetration" by the "Mongolian race" of the "United States," which he described in terms of a "struggle" between them and the "Caucasians," both of whom he dubbed the two "great races" (276). Although he credited the Chinese for railroad construction, he still argued that "Europeans" possessed the "highest intellectual activity" (277). While industry was an important attribute, Jagor asserted that intellectual activity was the highest form of human culture, a fitting self-image for a scientific traveler that simultaneously maintained an image of European/white racial supremacy.

Jagor more strongly identified with the United States, however, when he played with the possibility of the Philippines falling under U.S. domination in the future and described its people as "conquistadors of the modern age, representatives of the free middle class as opposed to chivalry, they follow with the ax and plow of the pioneer,

Scientific Conquest of the Philippines

Like their comments about knowledge, history, and the political-economic order, the German naturalists also distinguished themselves from the Spanish by their relationships with Filipino assistants, with whom they worked on scientific endeavors in the Philippines. Similar to German writings about the Spanish empire in the Americas, Semper and Jagor projected “alternative models of ‘polite,’ that is, civilized colonial interaction.”⁵⁴ It was through scientific labor that Semper and Jagor civilly interacted with Filipinos, a relationship distinct from the Spanish failure to effectively domesticate their colonized subjects through conquest, Catholicism, or integration into colonial government and economy.

Filipinos appeared periodically in the narratives of the German naturalists as “servants” (*Diener*), upon whom Semper and Jagor relied as guides, porters, cooks, translators, armed guards, collectors, informants, and sketch artists, among other functions.⁵⁵ Semper’s and Jagor’s employment of servants was standard practice among middle class Germans. As David Blackbourn explains in his history of nineteenth-century Germany, members of the bourgeoisie relied on “the employment of servants to run the household.” He notes further that domestic servants “made up one of the largest occupational categories in most German towns, and no one who reads the classified columns of contemporary newspapers can fail to notice their importance

which had been preceded by cross and sword” (289). His statement clearly contrasted the industry of the bourgeoisie with feudal Catholic monarchy, though conceived of both as forms of conquest, with the former modern and the latter Medieval.

⁵⁴Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies*, 40.

⁵⁵Semper noted in a travel report published before his natural history, for example, that he was accompanied by seventeen “attendants.” Semper, “nordöstlichen Provinzen,” 256. Elsewhere, he wrote that he was accompanied by “numerous attendants” (9). Jagor pointed out that while traveling he had to be accompanied by two armed men, “because the area was severely notorious for robberies” (50). The lack of knowledge of local languages among the Spanish also meant that Filipino translators were “indispensible” (101), he explained.

to the middle classes.”⁵⁶ The German naturalists’ scientific work was dependent, at least in part, on the collaboration of Filipinos.

Instead of admitting to their dependency on Filipinos, however, the naturalists conceived of the relationships with their servants in patriarchal terms as fathers passing on valuable knowledge and skills to their children, interactions which allowed the German naturalists to uphold their roles as all-knowing men. Semper’s and Jagor’s views of their servants as secondary contributors to the work of producing knowledge was by no means unusual for scientists or the narratives that resulted from their labor. Steven Shapin, historian of the work of Robert Boyle, the seventeenth-century British physicist, notes that servants such as those employed by Semper and Jagor were “invisible” actors in the creation of science, in part because only a gentleman could generate authentic information, while technicians did not have the authority via their lesser social standing to do so.⁵⁷ In the case of the later German naturalists, a similar class divide, and likely also a race divide, prevented their assistants’ full inclusion in their texts as co-equal scientists. Instead, similar to what Shapin observes elsewhere, they often appeared in the narratives as “sources of trouble.”⁵⁸

Semper and Jagor frequently identified their Filipino assistants with mishaps surrounding their plans or expectations, which heightened the German naturalists’ visions of Filipinos as children in need of suitable education and training. For example, after descending a volcano, Semper related how “people” (*Leute*) designated to prepare food and water in the camp had abandoned these duties and the camp altogether, so that the German naturalist and his climbing companions were forced to create their own shelter out of a “sailcloth” (13). Semper later found

⁵⁶Blackbourn, *History of Germany*, 162.

⁵⁷Steven Shapin and Simon Schaffer, *Leviathan and the Air Pump: Hobbes, Boyle, and the Experimental Life* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985); and Steven Shapin, “The Invisible Technician,” *American Scientist* 77 (Nov.-Dec. 1989): 554-63.

⁵⁸Steven Shapin, “The House of Experiment in Seventeenth-Century England,” *Isis* 79, no. 3 (1988): 395.

the “people sunk in sweet sleep” (13), with this anecdote a powerful contrast to the efforts he and his companions had made in ascending the crater. Jagor frequently remarked on the mercurial behavior of his servants as well, noting after one fled that a “European who travels without a servant” is taken for a “beggar” (60). Integrating Filipinos into the German naturalists’ projects was thus essential to the success of Semper’s and Jagor’s generation of science.

The Germans preferred instead to credit themselves with the triumphs that their work accomplished, though at times they still conceded that certain Filipinos were akin to their right hands. Like one’s right hand, however, their servants merely appeared as an extension of their masters’ intentions, and thus reflected back on the ability of the German naturalists to employ such worthy assistants, rather than necessitating full credit to these Filipinos for their work. At the same time, the German naturalists’ scientific work offered Filipinos access to a form of culture that seemed otherwise absent in the colony, as far as their narratives related. Producing science with Semper and Jagor put certain Filipinos in positions to exhibit sophisticated physical and intellectual skills that were anything but indolent.

In Semper’s study of land mollusks, for example, he listed his Filipino assistant Antonio Angara as the discoverer of three unclassified species, which the German naturalist named after his servant: “*Rhysota Antonii*,” “*Cochlostyla Antonii*,” and “*Chloraea Antonii*.”⁵⁹ Semper also acknowledged other work by Angara in the text, showing the contribution of the Filipino to at least a portion of the German naturalist’s production of knowledge. Semper wrote of one mollusk, for example, that “this beautiful species was found by my servant Antonio in Calayan,

⁵⁹Semper, *Landmollusken*, vol. 3 of *Reisen im Archipel der Philippinen* (Wiesbaden: C.W. Kreidel’s Verlag, 1870), 72, 223 & 228. Illustrations of the “*Rhysota Antonii*” and “*Chloraea Antonii*” also appeared in the text. *Ibid.*, Tafel II, fig. 2 a & b, & Tafel X, fig. 10, a & b. Another image of the “*Rhysota Antonii*” appeared in a later publication of Semper’s, though it did not mention the work performed by Angara. Karl Semper, *Die natürlichen Existenzbedingungen der Thiere*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1880), 2: 241, fig. 105 a.

the northwestern island of Babuyan.”⁶⁰ When Semper traveled to perform further research in the Palau Islands, the western-most group in the Caroline Islands, a Spanish colony adjacent to, but east of the Philippines, he rued having to leave Angara, his “loyal” (*treuen*) and “proven” (*erproben*) servant.⁶¹ The Filipino assistant’s activities also reflected the good judgment of Semper, however, who had chosen such a capable individual to perform scientific work.

Jagor too noted the good work performed by various, at least partially visible, Filipino assistants, who performed the majority of specimen collecting, his narrative indicated. The German included an image of a Filipino “naturalist” (86) (see Fig. 2.3) in his book, though seemingly with tongue in cheek. Nonetheless, certain Filipinos, he asserted, were “very skilled” (196) at collecting, while another he pointed out was “very intelligent” and “had acquired great skill in various crafts” (194). “With the simplest tools,” Jagor continued, “he improved many” of the naturalist’s “instruments and apparatuses,” ultimately demonstrating “significant intellectual ability” (194). Jagor’s positive comments stemmed from the contributions Filipinos made to his efforts at producing scientific knowledge and showed them to be capable of collecting, working with technical instruments, and exhibiting intelligence, these being necessary elements for

⁶⁰Semper, *Landmollusken*, 168. Semper wrote of another mollusk that “this species seems to be quite rare, but was not found by me in eastern Mindanao, nor later by my servant Antonio himself in Misamis,” elsewhere in the southern island. *Ibid.*, 171-72. He noted of another species that “regarding this kind, my servant found them in large quantities.” *Ibid.*, 174. Of an additional example, Semper wrote that “this species appears only on Calayan (Islas Babuyan), from where my servant Antonio has brought them in fairly large quantities; on Luzon, we have never found it.” *Ibid.*, 175. Other mentions of Angara’s work also appeared in the text. *Ibid.*, 126, 127, 182, 184, 185, 187, 193, 221, 222, 223 & 228.

⁶¹Karl Semper, *Die Palau-Inseln im Stillen Ocean: Reiseerlebnisse* (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1873), 4. Although it is unclear whether this was the same Antonio Angara with whom Semper worked, the name appears in an 1877 yearbook from the Philippines. The individual is listed among the “dealers” (*Comerciantes*) for the province of Pangasinan on Luzon. Ramon Gonzalez Fernandez, *Anuario Filipino para 1877* (Manila: Plana, 1877), 415.

Semper traveled to the Palaus just after a trip through northern Luzon that he could not complete due to a bout of dysentery he suffered. In his place, he “sent” his “servant Antonio Angara” to “continue the journey already underway” and “hoped to be able to meet him again in the north in a short time.” Semper, *Die Palau-Inseln*, 3. Writing about the same event in his natural history, Semper merely noted that Angara “undertook travel alone in 1861” (98, n. 11) that enabled the German scholar to have information about the tribes in northern Luzon. Semper also reported, however, that “he told me that the local Negritos know these volcanoes very well” (98, n. 11) and hence privileged him as a reliable informant.

performing science. Yet, it was Jagor's apprenticeship of Filipinos that operated as the catalyst for the expression of their scientific aptitude, rather than it existing as an inherent trait. Thus, the German naturalist reinforced his role as the source of authoritative knowledge by narrating the accomplishments of his Filipino servants under his tutelage.



Figure 2.3: “Bicol naturalist in raingear” (86)

Semper and Jagor also employed Filipino sketch artists as part of their scientific work in the Philippines. Enrique Gonzalez, a “young mestizo,” assisted Semper with “ethnological studies and portraits” in the Palau Islands and allowed the German naturalist to use his “entire time in observations of all kinds and in the capture of animals.”⁶² Gonzalez eventually sketched Palauans in addition to assisting with the German naturalist’s zoological collections.⁶³ Like Semper, Jagor also employed a Filipino sketch artist, whose illustrations of a “barge” (17), an “elite” (25), a “petty governor” with a “constable” (189), a “female buyo merchant” (217), and an “elderly Indian woman smoking” (270) appeared in his book. However, Jagor did not identify this artist by name, though the same was true of the presumably European artist who

⁶²Semper, *Die Palau-Inseln*, 4-5.

⁶³*Ibid.*, 262 & 310.

produced other illustrations in his text.⁶⁴ The German naturalists' employment of Filipino sketch artists again underscored their own roles as men of knowledge capable of discerning the exhibition of their servants' skill and raising it further by integrating it into scientific work.

Both German naturalists also used knowledge to contrast Filipinos and Spaniards. In one instance, Semper visited the volcano of Taal in Luzon and recounted the attempt of a "Spaniard from Manila" (9) to ascend the crater. Due to either "his corpulence or his sins" (10), however, the Spanish traveler fell into the crater and nearly lost his life, the German naturalist reported. Semper directly compared the Spaniard's experience to that of his assistant Mariano, a "Tagalog native smart and party to all daring undertakings" (11). He used Mariano as an observer of geological data, since Semper could not physically fit through a hole into the crater, and explained that "I had to allow him the joy, as the only visitor to the crater bottom, to let him give to me in the evening accurate reports about his observations in 'purgatory'" (11). Semper thus integrated Mariano's labor and skill into his production of scientific knowledge.

In a different illustration, Jagor contrasted Filipinos' linguistic ability to the general Spanish disregard for knowledge about the inhabitants of the Philippines. The German naturalist wrote of the colonizers that "their servants understand Spanish, overhear the conversations and actions, and know all the secrets of their usually indiscreet masters, while the natives remain a puzzle to them that they from conceit also do not attempt to decipher" (28). According to Jagor, a lack of comprehension begat a disorder in which knowledge on the part of the Filipino servants starkly contrasted the laziness, indiscretion, and conceit of the Spanish. Because Jagor and Semper explicitly capitalized on the particular skills of their assistants, they also demonstrated their superiority to the Spanish in their colonial interactions with Filipinos.

⁶⁴The only assistant to whom Jagor referred by name was "Pepe"—a "good-natured, very skillful and always cheerful" (183) attendant whom he tasked with skinning birds and packing his specimen collections.

Conclusion

Semper and Jagor demonstrated their paramount ability to produce knowledge about the Philippines in their writings, statistics, and maps of the colony. They also projected scientific supremacy by identifying inaccuracies and omissions among Spanish written sources, statistics, and maps of the Philippines. The naturalists distanced themselves from the Spanish in their discussions of conquest, Catholicism, government, and economic policy in the islands as histories and present-day realities anathema to German experiences and values. Finally, in descriptions of Chinese industriousness and Filipinos' scientific work, they implied that a German colonial replacement would more effectively organize the Philippines.

Scientific discussions in colonial settings also involved national contexts. The age of imperialism during the second half of the nineteenth-century was also an era of global nationalism and scientific authority could be intertwined with both. The creation of categories of human difference used sets of distinctions between people in support of arguments about their variation, though without always admitting how nationalist and imperialist ideas also contributed to these notions. While religious and historical contrasts distinguished Germans and Spaniards in Semper's and Jagor's accounts of the Philippines, for example, the same categories differentiated Jews from non-Jews in Europe with scientific perspectives attempting to establish categorical contrasts in the second half of the nineteenth-century too.⁶⁵ Rather than drawing attention away from the formation of racism in the context of colonialism, these observations about national difference and knowledge production in a colonial setting offer to widen our

⁶⁵For example, in his discussion of German race science within which Jews were seen as the "essential other," John M. Efron points out that "German fears about Jewish difference were heightened just as Germany embarked upon its protracted quest for national unification and state building." John M. Efron, *Defenders of the Race: Jewish Doctors and Race Science in Fin-de-Siècle Europe* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1994), 16.

understanding of the construction of race and discrimination stemming from European imperialism.

Semper's and Jagor's texts were by no means the final word, but rather inaugurated a series of German studies of the Philippines that suggested national superiority via the construction of knowledge about the Spanish colony. Both of their accounts were reviewed positively in the *Journal of Ethnology*, periodical of the German Society for Anthropology, Ethnology, and Prehistory.⁶⁶ Quotations and illustrations from Jagor's study also appeared in the pages of the more popular geographic publication, *Globus*, demonstrating an even wider circulation among German-speaking audiences than just those accessing the *Journal of Ethnology*.⁶⁷ Over the next decade and a half, the German anthropologists Rudolf Virchow, Adolf Bernhard Meyer, Alexander Schadenberg, Ferdinand Blumentritt, Hans Meyer, and others, published works on Filipinos that built on the precedent initially set by the two German naturalists. The next chapter will examine the German scholars who followed in the footsteps of Semper and Jagor to show how their writings reflected nationalist and imperialist sentiments.

⁶⁶The reviewer noted of Semper's text that it contained "extremely attractive descriptions" of the naturalist's findings, particularly those dealing with "ethnological conditions," which, the unnamed reviewer observed, "in the Philippines, however, need much clarification." "Die Philippinen und ihre Bewohner, Dr. C. Semper (Würzburg 1869)," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 1 (1869): 328. About Jagor's study, a reviewer praised it for its attention to the "social side of ethnology" and focus on the "lifestyle of the native tribes" of the Philippines and recommended the "particularly instructive" use of "carefully drawn illustrations, which were partly created by the camera lucida, and partly by photograph or hand drawing." "Jagor: Reisen in den Philippinen. Berlin 1873," *ibid.* 5 (1873): 118-19.

⁶⁷"F. Jagor's Reisen auf den Philippinen," *Globus: Illustrierte Zeitschrift für Länder- und Völkerkunde* 23, no. 12 (1873): 177-81; *ibid.*, no. 13 (1873): 196-99; *ibid.*, no. 16 (1873): 245-49; and *ibid.*, no. 21 (1873): 326-28. In the first installment, the unnamed reviewer wrote that "his book is magnificent in every respect, concerning both outside features as well as internal value. The beautiful types, its tinted paper, above all the number of large and often artistically completed execution of the illustrations make all honour for the Weidmann bookshop in Berlin." "Jagor's Reisen," 177.

Chapter 3

Imperialist Networks, Civilization, and Nationalism in German Anthropologies of the Philippines, 1869-1885

On April 1, 1870, less than a year before the unification of Imperial Germany, 523 scholars from thirty-six different large and small German-speaking locales convened in the Hessian fortress-city of Mainz to formally establish the German Society for Anthropology, Ethnology, and Prehistory (DGAEU).¹ The following month, the Society published a founding statement along with governing statutes that outlined the main goals of the organization.² The initial notice acted as a constitutional preamble at the same time that it optimistically conceived of German anthropology in a world context. Despite the fact that Germany was not unified, the statement nonetheless envisioned the organization's mission in both nationalist and imperialist terms.

The Society viewed its purpose from a simultaneously national and global perspective. It was "German anthropological research" that would undertake the "most accurate comparative study of all the peoples of the earth" simultaneous to investigating the "life of the Germanic peoples." This national undertaking was couched in imperialist language, seeking to "encompass the entire globe" at a time when a significant portion of the earth's surface was under colonial rule. German anthropologists planned to employ the "skulls of races" for determining

¹F. Wibel, "Bericht über die constituirende Versammlung der deutschen anthropologischen Gesellschaft zu Mainz am 1. April 1870," *Correspondenz-Blatt der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte* 1 (1870): 5. The scholars hailed from Altona, Baden-Baden, Basel, Berlin, Bonn, Braunschweig, Beslau, Kassel, Karlsruhe, Konstanz, Cologne, Krefeld, Donaueschingen, Dresden, Elberfeld, Erlangen, Frankfurt, Freiburg, Giessen, Göttingen, Hamburg, Heidelberg, Hofheim am Taunus, Illenau, Iserlohn, Jena, Leipzig, Mainz, Munich, Pforzheim, Schweinfurt, Schwerin, St. Pölten bei Vienna, Vienna, Wiesbaden, and Würzburg, mostly cities in states that were soon unified into Imperial Germany, in addition to a scant few from Austria-Hungary and Switzerland.

²"Die deutsche Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte," *ibid.*, 1-2; and "Gesellschaftsangelegenheiten: Statuten der deutschen Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte," *ibid.*, 2-4.

“similarities and differences” among people, including “mixed blood races” and “doomed savages.”³ It was not long before the Society moved to gain ready access to overseas territories.

On July 18, 1872, little more than two years later, the Board of Directors of the DGAEU sent a letter to the Chief of the recently formed Imperial German Navy seeking support for obtaining scientific materials from sources beyond European shores. The Board requested that navy personnel furnish information about “primitive types” through descriptions of “races” as well as the “acquisition of skulls and skeletons.”⁴ The Society thus took practical steps toward achieving the goals it had initially set forth in the founding statement by attaching its work to the world travels of the Imperial German Navy, even before Germany obtained formal colonies in Africa, Asia, and the Pacific Islands.

With the founding of the German navy following the unification of Imperial Germany in 1871, the groundwork for the establishment of formal, and protection of informal, German colonies was strengthened. As David H. Olivier observes in his study of nineteenth-century German naval strategy, the creation of the Imperial German Navy was “to the advantage of German merchants, pan-colonialists and expatriates.”⁵ The Chief of the Admiralty, Albrecht von Stosch, wrote back to the DGAEU on August 19, 1872 consenting “to support the efforts of the Society in every way possible.”⁶ In his examination of German empire and sea power, Rolf Hobson writes that Stosch backed the use of the navy for promoting German commercial enterprises abroad and thus “took great interest in the task of protecting overseas trade and

³“deutsche Gesellschaft,” 1-2.

⁴“Rathschläge für anthropologische Untersuchungen auf Expedition der Marine. Auf Veranlassung des Chefs der Kaiserlich Deutschen Admiralität ausgearbeitet von der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte,” *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 4 (1872): 326. *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* will be abbreviated hereinafter as *ZfE*.

⁵David H. Olivier, *German Naval Strategy 1856-1888: Forerunners of Tirpitz* (London: Frank Cass, 2004), 77.

⁶“Rathschläge für anthropologische Untersuchungen,” 327.

thereby encouraging its further development.”⁷ German military, commercial, and scientific interests hence held overlapping goals of extending their reach across the globe.

Even though Imperial Germany did not (yet) possess formal colonies, the German navy visited other countries colonized by European nations and promised to assist the DGAEU by obtaining information about the physical remains of colonized peoples. Stosch explained to the Society that the regions most often visited by the German navy included “East Asian waters and the island groups of the Pacific Ocean” in addition to “the north coast of South America, the east coast of Central America, and the Caribbean islands.”⁸ The Society subsequently forwarded a thirty-five page questionnaire for use by navy officials that included instructions for collecting data and obtaining artifacts and human remains after dropping anchor in ports around the world.⁹

The alliance between German anthropology and informal colonialism exhibited in the Society’s employment of the navy to enrich its collections also led to articulations of German nationalism. On March 20, 1873, Gustav Thaulow, Professor of Philosophy at the University of Kiel, delivered a lecture lauding the navy’s scientific mission for Germany in general. The joint military and anthropological enterprise was significant, he stated, “not only for the whole German nation, but for the entire history of civilization.” The DGAEU questionnaire was ultimately “in the interest of the German nation, the German navy, and German science,” Thaulow claimed, and his lecture outlined the details of the navy’s collecting instructions, stressing the importance of each.¹⁰ The DGAEU published Thaulow’s lecture in the 1874

⁷Rolf Hobson, *Imperialism at Sea: Naval Strategic Thought, the Ideology of Sea Power and the Tirpitz Plan, 1875-1914* (Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, 2002), 114.

⁸“Rathschläge für anthropologische Untersuchungen,” 327.

⁹*Ibid.*, 329-56.

¹⁰Gustav Thaulow, “Vortrag über die auf Veranlassung des Chefs der Kaiserlichen Admiralität von der ‘Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte’ herausgegebenen ‘Rathschläge für anthropologische Untersuchungen auf Expedition der Marine.’ Gehalten im Marine-Casino zu Kiel den 20. März 1873, von Dr. Gustav Thaulow, o. Professor der Philosophie an der Universität zu Kiel,” *ZfE* 6 (1874): 102 & 104.

volume of the *Journal of Ethnology*, its official publication, showing the Society's continued attention to the reception of its scientific aims.

The founding statement of the DGAEU and the Society's subsequent communications with the Imperial German Navy illustrate the closer connections between German anthropology and the ideas and practices of the colonial world in the second half of the nineteenth-century. In this wider context, the example of "precolonial" German anthropologies of the Philippines constituted a form of imperialism because they were produced within colonial networks and reinforced ideologies about colonized peoples as inferior to Europeans. Although German anthropologists of the Philippines created their studies in the years preceding the acquisition of colonies in Imperial Germany, they nonetheless investigated peoples living in a territory colonized by Spain. Precolonial anthropology in Imperial Germany not only manifested in both informal and formal colonialism, as it existed under the domain of other European powers, but also exhibited elements of nationalism, as the lecture by the Kiel Professor of Philosophy described above demonstrated. Similarly, colonialism and nationalism overlapped in German anthropologies of the Philippines, even though in the context of scientific knowledge created in a Spanish colony. Establishing themselves as the foremost experts on Filipinos, these anthropologists portrayed their methods for producing knowledge as superior to the Spanish.

In order to investigate German anthropologists' construction of an informal scientific empire, this chapter will address the following interrelated questions: how did German anthropologists depend upon colonial networks, through which people, objects, and written texts circulated, in order to create their studies of Filipinos? Also, how did their anthropologies rehearse future German colonial ideology by depicting Filipinos as uncivilized? Finally, how did German anthropologists exhibit nationalist attitudes in promoting their scientific achievements in the

Spanish colony? In the second half of the nineteenth-century, German anthropologists traveled to and published information about the Philippines in greater numbers than any other scholars. They thereby established themselves as the leading experts on Filipinos during the years preceding the German acquisition of formal colonies. Yet, their anthropologies came to being amid the existence of colonies in the Philippines and elsewhere in Southeast Asia and the world.

Global and Local Imperialist Networks

From the 1850s through the 1880s, German anthropologists, their equipment and writings, in addition to Filipino artifacts, human remains, and photographs of both, circulated within global colonial networks, moving to, from, and within the Philippines, Southeast Asia, Europe, and the trans-oceanic travel and communication lines that linked them. As David N. Livingstone points out in his geographic study of the construction of scientific knowledge, “ideas and instruments, texts and theories, individuals and inventions—to name but a very few—all diffuse across the surface of the earth.”¹¹ Even though not every territory to and from which these people, objects, and written texts circulated was colonized, each was nonetheless linked to imperial space through transportation and communication systems. Locating German anthropologies of the Philippines in the context of global empires helps demonstrate the colonial scientific dimensions of these forms of knowledge.

The Spanish, British, Dutch, and French empires relied on the same networks to move men and material to, from, and between metropolitan and colonized lands in Europe, Africa, Asia, and the Pacific Islands. Merchants, militaries, missionaries, officials, scientists, and other personnel traveled with and exchanged goods, equipment, and belongings back and forth across

¹¹David N. Livingstone, *Putting Science in its Place: Geographies of Scientific Knowledge* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 138.

the globe marketing, mobilizing manpower, extracting resources, converting, civilizing, studying, measuring, and otherwise engaging people and the natural environment in countries outside of Europe. The on-going and increasing access provided by these imperialist infrastructures facilitated German anthropologists' production of knowledge about the peoples of the Philippines. On their way to and from the Spanish colony, they also moved within British, Dutch, and French empires aboard colonial shipping lines.

During the nineteenth-century, German scientists often traveled from Europe to the Philippines through the British colony of Singapore, an island situated off of the southern-tip of the Malay Peninsula, strategically proximate to maritime commerce through the Straits of Malacca linking the China Sea, Indian Ocean, and colonies in between. Leaving Hamburg in June 1857, it took Fedor Jagor 105 days to reach Singapore, a location he observed was “in the hands of the British.”¹² He traveled among the British Straits Settlements, including Malacca, until he departed for the Dutch East Indies colony in Indonesia aboard a postal steamship to Batavia (present-day Jakarta), the colonial capital on the island of Java in July 1858.¹³ From there, the German scholar ventured to the Philippines in March 1859.¹⁴ Carl Semper traveled from Hamburg aboard a German merchant vessel in June 1858 through Singapore, which revealed that his scientific endeavors were made possible through informal German colonial commercial networks. He arrived in the Philippines in December 1858 after a short stay in China, a nation colonized in part through an “unequal treaty system” among several of its port cities.¹⁵

¹²F. Jagor, *Singapore, Malacca, Java: Reiseskizzen* (Berlin: Julius Springer, 1866), 1 & 7.

¹³*Ibid.*, 127.

¹⁴F. Jagor, *Reisen in den Philippinen: Mit Zahlreichen Abbildungen und Einer Karte* (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1873), 5.

¹⁵August Schuberg, “Carl Semper,” *Arbeiten aus dem Zoologisch-Zootomischen Institut in Würzburg* 10, no. 2 (1895): v; and John King Fairbank and Merle Goldman, *China: A New History*, second enlarged edition (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), 204. On his trip home in 1865, Semper traveled through the

Singapore was not the only point at which German anthropologists first touched down in colonized territories in Southeast Asia on their way to the Philippines, however. Adolf Bastian sojourned in Burma in 1861-62, less than a decade after a second expansionist colonial war had resulted in further British annexation of the country in 1853.¹⁶ From Burma, he moved on to Bangkok in 1863, before traveling later that year to Cambodia and Cochinchina, the contemporary name for southern Vietnam, territories that France had taken over in 1859.¹⁷ The German anthropologist then journeyed aboard a “French postal steamship” to Singapore in March 1864 through the Dutch East Indies and from there to the Philippines on a “Dutch steamship” in April.¹⁸ Thus, German scholars circulated through shipping networks powered by steam technologies connecting British, Dutch, French, and Spanish colonies in Southeast Asia, even in the decades preceding the formation of the DGAEU.

By the 1870s, links between Europe and Southeast Asia as well as Singapore and Manila had become even more accessible with the completion of the Suez Canal in 1869 and the introduction of a direct Spanish steamship connection from the British colony on the Straits of Malacca. From 1870-72, the German anthropologist Adolf Bernhard (A. B.) Meyer journeyed on the island of Celebes (known today as Sulawesi), the southern portion of which was ruled by the Netherlands, before traveling to the Philippines. At this time, an English company had begun to provide direct service between Spain and Manila through the Suez Canal and Spanish

British treaty port colony of Hong Kong, the French colonial capital of Saigon in southern Vietnam, the British colony in Sri Lanka, and Egypt, before arriving in Altona. Schuberg, “Semper,” viii.

¹⁶Adolf Bastian, *Reisen in Birma in der Jahren 1861-1862*, vol. 2 of *Die Voelker des Oestlichen Asien: Studien und Reisen* (Leipzig: Otto Wigand, 1866); and Anthony Webster, *Gentlemen Capitalists: British Imperialism in South East Asia, 1770-1890* (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 1998), 209. Bastian recounted the events of the first Anglo-Burmese War of 1824-26 in his travel narrative. Bastian, *Birma*, 3-4.

¹⁷Adolf Bastian, *Reisen in Siam im Jahre 1863*, vol. 3 of *Die Voelker des Oestlichen Asien: Studien und Reisen* (Jena: Hermann Costenoble, 1867); Adolf Bastian, *Reise durch Kambodja nach Cochinchina*, vol. 4 of *Die Voelker des Oestlichen Asien: Studien und Reisen* (Jena: Hermann Costenoble, 1868); and Milton E. Osborne, *The French Presence in Cochinchina and Cambodia: Rule and Response (1859-1905)* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1969).

¹⁸Adolf Bastian, *Reisen im Indischen Archipel: Singapore, Batavia, Manilla und Japan*, vol. 5 of *Die Voelker des Oestlichen Asien: Studien und Reisen* (Jena: Hermann Costenoble, 1869), 1 & 101.

steamships directly linked Singapore and Manila.¹⁹ On a trip Meyer made to New Guinea in 1873, after returning briefly to Europe in the previous year, the travel time between Vienna and Singapore was now only little more than one month, compared to Jagor's 105 day journey from Hamburg in 1857.²⁰

While German anthropologists who traveled to the Philippines seized the advantages offered by the revolutions in transportation, they also continued to circulate through colonial networks and the empires of other European powers, even during times of warfare in colonies. In 1878, for example, Wilhelm Joest left Germany for Egypt, where European powers had assumed direct control over government finances, and British India, before advancing with the British army in Afghanistan in the next year during the Second Anglo-Afghan War.²¹ He then traveled to Burma, Siam, and various islands in the Dutch East Indies, where he joined Dutch military operations on the island of Sumatra against the Acehnese, with whom colonial forces had fought since 1873.²² He visited the British treaty port of Hong Kong, a colony won from China after the Opium War, before traveling to the Philippines and returning to Germany via China, Japan, and Russia.²³ Hans Meyer, the final German anthropologist to travel to the Philippines prior to the

¹⁹A. B. Meyer, "Zusätze und Berichtigungen," in Jagor, *Reisen*, 329.

²⁰Adolf Bernhard Meyer, *Auszüge aus den auf einer Neu Guinea-Reise im Jahre 1873 geführten Tagebüchern* (Dresden: n.p., 1875), 1-2. The advent of steam power not only radically transformed travel to and from Southeast Asia, but also enabled greater European maritime military dominance in the region. See, for example, James Francis Warren, *The Sulu Zone, 1768-1898: The Dynamics of External Trade, Slavery, and Ethnicity in the Transformation of a Southeast Asian Maritime State*, second edition (Singapore: National University of Singapore Press, 2007); and J. A. De Moor, "Warmakers in the Archipelago: Dutch Expeditions in Nineteenth Century Indonesia," in *Empire-Building in the Nineteenth Century*, vol. 2 of *South East Asia: Colonial History*, ed. Paul H. Kratoska (New York: Routledge, 2001), 153-72.

²¹Adolf Mießler, "Berühmte Geographen, Naturforscher und Reisende: Wilhelm Joest," *Deutsche Rundschau für Geographie und Statistik* 9 (1887): 427; Eve M. Troutt Powell, *A Different Shade of Colonialism: Egypt, Great Britain, and the Mastery of the Sudan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 67; and Ludwig W. Adamec, *Historical Dictionary of Afghan Wars, Revolutions, and Insurgencies*, 2nd ed. (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2005), 278.

²²Mießler, "Joest," 427; and Antje Missbach, "The Aceh War (1873-1913) and the Influence of Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje," in *Aceh: History, Politics and Culture*, eds. Arndt Graf, Susanne Schröter, and Edwin Wieringa (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2010), 39-62.

²³Mießler, "Joest," 427; and Robert A. Bickers, *Britain in China* (New York: Manchester University Press, 1999), 3.

formal acquisition of overseas colonies in Imperial Germany, took a mere two years to circumnavigate the world from 1881-83, also visiting European colonies in India, the Dutch East Indies, Singapore, and China on his tour.²⁴

While getting to the Philippines required circulation within trans-colonial global networks, traveling in and around the Spanish colony itself necessitated access to local colonial networks. Germans already resident in the Philippines facilitated the anthropological work of their countrymen by assisting their access to travel, knowledge, and other important individuals in the colony. Shortly after his arrival in the Philippines in 1858, Semper made contact with Moritz Herrmann, a merchant in the Spanish colony who the German scholar relied on for his scientific work and thanked in the dedication to his study of the islands.²⁵ When Semper fell ill with dysentery in 1861, the German merchant's sister Anna nursed him back to health and the two eventually wed in the Philippines.²⁶ In 1867, Otto von Bismarck, Chancellor of the North German Confederation, instructed Herrmann to establish a consulate in Manila and the German merchant became its consul.²⁷ Semper thus gained greater access to the Philippines through his

²⁴Hans Meyer, *Eine Weltreise: Plaudereien aus einer zweijährigen Erdumsegelung* (Leipzig: Bibliographischen Instituts, 1885).

²⁵C. Semper, *Die Philippinen und ihre Bewohner: Sechs Skizzen* (Würzburg: A. Stuber's Buchhandlung, 1869), n.p.

²⁶Schuberg, "Semper," vi. Anna traveled with Semper in the islands of the central and southern Philippines and she produced several sketches for his zoological study of sea-cucumbers. Ibid., viii; and C. Semper, *Holothurien*, vol. 1 of *Reisen im Archipel der Philippinen* (Wiesbaden: C.W. Kreidel, 1868), 310-11, 366-7, 370-71, 378-9, 386-7, 390-91, 394-5, 398-9, 402-3, 406-7, 410-11, 414-5 & 418-9. Even though scientific traveling was exclusive to men for the most part, Anna apparently did not transgress her role as a middle-class woman. As David Blackburn points out in his history of nineteenth-century Germany, "daughters, after all," he writes, "were taught to sketch and play the piano so that they could appreciate art and music in a befitting manner." David Blackburn, *History of Germany 1780-1918: The Long Nineteenth Century*, 2nd ed. (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 162. Anna was also initially a member of the DGAEU. "Localverein in Würzburg," *Correspondenz-Blatt der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte* 1 (1870): 24.

²⁷Hermógenes E. Bacareza, *A History of Philippine-German Relations* (Quezon City, Philippines: National Economic and Development Authority, 1980), 44. In 1868, it was reported that "his majesty the King of Prussia was pleased to appoint on behalf of the North German Confederation the Prussian Consul Moritz August Herrmann of Manila to the North German Confederation Consul." *Regierungs-Blatt für das Grossherzogthum Mecklenburg-Schwerin*, no. 67 (1868): 554.

Other German anthropologists also relied on German merchants in the colony for basic necessities, travel plans, and local contacts. In 1864, Bastian arrived in Manila and got in touch with the Swiss trading house of Jenny &

connection to an individual linked to informal German colonial commercial and political interests in the islands.

German anthropologists also circulated through local colonial networks with the assistance of Spanish clergy and officials. During his 1859-60 journey in the Philippines, Jagor used a “passport” for travel in the colony and lodged at the “town hall,” called locally either the “Casa real” or “Tribunal,” the residence of Spanish officials, or with Spanish priests in their quarters, known as the “Convento.”²⁸ For his trip through Bataán Province, A. B. Meyer traveled aboard one of the “small steamboats” that offered postal service in the colony and relied on the “support of the alcalde,” a local Spanish colonial judicial and administrative official.²⁹ During his 1881-82 travels in the southern Philippines, Schadenberg had two Spanish officials, the “naval doctor” Augustin Doméc and the “naval accountant” Eduardo Fernandez, perform “further research” on his behalf.³⁰ German anthropologists thus relied on the assistance provided by Spanish officials in circulating through local colonial networks in the Philippines.

Company, a firm originally founded in 1846 and later taken over by a German. Charles Germann, a “part-owner” of the company, helped the anthropologist plan his journey through the colony and equipped him with the “necessary things” for his travels. Bastian also lodged in the home of a “German planter” during his tour of the Philippines and later stayed in the home of an acquaintance of the planter. Bastian, *Indischen Archipel*, 256 & 258; Hermann Kellenbenz, “German Trade Relations with the Indian Ocean from the End of the Eighteenth Century to 1870,” *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 113, no. 1 (1982): 146; and Adolph Jenny-Trümpy, “Handel und Industrie des Kantons Glarus,” *Jahrbuch des Historischen Vereins des Kantons Glarus*, no. 34 (1902): 342, n. 1. German anthropologists thus circulated through local colonial networks with the assistance of Germans already living in the colony.

Another German anthropologist worked in the commercial world of the Philippines prior to embarking on studies of Filipinos. Alexander Schadenberg was employed as a chemist by the drug company Pablo Sartorius in Manila before performing anthropological research in the colony in the late 1870s. Furthermore, during his 1882 visit to the Philippines, the anthropologist Hans Meyer noted the presence of a “small German colony” in Manila. Otto Scheerer, “Alexander Schadenberg, His Life and Work in the Philippines,” *The Philippine Journal of Science* 22, no. 4 (Apr. 1923): 447-48; and Meyer, *Weltreise*, 321. Germans resident in the Spanish colony therefore facilitated the anthropological work of their countrymen in the islands.

²⁸Jagor, *Reisen*, 50.

²⁹Adolf Bernhard Meyer, “über den Fundort der von ihm überbrachten Skelete und Schädel von Negritos, sowie über die Verbreitung der Negritos auf den Philippinen,” *ZfE* 5 (1873): (90).

³⁰Alex. Schadenberg, “Die Bewohner von Süd-Mindanao und der Insel Samal,” *ibid.* 17 (1885): 51.



Figure 3.1: detail of an image from Meyer, *Weltreise*, 297.

Additionally, Filipinos performed tasks essential to the German anthropologists' travels in the colony. During an 1860 trip through northern Luzon, the largest island in the Philippines, Semper embarked on an "eight-day march" with seventeen Filipino "companions."³¹ He required a Filipino "guide" to direct his travels and Jagor made extensive use of Filipino translators.³² Both also used Filipinos as sketch artists.³³ Bastian used Filipino porters "to carry the baggage" as he traveled in the colony and A. B. Meyer was accompanied by "armed Tagalogs" for his protection against robbery and stayed the night in the "hut of a Tagalog."³⁴ Hans Meyer's "caravan" comprised twenty-six people serving as "guides, interpreters, and porters" in addition to a "military escort" for travel in the Philippines.³⁵ Because he had taken a double dose of "quinine," the German anthropologist felt weak while hiking through mountains in Luzon.³⁶ His travel account included an illustration of him being saved by an attendant, about whom Meyer wrote that the Filipino "saved my life."³⁷ The image offers some sense of the dependency of the German anthropologist on his Filipino assistants (see Fig. 3.1). Circulation of

³¹Carl Semper, "Reise durch die nordöstlichen Provinzen der Insel Luzon," *Zeitschrift für Allgemeine Erdkunde* 10 (1861): 256.

³²Semper, *Bewohner*, 10; and Jagor, *Reisen*, 101.

³³Karl Semper, *Die Palau-Inseln im Stillen Ocean: Reiseerlebnisse* (Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1873), 4-5; and Jagor, *Reisen*, 17, 25, 189, 217 & 270.

³⁴Bastian, *Indischen Archipel*, 258; and Meyer, "Fundort," (90).

³⁵Hans Meyer, "die Igorrotes von Luzon (Philippinen)," *ZfE* 15 (1883): (377-78).

³⁶Meyer, *Weltreise*, 296.

³⁷*Ibid.*, 297.

the scientists themselves through colonial networks enabled the production of information about the Philippines and its inhabitants. Yet, the movement of physical objects, including artifacts, human remains, photographs, and written texts, out of the colony to Germany was also crucial for the creation of their anthropological studies.

Circulating Objects and Ideas

Formal and informal colonial networks integrated Europe with other parts of the globe. German anthropologists in the Philippines were similar to the German travelers in the Pacific Islands that Harry Liebersohn analyzes, in that they moved through a “world of networks” that contained “multiple nodes.”³⁸ Within the transportation and communication networks linking German anthropologists to the Southeast Asian Spanish colony, Germany too constituted one such node. Just as German scholars left from and returned to Germany in their travels through colonies across the world, so did the artifacts, human remains, photographs, and written texts they worked with also circulate. Germany, particularly Berlin, became a repository of these kinds of colonial objects and writings in the years preceding the acquisition of formal German colonies overseas.

In studies produced in the twenty-first century, historians of anthropology in Imperial Germany have demonstrated that the mass accumulation of artifacts was an essential feature of anthropological study.³⁹ Collecting and grave robbery in the Philippines in the German precolonial era provided a clear example of this phenomenon. Semper visited a Filipino grave in an attempt to obtain artifacts, and Jagor also traveled to grave sites on the island of Samar in the

³⁸Harry Liebersohn, *The Travelers' World: Europe to the Pacific* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), 8.

³⁹See, for example, Andrew Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism in Imperial Germany* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001); and H. Glenn Penny, *Objects of Culture: Ethnology and Ethnographic Museums in Imperial Germany* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002).

central Philippines, after hearing they contained “numerous coffins, implements, weapons and jewelry” of local Filipinos.⁴⁰ Although both ultimately acquired fewer objects than they initially hoped for, Jagor and Semper were able to access the graves through local colonial networks.

The acquisition of artifacts allowed German anthropologists to make more definitive claims about Filipinos’ material culture. Schadenberg analyzed various kinds of “arrows” used by the Aetas, known by the Spanish as “Negritos” (literally, “little Negroes,” based on their skin color), for hunting and gathering. The anthropologist was impressed by their construction since the arrows broke apart upon impact and were able to be reconstructed and reused thereafter.⁴¹ He also discussed the Aetas’ jewelry, clothing, domestic implements, and musical instruments, uses of which were part of their overall cultural practices. German anthropologists required all of the source materials they could obtain, since, as Schadenberg observed, “our knowledge of the Negritos, that strange race of people in the Philippines, is unfortunately still very meager.”⁴²

Over time, acquiring artifacts became an exercise in mass accumulation fueled by the construction of museums which displayed these objects as representations of the cultures that fashioned them. In his study of ethnological museums in Imperial Germany, H. Glenn Penny shows that “as an international market in material culture took shape in the wake of rising competition, museums emerged as the largest and most influential consumers.”⁴³ Hans Meyer collected “jewelry, clothing, and weapons” from Filipinos known as the Igorrots and subsequently deposited them in the “Royal Museum,” where Bastian had been director since

⁴⁰Carl Semper, “Reise durch die nördlichen Provinzen der Insel Luzon,” *Zeitschrift für Allgemeine Erdkunde* 13 (1862): 96; and Fedor Jagor, “Grabstätten zu Nipa-Nipa, Philippinen,” *ZfE* 1 (1869): 80.

⁴¹Alexander Schadenberg, “Ueber die Negritos der Philippinen,” *ZfE* 12 (1880): 139.

⁴²*Ibid.*, 133.

⁴³Penny, *Objects of Culture*, 59.

1873.⁴⁴ As a museum director and anthropologist, Bastian hoped to acquire as much evidence as possible to enhance the collections in the museum and the possibilities for anthropological study in the future. About the understanding of the anthropology of the Philippines, Bastian remarked in 1871 that it was “often complicated” and that “the increasing accumulation of material surrounding these islands is therefore particularly gratifying.”⁴⁵

In addition to artifacts, Germans collected human remains of Filipinos for use as source material in their anthropological studies. Semper and Jagor acquired Filipino skulls during their travels through the Spanish colony, and like artifacts, these too entered German museums.⁴⁶ Obtaining human remains through grave robbery could be a risky enterprise for colonial scientists, however.⁴⁷ After A. B. Meyer located a “number of Negrito graves,” he visited them “at night and armed to rob its contents, although not entirely without risk to my life.”⁴⁸ The German anthropologist justified his actions by the lack of available materials for study in Europe.

The DGAEU received shipments of human remains, which enabled scholars who had not traveled to the Spanish colony to use them for anthropological investigation. In 1872, the

⁴⁴Meyer, “die Igorrotes,” (380); and Penny, *Objects of Culture*, 2. Meyer had traveled to the Philippines and elsewhere in the world on the “recommendation” of Bastian and Jagor, two German scholars who had visited the Spanish colony previously. Meyer, “die Igorrotes,” (377).

⁴⁵“Sitzung vom 14. Januar 1871,” *ZfE* 3 (1871): 44.

⁴⁶Semper, “nördlichen Provinzen,” 96; and Jagor, “Grabstätten,” 81. Jagor wrote that a snake he had killed in the cave was now located “in the University of Berlin Zoological Museum, where the skulls are also temporarily housed” and that the artifacts will “perhaps once an anthropological museum is founded, find a place there.” Jagor, “Grabstätten,” 82.

He wrote in 1879 to the Prussian Cultural Ministry about the museum that was supposed to have been erected in 1873 that “everywhere ethnographic museums are being founded, existing collections completed, and the currently accepted scientific standards fittingly established. In France they have founded an ethnological museum of the greatest scale, one equipped with everything current scientific standards require; in Vienna, the most famous architects of the land are erecting a splendid building . . . in a short time Leipzig, and probably also Hamburg will build their own museums for this purpose.” Penny, *Objects of Culture*, 47.

⁴⁷On the context of the economy of body parts in southern Africa, see Luise White, “The Traffic in Heads: Bodies, Borders and the Articulation of Regional Histories,” *Journal of Southern African Studies* 23, no. 2 (1997): 325-38.

⁴⁸Meyer, “Fundort,” (91).

Society received Filipino “skulls” and “skeletons” from A. B. Meyer that he had obtained in the Philippines.⁴⁹ Rudolf Virchow, president and co-founder of the DGAEU, privileged human remains from the Philippines for study, even though he had never visited the colony, writing that “more accurate knowledge has come to us” about the peoples of the Philippines through the “skull shipments of Mr. A. B. Meyer.”⁵⁰ In 1879, Jagor donated Filipino skulls to the Society that he had received from José Muñoz de Bustillo in Manila and in the same year G. A. Baer, a German also resident in the Spanish colonial capital, sent his collection of Filipino skeletons to the DGAEU, showing the advantage of continuing to access local colonial networks in the Philippines for obtaining human remains.⁵¹

Besides the use of skulls for study, German scholars employed other physical specimens. In 1873, Joseph Pohl-Pincus, who never visited the Spanish colony, turned to “hair samples” as a means of accurately distinguishing Filipinos from one another.⁵² “Because of the ease of collecting hair,” writes Andrew Zimmerman in his history of anthropology in Imperial Germany, “it became an important anthropological object. Hair can be acquired from the living, does not decompose, and is relatively easy to ship.”⁵³ Schadenberg and Hans Meyer also analyzed “hair” (*Haar*) in their examinations of racial and physiological differences between Filipinos.⁵⁴

⁴⁹Rudolf Virchow, “über Negrito- und Igorroten-Schädel,” *ZfE* 4 (1872): (204); and “Sitzung vom 6. Juli 1872,” *ibid.* (222).

⁵⁰Rudolf Virchow, “über Schädel von Neu-Guinea,” *ibid.* 5 (1873): (65).

⁵¹“vier Schädel von Cagraray (Philippinen),” *ibid.* 11 (1879): (422-26); and Rudolf Virchow, “Schädel und Skelette von den Philippinen, namentlich von Negritos,” *ibid.* (426-28). Baer reported that “in the eleven years that I’ve already spent in the Philippines, I’ve managed to collect some thirty skeletons of Negritos,” showing apparently that not only anthropologists were interested in collecting human remains. Rudolf Virchow, “Photographien von Negrito-Schädeln von den Philippinen,” *ibid.* (331).

⁵²Joseph Pohl-Pincus, “über die Haare der Negritos auf den Philippinen,” *ZfE* 5 (1873): (155); and Julius Pagel, *Die Entwicklung der Medicin in Berlin von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart: Eine Historische Skizze* (Wiesbaden: Verlag von J. F. Bergmann, 1897), 98.

⁵³Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism*, 162. He notes further that “in the collection of the Berlin Anthropological Society, there were envelopes, test tubes, and cigar boxes full of hair, all labeled according to origin.” *Ibid.*

⁵⁴Schadenberg, “Negritos,” 136, 147, 162 & 163; and Meyer, “die Igorrotes,” (380).

In addition to artifacts and human remains, German anthropologists made use of photographs in their anthropological studies. Jagor was one of the first German anthropologists to use photographs as scientific source material.⁵⁵ In 1869, he used “twenty-six stereoscopes of ethnic types of natives in the Philippines” in a presentation he made in Berlin.⁵⁶ A. B. Meyer also took photos of Filipinos during his travels in the Spanish colony.⁵⁷ Additionally, the DGAEU became a recipient of photographs as it had with artifacts and human remains. In 1870, Jagor donated a “collection of about 300 photographs” to the DGAEU.⁵⁸ In 1879, the Society received photos of Aetas and Aeta skulls from Otto Koch, a German traveling companion of Schadenberg.⁵⁹ Similar to the travels of German anthropologists to, from, and within the Philippines, numbers of artifacts, human remains, and photographs circulated out of the Spanish colony and back to Germany for examination and display.

Before their return to Europe, German scholars sent written communications reporting on their travels and observations in the Spanish colony that were published in scientific periodicals, which thus widened their colleagues’ access to the colonial networks through which they and

⁵⁵Monika Rohrbach-Benton, “Frühe Photographien,” in *Die ethnographische Linse: Photographien aus dem Museum für Völkerkunde Berlin*, ed. Markus Schindlbeck (Berlin: Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz, 1989), 33; and Markus Schindlbeck, “Die ethnographische Photographie in der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte,” in *ibid.*, 17-19.

In a book that resulted from his travels in Singapore, Malacca, and Java, Jagor used photographs as the basis of illustrations. Jagor, *Reiseskizzen*. He first took a photograph and then converted it to an illustration, either using a hand drawing or camera lucida, a device that superimposes an image onto a drawing surface, where an artist can reproduce the image. For comparison of one of Jagor’s original photos from Singapore and the subsequent illustration, see Thomas Theye, ed., *Der Geraubte Schatten: Die Photographie als ethnographisches Dokument* (München: Münchner Stadtmuseum, 1989), 26.

⁵⁶“Sitzung der Berliner Anthropologischen Gesellschaft, Dec. 11., 1869,” *ZfE* 1 (1869): 480. In his discussion of the role of photography among early Filipino nationalists, Vicente L. Rafael notes that the earliest surviving photographs in the Philippines were “stereoscopic photos of a Philippine tribal group, the Tinguianes, taken about 1860 by an unknown French traveler.” Vicente L. Rafael, “Nationalism, Imagery, and the Filipino Intelligentsia in the Nineteenth Century,” *Critical Inquiry* 16, no. 3 (Spring 1990): 603, n. 16. It is quite possible that Jagor was actually the early photographer to whom Rafael refers, since he had used stereoscopic photography, had been in the Philippines in 1860, and was well-versed in the French language.

⁵⁷A. B. Meyer, ed., *Album von Philippinen-Typen: Circa 250 Abbildungen auf 32 Tafeln in Lichtdruck* (Dresden: Wilhelm Hoffman, 1885).

⁵⁸“Sitzung vom 15. Januar 1870,” *ZfE* 2 (1870): 147.

⁵⁹Rudolf Virchow, “Photographien von 5 Negritos,,” *ibid.* 11 (1879): (422).

objects circulated. In 1859, Jagor sent zoological specimens back to Berlin accompanied by a brief accounting of them.⁶⁰ Semper mailed a series of letters to the editor of a German zoological journal that were published from 1860-64 describing his work in the Spanish colony.⁶¹ He also sent travel reports back to Germany that included anthropological observations that were published in 1861 and 1862 in a German geography journal prior to the founding of the DGAEU.⁶² During his travels in the Philippines in the early 1870s, A. B. Meyer sent reports to the DGAEU that were published in the Society's *Journal of Ethnology*.⁶³

The DGAEU circulated information about the colonial Philippines by publishing reviews, articles, and presentations of German scholars' works on the Spanish colony. The premier volume of the *Journal of Ethnology* reviewed the first book-length German study of the Philippines, written by Semper and published in 1869. The unnamed reviewer applauded its content, particularly the fourth chapter, since it dealt with "the Negritos and pagan Malay tribes" of the Spanish colony, he explained.⁶⁴ In the same and succeeding volumes of the journal, Jagor, Virchow, A. B. Meyer, and other German anthropologists published articles, presentations and

⁶⁰"17. März 1859 Gesamtsitzung der Akademie," *Monatsberichte der Königlich Preufs. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* (1859): 269.

⁶¹"Kleinere Mittheilungen und Correspondenz-Nachrichten. Reiseberichte des Herrn Dr. Carl Semper. Erster Brief aus Singapore," *Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftliche Zoologie* 10, no. 1 (1860): 179-82; "Kleinere Mittheilungen. Reisebericht des Herrn Dr. Semper. (Fortsetzung)," *ibid.* 11, no. 1 (1862): 100-108; "Reiseberichte von Herrn Dr. Carl Semper. Briefliche Mittheilung an A. Kölliker (Taf. XXXVIII und XXXIX.)," *ibid.* 13, no. 4 (1863): 558-70; and "Reisebericht. Von Carl Semper. (Fortsetzung.) (Taf. XLI.)," *ibid.* 14, no. 4 (1864): 417-26.

⁶²Semper, "nordöstlichen Provinzen," 249-66; and Semper, "nördlichen Provinzen," 81-96.

⁶³A. B. Meyer, "Schädeln und Steinwaffen von Celebes," *ZfE* 4 (1872): (202-203); and A. B. Meyer, "Ueber die Papua's und Neu-Guinea. Brief des Herrn A. B. Meyer an Herrn Virchow, mitgetheilt in der Berliner anthropologischen Gesellschaft am 15. November 1873," *ibid.* 5 (1873): 306-309.

⁶⁴Semper, *Bewohner*; and "Die Philippinen und ihre Bewohner, Dr. C. Semper (Würzburg 1869)," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 1 (1869): 328.

reports on Filipinos.⁶⁵ Many of these initial works later formed portions of their longer publications.⁶⁶

German scholars also relied on the circulation of written texts produced by travelers to the Philippines from other European countries. Semper and Jagor employed older and contemporary Spanish writers in their works.⁶⁷ In a later article, Schadenberg cited more recent Spanish works on the Philippines published after the studies of Semper and Jagor as a way of attempting to keep abreast of information relevant to anthropology.⁶⁸ Semper and Jagor also made use of the

⁶⁵See Rudolf Virchow, ed., *General-Register zu Band I-XX (1869-1888) der Zeitschrift für Ethnologie und der Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte* (Berlin: A. Ascher & Co., 1894).

⁶⁶Semper included part of a previously published article and cited several of his other works in his study of the Philippines. Semper, *Bewohner*; Semper, *Holothurien*; Semper, “nordöstlichen Provinzen,” 249-66; and Semper, “nördlichen Provinzen,” 81-97. Jagor noted in the foreword that portions of the work had appeared in the *ZfE*. Jagor, “Grabstätten,” 80-82; “die Philippinen und ihre Bewohner,” 148-51; “über die Negritos der Philippinen,” 43; and “über moderne Pfahlbauten in Asien,” (125-27). Jagor included an essay by Virchow in the appendix to his work that had first appeared in the *ZfE*. Rud. Virchow, “Ueber alte und neue Schädel von den Philippinen,” in Jagor, *Reisen*, 355-77; “Ueber die Schädel der älteren Bevölkerung der Philippinen,” 151-58; “über den Schädelbau der Bewohner der Philippinen,” 33-42; and “über Negrito- und Igorroten-Schädel,” (204-209). A. B. Meyer also contributed updated information for Jagor’s work on the Philippines. “Zusätze und Berichtigungen,” in Jagor, *Reisen*, 329-30.

A. B. Meyer published a compilation of articles investigating the Aetas in the Philippines. A. B. Meyer, *Ueber die Negritos oder Aetas der Philippinen* (Dresden: Wilhelm Baensch, 1878). It included “über die Negritos der Philippinen” and “Ein Beitrag zu der Kenntniss der Sprache der Negritos,” both of which had been published previously in a Dutch periodical; “über den Fundort der von ihm überbrachten Skelete und Schädel von Negritos, sowie über die Verbreitung der Negritos auf den Philippinen,” and “über die Haare der Negritos auf den Philippinen,” by Joseph Pohl-Pincus, both from the 1873 *ZfE*; and “über die Beziehungen zwischen Negritos und Papuas” previously published in *ZfE* in 1875. It also included an unidentified photograph of a Negrito that also appeared in a larger compilation of photos published by Meyer in 1885. Meyer, ed., *Album*, Tafel XI. The same was true of Hans Meyer’s 1883 presentation on the Igorrots: the piece also appeared as an appendix to his 1885 travel account. Meyer, “die Igorrotes,” (377-90); and Meyer, *Weltreise*, 508-43.

⁶⁷Semper, *Bewohner*; and Jagor, *Reisen*. Such writings included Francisco Combés, *Historia de las islas de Mindanao, Jolo, y sus adyacentes: progressos de la religion, y armas católicas* (Madrid: Pablo de Val, 1667); Gaspar de San Agustin, *Conquistas de las Islas Filipinas, la temporal, por las armas del señor Don Phelipe Segundo y Prudente; y la espiritual, por los religiosos del orden de nuestro padre San Augustin* (Madrid: Manuel Ruiz de Morga, 1698); Pedro Murillo Velarde, *Historia de la provincial de Philipinas de la Compañia de Jesus: segunda parte, que comprehende los progresos de esta provincial desde el año 1616 hasta el de 1716* (Manila: Imprenta de la Compañia de Jesus, 1749); Joaquín Martínez de Zúñiga, *Historia de las Islas Philipinas* (Sampaloc: Pedro Argüelles de la Concepción, 1803); and Sinibaldo de Mas, *Informe sobre el estado de las Islas Filipinas en 1842*, 3 vols. (Madrid: F. Sánchez, 1843).

⁶⁸Schadenberg, “Negritos.” The German anthropologist cited Cláudio Montero, “Conferencias sobre las Islas Filipinas,” *Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Madrid* 1, no. 4 (1876): 297-337; and Maximino Lillo de Gracia, *Filipinas distrito de Lepanto: descripcion general* (Manila: Imprenta del Colegio de Sto Tomas, 1877). He also listed Valentin Gonzalez Serrano as the author of *Compendio de la historia de Filipinas* (Manila: n.p., 1875), though Serrano never composed a study by this title. Schadenberg was likely intending to refer to Felipe Maria Govantes, *Compendio de la historia de Filipinas* (Manila: G. Memije, 1877).

writings of British and French visitors to the Spanish colony.⁶⁹ Thus, it was not solely the travels of German anthropologists and the objects they removed from the Philippines that constituted the bases of their studies, but also the writings of others who visited the colony over the centuries it had existed under Spanish rule.

The Austrian ethnologist Ferdinand Blumentritt, who produced the most printed material about the Philippines in any language during the nineteenth-century, never traveled to the Spanish colony, but instead made extensive use of the circulation of written texts through colonial communication networks.⁷⁰ He published his first study of the Spanish colony in 1879, an investigation of the Chinese population in the Philippines for which Jagor furnished the “greater part of the sources.”⁷¹ The study also cited the work of Semper and Jagor, as well as the same Spanish chroniclers on which they had drawn in their works, in addition to contemporary Spanish writers.⁷² Blumentritt’s studies of the Philippines published over the following three years continued to draw on the writings of German, Austrian, and Spanish officials, travelers,

⁶⁹See passim Semper, *Bewohner*, 92-143; and Jagor, *Reisen*, 331-32.

⁷⁰Another German author likely made use of several written texts in studies of Filipinos and the Philippines. “Dr.” Theodor Mundt-Lauff was later discovered not to be a doctor at all and may have never visited the Philippines, though he claimed to have resided there for some ten years. Wilhelm Joest composed a notice uncovering the “adventurer” Mundt-Lauff, who had moved from place to place in Germany during the 1850s under assumed names and titles attempting to swindle women out of their inheritances. Although the swindler assumed that the distance separating the Spanish colony from Europe would enable the composition of his at least partially fictional scientific studies, global communication networks linked the world in ways that rendered his falsifications impossible to uphold. Wilhelm Joest, “Abenteuer Mundt-Lauff,” *ZfE* 27 (1895): (465-67); and Theodor Mundt-Lauff, “Die Negrito’s der Philippinen: Forschung und Kritik,” *Deutsche Geographische Blätter* 1 (1877): 80-97 & 136-55. Joest concluded his notice about the con man with the remark that “hopefully now the name of this impostor disappears permanently from such books and magazines that lay claim to reliability and scientific methodology.” Joest, “Abenteuer,” 467.

⁷¹Ferdinand Blumentritt, *Die Chinesen auf den Philippinen: Eine historische Skizze* (Leitmeritz: Communal-Ober-Realschule, 1879), 33, n. 113.

⁷²Citations of Jagor and Semper appeared in *ibid.*, 5, n. 9 & 7, n. 16. Blumentritt also used on San Agustin, *Filipinas*; Martínez, *Philippinas*; Combés, *Historia*; Antonio de Morga, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas* (Mexico: Geronymo Balli, 1609); Montero, “Filipinas”; and Vicente Barrantes, *Guerras piráticas de Filipinas: contra mindanaos y joloanos* (Madrid: Manuel G. Hernandez, 1878).

and scholars.⁷³ In 1882, he compiled a vocabulary of Spanish words local to the Philippines that included an extensive bibliography of works dealing with the colony and was dedicated to J. C. Labhart-Lutz, the Austrian Consul in Manila, an informant with direct access to local information.⁷⁴ The text also provided Blumentritt's home address for readers who might contact him with corrections or additions to the information contained in the vocabulary.⁷⁵ Despite his distance from the Philippines, Imperial Germany, and the DGAEU, other German anthropologists recommended his work.⁷⁶

These scholarly communication networks were not separate from popular and colonial publications in Germany and elsewhere in Europe, demonstrating their further transnational circulation across global imperial spaces. German anthropologists' studies of the Philippines were translated into the languages of colonial powers, including Spanish, English, and French, and their works appeared frequently in periodicals from Spain, Britain, France, and the Netherlands.⁷⁷ German anthropologists' writings also appeared in the more popular and

⁷³Ferdinand Blumentritt, *Holländische Angriffe auf die Philippinen im XVI., XVII. und XVIII. Jahrhunderte* (Leitmeritz: K. Pickert, 1880); and Ferd. Blumentritt, "Versuch einer Ethnographie der Philippinen," *Dr. A. Peterman's Mittheilungen aus Justus Perthes' Geographischer Anstalt*, Ergänzungsheft Nr. 67 (1882): 1-69.

⁷⁴Ferdinand Blumentritt, *Vocabular einzelner Ausdrücke und Redensarten, welche dem Spanischen der Philippinischen Inseln eigenthümlich sind* (Leitmeritz: Communal-Ober-Realschule, 1882). Blumentritt thanked Labhart-Lutz profusely in the foreword to the work and later wrote the consul's obituary. Ferdinand Blumentritt, *J.C. Labhart-Lutz: Ein Nachruf, Gewidmet dem Andenken des Edlen Verblichen* (Leitmeritz: n.p., 1889).

⁷⁵Blumentritt, *Vocabular*, vi. He was assisted by A. B. Meyer and Jagor and wrote that living "in a small town far from the large libraries" created particular challenges for him. Other obstacles included balancing his work on the Philippines, which he performed "late in the evening," with finishing the "correction of students' work" at the Leitmeritz Oberrealschule, where he had taught German, geography, and history since 1877. *Ibid.*, vi-viii; and Harry Sichrovsky, *Der Revolutionär von Leitmeritz: Ferdinand Blumentritt und der philippinische Freiheitskampf* (Vienna: Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1983).

⁷⁶Hans Meyer characterized Blumentritt's 1882 comprehensive study of Filipinos as a "highly commendable work." A. B. Meyer dubbed the Austrian's study "outstanding" and described him as the "best authority on the Philippines." Blumentritt, "Versuch"; Meyer, "die Igorrotes," (377); and Meyer, ed., *Album*, 1.

⁷⁷Carlos Semper, "Los negritos y tribus malayas idólatras de Filipinas," trans. Sebastián Vidal, *El Bazar: Revista Ilustrada* 1 (1874): 443-46, 455-59 & 470-74; F. Jagor, *Viajes por Filipinas*, trans. S. Vidal y Soler (Madrid: Aribau and Co., 1875); F. Jagor, *Travels in the Philippines*, n.t. (London: Chapman and Hall, 1875); Ferdinand Blumentritt, "Organisation communale des indigènes des Philippines placés sous la domination espagnole," trans. A. Hugot, *Société Académique Indo-Chinoise* 1 (1881): 145-53; F. Blumentritt, "Ascension du volcan Apó dans l'île de Mindanao, par le docteur A. Schadenberg et le docteur O. Koch," trans. A. Hugot, *ibid.*, 496-501; Ferdinand Blumentritt, *Filipinas: ataques de los holandeses en los siglos XVI, XVII y XVIII*, trans. Enrique

illustrated geography journal, *Globus*.⁷⁸ Demonstrating a bridge between the informal and formal scientific colonialism of German anthropology, the second volume of the newspaper of the Colonial Association (*Kolonialverein*) positively reviewed Hans Meyer's travel account that included his journey through the Philippines.⁷⁹ The travel and communication networks that made possible Germans' studies of the Spanish colony prior to the acquisition of formal overseas colonies in Imperial Germany show that anthropology was anything but apart from the colonial world and the age of empire.

Filipinos and (Colonial) Civilization

In their studies of Filipinos, German scholars created colonial anthropologies, even in the precolonial era of Imperial Germany, because their work resulted from the circulation of anthropologists, artifacts, human remains, photographs, and written texts through imperialist networks. Additionally, their writings involving colonized Filipinos underscored white supremacy in the context of the Spanish overseas empire. German anthropologists used skulls,

Ruppert (Madrid: Impr. de Fortanet, 1882); Ferdinand Blumentritt, "Descubrimientos marítimos de los españoles en el archipiélago filipino," trans. Ramón Jordana, *Revista contemporánea* 41 (1882): 129-52; and Ferdinand Blumentritt, "Vocabulaire de locutions et de mots particuliers à l'espagnol des Philippines," trans. A. Hugot, *Société académique indo-chinoise* 2 (1883-1885): 233-315.

Augusto G. de Linares, "La vida de los astros," *Revista de España* 11 (1875): 104-23; Enrique Abella y Casariego, "El monte Maquilin (Filipinas) y sus actuales emanaciones volcánicas," *Boletín de la Comisión del Mapa geológico de España* 11 (1884): 378, 379 & 382; Enrique Abella y Casariego, "Emanaciones volcánicas subordinadas al Malinao (Filipinas)," *ibid.*, 398 & 400; Enrique Abella y Casariego, "El Mayon ó volcán de Albay (Filipinas)," *ibid.*, 406, 410, 411, 412, 415, 416, 418, 419, 421 & 422; Salvador Calderon y Arana, "Trabajos del dr. Meyer sobre las Islas Filipinas," *Anales de la Sociedad Española de Historia Natural* 13 (1884): 24-28. For a list of the publications in various countries' periodicals by German anthropologists held in the U.S. Library of Congress at the turn of the century, see Library of Congress and the Bureau of Insular Affairs, War Department, *Bibliography of the Philippine Islands* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1903).

⁷⁸"F. Jagor's Reisen auf den Philippinen," *Globus: Illustrierte Zeitschrift für Länder- und Völkerkunde* 23 (1873): 177-81, 196-99, 245-49 & 326-28; Ferdinand Blumentritt, "Die Bewohner des Suluh-Archipels: Nach dem Spanischen des P. de Pazos," *ibid.* 37 (1880): 88-91; Ferdinand Blumentritt, "Die Erdbeben des Juli 1880 auf den Philippinen," *ibid.* 38 (1880): 315-18; Ferdinand Blumentritt, "Die Goldfundstellen auf den Philippinen und ihre Ausbeutung," *ibid.* 39 (1881): 39-41; and Ferdinand Blumentritt, "Die Bevölkerung der Suluinseln nach A. Garin," *ibid.* 40 (1881): 335-36; and "Dr. Hans Meyer's Reisen im nördlichen Luzon. (Philippinen.): (Auszüge aus seinem als Manuskript gedruckten Tagebuche.)," *ibid.* 43 (1883): 169-72, 202-205 & 215-18.

⁷⁹"Litteratur: 'Eine Weltreise'," *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung* 2 (1885): 432-34.

photos, and written descriptions of Filipinos to categorize them into racial types according to their levels of civilization and proximity to the colonial order. German informal scientific imperialism in the Philippines therefore operated as a practice space for later German colonialism, even though it took place in part in a non-German, i.e. Spanish, colony.

Although their anthropologies were created in a Spanish colony, they still rehearsed the “rule of difference,” a phrase that George Steinmetz describes in his study of German colonial states in Southwest Africa, Samoa, and China, as a central goal of “modern colonialism” in general.⁸⁰ Andrew Zimmerman shows in his history of anthropology in Imperial Germany that German anthropologists distinguished between civilized and uncivilized peoples with the terms “cultural peoples” (*Kulturvölker*) and “natural peoples” (*Naturvölker*). Even before the founding of the DGAEU, the German anthropologist Theodor Waitz located Filipinos in the latter category in his multi-volume anthropological study of “natural peoples.”⁸¹ German anthropologists took for granted thereafter that Filipinos were uncivilized, a distinction that also implicitly conceived of the Spanish as “cultural peoples” and thereby equated colonialism with civilization in the islands.

After extracting Filipinos’ remains from various sites in the colony and bringing or sending them back to Germany for measurement, comparison, and interpretation, German anthropologists identified racial characteristics of different groups in the Philippines that emphasized their inferior positions as “natural peoples.” In an 1873 presentation in Berlin, Virchow used skulls of the Aetas to conclude that this “entire race” was in physical comparison

⁸⁰George Steinmetz, *The Devil’s Handwriting: Precoloniality and the German Colonial State in Qingdao, Samoa, and Southwest Africa* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 36.

⁸¹Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism*, 38; and Theodor Waitz, *Anthropologie der Naturvölker, Fünfter Theil, Die Völker der Südsee: Ethnographisch und culturhistorisch dargestellt*, Erstes Heft, “Die Malaien” (Leipzig: Friedrich Fleischer, 1865). Even though Waitz passed away in 1864, his writings significantly influenced the work of later German anthropologists. Woodruff D. Smith, *Politics and the Sciences of Culture in Germany, 1840-1920* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).

to other Filipinos at a “relatively lower standing.”⁸² A decade later, he examined Igorrot skulls in an attempt to distinguish among “all of the central savage tribes” in the interior of the island of Luzon.⁸³ By describing the Aetas as “lower” and the Igorrots as “savage,” his study underpinned Spanish, and anticipated German, colonial ideology that distinguished the colonizers from the colonized as civilized and uncivilized, superior and inferior.

The perceived divide between natural and cultural peoples led German anthropologists to avoid comparisons between Filipinos and Europeans for the most part. However, in his 1880 study, Schadenberg inserted skull measurements of Aetas and Tagalogs into a table containing cranial statistics of different peoples around the world previously recorded in a book by the Austrian medical doctor Augustin Weisbach comparing races using body measurements.⁸⁴ Weisbach included Africans, Asians, Pacific Islanders, and Native Americans, as well as various European groups, such as “Gypsies” (*Zigeuner*), “Jews” (*Juden*), Hungarians, Rumanians, and Slavs, but Schadenberg observed that “none of the peoples” compared in size to the Aetas.⁸⁵ The German anthropologist only juxtaposed Filipinos to Europeans ruled by others, as if themselves

⁸²Rudolf Virchow, “über Schädel von Neu-Guinea,” *ZfE* 5 (1873): (65). In the appendix to his work, Jagor included an essay by Virchow that also used different Filipinos’ skulls to come to certain conclusions about them as groups. In one such comparison between “races,” for example, the president of the DGAEU noted that one group possessed a “gentler, sedentary, and more civilized population,” while another appeared to belong to a “more savage people.” Although clearly differentiated from each other, neither was civilized in Virchow’s mind at the level of the Spanish. His article also articulated a less-disguised racism in describing the skulls of Aetas as “bestial” and “ape-like,” ultimately claiming by referring to an illustration produced from a photograph that these people gave the “impression of ugliness.” Virchow, “Ueber alte und neue Schädel,” 363 & 375.

⁸³Rudolf Virchow, “Schädel der Igorroten,” *ZfE* 15 (1883): (391).

⁸⁴Schadenberg, “Negritos,” 155; and A. Weisbach, *Körpermessungen verschiedener Menschenrassen* (Berlin: Wiegandt, Hempel & Parey, 1878).

⁸⁵Schadenberg, “Negritos,” 155 & 156. The use of skulls for anthropological study and the assumption of the ability to detect differences were so widespread that German scholars included illustrations of them in their works. Virchow included images of skulls in an essay that appeared in the appendix to Jagor’s study of the Philippines. Virchow, “Ueber alte und neue Schädel,” 374-75. Articles by Schadenberg on the Aetas and Bagobos also contained illustrations of skulls. *ZfE* 12 (1880): Taf. VIII; and *ibid.* 17 (1885): Taf. V. The images provided several views of their forms and served to provide some basis for examination in the absence of direct access to actual physical specimens.

colonized peoples. The assumptions surrounding German anthropologists' notions of civilized and uncivilized peoples therefore informed their interpretations of Filipinos' and others' skulls.⁸⁶

Similar to the amassing and subsequent investigation of human remains, German anthropologists used photographs to characterize particular racial attributes and emphasize European superiority by depicting Filipinos as uncivilized. A. B. Meyer published an album of photos of different Filipinos intended to assist anthropological understanding of various peoples' racial and cultural characteristics. The work contained thirty-two "plates" (*Tafeln*), many with more than one photo, accompanied by written descriptions. The book implicitly ordered Filipinos on a scale measuring their civilization with the hunting and foraging Aetas first, followed by sedentary hunter agriculturalist Malay-speakers, and also including mestizas, women of mixed Filipino and Spanish or Chinese ancestry.

The plates underscored the Germans' presumption that Filipinos lacked civilization by presenting to European viewers people with few articles of clothing and living in dwellings different from those that colonizers would inhabit. The first plate in the book depicted an Aeta family with a man, woman, and two children posing in front of a brick structure. The written description noted that the man bears a knife "of the Tagalogs" and the woman "is clad after the style of a Tagalog woman with a Saya (skirt)."⁸⁷ Even though the photo demonstrated adoptions of neighboring Filipinos' tools and dress, Meyer's comments attempted to essentialize the Aetas by suggesting their culture to be narrower and more limited. Plate VII contained an Aeta

⁸⁶The scientific practice of measuring skulls in Germany and elsewhere not only contributed to the upkeep of colonial rule, but eventually to the differentiations between "Aryans" and "non-Aryans" in National Socialist Germany that provided a scientific justification for the subsequent systematic destruction of Jews, Sinti, Roma, and others during the Second World War. Benoit Massin, "From Virchow to Fischer: Physical Anthropology and 'Modern Race Theories' in Wilhelmine Germany," in *Volksgeist as Method and Ethic: Essays on Boasian Ethnography and the German Anthropological Tradition*, ed. George W. Stocking, Jr. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996), 79-154; and Gretchen E. Schafft, *From Racism to Genocide: Anthropology in the Third Reich* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2004).

⁸⁷Meyer, ed., *Album*, 3. References to this source will appear parenthetically in the text hereafter.

dwelling and a woman leaning against a pillar. Meyer's written description reported about the former image, however, that it "is not a Negrito house, because they know nothing of this kind" (3). Since the German anthropologist's written description worked to represent the Aetas as less cultured than the photos actually showed, the narrative therefore sought to solidify these Filipinos' identities apart from other cultures and separate from civilization in general.



Figure 3.2: "Civilized Negrito woman from Samal village, Bataán Province" (5 & Tafel XIII)

On the one hand, the album tried to demonstrate aspects of the Aetas' lives in terms of what it lacked, and on the other hand, it equated civilization with Spanish colonialism. Plate XIII exhibited a "civilized Negrito woman" (5) attired in the style of a Spanish woman (see Fig. 3.2). With this image, Meyer thus reinforced the notion that Spanish culture was civilized and the Aetas' was not. He speculated about her that "she must have either married rich or found well-to-do god-parents."⁸⁸ In two different images of Aetas from Plate XIII, a man donned a cloth

⁸⁸Meyer further remarked about the photo that the governor of the province from where she had originated fostered "friendly relations with the Negritos" which had resulted in their taking up "positions as servants" in "coastal villages" (5).

around his neck and in the other a woman a headscarf. Meyer suggested that both of these indicated “civilized influence” (5), though he did not specify its source.

Like with the Aetas, the album also used clothing as a means of depicting Malay-speaking Filipinos as uncivilized. In several photos of Igorrot women, they appeared with uncovered torsos. To European viewers, this dress style qualified these Filipinos as uncivilized, since it cut against Victorian norms surrounding femininity. Although he made no similar comment elsewhere in the book, about an Igorrot woman in a photo from Plate XX, Meyer noted her “remarkably small breasts” (8), showing that his gaze affixed to the woman’s body, particularly to parts not normally exposed by Germans.



Figure 3.3: “Igorrots from north Luzon” (Tafel XXIII)

While the Igorrots displayed a different level of civilization as agriculturalists than the nomadic hunting and gathering Aetas, photos in Meyer’s album still depicted them as uncivilized. Although a photo from Plate XIX showed “Igorrot women pounding rice” (7) and thus participating in the local agricultural mode of production, another image from Plate XXIII

illustrated an Igorrot in “position to demonstrate the use of the shield in head hunts” (8) (see Fig. 3.3). Meyer’s commentary excluded the possibility that the photo depicted a military tactic and instead stressed these Filipinos as a savage race. Representing Filipinos as head hunters not only starkly contrasted them with European culture, but also potentially cast Spanish colonialism in a benevolent light for restraining the Igorrots’ alleged savagery. The photo merely confirmed the assumption that European viewers believed in the first place: Filipinos were uncivilized.

According to Meyer, Spanish and Chinese mestizas constituted the most civilized Filipinos. Whereas Aetas, Igorrots, and other Malay-speakers were seen out of doors, photos of these women were taken inside, likely in a studio. Among them were a “large number of gradations,” Meyer pointed out, but their Spanish-styled clothing again indicated them to be “civilized” (9). Associating European clothing with civilization was common practice in colonial settings and seemed to threaten to disrupt the dichotomy between “cultural” and “natural” peoples, since anyone could put on a costume.⁸⁹ Yet, if it was the clothing that signified civilization, not the people wearing one outfit or another, then photos merely depicted “natural peoples” aspiring to cross the boundary separating them from cultural peoples, without actually breaking down the distinction. Like the Aetas’ borrowings from and proximity to others’ dress, tools, and dwellings, Meyer differentiated “natural peoples” on the basis of the physical attributes that constituted their races instead of external objects that he identified as either inherent or alien to their essential culture.

Similar to anthropologists’ visual representations of skulls and photographs, German ethnographies comprised of written descriptions of Filipinos justified European colonialism by

⁸⁹Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism*, 32; and Bernard S. Cohn, “Cloth, Clothes, and Colonialism: India in the Nineteenth Century,” in *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996), 106-62. In his study of southern Africans, the German anthropologist Gustav Fritsch also equated clothing with civilization. Gustav Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika’s: Atlas* (Breslau: Ferdinand Hirt, 1872), 4; and Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism*, 260, n. 65.

associating race with the capacity for conquest. Semper's and Jagor's studies of the Philippines were the first among German anthropologists to rank Filipinos according to their abilities to dominate their natural environments and other people.⁹⁰ Blumentritt's comprehensive ethnography of Filipinos that compiled and synthesized all extant studies of the Philippines up to 1882 came to the same conclusion. Rather than focusing on Filipinos' relations to their natural environments, however, his account narrated the history of the Philippines as a series of conquests of one racial group defeating others.

In his investigation of the history of theories of race and migration in the Philippine past, Filomeno V. Aguilar, Jr. writes that Blumentritt's ethnography was the "first systematic formulation of the migration-waves theory purporting to explain the peopling of the Philippine islands with two races and diverse cultural groups."⁹¹ More than a decade before Blumentritt's study, however, Semper described the "first migration of Malays" to the Philippines: Blumentritt had inherited the notion from the earlier German scholar. Semper also identified a later "Muslim migration."⁹² Blumentritt more clearly distinguished between a first and second Malay migration and third Muslim-Malay migration, however.

Blumentritt's narrative of the populating of the islands began with the Aetas, whom he described as the "original inhabitants of the Philippines" residing throughout the "entire archipelago." However, after "migrating Malays" arrived, they "expelled the former masters into the inaccessible mountain wilderness of the interior." As other Malay-speakers migrated, they forced the first group of Malays into the "interior of the large island" where they moved to

⁹⁰Semper, *Bewohner*; and Jagor, *Reisen*. See the extended discussion in the first chapter of this dissertation.

⁹¹Filomeno V. Aguilar, Jr., "Tracing Origins: *Ilustrado* Nationalism and the Racial Science of Migration Waves," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 64, no. 3 (Aug. 2005): 606.

⁹²Semper, *Bewohner*, 53 & 65.

“territories occupied by Negritos.”⁹³ In the absence of historical evidence prior to the Spanish conquest, Blumentritt based his entire schema on current day geography and relations between Filipino groups.

The Austrian ethnographer thus conceived of the history of the Philippines as a series of subjugations that led up to the Spanish empire, as if inevitably, which presented a logic that served to justify Spain’s colonization of the island. During a “third Malay invasion,” the Spanish arrived in the archipelago and “interrupted and partly impeded” (2) the Muslim Malays, he wrote. Blumentritt remarked that without the advent of the Spanish conquerors, “European-Christian civilization” in the islands would have been “lost” (2), demonstrating his ideological solidarity with the European imperial project, which he imagined as a civilizing force.

Blumentritt’s account not only pitted one race against another, but also associated domination with racial mixing. The first Malays, he argued, “occupied the coast and mixed with the Negritos in part, while they took the women of those defeated and slain in their huts” (1). Likewise, the Spanish “mixed with the natives and thus created the caste of mestizos” (2).⁹⁴

⁹³Blumentritt, “Versuch,” 1. References to this source will appear parenthetically in the text hereafter. Based on the idea of civilization as a spectrum, the two groups of Malays were culturally different, according to Blumentritt. The first migrants participated in “head hunting” (1), for example. The second group of Malays, however, “could boast a somewhat higher grade of civilization and milder customs than the Malays of the first period of invasion” (1), he explained.

⁹⁴Blumentritt noted further that the few Iberian migrants “laid many cuckoo’s eggs,” though he regretted having to employ such a “vulgar phrase” (58). Quoting Jagor, Blumentritt included his remark that suggested similar relationships between Filipino women and clergymembers: “Girls who have begotten children as mistresses of Europeans, almost reckon this as an honor. Even more is such the case if the child is the parish priest” (59). Jagor, *Reisen*, 129.

The appendix to Blumentritt’s comprehensive ethnological synthesis of Filipinos related the history of the Spanish conquests, with which audiences in Spain could identify and use to compensate for deficiencies in their imperial imaginings in the present day. The Austrian began his account with Ferdinand Magellan, the “discoverer of the Philippines” (59) who deserved, he wrote later in the appendix, “immortal merit” (68), though ultimately Blumentritt argued that the “bold conquistador” Juan de Salcedo, characterized as the “Cortes of the Philippines” and “gallant” (66), had earned the “crown among the discoverers and conquistadors of the Philippines (68).

In a study of pre-colonial Filipino states also set in the time of the Spanish “conquest of the Philippine Islands,” the Austrian again described the actions of Salcedo, the “bold hero of the Philippine conquest.” F. Blumentritt, “Ueber die Staaten der philippinischen Eingeborenen in den Zeiten der Conquista,” *Kaiserlich-königliche geographische Gesellschaft in Wien* 28 (1885): 49 & 68. Blumentritt’s study of Filipino states provided a further venue for seeing the benefits of the Spanish take-over. He wrote that pre-colonial Philippine society included

Thus, the Austrian ethnologist distinguished between Aetas, Malays, and Europeans by their military success over one another, as well as by their sexual conquests, which he used to explain the existence of racial mixing between them.

Blumentritt's model of successive conquests became the preferred picture of pre-Spanish relations between Filipinos for German anthropologists after its publication in 1882. Hans Meyer cited Blumentritt's work directly and summarized the Austrian's thesis at the beginning of a study of the Igorrots in 1883, referring to the "two Malay invasions."⁹⁵ As late as 1897, Virchow used Blumentritt's argument in an article about the populating of the Philippines, recounting the Austrian's notion of "three different Malay invasions."⁹⁶ Conquest was hence the norm for German anthropologists' thinking about the Philippine past in stages of civilization that ultimately ended with Spanish colonization.

Using skulls, photos, and written descriptions, German anthropologists supported claims that Filipinos were uncivilized. The Germans' studies therefore underscored part of the colonial ideology upon which Spanish rule in the Philippines rested and anticipated German imperialism by constructing knowledge about colonized people. At the same time, German scholars not only created the most information about Filipinos in the second half of the nineteenth-century, but

widespread "slavery" with government predicated on the "law of the jungle." The presence of Spain in contrast could be inferred as a source of enlightenment with liberation and justice for Filipinos. The Austrian also reported that "sexual immorality" was "boundless" among certain Filipinos before the conquest and he cited the example of the "invention of an artificial penis to satisfy the insatiable appetites of debauched women." Ibid., 50, 62 & 63.

Despite the fact that such sexual practices were present across island and mainland Southeast Asia before European contact due to the "relatively high female autonomy and economic importance," as Anthony Reid shows in his comprehensive history of the region in the early modern era, they differed so starkly from European norms that they easily served as another justification for the civilizing project extending from Spanish colonization. Anthony Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce 1450-1680: Volume One: The Lands below the Winds* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 146 & ff. About Philippine states at the time of the Spanish conquest, Blumentritt calculated that "most parts of the archipelago were in the hands of semi-savages, scattered tribes in small clans, and the Muslim states were only recent, their circumstances were not consolidated and their links with foreign countries very primitive." Blumentritt, "Staaten," 71.

⁹⁵Meyer, "die Igorrotes," (377).

⁹⁶Rud. Virchow, "Die Bevölkerung der Philippinen," *Sitzungsberichte der königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* (1897): 285.

also conceived of their scientific studies as superior to those of Spain, as if an even higher civilization than those previous had used knowledge to conquer the Philippines. Hence, besides supporting colonialism, their work also contained strands of German nationalism.

Nationalism and a Scientific Empire

The production of Philippine anthropologies in precolonial Imperial Germany was not merely a rehearsal of German colonialism, but also an outlet for the expression of German nationalism. While Matti Bunzl and H. Glenn Penny describe German anthropology during the nineteenth-century as a “cosmopolitan discipline” in their introduction to a collection of studies of the history of anthropology in Germany, cosmopolitan tendencies do not negate simultaneous articulations of nationalism deriving from the same body of ideas.⁹⁷ As Pheng Cheah writes in an introduction to a volume of works examining cosmopolitanism and nationalism, the two are not “logical antagonists.”⁹⁸ Indeed, German anthropologists viewed their studies of the Philippines in national terms and greater than those of scholars from other nations, particularly Spain. Even though not referring directly to a colonial context, Elisabeth Crawford argues in her comparative study of competition surrounding the Nobel Prize that “nationalism and national science were particularly prevalent in Germany from 1871 to 1914, due to the concurrent developments of industrialization and nation building.”⁹⁹ Set within the context of empire, Germans’ studies that took place in colonies also exhibited nationalism.

⁹⁷Bunzl and Penny, “Introduction,” 11.

⁹⁸Pheng Cheah, “Introduction Part II: The Cosmopolitical—Today,” in *Cosmopolitics: Thinking and Feeling beyond the Nation*, eds. Pheng Cheah and Bruce Robbins (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), 36.

⁹⁹Elisabeth Crawford, *Nationalism and Internationalism in Science, 1880-1939: Four Studies of the Nobel Population* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 35.

In writing about the Aetas in the Philippines, German anthropologists contested the authority of French scholars. In an article by A. B. Meyer, for example, the German anthropologist cited a remark by a French anthropologist commenting on the DGAEU's engagement with questions surrounding these Filipinos. The French writer claimed that the "question of the Negritos was resolved long ago in France by the ethnographic work of Mister de la Gironnière," who had brought back Aetas' remains to a French museum in 1839. However, the writer continued, the questions surrounding the Filipinos "appears as a new problem to the young Society of Anthropology in Berlin, which does not shine in scholarship."¹⁰⁰

Meyer begged to differ with the French author's opinion. Although the German anthropologist claimed that "for my part, I do not want to contribute to the stirring up of national sensitivities with pinpricks," he nonetheless defended the work of the DGAEU on the Aetas. Meyer argued that the earlier French study was "unscientific and excessive" and thereby justified his and his countrymen's continued investigation of the Filipinos.¹⁰¹ These comments show that anthropologists conceived of their work in national terms that could also lead to feelings of national competition. Since the Franco-Prussian War had ended in French defeat and the unification of Imperial Germany only one year prior to the French author's comment, ill-feelings surrounding the war's outcome were perhaps fresh in his mind.¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰Meyer, "Fundort," (92, n. 1); and "Revue des Journaux: III. Revue Allemande," *Revue d'Anthropologie* 1 (1872): 144.

¹⁰¹Meyer, "Fundort," (92, n. 1).

¹⁰²The war gave rise to nationalist inspiration for anthropological study in France almost immediately. Armand de Quatrefages composed an anthropology of the Prussian "race" directly after the hostilities that claimed Prussians' links to Finns and mixture with Aryans, Germans, French and other peoples. The study continued through the present day, even including sections on the war, with one describing the bombardment of the Paris Museum, an act which Quatrefages claimed was intended to remove from Paris "one of its elements of superiority and attraction." A. de Quatrefages, *La race prussienne* (Paris: E. Martinet, 1871), 95. Virchow later rejected the Frenchman's argument about the origin of the Prussians, though he remained silent about the intentions of the German military to deliberately destroy the Paris Museum. Rudolf Virchow, "Über die Methode der wissenschaftlichen Anthropologie: Eine Antwort an Hr. de Quatrefages," *ZfE* 4 (1872): 300-320.

German anthropologists were also directly and indirectly involved in the 1870-71 Franco-Prussian War. Semper, for example, served in the war, where he "undertook the leadership of the transport of food and medical

As German anthropologists continued collecting Aetas' physical remains, comparing the sheer number of specimens to other European countries seemingly aroused national pride in Virchow. Upon receipt of a large sample in 1879, the president of the DGAEU commented that "this is perhaps the richest collection of Negrito skulls and skeletons, which has ever come to Europe." He claimed further that "as far as I know, even now in all European museums put together there are not as many skeletons as have arrived here at one time."¹⁰³ Collecting and amassing human remains appeared to act as one source of nationalist feeling for German anthropologists.

More than the dispute with French anthropologists or celebration of collections, however, German anthropologists exhibited nationalism in their unanimous rejection of Spanish knowledge of Filipinos, a consideration not insignificant for understanding the dynamics of their ideas about German imperialism as well. In part fueled by rising anti-Catholic sentiment that culminated in the *Kulturkampf*, the name for several discriminatory laws passed against Catholics in Imperial Germany during the 1870s, German anthropologists portrayed the Spanish clergy in the Philippines as ignorant, superstitious, unjust, prejudiced, and zealous, as a direct

dressings in the war zone." service for which he was later awarded a "war medal." Schuberg, "Semper," xi. At a meeting in November 1870, Virchow noted that "the war has brought many members of the society into the field for personal participation," and that "one of the secretaries, Mister Kunth, lies prostrate severely wounded." "Sitzung vom 5. November 1870," *ZfE* 3 (1871): 18. The minutes from a February 1871 meeting reported that Secretary Kunth, "reserve lieutenant wounded in the Battle of Spicheren" on the French border in Lorraine, "died in the local military hospital on January 21, after long suffering." "Sitzung vom 11. Februar 1871," *ibid.*, 56. In a gesture that represented a sentiment combining nationalism and collegiality among scholars, the minutes from a March 1871 meeting noted that there was a movement afoot within the DGAEU "to erect a dignified memorial in Bunzlau his native city" for the late secretary. "Sitzung vom 11. März 1871," *ibid.*, 60.

The war also afforded opportunity for study as well, when "photographs of French prisoners of war from the military hospital of the Tempelhof field in Berlin" were given to the society as a gift, like so many artifacts by others. "Sitzung vom 14. Januar 1871," *ibid.*, 42. In an essay that examines the study of POWs during the First World War, Andrew D. Evans suggests that "the war played a critical role in the transformation of German anthropology by creating new contexts in which the science could be pursued." Andrew D. Evans, "Anthropology at War: Racial Studies of POWs during World War I," in *Worldly Provincialism*, 201. As the photographs of French POWs from the Franco-Prussian War point out, however, the context of war as a field of study was present in German anthropology from its beginnings. Also, see Andrew D. Evans, *Anthropology at War: World War I and the Science of Race in Germany* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010).

¹⁰³Virchow, "Schädel und Skelette," (426).

contrast to the German scholars' objective scientific views of Filipinos. Andrew Zimmerman shows Virchow's central political role in the struggle against German Catholics and that he coined the term *Kulturkampf* himself in positioning scientific progress against Catholic "backwardness."¹⁰⁴ In a book he published in 1877, addressing the place of "modern science in the modern state," Virchow explained about scientists such as himself that it is the "question of Ultramontanism and Orthodoxy which affects us continually."¹⁰⁵

German anthropologists wrote about the Spanish clergy as a hindrance for understanding Filipinos, which also served to promote their own studies of the Philippines. Semper described the education of Spanish priests in the colony as "primitive," and thus contrasted their ability to produce information about Filipinos to his own.¹⁰⁶ Jagor described the visit of a priest to a Filipino burial site armed with "crosses, banners, icons, and everything with which to exorcise the devil." The result of the crusade was opposite from the intentions of the German scholar to collect artifacts and human remains for study when "coffins were broken, and the vessels shattered, the skeletons thrown into the sea."¹⁰⁷

German anthropologists also specified particular false beliefs that the clergy propagated in the colony. A. B. Meyer wrote that Christianized Tagalogs were taught by "Catholic priests" that the Aetas were "not human beings, but rather, with great injustice, a kind of monkey."¹⁰⁸

Despite residing in close proximity to Aetas, the clergy lived in "total ignorance" of these

¹⁰⁴Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism*, 58, quote from *ibid.*, 39. For a discussion of anti-Catholic sentiment throughout the nineteenth-century in Germany, see Michael B. Gross, *The War against Catholicism: Liberalism and the Anti-Catholic Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004). The *Kulturkampf* laws attempted to bring state control over politics preached in the pulpit, schools, including those for training priests, the presence of monastic orders, which were uniformly banned, and birth, marriage, and death certificates. One law even allowed for the expelling of priests. Volker R. Berghahn, *Imperial Germany 1871-1914: Economy, Society, Culture and Politics* (Providence, RI: Berghahn Books, 1994), 268.

¹⁰⁵Rudolf Virchow, *Die Freiheit der Wissenschaft im modernen Staat*, Zweite Auflage (Berlin: Wiegandt, Hempel & Parey, 1877), 5.

¹⁰⁶Semper, "nordöstlichen Provinzen," 249.

¹⁰⁷Jagor, "Grabstätten," 80.

¹⁰⁸Meyer, "Fundort," (92). This was something of an ironic critique, considering Virchow's observation that Aeta skulls possessed an "ape-like form." "Negrito- und Igorroten-Schädel," (208).

Filipinos, Meyer explained further.¹⁰⁹ This German anthropologist was not alone in making such claims about Spanish priests in the colony, however.

Schadenberg wrote more generally about Spanish authors, but still described the impact of Catholicism. He argued regarding the production of information about the Aetas that “of the Spanish, the owners of the Philippines, who indeed could first have undertaken research about them, little has been written and this writing is usually influenced by religious prejudices.”¹¹⁰ Addressing the clergy in particular, he identified a “longing for conversion” among them, which precluded their understanding of the Aetas’ culture, according to the German anthropologist.¹¹¹ Like Meyer, Schadenberg too remarked that the clergy viewed these Filipinos as nothing more than “monkeys.”¹¹² German anthropologists’ critiques of Spanish knowledge were not limited to their studies of the Aetas. In his investigation of the Igorrots, Hans Meyer made similar remarks about Spanish priests, claiming that “they usually know nothing more than a blind zeal against the ‘savages’.”¹¹³

Contrasting their anthropological work to Catholic superstition was merely one aspect of the Germans’ condemnation of Spanish knowledge of Filipinos. They also sought to demonstrate that Spanish officials were uninterested in anthropological understanding of the peoples of the Philippines, which not only disrupted the German scholars’ ability to perform scientific work, but also seemed irrational as far as colonial rule in the islands was concerned. About the Aetas’ language, A. B. Meyer inquired among both “officials and priests,” who claimed that they “have

¹⁰⁹Meyer, “Fundort,” (92, n. 2).

¹¹⁰Schadenberg, “die Negritos,” 133.

¹¹¹Ibid., 135. Jagor also remarked on a clergy member in the Philippines that he was “full of longing for conversion.” Jagor, *Reisen*, 49.

¹¹²Schadenberg, “die Negritos,” 135. Schadenberg later quoted Meyer’s claim about the clergy teaching their parishioners that Negritos are monkeys. Ibid., 164.

¹¹³Meyer, “die Igorrotes,” (378).

no language of their own.”¹¹⁴ Yet, the German anthropologist’s recording of the Aetas’ dialect suggested otherwise. Hans Meyer seemed shocked about the ignorance of the Spanish about the Igorrots. He wrote that “it is quite incredible and incomprehensible how little knowledge the Spanish officials in general have of the peoples’ lives in their area.”¹¹⁵ His statement implied that knowledge would assist governing the colony at the same time that it subtly contrasted his work to that of Spanish officials. Schadenberg asked two Spanish officers to record observations on his behalf, but noted that their remarks were “superficial” and as a result elected not to use them in his study.¹¹⁶

German anthropologists’ rejections of Spanish knowledge of Filipinos suggested that these scholars believed their ability to produce information was superior. This attitude stemmed from their mass accumulation of first-hand observations, artifacts, human remains, and contemporary and historical written works, all of which they interpreted to forward the anthropological understanding of the peoples in the colony. Though from a different national context, the Austrian scholar Blumentritt also showed Spanish data about Filipinos to be insufficient. Andrew Zimmerman points out that the DGAEU “excluded” Austrians for the most part, but German anthropologists’ esteem of Blumentritt’s expertise on the Philippines shows that scholars from the Habsburg Empire were not dismissed from all topics of inquiry.¹¹⁷

Like the anthropologists from Imperial Germany, the Austrian problematized Spanish knowledge of Filipinos in his comprehensive ethnology of the Philippines. Writing about the Aetas, he argued that “their character is very energetic” and that “they are not as untalented as

¹¹⁴Meyer, “Fundort,” (92, n. 2).

¹¹⁵Meyer, “die Igorrotes,” (378).

¹¹⁶Schadenberg, “die Negritos,” 51-52.

¹¹⁷Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism*, 114 & 283, n. 8. In a letter to the DGAEU, Blumentritt requested that “if the anthropological society once again sends a traveler to the Philippines, could he not turn to the south of the archipelago?” Virchow commented that he would “at the first opportunity comply with the wishes of Mr. Blumentritt.” “Igorroten und andere wilde Stämme der Philippinen,” *ZfE* 16 (1884): (57).

the Spanish priests would like to demonstrate” (5). Blumentritt also noted of Malay-speaking Filipinos that “with the name ‘Igorrotes’ much disorder is wrought. Spanish writers have christened all of the pagan so-called ‘savage’ hill tribes of Luzon Igorrots, and all were also known as ‘Igorrots of Camarines’, ‘Igorrots of Tayabas’ in the ethnographic literature” (24). The Austrian scholar also expressed similar sentiments about the Spanish in communications he made directly with the DGAEU. In a letter responding to Virchow’s discussion of Igorrot skulls, Blumentritt commented that the “carelessness with which Spanish authors deal with ethnographic relations is often unbelievable.”¹¹⁸

On the one hand, Blumentritt linked himself to Imperial German scholarship, but on the other, he also included other Habsburg scholars in his work on the Spanish colony. In the conclusion to his ethnology of the Philippines, he traced the history of the Spanish conquest, but ended with the remark that “the interior of most islands is still today a terra incognita, and not until the most recent period have people commenced to make up for lost time, among these scientific conquistadors, we encounter also German names: Dr. F. Jagor, Dr. A. B. Meyer, Prof. C. Semper and Dr. Ritter von Drasche” (68). To the succession of German scholars, he added an Austrian geologist who visited the Spanish colony from 1875-76.¹¹⁹ Because Drasche’s text was not decisive for Blumentritt’s study, it seems that his attempt to link Imperial German and Austrian scholars was a means of expressing Habsburg German pride.

¹¹⁸“andere wilde Stämme,” (57).

¹¹⁹Drasche was born in Vienna in 1850 the son of a well-known pottery manufacturer, whose business he later inherited. He was trained as a geologist and visited the Philippines during 1875-76, which led to the publication that Blumentritt drew on in his own work. Richard von Drasche, *Fragmente zu einer Geologie der Insel Luzon (Philippinen)* (Wien: Karl Gerold’s Sohn, 1878); and Richard von Drasche, “The Military Districts of Benguet, Lepanto and Bontoc,” in *German Travelers on the Cordillera (1860-1890)*, ed. William Henry Scott (Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, 1975), 35-36. Blumentritt’s study also cited the work of two other Austrian expeditions to the Philippines that had been overlooked for the most part among other Germans’ studies of the Spanish colony, though Blumentritt did not also recognize them as “scientific conquistadors.” Karl Freiherrn von Hügel, *Der Stille Ocean und die spanischen Besitzungen im ostindischen Archipel* (Vienna: kaiserlich-königlichen Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1860); and Karl von Scherzer, *Anthropologischer Theil*, vol. 3 of *Reise der Österreichischen Fregatte Novara um die Erde in den Jahren 1857, 1858, 1859* (Vienna: kaiserlich-königlichen Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1868).

Although scholarship is mixed on the relationship of the Habsburg monarchy to colonialism during the nineteenth-century, Pieter Judson shows that it operated as a nationalist ideology among Germans residing among the majority Czech population, the exact location in which Blumentritt lived.¹²⁰ Judson writes that in Bohemia, roughly the area of the present-day Czech Republic, German nationalists “framed a mission for themselves modeled after that of European colonizers outside Europe.”¹²¹ Blumentritt was not only aware of the German nationalist movement in Bohemia, but also composed on an article on Late Medieval Europe that described “German colonists” settling in Eastern Europe.¹²² The piece appeared in a periodical published

¹²⁰In his study of Austrian Orientalism, Robert Lemon writes that “most critics agree that Austria-Hungary cannot qualify as a colonial power in the strict sense of the term.” Robert Lemon, *Imperial Messages: Orientalism as Self-Critique in the Habsburg Fin de Siècle* (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2011), 3. Yet, looking at Austrian history in a strict sense thus negates the ever-present contingent possibility of colonialism as well as subtler forms, including informal imperialism. Such a strict approach therefore disqualifies Habsburg expansion into eastern and southeastern Europe, attempts at overseas expansion from the eighteenth- through the early twentieth-centuries, nor does it explain Austrians’ participation in other countries’ colonies or efforts to promote colonialism, such as the Austro-Hungarian Colonial Society formed in 1894, even if it was ultimately unsuccessful. Valentina Glajar, *The German Legacy in East Central Europe: As Recorded in Recent German-Language Literature* (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2004); Wladimir Fischer, “Of Crescents and Essence, Or: Why Migrants’ History Matters to the Question of ‘Central European Colonialism’,” in *Hyphenated Histories: Articulations of Central European Bildung and Slavic Studies in the Contemporary Academy*, ed. Andrew Colin Gow (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 61-101; and Lawrence Sondhaus, *The Naval Policy of Austria-Hungary 1867-1918: Navalism, Industrial Development, and the Politics of Dualism* (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 1994).

¹²¹Pieter M. Judson, “Inventing Germanness: Class, Nationality and Colonial Fantasy at the Margins of the Habsburg Monarchy,” *Social Analysis* 33, no. 33 (1993): 48.

¹²²Ferdinand Blumentritt, “Die Sprachgebiete Europas am Ausgange des Mittelalters, verglichen mit den Zuständen der Gegenwart,” *No. 82 der Sammlung Gemeinnütziger Vorträge* (1883): 10. Blumentritt referred to German and Germany as “our language and our nation,” before he described the “tremendous expansion” that Germans undertook after the year 800. The expansion brought his countrymen into Slavic territories, where today “more than 20 million Germans, 1/3 of our nation live!” He also described the “proliferation of the German population in Bohemia” since the Late Middle Ages, a relationship that was characterized by “colonizing and Germanizing activity” among the German settlers.

He identified “German colonies” in Hungary, Transylvania, and Russia, in addition to “colonies of Germans” in London, Paris, Petersburg, Venice, Rome and Constantinople. Blumentritt contrasted the German colonists with indigenous Slavs in colonial terms as well, writing that his countrymen brought “inherent energy, economy and thrift” to Poland, which was inhabited by a “wasteful nobility” and a “depraved serfdom.” Blumentritt highlighted this difference even further by comparing the history of the Poles to the “fate of American and Polynesian primitive peoples.” The Germans raised the civilization of other peoples in the East too, according to Blumentritt. For example, when Austria founded a university in Bukovina, the ethnologist explained that it brought with it “European culture, the civilization of the Occident,” distinguishing between western and eastern Europe using a colonial dichotomy. Also employing the contemporary language of empire, Blumentritt described the Germans in Russia on a “civilizing mission.” Like the terms that Spanish might use to describe nationalism in the Philippines, Blumentritt also wrote about the “national fanaticism” among the Slavs, including Czechs. He described Czech nationalism as manifested “often by the worst terrorist acts.” *Ibid.*, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14 & 19.

by the German Society for the Spread of Generally Useful Knowledge, a German liberal nationalist organization based in Prague.¹²³

German anthropologists of the Philippines thus articulated nationalism in both Imperial Germany and Austria by depicting Spanish knowledge about Filipinos as inferior to that produced by Germans. German anthropologists embraced the work of Blumentritt on the Spanish colony and the Austrian ethnologist viewed himself as a German linked to the work of the DGAEU, even though he came from a different imperial context that at least the members of the DGAEU also viewed as a dissimilar national context. Constructing studies of Filipinos in Imperial Germany and Austria therefore also contained dimensions of national pride when German-speaking anthropologists compared their efforts to Spanish clergy and officials.

Conclusion

German scholars who performed anthropological work in the Philippines played important roles in the initial years of the DGAEU. Semper corresponded with Virchow about the organization of the Society and served as the first General Secretary and editor of the DGAEU correspondence newspaper.¹²⁴ Bastian was co-editor of the Society's *Journal of Ethnology* and Jäger was an original member of the DGAEU.¹²⁵ Furthermore, numerous studies of the

¹²³Pieter M. Judson, *Exclusive Revolutionaries: Liberal Politics, Social Experience, and National Identity in the Austrian Empire, 1848-1914* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996), 143.

¹²⁴C. Semper, letter to Rudolf Virchow, November 4, 1869; C. Semper, letter to Rudolf Virchow, November 9, 1869; C. Semper, letter to Rudolf Virchow, January 25, 1870; C. Semper, letter to Rudolf Virchow, February 28, 1870; C. Semper, letter to Rudolf Virchow, March 12, 1870; C. Semper, letter to Rudolf Virchow, April 11, 1870; C. Semper, letter to Rudolf Virchow, April 22, 1870; and C. Semper, letter to Rudolf Virchow, May 13, 1870. These letters appear in Christian Andree, *Rudolf Virchow als Prähistoriker*, 2 vols. (Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 1976), 2: 450-57. See Semper's work as General Secretary in *Correspondenz-Blatt der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte*, vols. 1-3 (1870-72).

¹²⁵Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism*, 56; and *Correspondenz-Blatt der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte* 1 (1870): 8.

Philippines appeared in the *Journal of Ethnology*.¹²⁶ Materials from the Spanish colony also helped members of the DGAEU systematize the measurement of skulls for their own anthropological work: Virchow employed skulls from the Philippines to explain the proper means of gauging these specimens to members of the Society who studied peoples beyond the Spanish colony.¹²⁷

German anthropologists of the Philippines continued to study peoples in both German and non-German colonies. In October 1873 Jagor traveled to India via the Suez Canal, where he planned to investigate peoples in the British colony.¹²⁸ He visited both India and Burma from 1873-76 and sent skulls from a Burmese cemetery to Virchow in addition to agreeing with the prison doctor in the British colony to convey additional human remains. Jagor later traveled again to India and Indonesia from 1890-93.¹²⁹ About Bastian, Andrew Zimmerman writes that he “traveled more than any other professional anthropologist in the nineteenth century” and after 1873, the year he founded the German Society for the Research of Equatorial Africa (*Deutsche Gesellschaft zur Erforschung des äquatorialen Afrikas*), he journeyed in the Congo, Americas, Pacific Islands, Australia, Southeast Asia, and the Caribbean until his death in 1905.¹³⁰

Hans Meyer journeyed among British and Dutch colonies in South Africa and Portuguese Mozambique on his way to traveling through the newly acquired colony in German East Africa (modern day Tanzania) during 1886-87. He returned to Germany via British Egypt before returning again to travel around Lake Victoria in East Africa in 1888. The trip was terminated,

¹²⁶See Virchow, ed., *General-Register*.

¹²⁷Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism*, 88 & 278, n. 7; and Virchow, “Ueber die Schädel der älteren Bevölkerung der Philippinen,” 151-58.

¹²⁸“Sitzung vom 18. October 1873,” *ZfE* 5 (1873): 140.

¹²⁹Zimmerman, “Adventures in the Skin Trade,” 171; Albert Grünwedel, ed., *Südindische Volksstämme*, vol. I of *Aus Fedor Jagor’s Nachlass: Mit Unterstützung der Jagor-Stiftung* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1914), i-iii; and “Sitzung vom 17. Februar 1900,” *ZfE* 32 (1900): (91-92).

¹³⁰Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism*, 219; and Johannes Fabian, *Out of Our Minds: Reason and Madness in the Exploration of Central Africa* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 18.

however, as a result of the Abushiri Revolt, in which the German anthropologist was captured and only released after being ransomed. In 1889, Meyer returned and became the first European to scale Mt. Kilimanjaro. He became Professor at the University of Leipzig in 1899 and was named Professor of Colonial Geography and Colonial Policy in 1915, a position he held, even after the loss of German colonies following defeat in the First World War, until 1928. He published accounts of his travels in East Africa, the Canary Islands, and the Dutch East Indies, as well as an economic study of railroads in European colonies in Africa.¹³¹

A. B. Meyer was a member of the German Colonial Association (*Kolonialverein*) at the time of its founding in 1882 and published two more photographic albums on the Philippines in addition to others on the Dutch colony in Celebes and German colonies in New Guinea and elsewhere in the Pacific Islands.¹³² In an 1891 address to the DGAEU, Virchow stated that since Germans had become a “seafaring people,” due to the acquisition of “imperial colonies,” it was necessary to study the physical forms of “our new countrymen.” The Society’s president went

¹³¹Conrad Weidmann, *Deutsche Männer in Afrika: Lexicon der hervorragenden deutschen Afrika-Forscher, Missionare etc.* (Lübeck: Bernhard Nähring, 1894), 85; John Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 92-96; Hans Meyer, *Ostafrikanische Gletscherfahrten: Forschungsreisen im Kilimandscharo-Gebiet* (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1890); Oscar Baumann, *In Deutsch-Ostafrika während des Aufstandes: Reise der Dr. Hans Meyer’schen Expedition in Usambara* (Vienna: Eduard Hölzel, 1890); Hans Meyer, *Across East African Glaciers: An Account of the First Ascent of Kilimanjaro*, trans. E. H. S. Calder (London: George Philip & Son, 1891); Hans Meyer, *Die Insel Tenerife: Wanderungen im Canarischen Hoch- und Tiefland* (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1896); Hans Meyer, *Die Eisenbahnen im tropischen Afrika: Eine Kolonialwirtschaftliche Studie* (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1902); Hans Meyer, *Niederländisch-Ostindien: eine länderkundliche Skizze* (Berlin: Reimer, 1922); and “Hans Meyer (1858-1929),” *Sächsische Biographie*, last modified July 1, 2009, [http://saebi.isgv.de/biografie/Hans_Meyer_\(1858-1929\)](http://saebi.isgv.de/biografie/Hans_Meyer_(1858-1929)).

¹³²Fitzpatrick, *Liberal Imperialism in Germany*, 163; Arne Perras, *Carl Peters and German Imperialism 1856-1918: A Political Biography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 35; A. B. Meyer and A. Schadenberg, eds., *Album von Philippinen-Typen. Nord Luzon. Negritos, Tinguienen, Bánaos, Ginaanen, Silípanen, Calingas, Apoyáos, Kianganen, Igorroten und Ilocanen: Ueber 600 Abbildungen auf 50 Tafeln in Lichtdruck* (Dresden: Stengel & Markert, 1891); A. B. Meyer, ed., *Album von Philippinen-Typen. III. Negritos, Mangianen, Bagobos: Etwa 190 Abbildungen auf 37 Tafeln in Lichtdruck* (Dresden: Stengel & Co., 1904); A. B. Meyer, ed., *Album von Celébes-Typen: circa 250 Abbildungen und 37 Tafeln in Lichtdruck* (Dresden: Stengel & Markert, 1889); A. B. Meyer and R. Parkinson, eds., *Album von Papúa-Typen: Neu-Guinea und Bismarck-Archipel* (Dresden: Stengel und Markert, 1894); and A. B. Meyer and R. Parkinson, eds., *Album von Papúa-Typen II: Nord Neu-Guinea, Bismarck Archipel, Deutsche Solomo Inseln: Etwa 550 Abbildungen auf 53 Tafeln in Lichtdruck* (Dresden: Stengel & Co., 1900).

on to describe human remains the DGAEU had recently obtained from German colonies in both West and East Africa and offered suggestions for acquiring additional specimens.¹³³

This chapter has attempted to demonstrate that German anthropologists in precolonial Imperial Germany created knowledge that anticipated German imperialism and was predicated largely on the existence of other countries' colonies. They accessed global and local colonial networks that circulated people, artifacts, human remains, photographs, and written texts that were essential to the production of their anthropological studies. Furthermore, their work rehearsed German colonialism with assertions of a lack of civilization among Filipinos in their interpretations of skulls, photographs, and written descriptions of Filipinos. Finally, the German scholars suggested that their knowledge of the peoples of the colony was superior to the Spanish and thus also expressed nationalism.

Despite their critiques of Spanish understanding of Filipinos, the work of German anthropologists contributed in part to the colonizers' efforts to maintain rule in, and economically profit from, the islands. In Ramón Jordana's 1885 natural history of the Philippines, he made extensive use of works by Semper, Jagor, Virchow, A. B. Meyer, and Drasche in illuminating the "abundance and variety of natural products" available for commercial exploitation.¹³⁴ The Spanish author conceded German expertise, remarking that Spanish writing about the Philippines though "rich in historical and religious works, is, however, so poor in natural sciences."¹³⁵ He seized the occasion to begin to rectify the situation as other

¹³³Rud. Virchow, "Zur Frankfurter Verständigung," *Correspondenz-Blatt der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte* 22 (1891): 122.

¹³⁴Ramón Jordana y Morera, *Bosquejo geográfico é historico-natural de archipiélago filipino* (Madrid: Moreno y Rojas, 1885), 1. The Spanish forestry engineer referred to German scholars throughout his text. *Ibid.*, 2, 23, n.1, 42, 43, 45, 47, 48, 50, 56, 116, 129, 133, 147, 148, 149, 154, 158, 437 & 460.

¹³⁵*Ibid.*, 1.

Spanish writers had also done. The German critiques of Spanish knowledge also served the interests of Filipino nationalists, however.

Filipino writers seeking reform of colonial rule in the Philippines used Germans' studies in support of their arguments. Gregorio Sancianco cited and paraphrased parts of Jagor's and Semper's texts in a monograph arguing for economic reform in the Philippines. Graciano López Jaena wrote articles and performed speeches that referred to German studies of the Spanish colony. Pedro Alejandro Paterno composed the first novel by a Filipino and cited selections from Jagor's study. José Rizal studied German language, traveled to Germany to pursue further medical study, made contact with German anthropologists, and eventually published a novel in Berlin that made frequent reference to German culture, anthropology, and the lack of Spanish knowledge about the Philippines.¹³⁶

Hence, the production of German anthropologies of the Philippines had certain unforeseen and unintended consequences. The German studies not only expressed imperialist imaginings and national pride, but evoked nationalist responses in both Spain and the Philippines. German anthropologists' construction of knowledge about Filipinos acted as a double-edged sword that simultaneously supported and threatened Spanish hegemony over the islands. The next chapter will explore Spanish and Filipino reactions to, and adoptions of, the Germans' studies to see how they were received in Spain and the Philippines.

¹³⁶Gregorio Sancianco y Goson, *El progreso de Filipinas: estudios económicos, administrativos y políticos* (Madrid: J. M. Perez, 1881); Graciano López Jaena, *Discursos y artículos varios*, new ed. (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1951); Alejandro Paterno, *Ninay (costumbres filipinas)* (Madrid: Fortanet, 1885); José Rizal, *Diarios y memorias* (Manila: Comisión Nacional del Centenario de José Rizal, 1961); and José Rizal, *Noli me tângere: novela tagala* (Berlin: Berliner Buchdruckerei-Actien-Gesellschaft, [1887]).

Chapter 4

Friend and Foe: The German Janus in Spanish and Filipino Writing about the Philippines, 1869-1888

In March 1887, the Filipino doctor and nationalist José Rizal published his novel *Noli me tângere: novela tagala* in Berlin.¹ The book indicted the corruption and inefficacy of the Spanish government and clergy in the Philippines with various archetypal characters who illustrate the injustice and absurdity prevailing in the dominant cultural and political life of the colony. It was officially censored in the same year. The censor's report spent much time quoting from the novel to demonstrate its negative portrayal of the church, state, and Spain in the Philippines in general. The censor, Augustinian Father Salvador Font, concluded that Rizal's book was riddled with "foreign teachings and doctrines" that stir in the "submissive and loyal sons of Spain in these remote islands deep and bitter hatred for the mother country, putting it behind foreign nations, especially Germany, for which the author of *Noli me tângere* seems to have a preferred predilection."² The statement thus sought to reject the novel's critical portrayal of the Philippines by isolating its author, alleging his connection to things "foreign," and German in particular.

In a debate in the Spanish Senate in June 1888, Senator Fernando Vida described Rizal as a "doctor in medicine from the University of Madrid, said to be a close friend of Prince Bismarck, and to have earned a professorship of medicine at a university in Germany." Even though it was untrue that the Filipino was personally acquainted with the Imperial Chancellor Otto von Bismarck and had never become a professor at a German university, the claim nonetheless sought to directly associate him with subversion via one of Spain's national rivals. The senator

¹José Rizal, *Noli me tângere: novela tagala* (Berlin: Berliner Buchdruckerei-Actien-Gesellschaft, [1887]).

²[Salvador Font,] *Filipinas: problema fundamental por un español de larga residencia en aquellas islas* (Madrid: Don Luis Aguado, 1891), 43; and John N. Schumacher, *The Propaganda Movement: 1880-1895: The Creators of a Filipino Consciousness, the Makers of Revolution* (Manila: Solidaridad Publishing House, 1973), 84.

argued further that Rizal's novel was "anti-Catholic, Protestant, socialist, Proudhonian," in an attempt to extend his exclusion via ideas that indirectly alluded to Germany.³ Yet, identifying Germany as a threat connected to traditional and contemporary political opposition in the context of the Philippines made some sense in light of recent events involving Spanish colonies in the Pacific islands.

In 1885, Germany, led by Bismarck, moved to annex the Caroline islands, a Spanish colony east of the Philippines. German naval vessels raised the Imperial flag to lay claim to as many of the islands in the Carolines before Spain could follow suit. In response, Spanish protesters threatened the German embassy in Madrid with violence, and heated diplomatic exchanges between Spain and Germany verged on declarations of war. Pope Leo XIII ultimately arbitrated the conflict, deciding in favor of Spanish sovereignty, but upholding German trade and naval fueling rights in the islands.⁴ The dispute may actually have posed a greater threat to German economic interests involving continental trade with Spain than it did to the security of Spanish colonies in the Pacific.⁵ The event confirmed Germany as a national rival not to be ignored by the Spanish and one that could be used to isolate and alienate political opposition in Spain and its colonies, as the case of Rizal points out. Yet, anti-German sentiment only represented one side of Spanish attitudes toward Germany.

Strands of German idealist philosophy underpinned Spanish reform efforts in the nineteenth-century, particularly in the realm of education. The Spaniard Julián Sanz del Río attended the University of Heidelberg during the 1840s and promoted the rationalism of the German

³W. E. Retana, *Vida y escritos del dr. José Rizal* (Madrid: Librería General de Victoriano Suárez, 1907), 132; and Schumacher, *Propaganda Movement*, 85.

⁴Francis X. Hezel, *Strangers in Their Own Land: A Century of Colonial Rule in the Caroline and Marshall Islands* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1995), 7-8.

⁵In his history of nineteenth-century Germany, David Blackbourn writes that "industrialists warned about antagonizing Spain during a dispute over the Caroline Islands, for Germany would lose far more from a breach of trade with metropolitan Spain than it could ever gain in the Pacific." David Blackbourn, *History of Germany 1780-1918: The Long Nineteenth Century*, 2nd ed. (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 253.

philosopher Karl Christian Friedrich Krause after his return to Spain.⁶ “Krausism” (*Krausismo*) subsequently became the “most important reform movement” in nineteenth-century Spain, writes Ibon Urbarri in an article examining the reception, translation, and censorship of Kantian ideas on the Iberian Peninsula.⁷ The Church attacked its supporters with one opponent claiming about *Krausismo* that the (italics in original) “*pantheist* Germanism is anti-Catholic, indeed anti-Christian, because it is pantheistic and atheistic, in addition to being absurd in its scientific discourse.”⁸ This denunciation of the Krausists was not unlike the rejection of Rizal’s novel, linking them both to Germany, anti-Catholicism, and ultimately, activities perceived as external to Spain. Ideas about Germany thus cut in different directions for Spaniards in the nineteenth-century.

As much as these statements against *Krausismo* reflected actual attitudes toward Germany, they also embodied opposition toward liberalism in the context of wider political conflicts in Spain. Since the 1808 Spanish revolt against Napoleon, republican and monarchal factions had competed for political power in Spain resulting in several armed conflicts and shifts in government.⁹ Meanwhile, successful wars for independence by the majority of the American colonies from 1810-24 further contributed to Spanish political and economic unease.¹⁰ The Philippines did not remain unaffected by these developments in the metropole. During the nineteenth-century, the Spanish opened the colony to foreign investment and trade, which led to

⁶Juan López-Morillas, *The Krausist Movement and Ideological Change in Spain 1854-1874*, trans. Frances M. López-Morillas (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

⁷Ibon Urbarri, “German Philosophy in Nineteenth-Century Spain: Reception, Translation, and Censorship in the Case of Immanuel Kant,” in *The Power of the Pen: Translation and Censorship in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, eds. Denise Merkle, Carol O’Sullivan, Luc van Doorslaer, and Michaela Wolf (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2010), 84.

⁸José Campillo, *Discurso que en la solemne apertura del curso académico de 1866 a 1867 en la Universidad de Oviedo* (Oviedo: Brid, Regadera y Compañía, 1866), <http://www.filosofia.org/aut/001/1866cam.htm>. This source is taken from Urbarri, “German Philosophy,” 85.

⁹Charles J. Esdaile, *Spain in the Liberal Age: From Constitution to Civil War, 1808-1939* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2000).

¹⁰Nicolás Sánchez-Albornoz, “Introduction: The Economic Modernization of Spain,” in *The Economic Modernization of Spain, 1830-1930*, ed. Sánchez-Albornoz (New York: New York University Press, 1987), 1-2.

significant economic growth in the Philippines and the formation of a middle class of local-born Spaniards, Chinese, Filipinos, and mestizos increasingly intent on political reform.¹¹

The 1868 Spanish Revolution that brought liberals, moderates, and republicans to power strengthened the resolve of reformers in the Philippines, although they met resistance both within the colony and in Spain, most actively from the Catholic clergy.¹² In the face of growing anticlericalism in Spain, members of the Church positioned themselves in the Philippines as the traditional representatives of civilization and the foundation for the continuance of Spanish rule.¹³ Hopes for liberal reform in the colony ended abruptly amid widespread repression following an 1872 military revolt, after which the arrest and exile of alleged participants was coupled with the execution of three Filipino priests suspected of complicity in the uprising, silencing, at least temporarily, calls for change in the Philippines.¹⁴ Threats against Spanish domination seemed to appear from all quarters, both from inside as well as outside the colony.

As Spain tightened control over the Philippines and Filipino reformers gradually rebuilt, German naturalists and anthropologists published numerous studies of the Spanish colony, ultimately establishing themselves as the foremost scientific experts on the peoples of the islands. In hopes of using their work to assist continued colonization of the Philippines, Spaniards translated some of the Germans' studies into Spanish and cited them widely in their own writings about the colony. Yet, their translation also made them accessible to Filipinos literate in the language of the colonizers who employed them in support of rekindling reform efforts and the study of Filipino culture. Similar to the larger backdrop of the promising and

¹¹Vicente L. Rafael, *The Promise of the Foreign: Nationalism and the Technics of Translation in the Spanish Philippines* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005), 7-8.

¹²Ibid., 9; and Nicholas P. Cushner, *Spain in the Philippines: From Conquest to Revolution* (Quezon City, Philippines: Institute of Philippine Culture, Ateneo de Manila University, 1971), 220.

¹³Enrique A. Sanabria, *Republicanism and Anticlerical Nationalism in Spain* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); and Rafael, *The Promise of the Foreign*, 9.

¹⁴Cushner, *Spain in the Philippines*, 220-21.

perilous places of German ideas in nineteenth-century Spain, the Germans' studies of the Philippines both reinforced and undermined colonialism in the archipelago. It was in the context of political division in Spain and the Philippines in addition to the growth of German power and reputation as a center of science that Rizal's novel emerged.

This chapter will attempt to examine the double-sided nature of German ideas in Spanish and Filipino writings about the Philippines from the 1868 Revolution in Spain up to the publication of Rizal's *Noli* to show how they were used to both buttress and contest colonialism in the Philippines. Translating German studies of the Philippines paralleled the growth of science in Spain that historians show accelerated after the Revolution of 1868, and included increased attention to race and anthropology.¹⁵ This chapter connects the traditions of Spanish science and translation of Germans' writings to efforts at maintaining colonial rule in the Philippines.

Historians of anthropology in Imperial Germany convincingly demonstrate its links to German colonialism, reinforcing colonial ideology of European racial superiority on the one hand and providing peoples and artifacts for anthropological study on the other hand.¹⁶ This chapter seeks to expand the current understanding of the intersections of German anthropology and colonialism by examining its use by authors in Spain for retaining rule over, and advancing commercial exploitation of, the Philippines. Besides its connections to colonialism, historians of

¹⁵Dale J. Pratt, *Signs of Science: Literature, Science, and Spanish Modernity since 1868* (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 2001); Joshua Goode, *Impurity of Blood: Defining Race in Spain, 1870-1930* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2009); and Carmelo Lisón Tolosana, *Antropología social en España* (Madrid: Siglo XXI de España Editores, 1971).

¹⁶Andrew Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism in Imperial Germany* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001); H. Glenn Penny, *Objects of Culture: Ethnology and Ethnographic Museums in Imperial Germany* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002); H. Glenn Penny and Matti Bunzl, eds., *Worldly Provincialism: German Anthropology in the Age of Empire* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003); and Rainer F. Buschmann, *Anthropology's Global Histories: The Ethnographic Frontier in German New Guinea, 1870-1935* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009).

German anthropology also point out the ways it underscored German nationalism.¹⁷ This discussion will attempt to further illustrate the connections between German scholarship and nationalism outside of Germany through Spanish and Filipino authors' uses of German-language studies in their writings about civilization and colonialism in the Philippines.

Historians of Filipino nationalism widely acknowledge Rizal's links to Germany. For example, in John N. Schumacher's seminal study of Filipino nationalist writers' efforts at "propaganda" prior to the 1896 Revolution against Spain, he describes the atmosphere of "Germanophobia" surrounding the publication of *Noli*.¹⁸ The present discussion will address earlier Spanish and Filipino engagements with German ideas as a means of providing greater awareness of the ideological atmosphere in which Rizal's novel originated. This approach borrows from the work of Vicente L. Rafael which recognizes the duality, or what he describes as the "simultaneous allure and danger," of foreign ideas in a study of the writings of Filipino nationalists after 1887.¹⁹

I extend Rafael's perspective by examining the same ambiguity among Filipino as well as Spanish writers in the years leading up to the appearance of *Noli* to show the dualistic place of German ideas for both colonialist and nationalist ideology. In order to do so, this chapter addresses the following questions: how did German ideas manifest in Spanish writing about the Philippines after the 1868 Revolution? Why did Spaniards translate German studies of the Philippines and how did they react to Germans' criticism of Spanish colonialism in the islands? How did Filipino authors use Spanish translations of the German studies to support arguments for colonial reform and promote Filipino culture? Finally, why did Rizal travel to Germany and

¹⁷See, for example, the "turn" toward nation and race in Matti Bunzl and H. Glenn Penny, "Introduction: Rethinking German Anthropology, Colonialism, and Race," in *Worldly Provincialism*, 17ff.

¹⁸Schumacher, *Propaganda Movement*, 92.

¹⁹Rafael, *The Promise of the Foreign*, 12.

how did ideas about the Spanish national rival function in the overall portrait of the Philippines in his novel *Noli*?

By concentrating on the reception of German ideas in Spanish and Filipino writing about the Philippines before the publication of *Noli*, I demonstrate the “simultaneous allure and danger” of foreign concepts after the 1868 Revolution and in the years when discussions of colonial reform again emerged. On the one hand, Spanish writers embraced Germany as a source of scientific ideas to strengthen and legitimize the continuing Spanish domination of the Philippines in the face of the loss of the majority of American dominions earlier in the nineteenth-century. On the other hand, however, Spanish authors also rejected Germany as a national rival and the origin of Protestant and revolutionary ideas, a stance which served to exclude and alienate political opposition that drew on German thought in both Spain and the Philippines by associating it with subversion.

Yet, to solely focus on the reception of German ideas in Spain does not fully account for Rizal’s and other Filipinos’ uses of German-language studies of the Philippines and how they served aspects of their nationalist endeavors. Filipino authors adopted portions of the German studies of the Philippines that had been translated into Spanish to lend credibility to their writing and offer an external source of authority for the investigation of pre-colonial Filipino civilization. At the same time, aware of the perception of Germany as an imperial rival, Filipino writers also played on the German threat to demonstrate the lack of Spanish power and necessity of colonial reform. Viewing the places of German ideas in the writings of Spanish and Filipino authors more clearly demonstrates how they both supported and complicated colonialism in the Philippines.

“Revolutionary Monster” (*mónstruo revolucionario*)

The 1868 Revolution posed a significant challenge for the Catholic Church in Spain. As William J. Callahan points out in his history of the church and state in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Spanish society, *La Gloriosa* presented the clergy with the “most serious threat to its privileged position since the 1840’s.”²⁰ Justifying their contribution to the Spanish civilizing mission in the Philippines constituted one means by which clergy members defended themselves after the revolution and in the face of divisive politics in Spain. Colonialism in the Philippines offered a potential source of unity. The idea of Germany played a dual role in Spanish writing about the Philippines as a beacon for scientific achievement and a revolutionary threat to colonial sovereignty.

In a book they published anonymously, Vicente Barrantes (see Fig. 4.1), a colonial official who lost his position following the 1868 Revolution, and Casimiro Herrero, the Augustinian Procurator who had worked in the Philippines since 1851, used references to Germany to enhance the scientific credibility of the colonial clergy at the same time that they rejected the need for political reform and trumpeted the church’s accomplishments in the Philippines.²¹ Instead of directly revealing their identities as two men previously involved in the governance of the colony, they simply described the author of the text as a “Spaniard of long experience in the country and lover of progress” on its title page.²² The stated purpose of their book that John N. Schumacher describes as an “apology for the friars” in the colony involved seeing the

²⁰William J. Callahan, *Church, Politics, and Society in Spain, 1750-1874* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984), 248.

²¹Nicolás Días y Pérez, *Diccionario histórico, biográfico crítico y bibliográfico de autores, artistas y extremeños ilustres* (Madrid: Perez y Boix, 1884), 83; Elviro J. Pérez, *Catálogo bio-bibliográfico de los Religiosos Agustinos de la Provincia del Santísimo Nombre de Jesús de las Islas Filipinas* (Manila: Colegio de Sto. Tomás, 1901), 478; and John N. Schumacher, *The Making of a Nation: Essays on Nineteenth-Century Filipino Nationalism* (Manila: Ateneo de Manila Press, 1991), 75.

²²[Vicente Barrantes and Casimiro Herrero,] *Apuntes interesantes sobre las Islas Filipinas: que pueden ser útiles para hacer las reformas convenientes y productivas para el pais y para la nacion* (Madrid: El Pueblo, 1869). References to this source will appear parenthetically in the text hereafter.

Philippines as essentially bound to the “commercial and economic future” (3) of Spain.²³ In order to illustrate the position of the church in the colony as indispensable, the authors asserted in a discussion of the geographic advantages of the islands that the “religious orders” constitute the “center of moral and intellectual life in the Philippines” and referred to the “knowledgeable” (25) German naturalist Alexander von Humboldt to suggest that acclimatization in the colony had no ill-effects on Spaniards.



Figure 4.1: “His Excellency, Mister Vicente Barrantes y Moreno” from Días, *diccionario histórico*, xvii.

Producing science in the Philippines was not a novel practice for Spain. Philip II sent a cosmographer to Mexico and the Philippines in 1582 and Spain later conducted nine scientific expeditions in the islands between 1735 and 1805.²⁴ Evoking the German scientist served to support their assertion that the clergy represented the beacon of civilization in the colony, since they too, Barrantes and Herrero claimed, had produced several “knowledgeable observations” (25) like Alexander von Humboldt. As an extension of his travels through the Spanish colonies in the Americas during the early nineteenth-century, the German naturalist had planned to visit

²³John N. Schumacher, *Revolutionary Clergy: The Filipino Clergy and the Nationalist Movement, 1850-1903* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University, 1981), 30. They later claimed about the Philippines, for example, that “such current abundance also proves the fertility of the country superior, as we have said, to that of Cuba” (22).

²⁴David Goodman, “Science, Medicine, and Technology in Colonial Spanish America: New Interpretations, New Approaches,” in *Science in the Spanish and Portuguese Empires: 1500-1800*, eds. Daniela Bleichman, Paula de Vos, Kristin Huffine, and Kevin Sheehan (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2009), 12 & 18.

the Philippines, but the journey never took place.²⁵ Nevertheless, Humboldt still referred to the Southeast Asian Spanish colony in some of his writings.²⁶ His method of arranging the natural environment, plants, animals, and humans into a single system projected a comprehensive scientific portrait of the regions, such as the Americas, about which he wrote. Over the course of the nineteenth-century, Humboldt's reputation influenced the ways scientists studied and wrote about the world and its inhabitants across Europe.²⁷ Thus, Barrantes and Herrero's reference to the German naturalist, even merely in passing, demonstrated an attempt on their part to locate the work of the Spanish clergy in the context of modern scientific advances.

Besides the mention of Humboldt early in the book in the third chapter, the authors also referred to Germany in an appendix discussing the contributions of Spanish missionaries to knowledge about the Philippines. Barrantes and Herrero claimed that the 1837 botanical study of the colony written by the Augustinian Father Manuel Blanco, *Flora of the Philippines*, was a "work of much merit and well-known in England and Germany" (256).²⁸ It seems that opinion in Germany about the Augustinian's book was not uniform, however. Writing in a botanical journal in 1841, a German reviewer characterized the study's descriptions as "often very extensive, but just as often inaccurate, at least not according to today's requirements."²⁹

More importantly, Barrantes and Herrero used the suggestion of a positive German reception of the study and the reference to Humboldt to frame their main point about the Spanish church in

²⁵Laura Dassow Walls, *The Passage to Cosmos: Alexander von Humboldt and the Shaping of America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 84-85.

²⁶See, for example, A. de Humboldt, *Ensayo político sobre Nueva España*, trans. Vicente Gonzalez Arnao, third ed., vol. 4 (Paris: Libreria de Lecointe, 1836).

²⁷Susan Faye Cannon, *Science in Culture: The Early Victorian Period* (New York: Dawson and Science History Publications, 1978), esp. ch. 3, "Humboldtian science."

²⁸Manuel Blanco, *Flora de Filipinas: segun el sistema sexual de Linneo* (Manila: Sto. Thomas, 1837). The first botanical study of the Philippines was conducted by a German Jesuit, Georgio Camel, in 1704. Greg Bankoff, "The Science of Nature and the Nature of Science in the Spanish and American Philippines," in *Cultivating the Colonies: Colonial States and their Environmental Legacies*, eds. Christina Folke Ax, Niels Brimnes, Niklas Thode Jensen, and Karen Oslund (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2011), 87.

²⁹"Flora de Filipinas," *Litteratur-Bericht zur Linnaea für das Jahr 1842* (1842): 1.

the Philippines as the basis of civilization. Once they had established their scientific credibility, they could seize authority over the question of political reform in the Philippines as they continued to build a case for the essential contributions of the clergy to the well-being of the colony. They credited missionaries, for example, with converting Filipinos they described as “savage cannibals” (45) to a civilized way of life under Spanish Christian dominion. They used their alleged understanding of Filipinos to stress later in the text that “our most precious achievement, individual rights, have no reason to be in the Philippines” (146).³⁰ Although subtle, Barrantes and Herrero’s references to a German scientist helped them defend the role of the clergy and reject political reform in the colony.

It remains unclear to what extent their book influenced the debates over the Philippines in Spain following the 1868 Revolution. The point here is more concerned with showing the uses of Germany within the authors’ rhetorical strategies to establish authority over knowledge of the colony as a means of justifying the position of the church in both Spain and the Philippines. Despite resistance on the part of Spanish conservatives, some reforms of the colony began after 1868. Press censorship was abolished, a commission was established to discuss further reforms, the University of Santo Tomás was placed under government, rather than church, administration, and a bill was introduced in the Spanish Cortes calling for Philippine representation, though it did not pass. In 1871, however, all reforms in the colony were revoked and in January 1872, a

³⁰Their reasoning was based on a racist vision of Filipino society that they claimed was like a “huge primitive phalanstery,” deriving from their notion that “in India everything is common, and not only among the poorer classes, but even among the affluent” (147). Later, they compared the position of Filipino labor to the “utopias of Fourier and Owen (213), suggesting that Filipinos live well under Spanish administration at the same time that they associated Filipino culture with radical politics in the metropole, both of which needed to be domesticated in their view. For a discussion of Spanish radicalism in the second half of the nineteenth-century, see George R. Esenwein, *Anarchist Ideology and the Working-Class Movement in Spain, 1868-1898* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989).

military uprising broke out, which resulted in the repression of liberal reformers alongside the arrest, exile, and execution of conspirators in the colony.³¹

After the rebellion, direct references to Germany again surfaced in a Spanish text involving the Philippines, but in this instance as a threat to Spain. While seemingly an opposite portrayal to the earlier use of German science for justifying the accomplishments of the Spanish clergy, the negative portrait still served the same end of maintaining colonial rule over the Philippines. By presenting Germany as an external menace, Spanish writers could denounce political opposition by associating it with Protestant and revolutionary tendencies that allegedly contradicted national tradition in both the colony and metropole. In addition to the text he wrote with Barrantes rejecting political reform in the Philippines, Herrero published a work that attributed the causes of the 1872 rebellion to the introduction of republicanism into the colony, though it made no reference to Germany or German ideas.³²

However, he also published another a text two years later written under a pseudonym and fictitiously from the perspective of a Filipino, “Captain Juan,” as means of attempting to restore order among the indigenous population in the colony intended, as part of the title suggested, “for use by his countrymen” that again linked the uprising to liberal ideas at the same time that it directly portrayed Germany as both an ideological threat and colonial competitor.³³ Herrero

³¹Cushner, *Spain in the Philippines*, 220. In their argument against colonial reform in the Philippines, Barrantes and Herrero ominously referred to the mestizo church and university reformer Father José Burgos when lauding the “grand sciences and remarkable gifts of native priests” (45). Burgos was one of the three Filipino priests executed following the 1872 uprising. Schumacher, *The Making of a Nation*, 38; and John N. Schumacher, *Father José Burgos: A Documentary History with Spanish Documents and Their Translation* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University, 1999).

³²Casimiro Herrero, *Reseña que demuestra el fundamento y causas de la insurrección del 20 de enero en Filipinas con los medios de evitarla en lo sucesivo* (Madrid: Segundo Martinez, 1872). John N. Schumacher remarks that this text provides “little factual information” and instead was “philosophical rather than historical in nature.” Because Herrero was “not an eyewitness” and merely accepted the “official version” of the revolt, the book is “of no independent historical value,” he concluded. Schumacher, *The Making of a Nation*, 77.

³³[Casimiro Herrero,] P. Caro, *Filipinas ante la razon del indio: obra compuesta por el indígena Capitan Juan para utilidad de sus paisanos* (Madrid: A. Gomez Fuentenebro, 1874). References to this source will appear parenthetically in the text hereafter.

wrote at length about the futility of revolution in general, seeking to refute the liberal assumption of (italics in original) “*liberty, equality and individual rights* as the basis of progress and wealth for society” (11). Although the central focus of the clergyman’s discussion was the 1872 revolt, his remarks also pointed to Spanish politics following the 1868 Revolution.

It was not revolutionary liberal ideas that had instituted order and instilled civilization in the Philippines, according to the Augustinian, but rather the graces of the Catholic Church. He recounted the bloody outcomes of the French revolutions of 1789, 1830, 1848, and 1871 as a contrast to his claim that the Spanish presence in the islands had been traditionally a source of “security, freedom and progress” (54). Herrero attributed the origin of these upheavals to a single cause, writing that “all these evils are the result of Protestantism, the source of rebellion” (59) and later identifying Martin Luther as the “author of this revolutionary monster” (61).

Even though he did not say so directly, the Spanish clergyman linked all modern revolutions to Germany via the Reformation. Evoking this history assisted his attempt to assert the supremacy of Spanish tradition in both colony and home country, since the sixteenth-century schisms were contemporaneous with the advent of Spain to the Philippines. If Spain hoped to retain its colony, he reasoned, it had better continue its customary means of doing so, rather than adopting incendiary foreign ideas that history had shown, in Herrero’s view, led to destruction. According to the author’s logic, the 1872 rebellion was just another example of the same process that continued Luther’s initial apostasy. This version of Germany as synonymous with the Reformation thus allowed the Catholic writer to present Spanish civilization as a positive contrast to ideas and actions external to Spain’s glorious past.

Without the saving presence of Spain in the Philippines, it seems that history may have proceeded in a far different manner, according to Herrero writing with the hand of the fictional

Filipino Captain Juan. He had the Christianized Filipino observe, for example, “that the race of Aetas was weaker and less cultured than ours” due to their “nomadic life in the wilderness,” “lack of any industry and agriculture,” “living only on hunting wild animals,” and ultimately “being resistant to civilization” (107). The hunting and gathering Aetas thus represented in Herrero’s mind what would have become of the Filipinos generally without the arrival of the Spanish. He argued further that before the Spanish there was no “republican government,” but rather a system characterized by “unlimited despotism and blind subordination” (111).

Herrero’s idea of oppressive government in the pre-colonial Philippines also linked to his thinking about German imperialism in the islands. The history of the Philippines was not disconnected from the present, because, as he wrote later in his book, if the “islands would have to live under the British flag, the German or any others which have large trade and industry” (246), they would be likewise subject to the same despotism and subordination that prevailed in the archipelago prior to the arrival of the Spanish. Herrero thus suggested a connection between industrializing nations and the pre-colonial Filipino autocracy via bondage. Instead of the evil Protestantism, the Augustinian here portrayed Germany (alongside Great Britain) as a colonial competitor to Spain. He equated German rule with a type of colonialism that would enslave Filipinos in another distinction that sought to depict the role of the Spanish as benevolent, enlightened, just, and more advantageous for Filipinos.

The plan was apparently to distribute the book throughout the colony, but, as Resil B. Mojares points out in his intellectual history of Filipino nationalists, “the authorities came to their senses and restricted the book’s circulation to the religious communities, fearing it would inflame Filipinos.”³⁴ It represented an attempt by a Spanish clergy member to bind the

³⁴Resil B. Mojares, *Brains of the Nation: Pedro Paterno, T.H. Pardo de Tavera, Isabelo de los Reyes and the Production of Modern Knowledge* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2006), 459.

Philippines to Spain using references to the German Reformation and Germany as a threat to Spanish rule in the Philippines to strengthen readers' resolve for Catholic tradition as the basis for colonialism while rejecting liberal ideals in the islands. Other Spanish authors also included references to Germany and German scholarship in their writings about the colony in hopes of maintaining domination of the Philippines.

“To Make Berlin a Village in Malaysia” (*convertir en Berlin un pueblo de la Malesia*)

Attention to science in Spain had increased since the Revolution of 1868, but the military restoration of the monarchy in 1874 threatened to reverse some of the changes that had taken place in Spanish society since the liberal ascendancy. Yet, as Dale J. Pratt shows in his study of Spanish scientific writing after 1868, “the effects of the September revolution on science and on popular thinking about science were in no way compromised by the restoration of the monarchy.”³⁵ By increasing the understanding of potential natural resources in the archipelago, scientific texts also offered Spain the opportunity for greater commercial exploitation of the Philippines. While several recent German studies of the Spanish colony promised to assist Spain in this endeavor, Spaniards also stirred patriotism in their reactions to the work of the German scholars.

In 1873, the German naturalist Fedor Jagor published a study of the Philippines that the Spanish forestry engineer Sebastián Vidal later translated and published in Madrid.³⁶ Because Jagor's work represented the most up-to-date and comprehensive investigation of the colony produced in decades, part of the purpose of translating it was to gain wider access to this information for Spanish-language audiences. In the introduction to his translation of the German

³⁵Pratt, *Signs of Science*, 29.

³⁶F. Jagor, *Reisen in den Philippinen: Mit Zahlreichen Abbildungen und Einer Karte* (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1873); and F. Jagor, *Viajes por Filipinas*, trans. S. Vidal y Soler (Madrid: Aribau and Co., 1875).

naturalist's text, Vidal described the study of the Spanish colony as one that "leads all the previous in scientific exactitude and precision." Furthermore, the Spanish forestry engineer continued, it was "consistent with recent advances in science."³⁷ The translator thus recognized the importance of Jagor's study based on its scientific authority.

It was not the only German text about the Philippines that the Spaniard made use of. Before producing the Spanish version of Jagor's text in its entirety, Vidal translated parts of a work by the German naturalist Carl Semper.³⁸ In an examination of Philippine forests he published in 1874, the forestry engineer discussed and cited both Jagor and Semper, in addition to including in his bibliography reference to A. B. Meyer, who visited the Philippines in the early 1870s after the other two German naturalists had already completed their work. Vidal's bibliography also listed articles from the first and second volumes of the German *Journal of Ethnology* dealing with the Philippines, an essay on the geology of the Spanish colony by Justus Roth located in the appendix to Jagor's study, and Semper's zoological works on Philippine sea-cucumbers and land mollusks, produced as the result of his travels in the archipelago.³⁹ The author's citations of the most recent German scholarship lent scientific credibility to his work at the same time that it demonstrated Spanish willingness to use German information about the Philippines.

³⁷Jagor, *Viajes*, vii.

³⁸C. Semper, *Die Philippinen und ihre Bewohner: Sechs Skizzen* (Würzburg: A. Stuber's Buchhandlung, 1869); Don Carlos Semper, "El clima de Filipinas y su influencia en el mundo orgánico," *Estudios sobre el clima de Filipinas*, trans. Sebastián Vidal y Soler (Madrid: M. Minuesa, 1874), 5-18; Don G. Karsten, "Noticias sobre el clima de Filipinas," *ibid.*, 19-44; and Carlos Semper, "Los negritos y tribus malayas idólatras de Filipinas," trans. Sebastián Vidal, *El Bazar: Revista Ilustrada* 1 (1874): 443-46, 455-59 & 470-74. Vidal translated the third and fourth sketches in Semper's text, entitled "Das Klima und das organische Leben," and "Die Negrito's und die heidnischen malaiischen Stämme," in addition to Gustav Karsten, "Ueber das Klima der Philippinen." Semper, *Bewohner*, 34-47, 48-64 & 111-30.

³⁹Sebastián Vidal y Soler, *Memoria sobre el ramo de montes* (Madrid: Aribau, 1874), 2, 35, n. 1, 188, 195, 207, 211, 214, 222, 223, n. 2, 261, 277, 283, 292 & 296; "die Philippinen und ihre Bewohner," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 2 (1870): 148-51; *ibid.* 1 (1869): Tafel VIII; J. Roth, "Ueber die geologische Beschaffenheit der Philippinen," in Jagor, *Reisen*, 333-54; C. Semper, *Holothurien*, vol. 1 of *Reisen im Archipel der Philippinen* (Wiesbaden: C.W. Kreidel, 1868); and C. Semper, *Landmollusken*, vol. 3 of *ibid.* (Wiesbaden: C.W. Kreidel, 1870).



Figure 4.2: “forest of the Rio Grande basin, Mindanao” from the frontispiece to Vidal, *Memoria de montes*.

The German studies promised to increase Spanish understanding of the natural environment of the colony, which Vidal viewed as a valuable opportunity for Spain. Although his work was most centrally devoted to forestry in the Spanish colony, he addressed his 1874 text to “men who are interested in the future of our overseas possessions,” not unlike the vision of the future articulated by Barrantes and Herrero five years earlier.⁴⁰ As further testament to the overlap of science and colonial rule for the forestry engineer, he wrote of the Rio Grande on the southern island of Mindanao as the “main base of operations for an effective domination of the southern part of the island.”⁴¹ The only illustration contained in his book depicted a forest adjacent to the river in the southern island with light cascading over a mostly darkened landscape, as if an analogy for Spain’s presence in the Philippines (see Fig. 4.2).

For many Spaniards writing about the colony in the decade that followed Vidal’s translations, the information amassed by the Germans appeared useful when considering the best means of exploiting the Philippines. Spanish authors referenced German studies in their writings about

⁴⁰Vidal, *Memoria de montes*, ii.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, 40.

Philippine forest products, gold deposits, agriculture, geography, statistics, ethnography, coal production, zoology, and natural history, for example.⁴² Spaniards' writings about the Philippines therefore capitalized on the Germans' initial discoveries of numerous areas for economic investment in the islands. In this way, German scientific texts assisted Spanish efforts in maintaining colonial rule in the Philippines.

Despite the scientific authority that the German texts promised to Spanish writers, officials, and business people hoping to widen commercial opportunities in the colony, the Germans' critical comments about aspects of Spanish knowledge threatened to undermine the place of Spain in the Philippines. In Semper's work, for example, he remarked on the lack of Spanish knowledge about Filipinos, writing about the possible existence of the Aetas on Mindanao. The German naturalist complained that Spanish conceptions of this question "reveal the most complete ignorance of the races that inhabit this island."⁴³ Jagor too condemned the Spanish in the Philippines, claiming in his study for instance that they lacked knowledge and were lazy.⁴⁴

While Vidal's translations seemed to expose the frailty of the Spanish in the Philippines, they nonetheless underscored the need for further scientific investigation of the islands by his countrymen as a national mission. In the preface to his 1874 study of Philippine forests, for

⁴²*Memoria-catálogo de la colección de productos forestales, presentada por la Inspección General de Montes de Filipinas en la Exposición Universal de Filadelfia* (Manila: Revista Mercantil, 1875), 11, 13, 16, 21 & 28; Maximino Lillo de Gracia, *Filipinas, distrito de Lepanto: descripción general acompañada de itinerario* (Manila: Colegio de Santo Tomas, 1877), 49; El Marqués de Caicedo, *El oro: su explotación y consideraciones acerca de los yacimientos auríferos de la Islas Filipinas* (Madrid: Ramon Moreno y Ricardo Rojas, 1880), 41; Francisco Cañamaque, "La provincia de Zambales: monografía," *Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Madrid* 9 (1880): 290-92; Zoilo Espejo, *La agricultura en Filipinas* (Madrid: Manuel G. Hernandez, 1881), 10 & 13; Edm. de Sélys-Longchamps, "Odonates des Philippines," *Anales de la Sociedad Española de Historia Natural* 11 (1882): 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32 & 33; Francisco Javier de Moya y Jiménez, *Las Islas Filipinas en 1882: estudios históricos, geográficos, estadísticos y descriptivos* (Madrid: F. Fernandez, 1883), 81, 136, 139, 140, 153 & 348; Enrique Abella y Casariego, "El monte Maquilin (Filipinas)," *Boletín de la Comisión del Mapa Geológico de España* 11 (1884): 378, 379 & 382; Salvador Calderon y Arana, "Trabajos del dr. Meyer sobre las Islas Filipinas," *Anales de la Sociedad Española de Historia Natural* 13 (1884): 24-28; and Ramón Jordana y Morera, *Bosquejo geográfico é historico-natural de archipiélago filipino* (Madrid: Moreno y Rojas, 1885), 2, 44, 54, 123, 163, 178, 200, 213, 308, 329, 339, 354 & 426.

⁴³Semper, "Los negritos," 444.

⁴⁴Jagor, *Viajes*, 30.

example, he lamented the “inactivity” and “apathy” of Spanish writers in contrast to the recent work of Semper and Jagor, a distinction about which he admitted that “I sacrifice a bit of pride to a lot of patriotism.”⁴⁵ The good of retaining the colony was hence of greater importance for him than the reality of Germans’ superior knowledge of the Philippines, though Vidal still confessed in the conclusion to his preface that “it is not without bitterness” for him to admit that “a foreigner of a different race and language so different from ours has demonstrated a knowledge of things of the archipelago that reveal far beyond the works of our compatriots more understanding of that country, its people and its political, governmental and social organization.”⁴⁶ He thus connected Spanish patriotism to the necessity of producing information about the colony.

Vidal represented his translation of Jagor’s text as accurate and therefore his scientific task linked retaining the Philippines for Spain to national duty. On the one hand, he claimed in the introduction that he “adhered strictly to the text, not allowing me to even change it in the points where my views differ from those the author.”⁴⁷ In doing so, Vidal connected his translation to scientific method, since he was concerned with facts, rather than opinion. On the other hand, however, he employed the power of annotation in one instance as a means of moderating the foreigner’s observations. Following Jagor’s description of the 1872 uprising, Vidal inserted a footnote remarking that “great were the services the illustrious Generals Izquierdo and Espinar provided in those critical moments to the cause of the motherland.”⁴⁸ The forestry engineer thus mediated the threat of colonial revolt through a partial rewriting of the German’s account that highlighted the responses of the military as an example of Spanish patriotism.

⁴⁵Vidal, *Memoria de Montes*, ii.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, ii-iii.

⁴⁷Jagor, *Viajes*, vii.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, 302, n. 1.

Another Spanish author also exhibited nationalist sentiments in producing knowledge about the Philippines, but more directly contested the claims of German scholars. José Felipe del Pan, from the *Philippine Review* (*Revista de Filipinas*), translated a travel account written by the Englishman John Bowring about his visit to the Spanish colony in 1858, just prior to the arrival of Semper and Jagor.⁴⁹ In the prologue to the work, the translator contrasted the Englishman's "benevolent interpretations" of Spanish rule in the Philippines to other "foreign writers dealing with all our things."⁵⁰ Although Del Pan did not immediately identify the foreign writers to whom he referred, the next paragraph of his preface suggested that they were of German origin. He continued to discuss foreign writers, noting that the "arrogance of these has no limits," and suggesting that instead of "enriching the scientific warehouse" with their "their modern conquests," they merely "audaciously invade the terrain of the social sciences." They had been inspired by the "traveling naturalist" Alexander von Humboldt, Del Pan explained, who was not at fault, however, because he, unlike unnamed others, had never tried "to make Berlin a village in Malaysia."⁵¹

The translator soon made clear that he had been alluding to Semper and Jagor. A biography of Bowring followed the prologue and concluded with the remark that the two German naturalists "as soon as they left the classroom came" to the Philippines with their observations "attacking that which they failed to understand." Hence, unlike Bowring, himself an official in the British colonial administration, a former governor of Hong Kong, they were ill-equipped "to judge forms of government and the character and tendencies of a political and administrative

⁴⁹John Bowring, *Una visita á las Islas Filipinas*, trans. José Felipe del Pan (Manila: Ramirez y Giraudier, 1876); John Bowring, *A Visit to the Philippine Islands* (London: Smith, Elder & Co, 1859); and Mojares, *Brains of the Nation*, 260-61.

⁵⁰Bowring, *Islas Filipinas*, v.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, v-vii.

system whose development social progress carries out,” according to Del Pan.⁵² The Spaniard thus distinguished between Bowring’s authority as a government official and the limits of the German naturalists’ expertise on political matters.

The work of Semper and Jagor appeared, nevertheless, in the translation of Bowring’s text. Because Del Pan hoped to update the work’s data, he used information from the German naturalists’ studies of the Philippines. The translator referred readers to “two studies in which the reader will find what is known today about the Aetas,” one of which belonged to Semper, despite the translator’s previous remarks. Del Pan went on to point out that the works of Semper and another author (*italics in original*) “dispel a multitude of errors that have been perpetuated regarding an alleged moral inferiority and an insurmountable natural horror of the *Aetas* to civilization.”⁵³ The Spaniard also employed Jagor’s population statistics taken from the Spanish Overseas Ministry.⁵⁴ Apparently, the information provided by the two German naturalists was too important to pass up, even if not all of their observations were to particular Spaniards’ likings.

Although threatening to reveal weaknesses within the colonial system, Spaniards’ translations of Germans’ works also represented Spaniards as scientific, modern, and patriotic by helping encourage further Spanish studies of the Philippines.⁵⁵ Spaniards’ continued

⁵²Ibid., xiii.

⁵³Ibid., 160, n. 63.

⁵⁴Ibid., 97, n. 30. The German naturalist noted of these statistics that they were “taken principally from the work of Mr. Barrantes,” the Spanish colonial official who had co-authored the book rejecting reform in the Philippines, but Jagor warned readers that they “suffer from great errors.” Jagor, *Viajes*, 47.

⁵⁵Vidal’s colleague, Ramón Jordana, also a forestry engineer, translated the work of another German-speaking scholar into Spanish: the appendix to a study by the Austrian ethnologist Ferdinand Blumentritt, entitled “The Maritime Discoveries of the Spanish in the Philippine Archipelago.” The text recounted the early years of the Spanish in the Philippines and hence showed that Spanish authors saw benefit in historical studies produced by German-speaking authors in addition to their works that focused on the colony in the contemporary era. Ferd. Blumentritt, “Anhang: Die maritimen Entdeckungen der Spanier im Archipel der Philippinen,” *Dr. A. Peterman’s Mittheilungen aus Justus Perthes’ Geographischer Anstalt*, Ergänzungsheft Nr. 67 (1882): 59-68; and Ferdinand Blumentritt, “Descubrimientos marítimos de los españoles en el archipiélago filipino,” trans. Ramón Jordana, *Revista Contemporánea* 41 (1882): 129-52.

investigations of the Philippines using Germans' studies provided the basis for sustained intellectual attention to the islands at the same time that they presented the possibility of greater economic exploitation of the colony for Spain. The lure of scholarly opportunity and economic wealth was too great to ignore and the turn to science supplemented other Spanish methods of retaining the colony, such as the repression of political reform.

“Notable Men of Science and Letters” (*hombres más notables en ciencias y letras*)

Translating German studies also had unintended consequences, however, as Filipino nationalists put them to use in their writings about colonial reform and Filipino culture. In his account of Filipino nationalism in the years preceding the 1896 Revolution against Spain, John N. Schumacher describes the period in the Philippines following the 1872 uprising as a “lull” for those seeking reform. By the end of the decade, however, students from elite creole, mestizo, and Filipino families in the Philippines began attending universities in Spain, where the hopes of reformers eventually revived.⁵⁶ Besides remaining aware of Spanish politics involving the Philippines, many Filipinos living in Spain explored their culture in both the past and present with painting, poetry, history, novel writing, and anthropology, for example. References to Germany and German studies of the Philippines appeared repeatedly in Filipinos' writings about reform and culture.

Even though Spanish writers used German ideas in a variety of ways to help maintain rule over the Philippines, Filipinos' attention to German studies and Germany had altogether different connotations. Because Filipinos' incorporation of German scientific works also lent credibility to their writing and projected scholarly authority, it put them on par with Spanish writers discussing the politics, economy, and culture of the Philippines. Filipinos' calls for reform and

⁵⁶Schumacher, *Propaganda Movement*, 17.

study of their own culture complicated Spanish intentions to retain hegemony over the Philippines, since they contradicted claims of Filipino incapacity, ignorance, and inferiority that sought to justify their disenfranchisement from electoral politics in Spain. Germans' writings not only buttressed Filipinos' arguments on behalf of colonial reform, but also supported the investigation of Filipino culture, both under Spanish rule and in the years preceding it. The place of Germany as a national competitor to Spain also suggested the possible consequences of forestalling reform: without mending the system binding Spain to the Philippines, the colony was exposed to the territorial aspirations of other colonial powers, such as Germany. Filipinos' uses of German texts therefore acted as a defense against Spanish colonialism in the Philippines at the same time that they assisted with the articulation of nationalist political and cultural efforts.

In his 1881 treatise that argued for colonial reform, the Chinese mestizo Gregorio Sancianco directed attention to questions involving politics and culture in the Philippines among Filipino writers in the years that followed. At the same time, his text made significant use of Germans' studies and portrayed Germany as a rival to Spain. He was directly linked to the earlier reform movement in the colony, where he along with other students and faculty at the University of Santo Tomás participated in a group that distributed leaflets critiquing the outdated modes of teaching at the university, calling for Spanish to replace Latin as the language of instruction during 1869. Sancianco helped distribute the pamphlets, hiding them in bundles of hay, while posing as a hay peddler (*zacatero*). Father José Burgos, a mestizo priest, was also part of the movement with two other Filipino priests, Mariano Gómez and Jacinto Zamora, all of whom were executed for their alleged complicity in the 1872 uprising. After the rebellion provided an excuse to crush the reform movement, whose participants were arrested, exiled, and executed,

Sancianco left for Spain, where he earned a doctorate of law in 1880, and published articles in 1881 calling for reform.⁵⁷

The Filipino identified himself with Spanish patriotism as a means of discussing the colonial government and economy, detrimental consequences of avoiding reform, and dignity of Filipinos, all as measures beneficial to Spain. His stance was assimilationist in that it viewed Spain and the Philippines as one body and sought legal equality between Spaniards and Filipinos. On the one hand, he supported the accomplishments of Spanish colonialism in the Philippines, claiming in the introduction to his text that the “government of the metropolis has always wanted the material, moral and intellectual advance of these islands, but its desires are smashed by the absolute lack of resources.”⁵⁸ Thus, the problem for Sancianco was neither the fault of the Spaniards nor the Filipinos, but a government that could not perform its functions due to a shortage of assets.

On the other hand, writing from the perspective of a Spanish patriot also allowed Sancianco to testify to the glory of Spain with the contributions of particular Filipinos to sciences and the arts, including the numbers of graduates from the recently established school of medicine, the poet Pedro A. Paterno and the painter Juan Luna, among others. He noted about Paterno that the poet “assembles in his home notable men of science and letters” (x).⁵⁹ By situating his position within the ideology of the Spanish civilizing mission, he was able to point out Filipinos’ cultural

⁵⁷Schumacher, *The Making of a Nation*, 38; Schumacher, *Propaganda Movement*, 22; and Mojares, *Brains of the Nation*, 442-47.

⁵⁸Gregorio Sancianco y Goson, *El progreso de Filipinas: estudios económicos, administrativos y políticos* (Madrid: J. M. Perez, 1881), v. References to this source will appear parenthetically in the text hereafter.

⁵⁹Paterno published a collection of his poetry, which Schumacher describes as the “first attempt to project a Filipino national personality and to present to the public the work of a Filipino, specifically as such.” Schumacher, *Propaganda Movement*, 22; and Pedro Alejandro Paterno, *Sampaguitas* (Madrid: F. Cao y D. de Val, 1880). The 1880 edition included twenty-nine poems, though an expanded edition containing fifty-six poems appeared in the next year. Pedro Alejandro Paterno, *Sampaguitas* (Madrid: F. Cao y D. de Val, 1881). Paterno was not the first Filipino poet, however, and built on the precedent set forth by others such as Jose de la Cruz and Francisco Baltazar, who wrote earlier in the nineteenth-century. Bienvenido L. Lumbea, *Tagalog Poetry 1570-1898: Tradition and Influences in its Development* (Manila: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2001).

achievements, to which he could attach himself as a voice for reform that promised further mutual benefit and accomplishments in the future.

Writing as a man of “science and letters” and the product of Spanish civilization, Sancianco could authoritatively identify the problems within and remedies for the government and economy of the Philippines as a goal shared by both Filipinos and Spaniards alike. He described ailing infrastructure, education, labor and capital in the colony, and not unlike certain Spanish authors, urged the exploitation of “all kinds of natural resources” (91) and the development of foreign industries.⁶⁰ Key to the discussion was his point about political equality, asserting that if “the right of citizenship is acknowledged among the peninsulares, then it must also be acknowledged among the Filipinos” (101).

Still writing from a patriotic Spanish perspective, Sancianco evoked the threatening potential of Germany to both Spain and the Philippines should assimilation remain unrealized. Without political reform, he explained, the bond between the colony and mother country would be compromised, thus opening up the Philippines to becoming the “mere plaything of the greed and ambitions of other powers” (107). Envisioning a scenario akin to the divisions of China and Samoa, Sancianco suggested that the result might be a partition of the islands between “English, here German, there French, here Russians, beyond North Americans” (108). Referring to Germany and other national rivals served as an acute reminder of the competition inherent in imperialism. While Sancianco adopted a position that advocated Spanish interests, conjuring the German threat simultaneously promoted the Filipino cause of political assimilation.

⁶⁰Sancianco noted, for example, that the “telegraph lines are limited to very few towns; the postal service does not satisfy the most urgent needs of the mail; public instruction, above all, the primary schools in the towns, are completely neglected; the towns are without regular routes of communication, and the departments of forests and mines are without personnel” (26). He identified elsewhere a “shortage of workers,” a “lack of capital,” and a “lack of overland routes” (68 & 90) in the Philippines. Finally, he argued that foreign industries should be “protected,” since their “complete absence is felt as a pressing need” (91).

The author also connected the necessity of reform in the Philippines more specifically to German colonial aspirations in a discussion of revolts in the colony during the second half of the nineteenth-century. Sancierco argued that the lack of political change underlay the rebellions of 1852, 1854, and 1872 with the latter uprising also suspected of “conspiratorial projects to annex the Philippines to Germany” (115). He was not advocating revolt, but only suggesting that they had been the outcome of denying citizenship to Filipinos. Germany again served as a warning about maintaining the status quo.

Besides using the place of Germany as a national rival to Spain to impress the necessity of reform, Sancierco’s text also included quotations from and references to the studies of the German naturalists Semper and Jagor in support of the discussion of potential commercial opportunities in the islands. The appendix to the treatise drew on much material from the writings of Semper and Jagor, particularly the section providing a “Geographic and Meteorological Description” (151-72) of the Philippines. These adoptions of German science lent credibility to Sancierco’s position as a “man of science and letters” at the same time that they allowed him to continue writing about reform as a measure beneficial to Spain. He argued that political assimilation would facilitate economic opportunity and quoted passages from the works of Semper and Jagor that pointed out the abundant commercial potential that the Philippines possessed.⁶¹

Reference to Germany and German scholarship appeared in Sancierco’s text a final time in a rejection of Spanish racist claims against Filipinos. The Chinese mestizo addressed the

⁶¹Sancierco quoted from Vidal’s translation of Semper’s work that described a scene in which “inlets and canals come alive with numerous small fishing boats and coastal trade, carrying all kinds of products of the country to Cebú and Manila; Chinese industrialists bring manufactured articles from their country in exchange for gold, oats, rice, sea cucumber and cowrie shells to take home” (165). Semper, “El clima de Filipinas,” 13.

The Filipino also quoted from Vidal’s translation of Jagor’s study that remarked on the “countless shelters for ships” (153) and claimed that the “fertility of the soil is incomparable; the salt water and fresh water are full of fish and shellfish” (154). Jagor, *Viajes*, 42.

allegation of indolence among Filipinos and took particular issue with the Spanish writer Francisco Cañamaque, who traveled to the Philippines during the 1870s and published three books that portrayed his countrymen negatively.⁶² In a footnote from the text published in 1880, the Spaniard alleged that one of his earlier works on the colony had sold 150 copies in Germany, “significant numbers when compared with the selling one gets there of the vast majority of Spanish works,” he added. Cañamaque sought to enhance the value of his writing by characterizing Germany as a place “where they often publish interesting works about the wealth, population and geography of the Philippines” and “that some of them consulted the Spanish themselves: the work of Jagor, for example.”⁶³

Sancianco not only picked up on the Spaniard’s racism toward Filipinos, but also his attempt to forward himself using references to Germany. He subsequently refuted the author’s integrity on both questions by again presenting Germany as a national rival to Spain alongside the necessity of colonial reform (*italics in original*):

The work did not have the acceptance that the author hoped, and had to circulate a leaflet in two or three newspapers announcing that it had sold 150 copies in Germany. With this information he seemed to want to attack the government and public because they had received with indifference a work *so useful* that even foreign nations were interested in it. What we marvel at is that it was not true that it sold 150 copies in Germany. Particularly Germany, which has demonstrated and still shows vivacious interest in those rich Spanish possessions! Why would they not devour your reading in that country, if they see in the work literary and social nonsense that provides moments of pleasure and delight in mocking and laughing at Spanish institutions and whet the appetite toward those lands they coveted, because they judge that the governmental despotism of the peninsulares will sooner or later cause despair among the inhabitants? (224-25)

Sancianco’s comments demonstrated the uselessness of Cañamaque’s works on the Philippines by using Germany as a foil. He uncovered the Spaniard’s attempt to claim a positive reception of his writings on the colony in Germany as a means of encouraging Spaniards to purchase his

⁶²Francisco Cañamaque, *Recuerdos de Filipinas: cosas, casos y usos de aquellas islas: vistos, oídos, tocados y contados* (Madrid: Anllo y Rodriguez, 1877); Francisco Cañamaque, *Recuerdos de Filipinas: cosas, casos y usos de aquellas islas: vistos, oídos y contados*, Segunda Parte (Madrid: Librería de Simon y Osler, 1879); and Francisco Cañamaque, *Las Islas Filipinas (de todo un poco)* (Madrid: Librería de Fernando Fé, 1880).

⁶³Cañamaque, *Las Islas*, 54, n. 1.

text. At the same time, Sancianco also suggested that Germans reading the work would only confirm the national rival's desire to seize the colony from the Spanish, since Germany could capitalize on the political problems in the Philippines that Cañamaque's writings did nothing to resolve. The German menace to Spain thus helped the Filipino reject the claim of indolence and renew the call for reform in the colony.⁶⁴

Even though this was Sancianco's final publication, it set a precedent among other Filipinos in terms of defending themselves against Spanish claims of inferiority and using German studies of the Philippines to do so. The author was imprisoned in 1884 for alleged complicity in a rebellion in the Philippine province of Pangasinan, possibly due to his previous links to the 1872 uprising or perhaps as the result of his book.⁶⁵ After the publication of Sancianco's book, other educated Filipinos in Madrid carried on the struggle for reform and employed German scholarship on the Philippines in support of their efforts.

Graciano López Jaena was another such Filipino activist. Born in 1856 in Jaro, Iloilo in the Visayas (central Philippine islands), where he attended seminary, he became interested in reform as a medical student in the Philippines and Spain. He ceased his study of medicine to agitate for political change, writing for Spanish periodicals devoted to issues dealing with the Philippines.

John N. Schumacher describes López Jaena as a "revolutionary by temperament" and a "radicalizing force among the Filipinos."⁶⁶ He and another Filipino, Pedro Govantes y

⁶⁴Shifting emphasis from a Spanish to a Filipino patriot in addressing the "indolence of the native," Sancianco described his own apparent "incompetence" in discussing the matter, because, he wrote, he was "as native as those to whom it is attributed" (226).

⁶⁵Mojares, *Brains of the Nation*, 448. According to Mojares, Sancianco later served as a judge in the provinces of Nueva Ecija and Pangasinan before his death in 1897 during the Philippine Revolution against Spain. Ibid.

⁶⁶Among a growing number of Filipinos who traveled to Spain as students, similar sentiments arose seeking to improve conditions in the colony and several formed a group in 1882 called the "Spanish-Filipino Circle" (*Círculo Hispano-Filipino*), devoted to discussing these issues. The group also founded a newspaper, which only lasted until 1883, but which nevertheless continued to emphasize the need for reform of Spanish policy in the Philippines. After the demise of the "Spanish-Filipino Circle" and its periodical in 1883, López Jaena continued to strike the chord of reform in his writings published elsewhere. Schumacher, *Propaganda Movement*, 17 & 26-28.

Azcárraga were on staff of the Spanish journal “Two Worlds” (*Los Dos Mundos*), founded in 1883 and dedicated to political assimilation.⁶⁷ His first article defended Filipinos against the persistent charge of indolence and López Jaena referred to Sancianco’s efforts against the same misrepresentations. Other articles he published in 1884 mentioned the arrest of Sancianco, its connection to the 1872 “revolución de Cavite” and another noted his imprisonment along with many other elites.⁶⁸

López Jaena’s first allusion to German studies of the Philippines appeared in a speech he made in tribute to the Filipino artists Juan Luna and Felix Resurrección Hidalgo for winning awards at a Madrid arts exhibition in 1884. The orator created a continuity between the successes of the Filipino artists and the pre-colonial civilization in the Philippines, using the existence of artifacts held in a Berlin museum. López Jaena exclaimed about the Philippines that “it is time, gentlemen, to amend those mistakes of history and say loudly that this country before the arrival of the Spanish on its coasts, had a civilization, a degree of enlightenment.” The Filipino linked this claim of Philippine “enlightenment and civilization” to contacts with China, India, and Japan, with which Filipinos had “maintained relations of friendship and concord” before the arrival of the Spanish.

Although he did not refer to Jagor directly by name, López Jaena nonetheless used the existence of artifacts excavated by the German naturalist and then held “in the ethnographic museum in Berlin” to demonstrate the pre-colonial connections between the Philippines and

⁶⁷Ibid., 36. Schumacher describes Govantes’ political perspective as shown in his writings as “earnest enough and well-reasoned,” though “basically conservative and written from a Spanish point of view, even though similar in its aim to what men like López Jaena were seeking.” Ibid., 38. The same author concludes about Govantes that “his writings are clearly reformist rather than properly nationalist.” Ibid., 47. The difference between the two—reformist or nationalist—seems difficult to discern at this point in the mid-1880s, since Filipinos still saw reform as a means of achieving assimilation.

⁶⁸Graciano López Jaena, “Una protesta,” in Graciano López Jaena, *Discursos y artículos*, new ed. (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1951), 61-70; Graciano López Jaena, “Cuestiones filipinas,” in *ibid.*, 123; and Graciano López Jaena, “Las prisiones en Filipinas,” in *ibid.*, 126.

other Asian countries. Jagor described the extraction of the same objects in his study and the Filipino mentioned one of the “priceless vases,” an image of which the German naturalist also included in his study (see Fig. 4.3). López Jaena asserted that the artifacts represented “evidence” of the “remains of a civilization.”⁶⁹

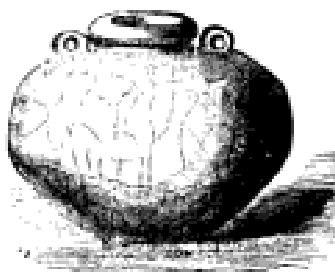


Figure 4.3: “clay vase” from Jagor, *Viajes*, 145.

The Filipino orator used Jagor’s work to contest an aspect of colonial ideology, a strategy he described as amending the “mistakes of history,” particularly the idea that civilization in the Philippines began with the Spanish conquest. In addition to its discussion of ancient Philippine artifacts, the German naturalist’s study pointed out that the Spanish upon arrival in the islands found Filipinos “wearing cotton and silk, which they acquired from the Chinese” in exchange for local products. The Filipinos also traded, Jagor wrote, “with Japan, Cambodia, Siam, the Moluccas, and the Malay Archipelago.”⁷⁰ While the Spanish employed portions of the German naturalist’s study to point out opportunities for economic exploitation of the Philippines, Filipinos referenced other parts of Jagor’s work to reject the claim that the history of the islands commenced with the advent of Spain.

Filipinos’ uses of Germans’ studies of the Philippines thus served their efforts for reform as well as their defense of Filipino culture in both history and the present day. Pointing out the existence of a society integrated into pre-colonial trade networks also destabilized the Spanish

⁶⁹Graciano López Jaena, “En honor de los artistas Luna y Recurrección Hidalgo: discurso pronunciado en un banquete del año 1884,” in *ibid.*, 32; and Jagor, *Viajes*, 144-45, 147, 156-58 & 219.

⁷⁰Jagor, *Viajes*, 11.

civilizing mission and ideas about Filipino indolence. It was not solely in their reform texts that Filipinos borrowed from Germans' studies in support of their arguments, however. They also employed them in literary works about Filipino culture that likewise lent authority to their efforts involving Filipino culture.

“There is a Custom in Germany” (*hay en Alemania una costumbre*)

Besides writing directly dedicated to colonial reform, Filipinos in Spain also produced literary works, a somewhat more subtle rhetorical mode that was nonetheless political. These too made reference to Germany in significant ways. As noted above in the discussion of Sancianco's text, Pedro A. Paterno composed poetry in addition to hosting various leading Filipinos and Spaniards in his home for the purpose of conversing and exchanging ideas. Paterno was a Chinese mestizo born in 1857 who came to Spain in 1871 to study philosophy and theology at the University of Salamanca, before moving to Madrid, where he studied law, earning a doctorate in 1880. He was directly affected by the events of 1872 and instrumental in these early years of the Filipino struggle for assimilation, both politically and culturally.⁷¹

In 1885 he published a novel entitled *Nínay* that, like his volume of poetry, continued his work pioneering Filipino culture.⁷² Paterno's book narrates the story of a Filipino woman, Nínay, at the same time that it relates several facets of Filipino culture. As Nínay is entangled in a love triangle that ultimately ends in her death, Paterno appended extensive footnotes to join the

⁷¹His father Maximo was a businessman active among reformers in the Philippines following the 1868 revolution in Spain. After the 1872 uprising in the Spanish colony, however, Maximo was arrested, tried, and exiled to the Mariana Islands for conspiracy as part of the overall crackdown against reform. Schumacher, *Propaganda Movement*, 21-22; and Mojares, *Brains of the Nation*, 4, 7-8 & 12.

Pedro Paterno collected objects from the Philippines, China, and Japan, which included conch shells, coconuts, paintings by Filipino artists, a Chinese vase alleged to be more than one thousand years old, weapons, textiles, porcelains, jewelry, and other art objects, ceramics, hats, Chinese fans, ivories, and fabrics. “Un museo y un thé,” *El Correo*, 22 January 1884, quoted from Retana, *Vida y escritos*, 77, n. 74.

⁷²Alejandro Paterno, *Nínay (costumbres filipinas)* (Madrid: Fortanet, 1885).

history of the Philippines to the classical traditions of India, China, and the Islamic world. He also included an image of an inscription in ancient Filipino script (see Fig. 4.4) to demonstrate the existence of literacy in the pre-Spanish Philippines. Even though both John N. Schumacher and Resil B. Mojares write that Paterno's novel is "contrived," it nevertheless served as an important stage upon which the Filipino author was able to present a host of details about Filipino culture through literature.⁷³

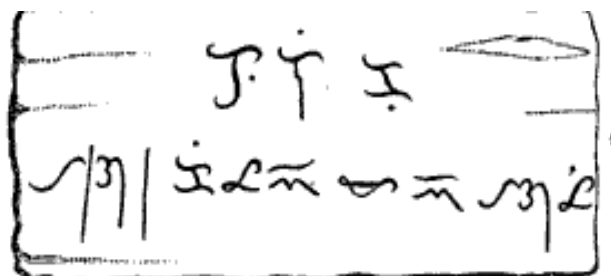


Figure 4.4: ancient Filipino inscription from Paterno, *Ninay*, 165, n.

Like Sancianco and López Jaena, Paterno referred to Jagor's work on the Philippines. In a footnote to a section in the novel describing the "magnificence of the processions of Manila," Paterno quoted Jagor's comments that the "religious festivals are worth visiting by the foreigner" mainly in order "to see the many beautiful mestizas and Filipino women."⁷⁴ The German naturalist's study also included an image of a Filipino woman (see Fig. 4.5) as a means of

⁷³Mojares, *Brains of the Nation*, 44. About Paterno's *Ninay*, John N. Schumacher writes that "as a novel, it is of less than mediocre worth, being little more than a framework into which were inserted various scenes and customs of Philippine life." He also argues that "the entire structure is contrived ... without political implications, and its chief interest lies in some efforts to exalt pre-Hispanic Filipino civilization," all of which underappreciate Paterno's place within the development of Filipino nationalist ideas. Schumacher, *Propaganda Movement*, 49.

On the surface, the story is predictable and unoriginal, but it nevertheless contains some elements that in fact go beyond Resil B. Mojares' assessment that the novel "glosses realities of colonial life by subsuming questions of power." Mojares, *Brains of the Nation*, 44. In the context of the post-1872 uprising with later disturbances followed by waves of arrests, such as that in 1884 in which Sancianco was imprisoned, it was risky for a Filipino living in Spain and hoping to maintain the ability to return to the Philippines to directly confront "questions of power." Yet, Paterno did portray certain "realities of colonial life" in this very atmosphere of suspicion, injustice, and arbitrary colonial rule. Perhaps most tellingly is Paterno's inclusion of an "insurrection" in a town outside of Manila, which is followed by denunciations and threats, just like 1872 had been. The arrest of *Ninay*'s father, "the innocent one," likewise points out abuse of power, as does his death sentence. Another "insurrection" takes place while *Ninay*'s father is in prison. Paterno, *Ninay*, 211, 230 & 240. These elements do not suggest a "subsuming" of what had gone on in over the past several years, but rather that they are normal and disordered aspects of colonial life.

⁷⁴Paterno, *Ninay*, 42 & 42, n. 1; and Jagor, *Viajes*, 25.

visually depicting his written description, in the same section from which Paterno had quoted. While Jagor seemed to be equating the festivals and female beauty, Paterno used the remark as validation of Filipino culture by an expert outsider.



Figure 4.5: “Tagalog woman” from Jagor, *Reisen*, 24.

Later in Paterno’s novel, the author characterizes Ninay’s father as a collector of ancient Filipino artifacts, and a quotation from Jagor’s study again appears in a footnote.⁷⁵ Like the speech of López Jaena quoted above, Paterno highlighted the presence of ancient Japanese artifacts in the pre-colonial Philippines in this portion of his book. The quote described the Japanese rituals surrounding a clay vessel found in the Philippines as a means of underscoring the ancient origins of Filipino civilization by connecting it to the history and culture of other Asian countries. The German naturalist’s evidence provided scientific affirmation of Paterno’s information.

Although considered today a traitor to the Philippines for collaborating with the Spanish and U.S. imperialists during and after the Revolution, as Portia L. Reyes shows in an article on the place of Paterno in Philippine historiography, he nonetheless made a significant contribution to

⁷⁵Paterno, *Ninay*, 170 & 170-74, n.; and Jagor, *Viajes*, 147-48.

Filipino reformers' efforts before 1896 by carrying forward the poetic tradition and composing the first novel by a Filipino within the context of the movement for assimilation.⁷⁶ For the purposes of the present discussion, his novel points out another genre in which a Filipino author made use of information from a German scholar. Furthermore, Paterno influenced other Filipinos, such as José Rizal, for example, who arrived in Spain in 1882, also wrote poetry, and composed the second novel by a Filipino.⁷⁷ While Rizal worked toward a degree in medicine in Spain, he eventually began to take an interest in Germany that went beyond any Filipino yet.

In 1884 he began to study German language and after earning his degree, wrote to his family of his current work, which included a review course in order to remain current in the “most modern medical ideas”—concepts which, he remarked, “are German.” More than a year later he reported to his parents that he intended to study in Germany because the cost of living was less than in England. He described the “usefulness” of the German language due to “German commerce” and the fact that it was a “language few Filipinos possess.” He also noted that “I have facility in translating written German,” though he could not “understand a single word when they speak to me” since he was “not accustomed to the sound of the words.” He wrote to them of the “Caroline question” and predicted that “Bismarck will get away with his pretensions.” As it turned out, Rizal traveled to Paris before eventually moving to Germany.

⁷⁶Portia L. Reyes, “A ‘Treasonous’ History of Filipino Historiography: The Life and Times of Pedro Paterno, 1858-1911,” *South East Asia Research* 14, no. 1 (2006): 87-121.

⁷⁷Paterno visited the Philippines in 1882, where he made contact with and provided a letter of recommendation to a friend for Rizal before the latter left for Spain. Mojares, *Brains of the Nation*, 12. Rizal noted in a diary several meetings at Paterno’s home during 1884 where Filipinos including López Jaena and others met to discuss the reconstitution of the “Spanish-Filipino Circle,” though this never came to fruition. Rizal also wrote in a diary that he agreed to deliver “photographs” (*retratos*) of Paterno to his brothers in Spain. José Rizal, *Diarios y memorias* (Manila: Comisión Nacional del Centenario de José Rizal, 1961), 112-22 & 33.

From the French capital, he explained to his family members his plans to study German and a “few other things besides eye diseases.”⁷⁸



Figure 4.6: “Manuscript of ‘Noli me Tangere’” from Austin Craig, *Lineage Life and Labor of José Rizal, Philippine Patriot: A Study of the Growth of Free Ideas in the Trans-Pacific American Territory* (Manila: Philippine Education Company, 1913), 132.

In 1886, Rizal first traveled to Heidelberg, where he stayed several months, and then traveled through Germany to Berlin, where he published *Noli* (see Fig. 4.6) the following year.⁷⁹ The novel relates the story of Don Crisostomo Ibarra, a Spanish mestizo who has recently returned to the Philippines from Europe after a nearly seven-year absence. He soon learns that his father has died, the victim of treachery on the part of a corrupt government and clergy. Instead of immediately seeking revenge over his father’s death, Ibarra moves to construct a new school in response to the lack of education in his town. His project is sabotaged, however, as Ibarra becomes subject to the same reactionary forces that conspired against his father. After an

⁷⁸Rizal, *Diarios*, 133; and José Rizal, *Letters between Rizal and Family Members, 1876-1896* (Manila: National Historical Institute, 1993), 193-94 & 202. He wrote from Heidelberg to his sister at the beginning of February 1886 and described particular domestic attributes in Germany. *Ibid.*, 209-11. Other letters commented further on the ways of life in Germany. *Ibid.*, 212-16, 217-20, 225-27 & 228-29.

⁷⁹The press at which Rizal published *Noli*, the Buchdruckerei-Actien-Gesellschaft, published several works during the nineteenth-century. It was run by the Setzerinnen-Schule des Lette-Vereins, women’s typesetter school of the Lette Association, founded in 1866. Jenny Hirsch, *Geschichte der fünfundzwanzigjährigen Wirksamkeit (1866 bis 1891) des unter dem Protektorat Ihrer Majestät der Kaiserin und Königin Friedrich stehenden Lette-Vereins zur Förderung höherer Bildung und Erwerbsfähigkeit des weiblichen Geschlechtes* (Berlin: Berliner Buchdruckerei-Aktien-Gesellschaft, 1891); Helene Lange and Gertrud Bäumer, eds., *Handbuch der Frauenbewegung* (Berlin: W. Moeser, 1902); Lilly Hauff and Elli Lindner, *Der Lette-Verein in der Geschichte der Frauenbewegung* (Berlin: J. Jastrow, 1928); and Doris Obschernitzki, *Der Frau ihre Arbeit!: Lette-Verein: zur Geschichte einer Berliner Institution 1866 bis 1986* (Berlin: Edition Hentrich, 1987).

uprising is blamed on the mestizo, he and others are arrested, though the protagonist escapes, planning to subvert authority in the colony in any manner he can.

The novel makes several direct references to German culture beginning with the title page, where the Filipino author quoted from a poem by Friedrich Schiller, entitled “Shakespeare’s Ghost” (*Shakespeares Schatten*).⁸⁰ The work of Schiller was not unknown in Spain, but Rizal’s inclusion of a quote from one of his poems translated into Spanish functioned on a number of levels beyond literary allusion.⁸¹ It demonstrated Rizal’s intellectual capacity in terms of linguistic mastery, political insinuation, and Filipino cultural production by linking his work to Schiller, a feat that no Filipino had yet accomplished and only highly-studied Spaniards might begin to comprehend. To exhibit knowledge of German culture was a strategy that ignited a firestorm of controversy over the novel, but was also a continuation of efforts by other Filipinos and Spaniards since the 1868 Revolution. In addition to the work of Schiller, Rizal referred to Heinrich Heine’s story, “The Gods in Exile” (*Götter im Exil*) in the first chapter of his novel, which acted as another example of the Filipino author’s linguistic and literary knowledge.⁸²

⁸⁰The German poet composed the work during the 1790s as a parody of the eleventh book of Homer’s *Odyssey* that simultaneously critiqued the popular theater of the late eighteenth-century. Lesley Sharpe, *Friedrich Schiller: Drama, Thought, and Politics* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 209. Rizal’s novel employs several theatrical, Shakespearean, and critical elements for the purpose of presenting a portrait of contemporary life in the Philippines, with the themes of ghosts and hauntings operating persistently in the book as well.

Rizal owned copies of the works of Schiller and Shakespeare in German and understood Schiller as a German nationalist poet. He later translated his play *William Tell* into Tagalog. Esteban A. De Ocampo, “Rizal as a Bibliophile,” *Occasional Papers of the Bibliographical Society of the Philippines*, no. 2 (June 1960): 49; Hans A. Kaufmann, *Nation und Nationalismus in Schillers Entwurf “Deutsche Grösse” und im Schauspiel “Wilhelm Tell”: zu ihrer kulturpolitischen Funktionalisierung im frühen 20. Jahrhundert* (New York: P. Lang, 1993); and Ramon Guillermo, “*Das Erlöschen der Natur*: European Revolutionary Discourse in 19th Century Tagalog Translation (A Study of Jose Rizal’s Translation of Friedrich Schiller’s *Wilhelm Tell*)” (Ph.D. diss., University of Hamburg, 2005). Rizal also sketched a statue of Schiller in his journal, while traveling on the Rhine. Rizal, *Diarios*, 165.

⁸¹For studies of the interest held for Schiller in Spain, see Herbert Koch, *Schiller y España* (Madrid: Ateneo de Madrid, 1965); and Herbert Koch, *Schiller und Spanien* (Munich: Max Hueber, 1973).

⁸²Rizal, *Noli*, 4. References to this source will appear parenthetically in the text hereafter. Heine’s story describes the exile of Greco-Roman gods after the advent of Christianity in Europe, a plot that parallels the Philippines, where Christian missionaries suppressed reverence for local gods, and at the same time the suggestion of exile also alludes to political repression following the 1872 uprising.

Instead of referring to the works of German scholars as a means of supporting his arguments like other Filipino writers before him, Rizal reversed the terms of knowledge in the novel by exhibiting his understanding of German culture. For example, when Ibarra initially appears in the story, he arrives at a dinner, but no one introduces him. In response, Ibarra remarks that “there is a custom in Germany” (12) in which people introduce themselves, a practice that he promptly carries out. The main character also refers to the Rhine nostalgically on two occasions. The first appears in a conversation between him and his betrothed, in which he tells her that while he was in a boat on the Rhine he saw her “among the poplars on the bank, on the rock of Lorelei, or amid the waves, singing in the silence of the night, as the young fairy of consolation, to brighten the loneliness and sadness of those ruined castles!” (38).⁸³ Ibarra also later laments “the distance that separates the Philippines from the banks of Rhine!” (119).

Rizal used further references to German culture as a comparative device to return to the question of reform, even if in the vehicle of fiction.⁸⁴ For example, the protagonist Ibarra plans to construct a local school in the Philippines after he states in a conversation that “they say that in Germany the son of peasant studies eight years in the village school” (88). Assimilation as

⁸³In his travel diary through Germany, Rizal mentioned the rock of Lorelei twice. In the second, he wrote that the rock “is the *Malapad na bató* of the Rhine” (148). *Malapad-na-bató* is a Tagalog term that means “broad rock” and refers to one on the Pasig River in Manila. Like the rock of Lorelei in Germany, the *Malapad-na-bató* was associated with legends by the Tagalogs, though the Spanish turned it into a checkpoint that regulated traffic on the river. José Rizal, *Reminiscences and Travels of Jose Rizal: 1878-1896* (Manila: José Rizal National Centennial Commission, 1961), 108, n. 13. Rizal refers to the *Malapad-na-bató* toward the end of his novel, when Ibarra escapes, while the Spanish guard at the checkpoint sleeps (339).

Another detail in the novel seems to reflect Rizal’s direct experience. The narrator describes carvings in a table “like many tables of the German taverns frequented by students” (95). In a letter to his family just after his arrival in Heidelberg, Rizal described a visit to a beerhall, where he met several students. He does not mention carvings in tables, but it does point out that he had come into contact with such a space. Rizal, *Family Members*, 213-14. Because his skill in the German language was not yet practiced enough, he and the students were forced to communicate in Latin. *Ibid.*, 214.

⁸⁴Benedict Anderson focuses on comparison in the section of the novel in which Ibarra views the botanical garden of Manila only to lead the “devil of comparisons to put him before the botanical gardens of Europe” (43). Anderson argues that the comparative mode was key in Rizal’s and others’ thinking about nationalism, comparing colony to nation and nation to other nations. Benedict Anderson, “The First Filipino” in *The Spectre of Comparisons: Nationalism, Southeast Asia, and the World* (London: Verso, 1998), 227-34. For further discussion of Anderson’s perspective, see Pheng Cheah and Jonathan Culler, eds., *Grounds of Comparison: Around the Work of Benedict Anderson* (New York: Routledge, 2003).

Rizal conceived it in his novel involved the Philippines being on equal political footing to Spain, which also translated to equivalence with other countries, such as Germany. Furthermore, when Ibarra begins to build the school, he exclaims that it will be a “model of its kind, like those of Germany, but even better!” (147), suggesting that Rizal did not merely seek equality for the Philippines, but excellence that would surpass the accomplishments of great nations.

Rizal clearly viewed Germany as a great power in *Noli* through his allusions to the poets Schiller and Heine, different German cultural traditions, and education. Although there was no suggestion of Germany’s role as a national rival to Spain, this context could not have escaped the Filipino’s awareness when composing and publishing the novel so soon after the 1885 Caroline Crisis. Whether he intended it or not, Rizal’s exhibition of German culture operated as a threat to Spain along the lines that Sancianco had suggested in his earlier text arguing for reform: continuing to refuse political equality led to discontent that inevitably drove Filipinos away from Spain and into alliance with national competitors, such as Germany.⁸⁵ It was no accident that failed reform constituted a central theme in Rizal’s novel.

Besides publishing *Noli* in Germany, Rizal also made contact with the scholars Hans Meyer, A. B. Meyer, Rudolf Virchow, Fedor Jagor, and Ferdinand Blumentritt, all of whom had written extensively about the Philippines. In an August 1886 letter he wrote in German to Blumentritt, the Filipino promised to assist the Austrian ethnologist with the Tagalog language, since the

⁸⁵The novel directly addressed issues with which previous Filipino reformers had dealt. For example, a priest claims that “I know the indio” (5) and that “the indio is so indolent!” (6), reflecting a general racist sentiment. A man who has come to get to know the Philippines also inquires “if the ignorance and the indolence of the indio has an equal,” to which a Spaniard “who also knows the country” replies “nowhere in the world can you see another more indolent than the indio, nowhere in the world” (6). In a scene later in the book, the narrator describes a character who, among other absurd attributes, cannot pronounce Spanish properly, writing that “if at that time she had seen D. Francisco Cañamaque, she would have been taken for a village chief or the mankukúlám, after decorating his discovery with commentaries in language of the market, invented by him for private use” (215). The novel ends with references to the 1872 uprising, including places of exile and execution, such as the “Marianas and Bagumbayan” (318), actual victims like Burgos and the behavior resulting from the subsequent repression, burning books, for example, yet presented in a comical vein, to include Copernicus, “On the Revolution of the Heavenly Spheres” conceived as a revolutionary and therefore dangerous book as well as Capitan Juan, referred to as a “candid little work” (324).

works produced by the “simple-minded monks” contained errors and they only consult “uneducated” Filipinos for their information.⁸⁶ Rizal continued to correspond with Blumentritt and wrote to him again in January 1887 of his intention to translate Jagor’s work into Tagalog, because he believed that Vidal’s Spanish translation was “defective and faulty.”⁸⁷ By expressing these views to the premier ethnologist of the Philippines, the Filipino was directly intervening in the production of knowledge about the Spanish colony, attempting to shift it from colonial clergy and officials to educated Filipinos. He left Germany later in 1887, but before departing described the country in a letter to Blumentritt as “my scientific homeland.”⁸⁸

Rizal traveled through Austria, Switzerland, Italy, and France prior to his return to the Philippines in 1887. Upon his arrival, colonial clerical sentiment had already begun to amass against his novel. A three-man committee from the University of Santo Tomás issued a report in August of the same year to the Archbishop of Manila describing *Noli* as “heretical,” “subversive,” and “injurious to the government of Spain.” It also noted on two occasions that the novel had been “printed in Berlin,” though it mentioned Germany no further.⁸⁹ Rizal left the Philippines for Europe again in early 1888 to avoid the perils *Noli* had unleashed for him personally in the Spanish colony.

He wrote to the Austrian scholar later in 1888 defending his novel and himself from the attacks of the Spanish Senator Fernando Vida, who had accused him of being a friend of the German Imperial Chancellor and a professor at a university in Germany. Rizal explained to Blumentritt that “I never saw Prince Bismarck nor was I a German subject” and surmised that the colonial clergy had circulated these rumors as a means of discrediting him in the Philippines.

⁸⁶José Rizal, *The Rizal-Blumentritt Correspondence*, 2 vols. (Manila: National Historical Institute, 1992), 1: 7-9.

⁸⁷Ibid., 41-42.

⁸⁸Ibid., 74-75.

⁸⁹Retana, *Vida y escritos*, 128-29; and Schumacher, *Propaganda Movement*, 83.

They incorrectly assumed that “Filipinos hated the Germans,” he added, and reported that instead “many people consider me a secret envoy of Bismarck and loved me.”⁹⁰ Apparently, there was significant sympathy for Germany among Filipinos, Rizal discovered. He had thus discussed both scientific and political work in his letters to the Austrian ethnologist, demonstrating an extension of his and other Filipinos’ previous efforts.

Conclusion

Germany figured prominently in Spanish and Filipino writings about the Philippines in the two decades that followed the 1868 Revolution in Spain. Spanish authors conceived of Germany as a source of modern scientific ideas and sought to connect it to their own work as a means of establishing authority in their writing about the Philippines, whether rejecting political reform or pointing out the myriad economic opportunities the colony held for Spain. At the same time, Germany represented a potentially dangerous threat to Spanish authors, who associated the national rival with subversive liberal, Protestant, and revolutionary sentiments as a means of alienating proponents of these ideas and other political opposition within and without both Spain and the Philippines. Germany as a source of scientific knowledge and a competitor with Spain thus provided two different, though not unrelated, means for Spanish authors to work toward maintaining rule in the Philippines.

Filipino writers took a similar two-sided view of Germany, but doing so had altogether different implications than it had for Spanish authors. Arguing for political equality with Spain, Filipinos used German scholarship to grant greater authority over their writings about the natural resources and culture of the Philippines. The German studies also validated Filipinos’ investigations of pre-colonial Philippine civilization, which further contributed to their efforts at

⁹⁰Rizal, *Blumentritt Correspondence*, 180-81.

political reform by overturning racist ideology that attempted to liken the beginnings of Filipino civilization with Spanish colonization. Germany still loomed as a threat to Spain, but one that increased if reform measures failed to materialize. Filipinos hoped to use the German menace to force the colonizers into granting political assimilation, though among their opposition Germany again became the embodiment of all that was contrary to Spain.

Rather than silencing Filipinos, negative Spanish reactions to *Noli* only further galvanized them. They no longer solely drew on the works of German scholars. Instead, Filipinos wrote their own scientific studies of the Philippines, several of which were eventually published in German-language periodicals. Their ethnological studies demonstrated Filipinos' knowledge of the Philippines and their publication in Germany and Austria gave them even greater scientific authority to contradict Spanish claims about the peoples of the colony. German scholars readily received their writings and regarded them as authoritative and authentic source material for understanding Filipinos.

Anthropological knowledge of the Philippines and information about German politics and culture also appeared in the pages of the bi-weekly Filipino nationalist newspaper *Solidarity*, published from 1889-95. After the outbreak of the Philippine Revolution in 1896, Filipinos continued to correspond with German scholars and ultimately predicated their arguments for independence from Spain, and after 1898, the United States, in part on their scientific knowledge of the Philippines and its inhabitants as proof of their civilization and readiness for self-rule. The following chapter will examine these scientific and political collaborations between Filipino and German anthropologists during the 1880s and 90s.

Chapter 5

“We Faithfully Interpret the Feelings of the Country”: Scientific Authority and Filipino Nationalism, 1881-1900

On May 31, 1900, Rudolf Virchow, the co-founder and long-time president of the German Society for Anthropology, Ethnology, and Prehistory (DGAEU) received a letter from the Philippine revolutionary leaders Emilio Riego de Dios and Vicente Lukban in the name of a “large number of Filipinos.” They wrote from Hong Kong “in commemoration of the death” of the German scholar Fedor Jagor (see Fig. 5.1), who had been an original member of the Society and had passed away on February 11 at the age of eighty-three. Dios and Lukban avowed to Virchow in Spanish that “we have learned with deep regret the sad news of the death of the illustrious and renowned Philippine scholar Dr. Fedor Jagor, whose love for the Philippines is reciprocated by us Filipinos with equal affection and gratitude.” They declared further that they “mourned bitterly” the German scholar’s “loss for science and his country” and conveyed their sympathies to both Jagor’s “family” and the “Ethnographic and Geographic Societies of Berlin” upon the passing of “one of its most distinguished members.”¹

Because the Philippines was currently enduring “one of the most laborious crises recorded in history,” the revolutionaries attested that the nation would be unable “to express its feelings in a manner more solemn and appropriate to the magnitude of this unfortunate event.” They nonetheless trusted that “we faithfully interpret the feelings of the country” with an “expression of sympathy from all Filipinos.” Dios and Lukban ended by describing Virchow as “one of the most legitimate glories of modern science” and wishing that “God grant him long life for the good of mankind.” The president presented the letter at the Society’s June 23 meeting held in

¹“Sitzung vom 23. Juni 1900,” *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 32 (1900): (345-46); “Sitzung vom 17. Februar 1900,” *ibid.*, (91-92); Carlos Quirino, *Who’s Who in Philippine History* (Manila: Tahanan Books, 1995), 131-32 & 176-77; and Andrew Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Anthihumanism in Imperial Germany* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001).

Berlin and it was subsequently published in the thirty-second volume of the *Journal of Ethnology*.²



Figure 5.1: Fedor Jagor from the frontispiece to Albert Grünwedel, ed., *Südindische Volksstämme*, vol. I of *Aus Fedor Jagor's Nachlass: mit Unterstützung der Jagor-Stiftung* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1914).

The letter represents the legacy of an almost twenty-year long relationship between Filipino nationalists and German scholars of the Philippines. In 1873, based on his travels through the islands during 1859-60, Jagor had published a comprehensive study of the Spanish colony that also included an essay by Virchow.³ Two years later the work was translated into Spanish in hopes of increasing awareness of the colony in Spain and illuminating potential commercial opportunities.⁴ Portions of a study originally published in 1869 by another German scholar, Carl Semper, who had traveled in the Philippines from 1858-65, also had been translated into Spanish in 1874.⁵

Over the next decade, Spanish authors referred to the translations of the Germans' studies in their writings about forestry, gold, farming, history, geology, and various scientific aspects of the

²“Sitzung vom 23. Juni 1900,” (346).

³F. Jagor, *Reisen in den Philippinen: Mit Zahlreichen Abbildungen und Einer Karte* (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1873); and Rud. Virchow, “Ueber alte und neue Schädel von den Philippinen,” in *ibid.*, 355-77.

⁴F. Jagor, *Viajes por Filipinas*, trans. S. Vidal y Soler (Madrid: Aribau and Co., 1875).

⁵C. Semper, *Die Philippinen und ihre Bewohner: Sechs Skizzen* (Würzburg: A. Stuber's Buchhandlung, 1869); Don Carlos Semper, “El clima de Filipinas y su influencia en el mundo orgánico,” *Estudios sobre el clima de Filipinas*, trans. Sebastián Vidal y Soler (Madrid: M. Minuesa, 1874), 5-18; Don G. Karsten, “Noticias sobre el clima de Filipinas,” *ibid.*, 19-44; and Carlos Semper, “Los negritos y tribus malayas idólatras de Filipinas,” trans. Sebastián Vidal, *El Bazar: Revista Ilustrada* 1 (1874): 443-46, 455-59 & 470-74.

Philippines, seemingly fulfilling the initial intent of publishing the German works in Spain.⁶ Meanwhile, Germans continued to investigate the Spanish colony: Adolf Bernhard (A. B.) Meyer, Alexander Schadenberg, the Austrian Ferdinand Blumentritt, and Hans Meyer all built on the precedent set by Semper and Jagor and published books, monographs, and articles in German on the anthropology, history, and politics of the Philippines.⁷ Several writings by Blumentritt on the early history of colonialism in the Philippines were translated into Spanish too.⁸ While the Germans' works promised to assist Spain's continued colonization of the islands, they also contained frequent critiques of the Spanish in the Philippines. Thus, the German studies reinforced Spanish colonialism on the one hand, but also undermined it on the other.

The criticisms of Spain contained in the Germans' writings may have had no particular consequence, except that Filipinos had begun to agitate for colonial reform in the years before the appearance of the Spanish translations. During the nineteenth-century, a middle class comprised of local-born Filipinos, Spaniards, and Chinese emerged and several prominent members moved for political change beginning in the 1860s. The Spanish Revolution of 1868 brought liberals to power and strengthened reformers' efforts in the Philippines, but the backlash following the 1872 uprising in the colony also included the repression of advocates for political

⁶See ch. 1 and ch. 4 above.

⁷See ch. 3 above.

⁸Ferdinand Blumentritt, *Holländische Angriffe auf die Philippinen im XVI., XVII. und XVIII. Jahrhunderte* (Leitmeritz: K. Pickert, 1880); Ferdinand Blumentritt, *Filipinas: ataques de los holandeses en los siglos XVI, XVII y XVIII*, trans. Enrique Ruppert (Madrid: Impr. de Fortanet, 1882); Ferd. Blumentritt, "Ethnographie der Philippinen: Anhang: Die maritimen Entdeckungen der Spanier im Archipel der Philippinen," 59-68; Ferdinand Blumentritt, "Descubrimientos marítimos de los españoles en el archipiélago filipino," trans. Ramón Jordana *Revista Contemporánea* 41 (1882): 129-52; F. Blumentritt, "Ueber die Staaten der philippinischen Eingeborenen in den Zeiten der Conquista," *Kaiserlich-königliche geographische Gesellschaft in Wien* 28 (1885): 49-82; and F. Blumentritt, "De los estados indígenas existentes en Filipinas, en tiempo de la conquista española," trans. Ramón Jordana, *Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Madrid* 21 (1886): 200-236. The same study appeared again later in different Spanish periodical. F. Blumentritt, "De los estados indígenas existentes en Filipinas, en tiempo de la conquista española," trans. Ramón Jordana, *Revista Contemporánea* 62 (1886): 468-82 & 615-27, 63 (1887): 14-25.

change.⁹ In the early 1880s, however, educated Filipinos living in Spain, including Gregorio Sancierco, Graciano López Jaena, and Pedro Paterno, regrouped and began writing on behalf of reform and the defense of Filipino culture against Spanish racism, while quoting from, citing, and referring to the translated works of German scholars.¹⁰

In their scientific and political writings produced in the late 1880s and early 1890s, Filipinos used references to German scholarship to promote the vision of a strong Philippine civilization, reject Spanish racism, and support arguments for colonial reform. Although Spanish translations of Germans' studies supported colonialism in the Philippines by pointing out commercial opportunities and underscoring European racial superiority, they also subverted the power of Spain by exposing a lack of knowledge among Spaniards and by examining Philippine civilization prior to and during the colonial era, which helped undercut the ideology of a Spanish civilizing mission. Filipinos' studies of the Philippines built on the foundations set forth by Germans' investigations of Philippine civilization before and after the advent of Spain and used German scholarship to strengthen their scientific authority. Because German scholars rejected Spanish knowledge of the Philippines, they welcomed Filipinos as expert and reliable informants. Filipinos in turn used their scientific knowledge and references to German scholarship in their political writings against Spanish racism and to continue to promote colonial reform in the years preceding the 1896 Philippine Revolution.

⁹Vicente L. Rafael, *The Promise of the Foreign: Nationalism and the Technics of Translation in the Spanish Philippines* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005), 7-9; and Nicholas P. Cushner, *Spain in the Philippines: From Conquest to Revolution* (Quezon City, Philippines: Institute of Philippine Culture, Ateneo de Manila University, 1971), 220-21.

¹⁰Gregorio Sancierco y Goson, *El progreso de Filipinas: estudios económicos, administrativos y políticos* (Madrid: J. M. Perez, 1881); Graciano López Jaena, "En honor de los artistas Luna y Recurrección Hidalgo: discurso pronunciado en un banquete del año 1884," in Graciano López Jaena, *Discursos y artículos varios*, new ed. (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1951), 32-33; and [Pedro] Alejandro Paterno, *Nínay (costumbres filipinas)* (Madrid: Fortanet, 1885).

Hence, the letter from Dios and Lukban was the logical extension of a relationship that had developed for nearly two decades. Even though Jagor's study had been translated in order to maintain Spanish colonialism in the islands, portions of the book that recognized administrative and economic deficiencies underscored Filipinos' calls for reform and hence could be read as a "love for the Philippines," as the two revolutionaries described it. Amid the Philippine-American War that followed shortly after the war against Spain, Jagor's death appeared to parallel that of many Filipinos who had perished in the conflict. The occasion provided the revolutionary leaders with the opportunity to assert the bond between "the country," "all Filipinos" and "modern science," despite the massive physical and national fragmentation that resulted from the war.

This discussion will attempt to widen our understanding of the historical relations between science and nationalism. As an examination of Filipinos' production and political uses of natural history, anthropology, and ethnology, this chapter demonstrates a different perspective from Hiromi Mizuno's study of scientific nationalism in the Japanese Empire, which focuses on science as an ideology in the national context of Japan's late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century imperial expansion.¹¹ It also contrasts Chittabrata Palit's examination of Mahendralal Sircar (1833-1904), a Bengali doctor who founded the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science in 1876 in colonial India under the British Raj, which the author argues constituted "national science," though differently from the Filipino writers discussed here, Sircar did not directly operate within nationalist politics.¹²

¹¹Hiromi Mizuno, *Science for the Empire: Scientific Nationalism in Modern Japan* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2009).

¹²Chittabrata Palit, *Science and Nationalism in Bengal, 1876-1947* (Kolkata: Institute of Historical Studies, 2004).

Historians of the Philippines recognize Filipino nationalists' scientific writings and their connections to German scholars. In his seminal examination of Filipino nationalism preceding the Philippine Revolution, John N. Schumacher identifies Filipinos' studies of their own culture and history and discusses in particular the contacts between the Filipino nationalist José Rizal and various German anthropologists.¹³ Resil B. Mojares goes further in an investigation of what he calls the "Filipino Enlightenment," recounting the scholarly work of Filipinos Pedro Paterno and Isabelo de los Reyes and its publication in German-language periodicals.¹⁴ Extending the approaches of Schumacher and Mojares, this chapter hopes to show that Filipinos used German scholarship to help them construct scientific authority over the Philippines as an expression of nationalism that contested Spanish knowledge and by implication colonial rule.

It is crucial to recall that Germany was not only a center of scientific knowledge about the Philippines, but also a colonial rival to Spain. Filipinos publishing their work in German journals therefore contested Spanish power in a dual manner, as a potential threat simultaneously intellectual and political. Historians of anthropology in Imperial Germany reveal its investments in German colonialism and nationalism, but as of yet questions surrounding the political impacts of German science in non-German colonies and its reception among both colonizers and colonized peoples have largely escaped scholarly attention.¹⁵ In the years after the Second World War, the Senegalese nationalist, poet, and first president Leopold Senghor drew upon German scholarship on Africa in conceiving of *Négritude*, a twentieth-century intellectual

¹³John N. Schumacher, *The Propaganda Movement: 1880-1895: The Creators of a Filipino Consciousness, the Makers of Revolution* (Manila: Solidaridad Publishing House, 1973).

¹⁴Resil B. Mojares, *Brains of the Nation: Pedro Paterno, T.H. Pardo de Tavera, Isabelo de los Reyes and the Production of Modern Knowledge* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2006).

¹⁵Andrew Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism in Imperial Germany* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001); H. Glenn Penny, *Objects of Culture: Ethnology and Ethnographic Museums in Imperial Germany* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002); H. Glenn Penny and Matti Bunzl, eds., *Worldly Provincialism: German Anthropology in the Age of Empire* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003); and Rainer F. Buschmann, *Anthropology's Global Histories: The Ethnographic Frontier in German New Guinea, 1870-1935* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009).

movement dedicated to the celebration of African culture.¹⁶ Thus, Filipinos were not alone in the history of modern colonialism in strategically positioning German scientific knowledge against the ideology of a non-German colonial power, but appear to have been the first to do so.

In order to analyze the significance of German scholarship in Filipino nationalism, this chapter will address the following questions: How did Filipinos' studies examine Philippine civilization and use German scholarship to enhance their authority and credibility? Why did German scholars reject Spanish knowledge of the Philippines and how did they embrace Filipinos' studies as reliable? Finally, how did Filipinos use scientific knowledge and references to German scholarship directly in support of their political arguments involving colonial reform? In examining these questions, this chapter hopes to show that scientific authority and recourse to German scholarship were essential features of Filipino nationalism during the second half of the nineteenth-century.

Filipino Science and German Scholarship

Once Gregorio Sancianco's 1881 book made frequent reference to the works of German scholars, other Filipinos also included information from the Germans' studies in their texts involving the Philippines. For example, in an 1884 speech delivered in Madrid, Graciano López Jaena alluded to a vase unearthed during an excavation recorded in Jagor's book as proof of the existence of pre-colonial civilization in the Philippines. Pedro Paterno published the first Filipino novel in Spain in 1885 that quoted material from Jagor's study, including mention of the same vase referenced by López Jaena.¹⁷ In his engagements with German scholarship, José

¹⁶János Riesz, "Senghor and the Germans," trans. Aija Bjornson, *Research in African Literatures* 33, no. 4 (2002): 25-37.

¹⁷López Jaena, "En honor," 32-33; and Paterno, *Ninay*, 42, n.1 & 170-74, n.

Rizal exceeded the depth reached by any Filipino yet, taking up the study of German language in 1884 and traveling to Germany two years later to continue his medical studies.¹⁸



Figure 5.2: signed photo of José Rizal addressed in German “to the loyal brother” Blumentritt from W. E. Retana, *Vida y escritos del dr. José Rizal* (Madrid: Librería General de Victoriano Suárez, 1907), [519].

Instead of merely citing Germans’ studies of the Philippines, Rizal met several German scholars in person as he studied the history and culture of his countrymen in libraries and museums. He began a correspondence with Blumentritt in 1886 that lasted until the end of his life (see Fig. 5.2). He visited A. B. Meyer and toured the Royal Zoological and Anthropological-Ethnographic Museum of Dresden, where Meyer had been director since 1874. Rizal also met Hans Meyer in Leipzig and received a copy of his study of the Igorrots, a Filipino people from the northern part of the island of Luzon. Finally, he made contact with Jagor and Virchow while attending a meeting of the Berlin Geographic Society.¹⁹

¹⁸José Rizal, *Letters between Rizal and Family Members, 1876-1896* (Manila: National Historical Institute, 1993), 193-94, 202, 209-11, 212-16, 217-20, 225-27 & 228-29.

¹⁹José Rizal, *The Rizal-Blumentritt Correspondence*, 2 vols. (Manila: National Historical Institute, 1992), 1: 9, 16, 17 & 39; Rolf Hertel, “Zum Gedenken an Dr. Adolf Bernhard Meyer, Direktor des Königlichen Zoologischen und Anthropologisch-Ethnographischen Museums zu Dresden von 1874 bis 1906,” *Zoologische Abhandlungen aus dem Staatlichen Museum für Tierkunde Dresden* 46 (1990-91): 118; and Hans Meyer, “die Igorrotes von Luzon (Philippinen),” *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 15 (1883): (377-90).

In Berlin, Rizal published the second novel by a Filipino, *Noli me tángere: novela tagala*, which criticized Spanish rule in the Philippines and made frequent reference to German culture based on several of the author's experiences in and studies of the country.²⁰ The novel was part of a larger strategy by Rizal and other Filipinos to portray themselves in writing as an antidote to the many incorrect representations produced by Spanish and other misinformed authors. Part of Filipinos' efforts included the composition of studies of the Philippines in a variety of forms and published in several locations between Europe and the Spanish colony. Rizal's endeavors in the arena of scientific study were made official in 1887 when he performed a presentation in the German language before the Berlin branch of the DGAEU on Tagalog poetry. It was on this stage that he used the community of German scholars as a significant backdrop for the promotion of Filipino civilization.

Rizal proved that Filipinos were civilized on two interrelated levels: on the one hand, he demonstrated a rich literary tradition, and on the other hand, he extended Filipinos' accomplishments in the realm of language by speaking German before an audience of German scholars, the foremost experts on the Philippines, with whom the presenter could now place himself on par. Rizal compared the Tagalog "art of poetry" (*Verskunst*) to that of other countries, noting that its syllabification, rhymes, and verse were "like most languages of Europe," but also differentiated it from Spanish using the same categories.²¹ To the Germans, he presented poetry as the essence of being uniquely Filipino, asserting for example that "the Spaniards tried in vain to introduce their forms of verse, and the people did not accept it" (294). According to Rizal, it was not that Filipinos were unable to use the Spanish style of verse, but rather that they already had their own and hence refused the colonizers'. Poetry here stood in for

²⁰José Rizal, *Noli me tángere: novela tagala* (Berlin: Berliner Buchdruckerei-Actien-Gesellschaft, [1887]).

²¹José Rizal, "tagalische Verskunst," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 19 (1887): (293). References to this source will appear parenthetically in the text hereafter.

civilization itself with Filipinos as agents for accepting or rejecting particular practices that came along with the Spanish conquest.

Rizal's presentation established a strand of Filipino civilization simultaneously with opening up its further study by German scholars, thereby liberating its subordinated place within Spanish colonial ideology, which conceived of Spain as the sole source of civilization in the Philippines. In their own language Filipinos composed "lyric poems" in addition to "great epic poems, dramas, and so forth" (294), he explained. Rizal even offered to furnish material for any German scholar interested in Filipino songs, stating that "if any member wants to treat this subject in detail, I can send along these melodies from my homeland" (295). Thus, the role of German scholarship was crucial as an outlet outside of the Spanish colonial context. Rizal not only used the setting to validate and authenticate his claims about Filipino civilization via Tagalog poetry, but also actively encouraged German scholars to continue his project.

In a vein similar to Rizal's study of Filipino poetry, Isabelo de los Reyes published a series of articles on different aspects of Philippine life in Manila periodicals. In 1887, the same year Rizal published *Noli* and performed his presentation before the Berlin branch of the DGAEU, a collection of Reyes' writings on the ethnology, history, and customs of the Philippines appeared in Manila. His work also engaged German scholarship and provided an example of a Filipino study of the Philippines. With his writing, Reyes sought to correct previous errors and raise awareness about the Philippines among Filipinos. Like Rizal, he exhibited Filipino civilization in a dual manner, first by narrating features of Philippine culture, and second by providing an example of civilization with his construction of the narrative itself.

Reyes' ethnological study of the Tinguianes definitively described this Filipino people and built on the earlier precedent created by German scholars. He dedicated the work to Blumentritt,

whom he dubbed “my learned friend,” and explained its purpose deriving from the “sheer desire to rectify inadvertent inaccuracies,” an act that would be “far-reaching for the sciences,” he proposed.²² About the location of the Tinguianes, for example, Reyes remarked that “some ethnographers, more or less ill-informed” (8) had erred.

While earlier German scholars had corrected the work of Spanish and other European observers, Reyes now challenged German anthropologists’ use of human remains for understanding Filipinos’ culture. He also called into question “craniology or those who give importance to skulls, expecting to find in examining and measuring them distinctive characters of the races and the solution of certain anthropological problems,” such as Virchow and “others that have examined Filipinos’ skulls” (9). Against the claims of German and other anthropologists of the day, Reyes asserted that “many times between the skulls of the same family there are significant differences, and vice-versa between those of different races there are analogies” (9). It was not solely that the evidence was incorrect, according to the Filipino, but rather that the entire methodology appeared flawed, adopting a position that only emerged in Germany later in the 1890s.²³

Even though the Germans had been the leading authorities on the Philippines, Filipinos were now beginning to join their ranks, and even displace them, as experts. In his study, Reyes also corrected and added to Hans Meyer’s vocabulary of the Tinguianes’ language. During the German’s journey through the Philippines as one leg of a world tour, he visited the territory of the Tinguianes in 1882 and published a vocabulary list as a supplement to his travel account.²⁴

²²Isabelo de los Reyes, *Artículos varios sobre etnografía, historia y costumbres del país* (Manila: Librería Universal de Perdiguero, 1887), 3 & 4. References to this source will appear parenthetically in the text hereafter.

²³Benoit Massin, “From Virchow to Fischer: Physical Anthropology and ‘Modern Race Theories’ in Wilhelmine Germany,” in *Volkgeist as Method and Ethic: Essays on Boasian Ethnography and the German Anthropological Tradition*, ed. George W. Stocking, Jr. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996), 110-11.

²⁴Hans Meyer, *Eine Weltreise: Plauderein aus einer zweijährigen Erdumsegelung* (Leipzig: Bibliographischen Instituts, 1885), 288-312 & 542-43.

Reyes recognized in the vocabulary several words “written incorrectly” (31) and in his work inserted more examples into Meyer’s original list.

In addition to their ethnological studies, Filipinos wrote histories that again took certain cues from German scholars. In other parts of his collection, for example, Reyes wrote about the early colonial history of the Philippines and also identified errors in previous works. He narrated the story of the Chinese pirate Limahong, who attacked the Spanish colony during the sixteenth-century, and Dutch relations with the Philippines, referring to Blumentritt’s study of the latter as “excellent” (71).²⁵ In a later chapter dealing with the early history of the colonial capital, Reyes observed that there are likely few “histories as confusing as that of the Philippines” due to the fact that “at every step the chroniclers contradict one another and often themselves” (91).²⁶ Taking part in the writing of the history of the Philippines allowed Filipinos to mediate and verify the sources of information produced about them, while contesting Spanish colonial ideology that claimed they lacked civilization.

In the Spanish imperial capital of Madrid, also in 1887, Pedro Paterno published a history of the ancient Tagalogs.²⁷ With the book, he too sought to overcome previous “errors” written about the Philippines and conceived of its history in stages, arguing that “every society has gone through the period of primitive barbarism before reaching civilization.” Paterno thereby projected an evolutionary scheme on the Filipino past, even though he did not directly attribute his perspective to a particular theory. The Philippines, he asserted, “just as Spain, England and

²⁵Blumentritt, *ataques de los holandeses*. The Austrian scholar also included discussion of Limahong in a study of the Chinese in the Philippines, though it was not translated into Spanish. Ferdinand Blumentritt, *Die Chinesen auf den Philippinen: Eine historische Skizze* (Leitmeritz: Communal-Ober-Realschule, 1879). Other German scholars also described the sixteenth-century attempt by the Chinese pirate to overthrow Manila. Semper described the “almost complete calm” in Manila after 1512 “with the exception of the attack by the Chinese pirate Limahong.” Semper, *Bewohner*, 83. Jagor argued, referring to the Spanish, that “in the attack by the great pirate Limahong in 1574, they only escaped destruction by a miracle.” Jagor, *Reisen*, 272.

²⁶He further explained that the “examination of the ancient works show that the error comes from a single author” (93).

²⁷Pedro Alejandro Paterno, *La antigua civilización tagálog (apuntes)* (Madrid: Manuel G. Hernandez, 1887).

Germany, have gradually gone from one period to another.” Paterno outlined the stages of Philippine history as characterized by the “natives,” “Tagalog civilization,” and “Catholic civilization.”²⁸ He did not reject the place of Spain in the development of civilization in the islands therefore, but he nonetheless claimed the existence of a pre-Spanish civilization, based for the most part on Blumentritt’s study of Filipino states.²⁹

Over the following years, Filipino intellectuals continued to produce texts about the Philippines and use German scholarship in support of their efforts. Reyes published a volume on Philippine folklore in Manila, a novel approach to the study of Filipinos with a new relation to German scholars: portions of his work, as he explained in the introduction (italics in original), “were translated into German by the very important scientific journals of Europe *Globus* and *Ausland*.”³⁰ A second volume appeared in Manila the following year and included contributions by other Filipinos, including Miguel Zaragoza, Mariano Ponce, Pedro Serrano, and Pio Mondragon.³¹ The number of Filipinos writing about various aspects of the Philippines thus increased during the 1880s.

Also in 1890, Rizal published in Paris an annotated edition of an early sixteenth-century Spanish chronicle of the Philippines by Antonio de Morga. Blumentritt penned the prologue to Rizal’s annotations and a work of his appeared in the footnotes as did references to the studies of both Reyes and Jagor, which set the scholarly authority of Filipinos on a footing equal to that of Germans as experts on the Philippines.³² Rizal linked Morga’s text to topics covered by his

²⁸Pedro Alejandro Paterno, *La antigua civilización tagálog (apuntes)*, 2nd ed. (Manila: Colegio de Sto. Tomas, 1915), 7.

²⁹Blumentritt, “estados indígenas.” Paterno referred to Blumentritt as the “wise German professor,” “wise German writer,” and “wise German” in the study. Paterno, *antigua civilización*, 2nd ed., 194, 203 & 243.

³⁰Isabelo de los Reyes, *El folk-lore filipino* (Manila: Chofré y C., 1889), 18.

³¹Isabelo de los Reyes, *El folk-lore filipino*, vol. 2 (Manila: Santa Cruz, 1890).

³²José Rizal, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas por el doctor Antonio de Morga* (Paris: Garnier, 1890). References to this source will appear parenthetically in the text hereafter. Rizal cited Blumentritt’s vocabulary of Spanish words that appear only in the Philippines (27, n. 3). Ferdinand Blumentritt, *Vocabular einzelner Ausdrücke und*

countryman, noting for example that “about these rajas and the confusion that there is among the historians of the Philippines, see the excellent pamphlet of the Filipino Don Isabelo de los Reyes” (10, n. 2) on the history of Manila.³³ Jagor had made extensive use of Morga’s chronicle in his study of the Philippines and Rizal hoped in the dedication “to the Filipinos” that the Spaniard’s account would at least provide the “shadow of the civilization of our ancestors” (v).³⁴

In the same year, Paterno issued in Madrid a study of the Aetas that challenged previous historians as well as German scholars’ findings about this Filipino group. In the introduction, he asserted that the “historians of the Philippines have disregarded until now dealing with the civilization of the Aetas.”³⁵ Paterno also sought to correct earlier work by German scholars, noting that they “confuse the Aetas with the Papuans” of New Guinea, and asserting that “nothing is more erroneous” (15). He explained further that Virchow “too confused the Aetas with the aborigines of Australia” (15). Nonetheless, later in the study, he used evidence produced by Jagor (32 & 351-57), Virchow (189), A. B. Meyer (189), and Semper (192) to confirm his findings about the Aetas’ civilization. While contesting the Germans’ work in certain areas, Paterno also continued to use it as an authoritative foundation for his own study.

Filipinos established authority over knowledge about the Philippines by producing a number of studies that started with and eventually moved beyond work first undertaken by German scholars. In doing so, they took the question of Philippine civilization into their own hands and out of the domain of colonial ideology that positioned Spain as the source of all civilization in the islands. Although the work of German scholars supported Spanish colonial ideology to a

Redensarten, welche dem Spanischen der Philippinischen Inseln eigenthumlich sind, II. Theil (Leitmeritz: Communal-Ober-Realschule, 1885).

³³Rizal also referenced Reyes’ work on Limahong (14, n. 1).

³⁴Rizal cited Jagor’s study in the German original (280, n. 2).

³⁵Pedro Alejandro Paterno, *Los itas* (Madrid: Sucesores de Cuesta, 1890). References to this source will appear parenthetically in the text hereafter.

certain extent, it also contributed to Filipinos' studies of their own civilization before and after the arrival of Spain in the Philippines. As a source of knowledge outside of Spain, German scholarship provided an external authority that supported Filipinos' narration of their own history and culture beyond the bounds of colonization. Because it had become definitive source material about the Philippines, the Filipinos' work also circulated in German-language periodicals and publications. Filipinos thus constructed their authority partly upon the use of German scholarship and partly through its appearance in Germany, a leading center for the production of science in the late nineteenth-century.

Expert Informants

In their studies of the Philippines spanning from the 1860s through the 1880s, German scholars uniformly complained about the lack of knowledge among Spanish colonial officials and clergy.³⁶ To rectify the absence of accurate information about the islands, the Germans frequently turned to Spanish chronicles and mined them for any useful material they might contain.³⁷ German scholars also often relied on Filipino informants for their scientific work in

³⁶See, for example, Carl Semper, "Reise durch die nordöstlichen Provinzen der Insel Luzon," *Zeitschrift für Allgemeine Erdkunde* 10 (1861): 249-250; Carl Semper, "Kleinere Mittheilungen. Reisebericht des Herrn Dr. Semper. (Fortsetzung)," *Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftliche Zoologie* 11 (no. 1, 1862): 100; Semper, *Bewohner*, 26, 27, 32 & 92-93, n. 1; Jagor, *Reisen*, 44 & 99; Adolf Bernhard Meyer, "über den Fundort der von ihm überbrachten Skelete und Schädel von Negritos, sowie über die Verbreitung der Negritos auf den Philippinen," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 5 (1873): (92, n. 2); Hans Meyer, "die Igorrotes von Luzon (Philippinen)," *ibid.* 15 (1883): (378); Schadenberg, "Negritos," 51-52; and [Ferdinand Blumentritt,] "Igorroten und andere wilde Stämme der Philippinen," *ibid.* 16 (1884): (57).

³⁷Such sources included Antonio de Morga, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas* (Mexico: Geronimo Balli, 1609); Francisco Combés, *Historia de las islas de Mindanao, Jolo, y sus adyacentes: progressos de la religion, y armas católicas* (Madrid: Pablo de Val, 1667); Gaspar de San Agustin, *Conquistas de las Islas Filipinas, la temporal, por las armas del señor Don Phelipe Segundo y Prudente; y la espiritual, por los religiosos del orden de nuestro padre San Augustin* (Madrid: Manuel Ruiz de Morga, 1698); Pedro Murillo Velarde, *Historia de la provincial de Philipinas de la Compañia de Jesus: segunda parte, que comprehende los progresos de esta provincial desde el año 1616 hasta el de 1716* (Manila: Imprenta de la Compañia de Jesus, 1749); Joaquín Martínez de Zúñiga, *Historia de las Islas Philipinas* (Sampaloc: Pedro Argüelles de la Concepción, 1803); Tomás de Comyn, *Estado de las Islas Filipinas en 1810* (Madrid: Imprenta de Repullés, 1820); and Sinibaldo de Mas, *Informe sobre el estado de las Islas Filipinas en 1842*, 3 vols. (Madrid: F. Sánchez, 1843).

the Philippines, but only rarely credited them for having done so.³⁸ With Filipinos' production of knowledge about the Philippines during the 1880s, however, new sources of credible data about the Spanish colony emerged.

Because he never traveled to the Philippines, despite being the most prolific writer about the islands, Blumentritt was dependent for the most part on source material furnished by other scholars and individuals.³⁹ Hence, when Filipinos began publishing texts on the Philippines, he soon put them to use in his work. This was a radical breakthrough as far as the production of knowledge about the Philippines in Europe was concerned. Germans and authors elsewhere had not previously drawn explicitly on the work of Filipino authors, relying instead on Spanish writers or the remarks of European travelers. Furthermore, Blumentritt, as the leading Philippine scholar, lent significant authority to Filipinos' studies in using them in his work.

In an 1885 article published in the German illustrated geography and ethnology journal *Globus*, the Austrian explained that the work of Reyes revealed information about the Philippines that no European scholar could access. Because he was "himself an Ilocano Malay" discussing "all the legends, customs, and superstitions of his countrymen," Reyes possessed an insider's knowledge. This was significant because despite the fact that the Ilocanos had been "Catholic Christians since the days of the conquest," there were still remnants of their "ancient beliefs" that Reyes was able to detect, which was not unlike, Blumentritt noted, "we Germans,"

³⁸Semper was an exception in this regard. See, in particular, C. Semper, *Landmollusken*, vol. 3 of *Reisen im Archipel der Philippinen* (Wiesbaden: C.W. Kreidel's Verlag, 1870), 72, 126, 127, 171-72, 175, 182, 184, 185, 187, 193, 221, 222, 223 & 228; and Semper, *Bewohner*, 11.

³⁹Jagor, A. B. Meyer, and the Austro-Hungarian Consul in Manila, J. C. Labhart-Lutz all provided him with sources. See, for example, Blumentritt, *Chinesen*, 33, n. 113; and Ferdinand Blumentritt, *Vocabular einzelner Ausdrücke und Redensarten, welche dem Spanischen der Philippinischen Inseln eigenthümlich sind* (Leitmeritz: Communal-Ober-Realschule, 1882).

who have preserved the “religion of the ancestors” in “our peasant festivals.”⁴⁰ By positioning the Filipino as a uniquely knowledgeable informant, the Austrian was emphasizing Reyes’ scholarly authority to German-speaking audiences, which in turn also gave Blumentritt a greater measure of credibility based on his association with such an expert.

Reyes was able to communicate with fellow Filipinos in ways that the colonizers or other foreigners could not and Blumentritt reported that the conditions of colonialism prevented other scholars from learning what the Filipino understood. Since the “priests” in the colony had been trying to remove the “memory of the ancient cults” from the minds of the Ilocanos, it was no surprise that they refused to share such information with “inquiring whites” (183). Hence, the position of the “highly educated” (183) Reyes was perfectly suited to remedy the “rapid disappearance of the features and particularities of the individual tribes of the archipelago” (184). The authority that the Filipino scholar had begun to acquire in his work on the Spanish colony was being reinforced by Blumentritt, who portrayed him as uniquely equipped to understand his countrymen due to their shared ancestry.

In the second installment of the article published in *Globus* in 1887, the Austrian described aspects of the Ilocanos’ civilization and the detrimental effects of Spanish colonialism in greater detail. “Since the time of the ‘conquista,’” Blumentritt related, “the Ilocanos not only had their own literature, but also their own alphabet.” Yet, colonization posed a problem for Filipinos in that “Christianity and the official language of Spanish have had no favorable influence on the characteristic development of Ilocano national literature.” Despite the ill-effects of Spanish colonialism, however, Blumentritt proclaimed that the “poetic products of modern Ilocano breathe a glowing imagination and remind us with its rich decorations and whole tone of the so-

⁴⁰F. Blumentritt, “Sitten und Bräuche der Ilocanen (Luzón). Nach I. de los Reyes, Ando und J. Javier (*Folk-Lore ilocano*),” *Globus: Illustrierte Zeitschrift für Länder- und Völkerkunde* 48 (1885): 183. References to this source will appear parenthetically in the text hereafter.

called Oriental style” (376).⁴¹ Filipinos’ civilization thus predated the arrival of the Spanish and withstood three centuries of colonization, a reality that the Austrian scholar suggested to German audiences using the work of Reyes.

Besides drawing on Reyes’ studies for his own work, Blumentritt also translated several of the Filipino’s writings into German in an interesting reversal of the Spanish translations of the Germans’ studies that further underscored the universal scholarly authority of Reyes. Published in an Austrian geography journal in 1887, Blumentritt translated the Filipino’s study of the Tinguianes and noted of Reyes that he “is not unknown to German ethnographers,” due to the Austrian’s use of (italics in original) “numerous notes from his *Ilocano Folklore* and *Tagalog Folklore*.”⁴² The Filipino’s investigation of the Tinguianes was significant because “very little” was currently known about them beyond the information produced by Hans Meyer who “only fleetingly wandered through their territory.” “Finally we have a memorandum before us,” continued Blumentritt, that revealed the “complete lifestyle of this highly interesting Filipino tribe” thanks to the efforts of Reyes.⁴³ Crucially for the Filipino’s credibility, the Austrian

⁴¹F. Blumentritt, “Sitten und Bräuche der Ilocanen auf Luzon. Nach dem Spanischen des Don Isabelo de los Reyes (*Los Ilocanos* und *Folklore ilocano*),” *ibid.*, 51 (1887): 376. The article also described the production of fine art in the Philippines, including drawing, painting, and sculpture, identifying in particular Juan Luna, “a full-blood Indio and indeed an Ilocano,” whose work Blumentritt noted will be displayed at exhibitions in both Madrid and Paris. *Ibid.*, 360.

⁴²Two years earlier, Blumentritt had submitted an “adaptation of a Philippine legend” to the DGAEU “as reported by Don Isabelo de los Reyes” from the Province of Ilocos in Luzon. The Austrian remarked that the “most interesting” aspect of the legend was that “in Madrid a similar one exists.” It was published in the society’s journal in the same year. F. Blumentritt, “philippinische Sage,” *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 17 (1885): (324-25).

In his study of Filipino nationalism and anarchism in the late nineteenth-century, Benedict Anderson describes the implications involved in Reyes comparing popular beliefs from the Philippines with those of Spain: “if the colonists sneered at Ilocano superstitions, they should recognize many of them as importations of their own: any bizarreness in Ilocano folk beliefs had easy analogies in the bizarreries of Iberia, Italy, Central Europe, even England.” Benedict Anderson, *Under Three Flags: Anarchism and the Anti-Colonial Imagination* (New York: Verso, 2005), 19-20.

⁴³Isabelo de los Reyes, “Die Tinguianen (Luzón): Aus dem Spanischen des D. Isabelo de los Reyes frei uebersetzt und mit Anmerkungen versehen,” trans. F. Blumentritt, *Mittheilungen der Kaiserlich-Königlichen Geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien* 30 (1887): 5, n.

contrasted his “complete” comprehension of the Tinguianes with Hans Meyer’s casual wanderings.

Blumentritt continued to translate works by Reyes into German. In 1888, he translated the Filipino’s study of the religious views of the Ilocanos and published it in the same Austrian geography journal. Blumentritt again pointed out Reyes’ scholarly reputation, writing that “his numerous works of ethnological and historical orientation have attracted the attention of scholars” with many of them “translated into German partly literally and partly in extracts.”⁴⁴ In 1890, the Austrian translated the Filipino’s study of the Chinese inhabitants of Manila and published it in *Globus*. In it, Blumentritt again contrasted the knowledge of Reyes with that of “fleeting European travelers” among whom even the “most conscientious” have the propensity “to generalize about an isolated case.”⁴⁵ The Austrian scholar again based the value of the Filipino’s work on his place as an insider, which simultaneously pointed out the limited knowledge of outsiders, such as European travelers or by implication, Spanish colonizers. Blumentritt did not just draw on the writings of Reyes in his works, but those of other Filipinos as well.

In an article published in the German geography and ethnology magazine *Ausland* in two installments in 1886 and 1887, Blumentritt made use of the works of Reyes, Paterno, and Ponce on the Tagalogs of the Philippines. Although he did not discuss Reyes and Ponce directly, his focus on the folklore of the provinces of Bulacan and Malabon suggests that the Austrian used their work in the first part of the article.⁴⁶ In the second part, Blumentritt repeated that many

⁴⁴Don Isabelo de los Reyes y Florentino, “Die religiösen Anschauungen der Ilocanen (Luzón),” *ibid.* 31 (1888): 552, n. Blumentritt also noted that the Filipino “went on a trip through Europe and Vienna last year.” *Ibid.*

⁴⁵Ferd. Blumentritt, “Die Chinesen Manilas. Frei bearbeitet nach dem Spanischen des Don Isabelo de los Reyes,” *Globus: Illustrierte Zeitschrift für Länder- und Völkerkunde* 57 (1890): 97.

⁴⁶Ferd. Blumentritt, “Sitten und Bräuche der Tagalen (Luzon). Nach dem ‘Folk-Lore bulaqueño’ und ‘Folk-Lore Malabonés’,” *Das Ausland: Wochenschrift für Länder- und Völkerkunde* 58 (1885): 1016-17; Mariano Ponce, “Folk-lore bulaqueño,” in Reyes, *folk-lore*, 2: 41-80; and Reyes, “Folk-lore malabonés,” in *ibid.*, 1: 271-96.

“pagan customs” were disappearing due to the “influence of the clergy” in the colony and identified one such waning tradition in the Pasiám, a nine-day funerary ritual in which relatives and friends gather to help defray the financial and emotional costs of a person’s death. The Austrian described the custom in some detail before remarking that the “Filipino mestizo Don Alejandro Paterno has written down the tale of such a Pasiám under the title *Nínay* (Madrid: Fortanet, 1885).”⁴⁷ The Filipino’s novel thus provided Blumentritt with material for his work.

The Austrian also directly benefitted from his correspondence with Rizal in terms of linguistic information. In a letter to the Filipino on March 15, 1887, Blumentritt inquired about a Tagalog word, asking “what is the correct one?” and (italics in original) “with which other Tagalog words does *catalonan* relate?”⁴⁸ Rizal wrote back from Berlin the next day to report that the word was no longer in usage and to warn the Austrian scholar that “one cannot be too careful when reading the Tagalog words which the Spaniards have written down: at home, we give no value, absolutely none, to the Tagalog of the Spaniards.”⁴⁹ The Filipino here instructed Blumentritt on an aspect of the Tagalog language at the same time that he impressed upon him the deficiency of Spanish source materials.

Rizal also collaborated with other German scholars besides Blumentritt. Prior to performing his presentation on Tagalog poetry in the German language, he became a member of both the DGAEU and the Berlin Geographic Society.⁵⁰ His study was published in the DGAEU *Journal*

⁴⁷F. Blumentritt, “Sitten und Bräuche der Tagalen (Luzon). Nach dem ‘Folk-Lore bulaqueño,’ nach D. A. Paterno, de los Reyes etc.,” *Das Ausland: Wochenschrift für Länder- und Völkerkunde* 59 (1886): 284.

⁴⁸José Rizal, *Epistolario rizalino*, 5 vols. (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1930-31), 1: 251.

⁴⁹Rizal, *Blumentritt Correspondence*, 1: 56-57. In a letter to Rizal on September 4 of the same year, the Austrian asked his permission to “translate your novel into German” referring to *Noli*, though no such translation was ever published, if indeed Blumentritt translated it. Rizal, *Epistolario*, 1: 298.

⁵⁰Rizal, *Blumentritt Correspondence*, 1: 44 & 47. Rizal appears among the “Regular Members” of the DGAEU in the Society’s journal 1887-1895. “Ordentliche Mitglieder,” *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 19 (1887): (12); *ibid.* 20 (1888): (12); *ibid.* 21 (1889): (12); *ibid.* 22 (1890): (12); *ibid.* 23 (1891): (12); *ibid.* 24 (1892): (13); *ibid.* 25 (1893): (13); *ibid.* 26 (1894): (13); and *ibid.* 27 (1895): (13).

of *Ethnology* in 1887.⁵¹ In something of an ironic vein, Virchow remarked about Rizal's presentation that the "collection of folk songs of the savage peoples forms a very noticeable gap in the ethnological literature and therefore contributions similar in kind would be highly desirable" (295). Despite associating him with "savage peoples," the president of the DGAEU nonetheless recognized the importance of the Filipino's study to other German scholars. He reiterated Rizal's offer "to send Tagalog notes" (295), and thereby encouraged further study along the lines begun by the Filipino.

Rizal also exchanged letters dealing with details surrounding information about the Philippines with other German scholars. On April 9, 1889, Alexander Schadenberg, a German scholar resident in the Philippines, wrote to Rizal in London about *Noli*, the Filipino's anti-colonial novel published in Berlin that had outlined a host of abuses and injustices in the Philippines under Spanish rule. Schadenberg said to Rizal of the novel that the Filipino had sent him that "everything you relate there is unfortunately the sad truth and all taken from life."⁵² The Filipino wrote to A. B. Meyer from Paris on August 29 of the same year explaining the etymology of a Tagalog word for the museum director.⁵³ In earlier letters, Rizal conferred with Meyer about using early modern Chinese and Muslim sources for evidence on the pre-colonial Philippines.⁵⁴ He continued to correspond with German scholars of the Philippines on scientific and political matters for the remainder of his life.

⁵¹Rizal, "Verskunst."

⁵²José Rizal, *Miscellaneous Correspondence of Dr. José Rizal* (Manila: National Historical Institute, 1992), 106.

⁵³*Ibid.*, 121.

⁵⁴José Rizal, letter to A. B. Meyer, 6 December 1888; and José Rizal, letter to A. B. Meyer, 7 January 1889. Photocopies of both were obtained from the Newberry Library, Chicago. The latter is reproduced in José Rizal, *Facsímiles de los escritos de José Rizal*, vol. 9 (Manila: Comisión Nacional del Centenario de José Rizal, 1962), 438-44 and both appear in Rizal, *Political and Historical Writings* (Manila: National Historical Institute, 2000), 44-55.

As further testament to the construction of Filipinos' expertise, German scholars cited their work in their own studies of the Philippines and in German-language anthropological journals. Blumentritt included Paterno's *Ninay* in the "Philippine Bibliography" appended to his 1885 vocabulary of Spanish words from the Philippines.⁵⁵ Citations of Reyes' studies of the Tinguianes and the religious views of the Ilocanos in German and his collection of articles on Philippine ethnology, history, and customs in Spanish appeared in a photographic album of Filipinos edited by A. B. Meyer and Schadenberg among the written descriptions accompanying the images of Tinguianes, Guinaanes, and Ilocanos.⁵⁶ Rizal's *Noli* was one of the "Writings Received" at the March 19, 1887 meeting of the Berlin branch of the DGAEU and subsequently listed in the *Journal of Ethnology*.⁵⁷ The DGAEU's other journal, the *Archive of Anthropology*, listed Blumentritt's study of the Ilocanos using Reyes' work on folklore, Reyes' study of the Tinguianes in German, Paterno's history of ancient Tagalog civilization, and Rizal's presentation on Tagalog poetry in its 1891 "Directory of Anthropological Literature" for the Philippines.⁵⁸ In the journal's next volume, Rizal's annotation of Morga, the first volume of Reyes' folklore study of the Philippines, his study of the religious views of the Ilocanos, and a work by Rizal on Tagalog folklore published in English in a British journal appeared in the same "Directory of Anthropological Literature" for the Philippines.⁵⁹

⁵⁵Blumentritt, *Vocabular*, II. Theil, 53; and Paterno, *Ninay*.

⁵⁶A. B. Meyer and A. Schadenberg, eds., *Album von Philippinen-Typen. Nord Luzon. Negritos, Tinguianen, Bánaos, Ginaanen, Silípanen, Calingas, Apoyáos, Kianganen, Igorroten und Ilocanen: Ueber 600 Abbildungen auf 50 Tafel in Lichtdruck* (Dresden: Stengel & Markert, 1891), 8, 10, 11 & 19; Blumentritt, "Tinguianen"; Reyes, "religiösen Anschauungen"; and Reyes, *Artículos varios*.

⁵⁷"Sitzung vom 19. März 1887. Eingegangene Schriften," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 19 (1887): (286). *Noli* was a "gift of the author," the meeting's minutes reported. Ibid.

⁵⁸"Verzeichniss der anthropologischen Literatur: Philippinen," *Archiv für Anthropologie* 19 (1891): 56; Blumentritt, "Ilocanen," 51 (1887): 359-61 & 376-77; Blumentritt, "Tinguianen"; Paterno, *tagalog*; and Rizal, "Verskunst."

⁵⁹"Verzeichniss der anthropologischen Literatur: Philippinen," *Archiv für Anthropologie* 20 (1891-92): 79; Rizal, *Sucesos*; Reyes, *folk-lore*; Reyes, "religiösen Anschauungen"; and J. Rizal, "Specimens of Tagal Folklore," *Trübner's Record* 1 (1889): 45-46. The same volume of the British journal also contained another work by Rizal: J. Rizal, "Two Eastern Fables," *Trübner's Record* 1 (1889): 71-74.

Filipinos established authority over the production of knowledge about the Philippines as they published studies of the Spanish colony and their use and translation by German scholars further validated their positions as experts. The Filipinos' expertise certainly held significant political implications, foremost that they were in no way intellectually inferior, but rather superior, to the colonizing Spaniards. Moreover, Filipinos brought the authority they had constructed to bear directly on polemics with Spanish writers involving colonial politics. Even though Spaniards attempted, as they had initially, to employ German studies of the Philippines in support of their arguments about Filipino inferiority, Filipino writers again used science and references to German scholarship to disprove Spanish claims.

Science and Colonial Politics in the Philippines

During the time Filipinos were publishing numerous scientific works in the Philippines, Spain, and across Europe, Spanish writers continued to exploit German scholarship to maintain the notion that Spaniards were racially superior. Early in 1887, the same year as the appearance of several books and articles by Filipinos in Spanish and German, Pablo Feced, a Spaniard resident in the Philippines writing under the pseudonym Quioquiap, published an article in a Spanish newspaper asserting the racial inferiority of Filipinos and referencing the works of Virchow and Jagor. The beard, he claimed, "is in individuals and races a sign of virility," but that it was absent among Filipinos. Feced then noted that the "eminent" Virchow, in an examination of "some Filipinos' skulls," had identified particular differences between them and the "Caucasian type."⁶⁰ The Spaniard also referred to the work of Jagor to suggest differences in

⁶⁰Feced here referred to Virchow's essay that appeared in the appendix to Jagor's comprehensive study of the Philippines that also had been translated into Spanish. See Rod. Virchow, "Cráneos antiguos y modernos de Filipinas," in Jagor, *Viajes*, 380.

“physiology” between Filipinos and Europeans evidenced with both “ethnology” and “anthropology.”⁶¹

In the following year, Feced again under the name Quiquiap issued a collection of articles in Manila about the Philippines that had been published previously. Although it did not include the above-described article, the volume similarly attempted to portray Filipinos as racially inferior at that same time that it drew liberally on Jagor’s study of the Spanish colony and directly addressed Blumentritt in one chapter. For example, Feced used Jagor’s observation of “eternal idleness” while traveling through the colony’s provinces to argue about Filipinos that there was a “lack of inner drive that dominates these races.”⁶² The Spaniard elsewhere quoted the German scholar’s claim that the Spanish colonial government was “always humane” and that Filipinos were “uncivilized.”⁶³

Differently from his references to Virchow and Jagor as scientific support for his arguments about Filipino racial inferiority, Feced wrote about Blumentritt as a means of rejecting the Austrian scholar’s opinions about the Spanish colony. Although the Spaniard described him as a “person of great erudition” with “no small affection for this land and people of the Philippines,” he also identified Blumentritt as a “foreigner” from whom Feced held “differences of opinion” on the question of “progress” in the islands. Instead of any evidence of a desire for advancement in the Philippines, the Spaniard claimed there was only “almost total passivity” and “indifference

⁶¹He later quoted from Jagor’s study on Filipinos’ learning of “Christian doctrine,” describing him solely as a “German traveler.” Quiquiap, “Ellos y nosotros,” *El Liberal*, 13 febrero 1887, *Revista Electrónica de Estudios Filológicos*, no. 18 (diciembre 2009), http://www.um.es/tonosdigital/znum18/secciones/peri-1-ellos_nosotros.htm; and Jagor, *Viajes*, 28.

⁶²Pablo Feced, *Filipinas: esbozos y pinceladas por Quiquiap* (Manila: Ramirez y Co., 1888), 125; and Jagor, *Viajes*, 35.

⁶³Feced, *Filipinas*, 212 & 213; and Jagor, *Viajes*, 33 & 31. The Spaniard also referred to Jagor as a “German writer” in a description of child mortality and quoted his suggestion that among the countries in the world, few are “more poorly understood and less visited than the Philippines.” Feced, *Filipinas*, 185 & 231; and Jagor, *Viajes*, 141 & x.

to the future and to life” among Filipinos, whose own natures only hindered them.⁶⁴ Feced was rearticulating the age-old fundamental theme of colonial ideology that the Spanish were responsible for all civilization in the Philippines and distancing Blumentritt’s sympathy by marking him as foreigner less able to understand the actual dynamics in the colony. He was not alone among Spanish writers in attempting to refute the work of German scholars.

In 1889, for example, Vicente Barrantes, a former colonial official in the Philippines, published a discourse on Tagalog theater that operated as a platform for arguing against the existence of Filipino civilization at the same time that it contested the findings of Jagor, Blumentritt, Meyer, and Virchow. The Spaniard began his narrative with “our conquest,” at which time he claimed that Filipinos lived in a “wretched and savage state” characterized by “total idleness and vice.”⁶⁵ Because the “national character” of the Filipinos “has not yet left the nebulous state,” Barrantes continued, the work Jagor, Blumentritt, and Meyer, had not “advanced many steps along the difficult path” (8) of understanding these peoples. He also rejected the craniological studies of pre-colonial Filipinos by Virchow on the grounds that it was “almost impossible to specify the race to which many of these skulls belonged” (11).

These were not the only instances in which Barrantes refuted representations of the Philippines that were linked to German scholarship, however. In the last chapter of the work, he rejected the portrait of the Philippines presented in *Noli*, partly by describing Rizal as an author “whose German education has filled his innermost spirit with hostility for Spain and the Spanish” (134).⁶⁶ While German scholarship had served a useful purpose for Feced in

⁶⁴Feced, *Filipinas*, 259-60 & 262.

⁶⁵Vicente Barrantes, *El teatro tagalo* (Madrid: Manuel G. Hernández, 1889), 5-6. References to this source will appear parenthetically in the text hereafter.

⁶⁶In a pamphlet he published in the same year as Barrantes’ text, Blumentritt defended Rizal against similar charges of sympathy for Germany and hatred for Spain made by other Spaniards. F. Blumentritt, *El noli me tângere de Rizal* (Barcelona: Francisco Fossas, 1889).

supporting his claims of Filipino racial inferiority, the Spaniard also distanced Blumentritt and his opinions by recognizing him as a foreigner. In his discussion of both the German scholars as well as Rizal, Barrantes too located Germany as a domain outside of the traditional knowledge possessed by Spain. Hence, there were two sides to which Spanish authors turned German scholarship in their writings: as insiders in support of Spanish racial superiority and as outsiders with less knowledge than the colonial rulers.

Filipinos contested these and other Spaniards' writings in political polemics that frequently used knowledge of the Philippines as a defense against Spanish claims. Graciano López Jaena responded to the article by Feced with a piece that was published only three days later in the same Spanish newspaper. He wrote about Spain that "our possessions in Oceania are unfortunately little known here" and that "many do not even know them on the map." The Filipino reminded his readers, despite Feced's attempt to emasculate Filipinos, that his countrymen "were the ones who fought manfully beside very few Spaniards against the invading fleet of the Chinese Limahong."⁶⁷ He thus used history and the suggestion that the Spanish lacked knowledge to defend Filipinos from the Spaniard's racism.

In his seminal study of Filipino nationalism, John N. Schumacher writes that the idea to found a newspaper run by Filipinos was "spurred on by the articles of Quioquiap," Feced's pen name.⁶⁸ In March 1887, López Jaena and other Filipinos began publication of a newspaper, which dealt with colonial politics, including countering the arguments put forward in the writings of Feced. Even though it only lasted through June, it laid a foundation for later Filipino

⁶⁷Graciano López Jaena, "Los indios de Filipinas," in López Jaena, *Discursos y artículos*, 138-39.

⁶⁸Schumacher, *Propaganda Movement*, 57.

collaboration and political writing. In 1889, Filipinos founded another newspaper, entitled *Solidarity*, for which López Jaena served as editor.⁶⁹

Articles in the new publication also addressed colonial politics at the same time that they made frequent reference to science. In the first issue, for example, the paper published its statement of purpose, which included attention to political ideas as well as matters involving the “sciences.”⁷⁰ Filipinos referred to science generally, but also specifically to German scholarship, in the newspaper. The first issue congratulated the “scholarly author” Blumentritt for receipt of an award from the Spanish government for his “important articles and monographs about the Philippines.”⁷¹

The Austrian scholar played an essential part in the newspaper, contributing articles that used his knowledge of the Philippines to demonstrate the errors of Spanish writers, including Feced, Barrantes, and others.⁷² Through his correspondence with Rizal, Blumentritt also began communicating with Marcelo Del Pilar (see Fig. 5.3), an instrumental figure in the production of *Solidarity*, who eventually succeeded López Jaena as editor and sent materials to Blumentritt to which the scholar responded.⁷³ A letter from the Austrian appeared in the fourth issue contradicting Feced and defending Filipino writers such as López-Jaena, Del Pilar, Sancianco,

⁶⁹Ibid., 57-73 & 121.

⁷⁰“Nuestro propósitos,” *La Solidaridad* 1, no. 1 (15 febrero 1889): 1. Reproductions of the original Spanish-language edition of this source taken from *La Solidaridad*, 7 vols. (Manila: Fundación Santiago, 1996).

⁷¹“Crónica,” *La Solidaridad* 1, no. 1 (15 febrero 1889): 7.

⁷²See, for example, “Señor Quiquiap,” *ibid.*, no. 12 (31 julio 1889): 133-36; “¿Cui bono? artículos dedicados al excmo. sr. d. Vicente Barrantes,” *ibid.*, no. 18 (31 octubre 1889): 207-209, no. 19 (15 noviembre 1889): 214-16, no. 20 (30 noviembre 1889): 228-231, no. 21 (15 diciembre 1889): 243-247; “Una contestación: artículos dedicados al sr. d. José de Lacalle,” *ibid.*, no. 23 (15 enero 1890): 4-7, no. 24 (1 febrero 1890): 19-23, no. 25 (15 febrero 1890): 33-36; “Pag-diwata-Barrantes: artículos dedicados al excmo. sr. d. Vicente Barrantes,” *ibid.*, no. 26 (28 febrero 1890): 42-43, no. 28 (31 marzo 1890): 71-74, no. 29 (15 abril 1890): 84-88, no. 30 (30 abril 1890): 95-98, no. 31 (15 mayo 1890): 108-111, no. 32 (31 mayo 1890): 123-26; “Desengaños el alabardero de los frailes,” *ibid.*, no. 39 (15 septiembre 1890): 204-207, no. 40 (30 septiembre 1890): 219-22, no. 41 (15 octubre 1890): 227-31, no. 42 (31 octubre 1890): 239-44; and “Esbozos y pinceladas: consideraciones sobre el libro de Quiquiap,” *ibid.*, no. 49 (15 febrero 1891): 326-30, no. 50 (28 febrero 1891): 340-43.

⁷³Marcelo H. Del Pilar, *Epistolario de Marcelo H. Del Pilar*, Tomo I (Manila: Imprenta del Gobierno, 1955), 53-54, 71-72, 76-78, 131-32 & 193-94; and Schumacher, *Propaganda Movement*, 126.

Rizal, Reyes, and others.⁷⁴ Blumentritt continued contributing and thereby lending his authority to the newspaper through 1895, the final year of its publication, ultimately beset with internal conflicts and financial problems.⁷⁵

Filipinos also exercised their expertise over information about the Philippines by citing the work of German scholars in their writings for the paper. In a rebuttal of Barrantes' portrait of Filipinos, Rizal referred to Hans Meyer's observation that his countrymen were "hard-working and industrious."⁷⁶ The conclusion to the article appeared in the following issue and Rizal referenced Jagor's work and the pre-Spanish "vases" discussed therein as proof of Philippine civilization before the arrival of Spain.⁷⁷ The Filipino also cited an article by Friedrich Hirth, a German scholar of China, describing pre-colonial contact between the Middle Kingdom and the Philippines in a later article that rejected the Spanish claim of indolence among Filipinos.⁷⁸ Uses of the work of German scholars appeared elsewhere in *Solidarity* too.

Besides the articles by Blumentritt and Rizal, unsigned references to the Germans' writings surfaced in the Filipino publication. For example, one notice alerted readers to the "Orientalist scholar" A. B. Meyer's purchase of Reyes' recently published history of the Philippines, while another reprinted an item from a Manila newspaper reporting the publication of Reyes' study of the Ilocanos' religious views in German translation and that the Filipino was "well-known to German and Austrian scholars."⁷⁹ In an issue from the following year, there appeared an

⁷⁴"Carta de Austria-Hungaria: Quiosquiap juzgado por un profesor bohemio," *La Solidaridad* 1, no. 4 (31 marzo 1889): 37-40.

⁷⁵Schumacher, *Propaganda Movement*, 254-66.

⁷⁶José Rizal, "Excmo. sr. d. Vicente Barrantes," *La Solidaridad* 1, no. 9 (15 junio 1889): 98.

⁷⁷José Rizal, "Excmo. sr. d. Vicente Barrantes. (conclusión)," *ibid.*, no. 10 (30 junio 1889): 108.

⁷⁸José Rizal, "Sobre la indolencia de los filipinos (continuación) II," *ibid.* 2, no. 36 (31 julio 1890): 168; and Friedrich Hirth, "Zur Geschichte des Orienthandels im Mittelalter," *Globus: Illustrierte Zeitschrift für Länder- und Völkerkunde* 56 (1889): 209-11 & 236-39.

⁷⁹"Crónica," *La Solidaridad* 1, no. 15 (15 septiembre 1889): 176; Isabelo de los Reyes, *Historia de Filipinas* (Manila: Esteban Balbas, 1889); "Crónica," *La Solidaridad* 1, no. 17 (15 octubre 1889): 200; and Reyes, "religiösen Anschauungen." Reyes contributed articles about political reform to the newspaper, though they did not

anonymous review of a work by Blumentritt on the Philippines, in which the reviewer described the colony as “that immense Spanish territory neglected by the scholars and statesmen of Spain.”⁸⁰ In another instance, a quote from Jagor’s study attested to the Spanish monopoly on colonial government offices.⁸¹

Filipinos also used discussion of science to point out the need for reform in the Philippines. The medical student José Panganiban wrote about the necessity of the “freedom of scientific inquiry” at the University of Santo Tomás in the Spanish colony, where science was bound to the “eternal immobility of dogmatism.”⁸² Although the author died of tuberculosis in August 1890, he had also studied German and used a German phrase—“whoever says A must also say B” (*Wer A sagt, muss auch B sagen*)—in the second installment of the article.⁸³ An obituary published in the newspaper recounted that before his passing, Panganiban had begun to translate into Spanish a study of religion by the German author Carl Julius Weber and furthermore that he had begun to correspond “with various German writers.”⁸⁴

Filipinos also discussed anthropology and ethnology in articles published in the newspaper without connecting them to German scholarship.⁸⁵ Mariano Ponce (see Fig. 5.3), writing under

cite the works of German scholars. See, for example, Isabelo de los Reyes, “Diputados á cortes por Filipinas,” *La Solidaridad* 1, no. 13 (15 agosto 1889): 145-46; Kasalo, “El registro civil,” *ibid.* 2, no. 32 (31 mayo 1890): 119-22; and Kasalo, “El matrimonio canónico y el civil,” *ibid.*, no. 34 (30 junio 1890): 142-46. “Kasalo” was Reyes’ pseudonym. Schumacher, *Propaganda Movement*, 203, n. 23.

⁸⁰“Bibliografía: las razas del archipiélago filipino,” *La Solidaridad* 2, no. 30 (30 abril 1890): 104.

⁸¹“Lo que dicen los libros,” *ibid.* 2, no. 33 (30 junio 1890): 134; and Jagor, *Viajes*, 304.

⁸²“La universidad de Manila: su plan de estudios,” *La Solidaridad* 1, no. 5 (15 abril 1889): 46; and Schumacher, *Propaganda Movement*, 124.

⁸³“La universidad de Manila: su plan de estudios. II,” *La Solidaridad* 1, no. 6 (30 abril 1889): 60; and “Jose Panganiban,” *ibid.* 2, no. 38 (31 agosto 1890): 195.

⁸⁴“Jose Maria Panganiban y Enverga,” *ibid.* 2, no. 40 (30 septiembre 1890): 215; and Carl Julius Weber, *Die Religion und die Religionen* (Halle: Hendel, [1887]).

⁸⁵The newspaper also included information about scholars from other colonized countries. Ponce wrote an obituary of the Bengali scholar Rajendralala Mitra, “well-known and respected by foreign scholars and Orientalists,” even though he was of an (italics in original) “*inferior* race, according to the false criteria of the unhappy Quiquiaps.” Despite his renown elsewhere, however, “only in Spain is Rajendralala Mitra unknown!” An anonymous obituary about the scholar G. A. Wilken also appeared in the newspaper and described him as the “best ethnographer of the Malay race.” The author concluded that “if he were born a Filipino, he would have been exiled or imprisoned for being an educated native.” N., “Rajendralala Mitra,” *La Solidaridad* 3, no. 63 (15 septiembre

the pseudonym Naning, composed an historical biography of a Filipino from the sixteenth-century whose knowledge of metallurgy served as “evidence of the culture of the Filipinos before the arrival of the Spanish.”⁸⁶ Those who would deny Filipino civilization were “in open contradiction to history, morality, philosophy, anthropology, traditions, and positive reality of the facts,” he wrote.⁸⁷ In a one act play that appeared in the newspaper, Antonio Luna, using the pseudonym Taga-Ilog, had one character assert an absurd claim based on his “ethnographic knowledge.”⁸⁸



Figure 5.3: photo of Rizal, Del Pilar, and Ponce in Madrid in 1890 from W. E. Retana, *Vida y escritos*, [521].

1891): 507; and “G. A. Wilken,” *ibid.*, no. 64 (30 septiembre 1891): 520. Like Rizal, both were also members of the DGAEU. “Ordentliche Mitglieder,” *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 22 (1890): (12).

⁸⁶Naning, “Filipinos celebres (ensayos biográficos),” *La Solidaridad* 2, no. 24 (1 febrero 1890): 19; and Schumacher, *Propaganda Movement*, 254, n. 2.

⁸⁷Naning, “Filipinos celebres,” 18.

⁸⁸Taga-Ilog, “Artes y letras: todo por el estómago,” *La Solidaridad* 3, no. 51 (15 marzo 1891): 359; and Schumacher, *Propaganda Movement*, 174.

In 1891, Rizal broke from other Filipinos involved in the paper and refused to contribute to it further, due to disagreements with Del Pilar over strategy.⁸⁹ He wrote to Blumentritt from Hong Kong that polemics in Spain were “no longer our battlefield” and that the “struggle is no longer in Madrid,” but rather in the Philippines.⁹⁰ In the same year, Rizal published a sequel to *Noli* that made reference to the president of the DGAEU in describing the character Doña Victorina who “because all her aspiration had been to be Europeanized, and since the fateful day of her marriage, thanks to criminal attempts has succeeded little by little in transforming herself so that at the present time Quatrefages and Virchow together would not know how to classify her among the known races.”⁹¹ Although in a literary medium, the Filipino still used the comment to point out the limits of French and German anthropology for accurately categorizing the peoples of the Philippines.

Rizal returned to the Philippines in 1892, was arrested for subversive activities and subsequently exiled to the town of Dapitan on the southern island of Mindanao until his release in 1896. The newspaper continued operating and referencing science and German scholarship nonetheless.⁹² For example, a notice written by Ponce in 1893 under the pseudonym Tigbalang described Jagor’s recent activities. It explained to readers that the (*italics in original*)

⁸⁹Schumacher, *Propaganda Movement*, 221-35.

⁹⁰Rizal, *Blumentritt Correspondence*, 2: 422-23.

⁹¹José Rizal, *El filibusterismo* (Ghent: F. Meyer van Loo, 1891), 4. Armand de Quatrefages was a French anthropologist with whom Virchow had debated several points in anthropology in the early 1870s following the Franco-Prussian War. See, for example, A. de Quatrefages, *La race prussienne* (Paris: E. Martinet, 1871); and Rudolf Virchow, “Über die Methode der wissenschaftlichen Anthropologie: Eine Antwort an Hrn. de Quatrefages,” *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 4 (1872): 300-320.

⁹²For example, the newspaper serialized another work by Paterno on ancient Tagalog civilization, written in response to a Spanish clergy member who claimed that Filipino writers were making too much of pre-Spanish Filipino society with too little evidence. P. A. Molo Paterno, “El cristianismo en la antigua civilización tagalong: al illmo. sr. Obispo de Oviedo fr. R. Martínez Vigil,” *La Solidaridad* 4, no. 81 (15 junio 1892): 725-27, no. 82 (30 junio 1892): 739-42, no. 83 (15 julio 1892): 751-53, no. 84 (1 agosto 1892): 763-64, no. 85 (15 agosto 1892): 774-77, no. 86 (1 septiembre 1892): 787-89, no. 87 (15 septiembre 1892): 803-805, no. 88 (30 septiembre 1892): 816-17, no. 90 (31 octubre 1892): 837-39, no. 91 (15 noviembre 1892): 850-53; [Pedro] Paterno, *El cristianismo en la antigua civilización tagalog* (Madrid: Imprenta Moderna, 1892); Ramón Martínez Vigil, “La antigua civilización

scholarly German traveler, author of *Travels in the Philippines, Travel Sketches (Singapore, Malacca, Java)*, and other important writings, who was in the Philippines in the year 1859, has completed the undertaking of a new voyage to the Far East, visiting the Celebes, Borneo, and the Moluccas and remained in those places for the space of three years. He arrived in Berlin on 15 September. It will be curious to know what impressions the respected elder brought back on this final voyage.⁹³

Science served Filipinos' activities involving colonial reform as a rational foundation for their arguments. Their newspaper drew on the work of German and Filipino scholars in rejecting Spanish denials of Philippine civilization and in illustrating Filipinos' intelligence and awareness of modern ideas. Without intending to, the initial German studies of the Philippines not only offered Spain avenues for maintaining hold on the Philippines, but they also reinforced the scientific and political authority of Filipino nationalists. The production of science in a colonial context thus has the potential to hold multiple meanings, some of which might subvert the ideological foundations of colonial hegemony.

Conclusion

While in exile, Rizal maintained his correspondences with Blumentritt and A. B. Meyer, though he exchanged letters with them less frequently than before his arrest. He wrote to Blumentritt in February 1893 that "I will take pictures of Subano types," similar to the practice

de las Islas Filipinas," *La España Moderna* 3 (abril 1891): 86-98, (mayo 1891): 4-15, (junio 1891): 4-20; and Schumacher, *Propaganda Movement*, 205.

Several scientific works by Blumentritt also appeared in the newspaper after 1891. "Los maguindanaos. (estudio etnográfico)," *La Solidaridad* 4, no. 86 (1 septiembre 1892): 789-91, no. 87 (15 septiembre 1892): 801-802, no. 86 (30 septiembre 1892): 812-14, no. 89 (15 octubre 1892): 828-30; "Diccionario mitológico de Filipinas," *ibid.* 5, no. 105 (15 junio 1893): 1016-18 & 1039-41, no. 108 (31 julio 1893): 1055-58, no. 111 (15 septiembre 1893): 1087-88, no. 112 (30 septiembre 1893): 1102-3, no. 113 (15 octubre 1893): 1111-13, no. 115 (15 noviembre 1893): 1138-40, no. 116 (30 noviembre 1893): 1147-49, no. 117 (15 diciembre 1893): 1160-62, no. 118 (31 diciembre 1893): 1172-74, 6, no. 119 (15 enero 1894): 4-6, no. 120 (31 enero 1894): 15-16, no. 122 (28 febrero 1894): 42-43, no. 123 (15 marzo 1894): 50-51, no. 123 (15 abril 1894): 76-78; and "¿Hay razas superiores é inferiores? (estudio social-etnográfico)," *ibid.* 7, no. 151 (15 mayo 1895): 104-107, no. 152 (31 mayo 1895): 111-13, no. 154 (30 junio 1895): 137-39, no. 155 (15 julio 1895): 146-48. The first and second articles by the Austrian scholar were later published in Spanish periodicals. "Los maguindanaos: estudio etnográfico," *Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Madrid* 35 (1893): 267-85; and "Diccionario mitológico de Filipinas," *Archivo del Bibliófilo Filipino* 2 (1896): 335-454.

⁹³Tigbalang, "Notas: doctor F. Jagor," *La Solidaridad* 5, no. 113 (15 octubre 1893): 1120; Schumacher, *Propaganda Movement*, 254, n. 2; Jagor, *Reisen*; and F. Jagor, *Singapore, Malacca, Java: Reiseskizzen* (Berlin: Julius Springer, 1866).

of other scholars photographing Filipinos, for the purpose of identifying their racial characteristics.⁹⁴ Even though exiled and under house arrest, Rizal continued to position himself as an authority over the Philippines, a stance that differed little from the colonialism imagined by German scholars or practiced by the Spanish. Science provided the promise of emancipation on the one hand, but even in the hands of Filipino nationalists also held the power to reinforce their status as elites over other Filipinos and women.⁹⁵

Rizal continued to rehearse his role as an architect of the Philippine nation in Mindanao, planning scientific, educational, and colonial enterprises. In June 1893, he promised to obtain “scientific objects” for A. B. Meyer and the Filipino also corresponded with German scholars Wilhelm Joest, Napoleon Kheil, and Karl Heller over questions dealing with science, while in the southern Philippines.⁹⁶ Furthermore, Rizal founded a school for boys that may have followed a German educational model.⁹⁷ Finally, shifting from an idea he had considered prior to his arrest to have Filipinos colonize North Borneo, he founded a trading company and began to instruct the “poor people of Mindanao” in defending themselves against commercial exploitation by the Chinese, he wrote to Blumentritt.⁹⁸

In July 1896, Rizal was released and returned to Manila. An armed uprising against Spain erupted the following month, resulting in Rizal’s re-arrest in September and execution in

⁹⁴See, for example, Meyer, ed., *Album*; and Meyer and Schadenberg, eds., *Album von Nord Luzon*.

⁹⁵For further elaboration of this point, see Filomeno V. Aguilar, Jr., “Tracing Origins: *Ilustrado* Nationalism and the Racial Science of Migration Waves,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 64, no. 3 (2005): 605-37; and Resil B. Mojares, *Brains of the Nation: Pedro Paterno, T.H. Pardo de Tavera, Isabelo de los Reyes and the Production of Modern Knowledge* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2006).

⁹⁶Rizal, *Epistolario*, 4: 113 & 163. For examples of Rizal’s correspondence with Joest, Kheil, and Heller, see *ibid.*, 4: 187-88, 217-19 & 227-29. Rizal was credited with the discovery of an insect in a German entomological journal, which came from his work in Mindanao. K. M. Heller, “Zwei neue Cetoniden von den Philippinen,” *Deutsche Entomologische Zeitschrift* 1 & 2 (1893): 283 & 285. The article concluded with the remark that “the museum owes this interesting species to its discoverer, Dr. J. Rizal.” *Ibid.*, 285.

⁹⁷Charles Derbyshire, “Translator’s Introduction,” in José Rizal, *The Social Cancer*, trans. Charles Derbyshire (Manila: Philippine Education Company, 1912), xxxvii.

⁹⁸Rizal, *Blumentritt Correspondence*, 2: 434-35 & 490-91.

December, despite his disconnection from the rebellion.⁹⁹ At the January 16, 1897 meeting of the Berlin branch of the DGAEU, Virchow reported the Filipino's death. The Society's president reminded the audience of German scholars that Rizal had been "our fellow member for ten years" and had delivered a presentation in 1887 on the art of Tagalog poetry. Rizal was "entirely filled with patriotic ideas," Virchow explained, for which he eventually became the "object of incessant persecution." Ultimately, the president lamented, "we lose in him not only a loyal friend of Germany and German science, but also the only man who possessed the knowledge and determination to make available the entrance of modern ideas in those distant islands."¹⁰⁰

At the November 20 meeting in the same year, Virchow again discussed Rizal, "our former fellow member," who had been "summarily executed" the previous December. The German scholar related that the Filipino had composed a poem entitled "My Final Farewell" the night before his death that was of "high poetic value" at the same time that it was "patriotic and humane." Virchow included it and a German translation of it by Eduard Seler, a German scholar of Mesoamerica, in the meeting's minutes "to preserve the memory of the gifted, noble martyr." He also reported the publication of Blumentritt's obituary of Rizal in the *International Archive of Ethnology*.¹⁰¹ In the obituary, the Austrian scholar explained that the Filipino had become a medical doctor in Spain and "then expanded his expertise" in Germany and elsewhere in Europe, by performing "linguistic and ethnographic research."¹⁰²

⁹⁹Anderson, *Three Flags*, 156-57.

¹⁰⁰"Sitzung vom 16. Januar 1897," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 29 (1897): (26).

¹⁰¹"Sitzung vom 20 November 1897," *ibid.* (480-81); José Rizal, "El ultimo adios," *ibid.* (575-76); José Rizal, "Das letzte Lebewohl," trans. Eduard Seler, *ibid.* (577-78); and F. Blumentritt, "Dr. José Rizal," *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie* 10 (1897): 88-92.

¹⁰²Blumentritt, "Rizal," 88.

Germany as a beacon for the production of science during the nineteenth-century also became a site through which Filipinos circulated their own scholarship on the Philippines with works written in and translated into the German language. Writing about the colony in the context of Germany, a domain outside of Spain, further contributed to Filipinos' expertise and standing, as their authority over the subject matter exceeded that of Spanish writers in the eyes of German scholars. Filipinos carried their scientific authority into political debates in which they contested Spanish claims of racial and cultural superiority with evidence from German and Filipino studies. These nationalist ideological expressions that combined science and politics ultimately did not result in colonial reform. They did nonetheless contribute to future developments in the Philippines.

Schumacher points out about these Filipino nationalists that though they “did not plan the Revolution that broke out in 1896, it was their ideas that caused those who did to take fire.”¹⁰³ As armed struggle became the foremost concern in the Philippines, first against Spain (1896-1898), then the United States (1899-1902), Germans remained abreast of events in the archipelago. Portia L. Reyes shows that two Bremen newspapers printed 121 pieces about the Revolution between 1896 and 1898.¹⁰⁴ Blumentritt too wrote about it for German and Austrian journals and newspapers with increasing sympathy after the execution of Rizal.¹⁰⁵ An article by Isabelo de los Reyes addressing the “Philippine Problem” in a German-language Japanese

¹⁰³Schumacher, *Propaganda Movement*, 272.

¹⁰⁴Portia L. Reyes, “Eyes on a Prize: Colonial Fantasies, the German Self and Newspaper Accounts of the 1896 Philippine Revolution,” *Itinerario* 32 (2008): 109.

¹⁰⁵F. Blumentritt, “Der Aufstand auf den Philippinen,” *Globus* 70 (1896): 213-14; Ferd. Blumentritt, “Streiflichte auf die Philippinische Revolution,” *Oesterreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient* 23 (1897): 109-13; Ferd. Blumentritt, “Zur Geschichte des Separatismus der Spanischen Colonien,” *Deutsche Rundschau* 96 (1898): 104-27; and F. Blumentritt, “Die Filipinos als Herren im Eigenen Hause: Eine ethnographisch-politische Studie,” *Oesterreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient* 25 (1899): 31-33. The Austrian scholar credited Rizal in an ethnographic and zoological vocabulary he published during the Philippine-American War. F. Blumentritt, *Verzeichnis philippinischer Sachwörter aus dem Gebiete der Ethnographie und Zoologie* (Berlin: Friedländer & Sohn, 1899), 1.

newspaper published in Berlin did not list the translator, but seemed to bespeak of Blumentritt's style, particularly the footnote describing Reyes as a "Filipino well-known for his historical and folklore works."¹⁰⁶

Despite the fact that war had broken out, Filipinos continued to correspond with and about German scholars. Apolinario Mabini, the Prime Minister and Secretary of Foreign Affairs for the First Philippine Republic, wrote in a letter to Galicano Apacible in Hong Kong in 1899 of the need to communicate with Blumentritt, "who is known as our friend and honest about everything."¹⁰⁷ José Alejandrino, a former staff member of *Solidarity*, the Filipino newspaper published in Spain, traveled to Hong Kong in 1896 to obtain arms and other equipment for the Revolution and wrote to Blumentritt about military and diplomatic affairs in 1897 and 1898.¹⁰⁸ Mariano Ponce also left for Hong Kong after the uprising against Spain and eventually traveled to Yokohama, where he sought support for the Filipino cause and communicated regularly with and about the Austrian scholar in the unfolding of events in the wars against Spain and the United States.¹⁰⁹

Ponce corresponded with other German scholars while in Hong Kong and Yokohama. In 1897, for example, Ponce sent a photograph of Rizal to Max Buchner of the Munich Museum of Ethnography and wrote in Spanish that with his thanks to the German scholar, "I am faithfully

¹⁰⁶Isabelo de los Reyes, "Das philippinische Problem," *Ost-Asien* 2, no. 18 (September 1899): 251. Blumentritt also published several articles for the Berlin-based Japanese periodical. Ferd. Blumentritt, "Die Philippinen und Japon," *ibid.* 1, no. 1 (April 1898): 12-15, no. 2 (Mai 1898): 56-58, no. 3 (Juni 1898): 106-10; F. Blumentritt, "Kritische Streifzüge durch die philippinische Geschichte," *ibid.*, no. 6 (September 1898): 248-50, no. 8 (November 1898): 347-49, no. 12 (März 1899): 544-45; and F. Blumentritt, "Onkel Sam auf den Philippinen," *ibid.* 2, no. 24 (März 1899): 546-49.

¹⁰⁷Apolinario Mabini, *Las cartas políticas de Apolinario Mabini* (Manila: n.p., 1930), 143. A half-decade earlier, Mabini had written to Del Pilar about his intention to send Blumentritt a book about the Philippines written by a Spaniard. *Ibid.*, 22; and Rafael Comenge, *Cuestiones filipinas* (Manila: Chofré y Comp., 1894).

¹⁰⁸See the letters quoted in José Alejandrino, *La senda del sacrificio: episodios y anécdotas de nuestras luchas por la libertad* (Manila: Nueva Era Press, 1951), 41-44, 61-66 & 76-79.

¹⁰⁹Mariano Ponce, *Cartas sobre la revolución: 1897-1900* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1932), 1, 9, 14-15, 21, 23, 40, 42, 55, 66, 73, 75, 88-89, 98, 104, 108, 113-15, 124, 146, 158, 160-61, 164, 186, 195, 207, 210, 221, 231, 261, 263-64, 296, 311, 314, 316-17, 319, 325-26, 336, 339, 341-43, 386, 400, 410, 427, 444, 448, 457 & 470-73.

interpreting the feelings of my countrymen.”¹¹⁰ In the following year, again writing in Spanish, he thanked Eduard Seler for translating Rizal’s poem into German.¹¹¹ Finally, Ponce also wrote in English to convey his congratulations to A. B. Meyer in 1899 on the twenty-fifth anniversary of his appointment as Director of the Royal Zoological and Anthropological-Ethnographic Museum of Dresden and explained that “we the Filipinos do not lose sight of the fact the great service you are rendering us by popularizing in [the] whole learned world the knowledge of [P]hilippine things; and of course, we cannot but to feel towards you a deep gratitude.”¹¹² At a meeting of the Berlin branch of the DGAEU on November 20, 1898, Virchow reported that Seler had presented the Filipino’s letter and it was published in the meeting’s minutes in the original Spanish with a German translation.¹¹³

Even though the United States refused to recognize the Philippine Republic and eventually defeated the Filipinos, the connection to German scholars still played a prominent role in the attempts to secure independence. In a study of the former Spanish colony he published in 1900, for example, Blumentritt included articles from the constitution of the Philippine Republic.¹¹⁴ In the same year, it was translated into English and in 1901 a U.S. publication addressing the question, “Are the Filipinos Capable of Self-Government?” quoted from the Austrian scholar’s study.¹¹⁵ The U.S. leadership eventually decided against Philippine independence; but it is remarkable nevertheless that German-language scholarship had provided fodder for anti-imperialists in a number of contexts, including the Philippines, Germany, and the United States.

¹¹⁰Ibid., 14.

¹¹¹Ibid., 210-11. Ponce wrote Seler in 1899 before the outbreak of war with the United States that “we will be willing to take up arms again if America attempts to threaten our independence.” Ibid., 265.

¹¹²Ibid., 429.

¹¹³M. Ponce, “Abschieds-Gedicht von Don José Rizal,” *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 30 (1898): (552-53).

¹¹⁴Ferdinand Blumentritt, *Die Philippinen: Eine übersichtliche Darstellung der ethnographischen und historisch-politischen Verhältnisse des Archipels* (Hamburg: A. G., 1900), 73-77.

¹¹⁵Ferdinand Blumentritt, *The Philippines: A Summary Account of their Ethnographical, Historical and Political Conditions*, trans. David J. Doherty (Chicago: Donahue Brothers, 1900); and Philippine Information Society, *The Insurgent Government of 1898* (Boston: Philippine Information Society, 1901), 54-55.

Conclusion

Scientific Authority, Colonialism, and Nationalism in Germany, Spain, and the Philippines

Imperial Germany became a formal colonial power in 1884 after establishing protectorates over territories in Africa and the Pacific Islands.¹ In the same year, the German Chancellor Otto von Bismarck hosted a conference in Berlin that set the ground rules for overseas empire among European powers with the requirement of effective occupation characterized by a visible territorial administration.² Although the congress primarily sought to govern the continued European take-over of Africa, Germany also attempted to apply the principle of effective occupation elsewhere in hopes of expanding its holdings in the Pacific and in 1885 moved to claim the Caroline Islands, north of New Guinea, ruled nominally by Spain. In response, the Spanish disputed Germany's machinations with Pope Leo XIII eventually arbitrating the matter beginning in September 1885 and by December deciding in favor of Spain's possession, yet upholding the German right to commercial and naval access to the islands.³

The Caroline Crisis revealed tensions between Germany and Spain ignited by competition over colonies at the same time that it demonstrated both countries' willingness to utilize knowledge on behalf of their claims to the islands. Before the crisis had gone to arbitration in late September 1885, for example, the official newspaper of the German Colonial Association, an organization dedicated to the promotion of overseas colonization in Germany, included an anonymously written article that drew on the travel account of the naturalist Carl Semper to argue that "one finds nary a trace of the exercise of state authority indicated on the part of Spain"

¹Arthur J. Knoll and Hermann Hiery, eds., *The German Colonial Experience: Select Documents on German Rule in Africa, China, and the Pacific 1884-1914* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2010); and Woodruff D. Smith, *The German Colonial Empire* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1978).

²Stig Förster, Wolfgang J. Mommsen, and Ronald Robinson, eds., *Bismarck, Europe, and Africa: The Berlin Africa Conference 1884-1885 and the Onset of Partition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988).

³Francis X. Hezel, *The First Taint of Civilization: A History of the Caroline and Marshall Islands in Pre-Colonial Days, 1521-1885* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1983); and Marqués de Olivart, *Colección de los Tratados, Convenios y Documentos Internacionales* (Madrid: Fernando Fe, 1899), 17-24.

in the Caroline Islands.⁴ Semper had visited the islands in 1862 and more than a decade later published a description of his experiences there, which related no Spanish presence whatsoever and focused instead on his experiences among the inhabitants of the Palau Islands.⁵

The *German Colonial Times* reported three months later while the dispute was still in arbitration at the Vatican that Semper had delivered a lecture on the Carolines before the Würzburg branch of the Colonial Association on November 19. The naturalist suggested that the German acquisition of the islands would be “no prosperous holding,” but also that the “claim of the Spanish to these is justified by nothing.” He calculated nonetheless that the “value of the total island area for export products” was more than 200,000 marks annually.⁶ The colonial newspaper also cited his travel account and included it in a bibliography of works relevant to the topics covered in that issue.⁷ Although Semper did not recommend a particular course of action, the use of his expertise by Germans interested in colonial opportunities demonstrates the links, whether or not intended by the naturalist himself, between scholarship and empire.

Like Germany, Spain too employed knowledge of the Carolines to buttress its claim to the islands. Spanish writers affirmed possession over the Carolines with references to history, scientific knowledge of the islands, and the idea that the archipelago was an administrative extension of Spanish rule in the Philippines, an archipelago west of the Carolines colonized by Spain since the sixteenth-century. Books and articles published in 1885 described the geography, Spanish discovery and missionary work, as well as demographic, linguistic, and

⁴“Kolonialpolitische Vorgänge: Der Streit um die Karolinen,” *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung* 2, no. 18 (1885): 567.

⁵August Schuberg, “Carl Semper,” *Arbeiten aus dem Zoologisch-Zootomischen Institut in Würzburg* 10, no. 2 (1895): vi-viii; and Karl Semper, *Die Palau-Inseln im Stillen Ocean: Reiseerlebnisse* (Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1873).

⁶“Deutscher Kolonialverein,” *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung* 2, no. 24 (1885): 757.

⁷*Ibid.*, 757, n.; and “Büchertisch,” *ibid.*, 776.

anthropological information about peoples of the Caroline Islands.⁸ One author described German colonial pretensions in the Pacific as a “utopia” and reprinted a letter penned in French to Bismarck seeking the “maintenance of our rights in the vast archipelago of the Philippines.”⁹

Other writers feared that German meddling in the Carolines would act as a pretext for a German seizure of the Philippines. For example, the attorney for the College of Madrid, Rafael de Gracia, argued that Germany was attempting to lay claim to “our Philippine archipelago, covetous of the natural resources of those territories and their advantageous situation for the Far East and Oceania trade.”¹⁰ The geographer Francisco Coëllo went so far as to charge that an “attack was being plotted against the nearby Philippines.”¹¹ The crisis thus revealed a wider Spanish fear of German involvement in its colonial possessions.

Spain’s concerns over German interests in the region were perhaps not unwarranted in light of the flurry of activity in the islands since the late 1850s by German naturalists and anthropologists, who not only fashioned themselves as the leading experts on the Philippines, but also portrayed numerous deficits in Spanish knowledge. While German critiques threatened to subvert the colonial hegemony of Spain by exposing its flaws, the myriad data about the natural resources and races of the Philippines identified by the Germans also offered a means for strengthening the Spanish hold on the islands. Little more than a decade before the Caroline

⁸See, for example, Emilio Butrón y de la Serna, “Memoria sobre las Islas Carolinas y Palaos,” *Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Madrid* 19 (1885): 23-31, 95-119 & 138-162; Manuel Escudé y Bartolí, *Las Carolinas: descripción geográfica y estadística del archipiélago carolino con datos recopilados y ampilados* (Barcelona: Administración: Cortes, 1885); and Juan Gualberto Gómez, *Las Islas Carolinas y las Marianas* (Madrid: San José, 1885).

⁹Andres Borrego, *Alemania en el Océano: una utopia en política: seguida de una carta del autor al Príncipe de Bismarck* (Madrid: F. Fernández, 1885), 18.

¹⁰Rafael de Gracia y Parejo, *Derecho de España sobre las Islas Carolinas* (Madrid: Gregorio Juste, 1885), 3.

¹¹Francisco Coëllo, *La conferencia de Berlín y la Cuestión de las Carolinas* (Madrid: Fortanet, 1885), 38. In the late 1840s, Coëllo had begun to produce an atlas of Spanish colonies, but he never completed it. Francisco Coëllo, *Atlas de España y sus posesiones de ultramar: diccionario geografico-estadístico-histórico de España* (Madrid: n.p., 1848-1868). In his study of the Palau Islands in the Caroline archipelago, Semper described problems surrounding “reliance on the accuracy of a map” created by Coëllo for navigating through the area that ultimately resulted in the ship upon which he traveled striking a coral reef. Semper, *Die Palau-Inseln*, 18.

Crisis, Spaniards had begun translating German studies of the Philippines in hopes of using them to assist with maintaining rule over the colony. Spanish authors used the translations in their writings about the natural resources and races inhabiting the islands, and thereby reasserted their economic interests and civilizing mission in the archipelago.

Yet, issuing Spanish-language editions of Germans' studies of the colony had unintended consequences. Filipino nationalists used the translations of Germans' writings about the Philippines in support of their arguments for colonial reform and their own scientific work on the history and culture of the peoples of the colony. Because German scholars used writings by Filipinos and sought their expertise on information about the Philippines. Germany not only posed a threat through its territorial aspirations in the vicinity of the Philippines, as in the case of the Caroline Islands, but also by virtue of its position as a center of the production of scientific knowledge where Filipino writers had their studies of the colony and its peoples validated by foreign experts. The Germans' production of knowledge about the Philippines and subsequent reception of Filipinos' studies therefore supported, even if unintentionally, the Filipino nationalist movement for colonial reform.

After the Philippine Revolution against Spain broke out on August 29, 1896, the specter of German annexation continued to haunt the islands, a position that Filipinos actively encouraged for strategic purposes. The German cruiser *Arcona* arrived in Manila Bay on November 24 to protect Germans and other Europeans during the conflict and on December 25, the cruiser *Irene* came to relieve the other German vessel. On board was the later architect of a naval build up, Rear Admiral Alfred von Tirpitz, from whom Filipino revolutionaries asked for a German protectorate, but Germany did not accept, thinking that Spain would defeat the uprising. Nonetheless, on January 29, 1897, José Maria Basa, Doroteo Cortes, his son, and one A. G.

Medina presented a petition to the German Consulate in Hong Kong to be forwarded to Emperor Wilhelm II, again seeking support for the revolutionaries. Though the emperor received the petition, Germany remained neutral, hoping to keep up its relations with Spain.¹²

Later in 1897, Germany acquired the concession of Qingdao on the Shandong Peninsula from the Qing dynasty of Imperial China, thereby expanding its colonial holdings in eastern Asia, and the Filipinos concluded a peace treaty with Spain that ended the war, at least temporarily. After the outbreak of the Spanish-American War during the following year, Germany again sent cruisers to Manila Bay, though they did not arrive before the U.S. East-Asian Squadron had destroyed the Spanish fleet at the Battle of Manila Bay. Filipinos subsequently resumed fighting the Spanish and declared independence on June 12. By August, Spain surrendered to the United States without either power recognizing Filipino autonomy. Revolutionaries met with the German Consul after the declaration of independence, but Germany's interest in a protectorate could no longer be pursued.

Germany began secret negotiations with Spain in September and in February of the following year, after hostilities between Filipinos and Americans had begun, Germany purchased the Caroline and Mariana Islands from Spain, bringing full circle the original 1885 Crisis, while leaving Filipinos to their military and imperialist fate at the hands of the Americans.¹³ In the second act in the supporting role of science in empire, a reviewer writing in the *German Colonial Times*, the geographer Alfred Kirchhof, recommended Semper's text on the Palau Islands to German readers interested in the newly acquired colony, since it offered insight into the lives of

¹²Volker Schult, "Revolutionaries and Admirals: The German East Asia Squadron in Manila Bay," *Philippine Studies* 50 (2002): 497-98; Karl-Heinz Wionzek, ed., *Germany, the Philippines, and the Spanish-American War: Four Accounts by Officers of the Imperial German Navy*, trans. Thomas Clark (Manila: National Historical Institute, 2000), 64; Karl-Heinz Wionzek, *The Petition Submitted by Friends of Jose Rizal to the German Emperor, Wilhelm II, dated January 29, 1897* ([Manila: De La Salle University,] 1996); and Patrick J. Kelly, *Tirpitz and the Imperial German Navy* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011).

¹³Schult, "Revolutionaries," 499, 503 & 505; and Wionzek, ed., *Imperial German Navy*, 65-68.

the “very little-known highly interesting island people,” including the “daily behavior of the Palauans, their doings at home, on fishing trips, at feasts and at war, their intricate social institutions.”¹⁴ Apparently, it was immaterial that Semper’s observations had been made almost four decades earlier, since the predominant belief in Imperial Germany about “natural peoples” (*Naturvölker*), such as the Palauans, held that they did not change over time.

This dissertation has analyzed the production and circulation of science on and in a colony where the scientists were not from the country of the colonizing power. The study has shown that the appearance of foreign science in a colonial context may result in a number of consequences, both intended and unintended. Although not produced by subjects from the country of the colonizers, the work resulting from these scientific inquiries was still colonial in many aspects of its practices and discourses. At the same time, it set forth and provoked nationalist discourses among the foreign scholars, colonizers, and colonized. This example of German knowledge, Spanish colonialism, and Filipino nationalism demonstrates that foreign scholarship may simultaneously reinforce and undermine empire.

The preceding chapters have examined the creation and dissemination of German natural history and anthropology of the Philippines before the acquisition of formal colonies by Imperial Germany to show that Germans participated in colonial projects even before the arrival of overseas empire in Germany. German scholars moved through global and local colonial networks in colonies held by Great Britain, the Netherlands, France, and Spain in their travels to, in, and from the Philippines. They mobilized colonial networks of transportation, labor, and information that called on officials, clergy, merchants, and colonized peoples in order to perform their scientific work. The same mechanisms that enabled the exploitation of natural resources

¹⁴A. Kirchhoff, “Die Palau-Inseln im Stillen Ocean,” *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung* 16, no. 37 (1899): 341.

and labor in colonies therefore made possible the German scholars' accumulation of massive amounts of data, artifacts, and human remains.

In addition to their dependency on colonial practices, the end products of the Germans' work transmitted colonial discourses. In particular, the writings of German naturalists identified numerous natural resources in the Spanish colony and suggested several possibilities for expanding commerce from the Philippines into global markets. All of the German scholars asserted European racial superiority via discussions of civilization and savagery among Filipino groups' social organization, political structures, economy, and technological and military aptitude. In their discussions of economic opportunities and the characteristics of Filipinos, German scholars' writings thus presented a framework for colonization, whether by Germany, Spain, or other powers, and either in the Philippines or elsewhere.

Besides supporting colonialism in the islands, Germans' studies of the colony also included nationalist sentiments, which subverted Spanish colonial ideology. In their comprehensive writings about the Philippines, German naturalists detailed weaknesses in the colonial government, economy, and military in addition to highlighting the failure of Catholic conversion and problematizing Spaniards' relationships with Filipinos in general. Naturalists, ethnologists, and anthropologists all emphasized the lack of knowledge on the part of Spanish officials and clergy. On their own, the production of these German studies illustrates the intersection of knowledge with colonialist and nationalist discourses in Germany, but investigating the reception of these writings reveals their deeper connection to colonialism and nationalism in Spain and the Philippines.

When Spaniards translated several of the Germans' studies, they appropriated this foreign scholarship more directly into the Spanish colonial project. Some Spanish authors used the

translations in their writings about commerce and science in the colony, while others emphasized the colonizers' cultural and racial superiority. The portions of the Germans' studies critical of the places of Spain in the Philippines also provoked nationalist reactions among Spanish writers. The appropriation of foreign scholarship for colonial purposes could therefore help activate feelings of nationalism among the colonizers. The Spanish translations of German scientific writings also opened up the possibility of their re-appropriation by Filipino nationalists.

Filipinos promoting colonial reform and awareness of Philippine culture used the German studies as evidence for their arguments. Hence, German scholarship was employed in support of Filipino nationalist endeavors. Furthermore, when Filipinos began to compose their own scientific investigations of the Philippines, instances of their work circulated in German-language publications. Without the presence of the foreign scientific interest in the Philippines, Filipinos may not have had the same arena for validating their authority as scientists, which they used to disrupt the Spanish colonial ideology of superiority. If German scholarship could be appropriated for Spanish colonialism as well as Filipino nationalism, however, then it continued to remain open, as long as it retained currency, to further re-appropriation.

Epilogue

Following the U.S. take-over of the Philippines, American scholars and officials turned to the work of the Germans for their value in understanding the peoples over whom the United States would be ruling. The Fifty-Sixth Congress, which convened in 1899, made available English translations of studies by Virchow and Blumentritt as a document published by the House of Representatives.¹⁵ The translator of the two works, the anthropologist Otis T. Mason, also

¹⁵Rud. Virchow, "The Peopling of the Philippines," trans. O. T. Mason, *56th Congress, 1st Session, House of Representatives, Doc. No. 737, Part 1: Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution*

published a letter to the editor of the American magazine *The Nation* in the same year recommending the 1899 English-language work of A. B. Meyer on the Aetas as a “timely book” that came in a “handy form” at the same time it served to “bring to date what is really known of this interesting people.”¹⁶ Meyer’s “timely” publication suggests that the German scholar intentionally positioned his study for use by interested American audiences.¹⁷

Just as German scholarship remained open to appropriation by U.S. interests intent on empire, it was also available for re-appropriation by U.S. anti-imperialists. In a brief article about Blumentritt published in the *American Anthropologist*, Daniel G. Brinton described the U.S. mission in the Philippines in the following manner: “Now that the Philippine islands are definitely ours, for a time at least, it behooves us to give them that scientific investigation which alone can afford a true guide to their proper management.”¹⁸ He characterized the Austrian as “an author who stands easily first among scientific writers,” and who was “positive [that Filipinos] are sufficiently advanced to be capable of independent self-government.”¹⁹ The

(Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1901), 123-41; and Ferdinand Blumentritt, “List of the Native Tribes of the Philippines and of the Languages Spoken by Them,” trans. O. T. Mason, *ibid.*, 143-63. These studies originally appeared as Rud. Virchow, “Die Bevölkerung der Philippinen,” *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* (1897): 279-89 & (1899): 14-26; and Ferd. Blumentritt, “Alphabetisches Verzeichnis der eingeborenen Stämme der Philippinen und der von ihnen gesprochenen Sprachen,” *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin* 25 (1890): 127-46.

¹⁶O. T. Mason, “The Mixed Filipinos,” *The Nation*, August, 31 1899, 169; and A. B. Meyer, *The Distribution of the Negritos in the Philippine Islands and Elsewhere*, trans. C. S. Fox (Dresden: Stengel & Co., 1899). Franz Boas gave the book a positive review in the journal of the American Anthropological Association. See Franz Boas, “Anthropologic Literature: *The Distribution of the Negritos in the Philippine Islands and Elsewhere*. By A. B. Meyer,” *American Anthropologist* 1 (1899): 777.

¹⁷The German scholar also published an English-language collection of photographs of Filipinos after the U.S. take-over. A. B. Meyer, ed., *Album von Philippinen-Typen. III. Negritos, Mangianen, Bagobos: Etwa 190 Abbildungen auf 37 Tafeln in Lichtdruck*, n.t. (Dresden: Stengel & Co., 1904). In it, Meyer wrote of the Aetas that “no doubt the Americans will ere long procure exhaustive material” about these people, illustrating his understanding of the links between U.S. empire and scientific study. *Ibid.*, 12.

¹⁸Daniel G. Brinton, “Professor Blumentritt’s Studies of the Philippines,” *American Anthropologist* 1 (1899): 122.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, 122 & 125.

Austrian published another study of the Philippines in German in 1900 that was translated into English in the same year.²⁰

In the translator's preface, the medical doctor and linguist David J. Doherty explained that Blumentritt's study demonstrated that the United States had no place in the Philippines. He hoped that the translation would grant his "countrymen before election day the opportunity of learning the opinions of a scholar who spent many years among the Filipinos, and who, by reason of his standing as a teacher of ethnology, is competent to speak about their ripeness for independence."²¹ He forgot to specify that Blumentritt had never actually traveled to the former Spanish colony and that he was a high school teacher, but Doherty's anti-colonial stance apparently required enhancing Blumentritt's credibility. He compared the U.S. occupation of the Philippines to the history of slavery in the United States before concluding with the questions: "Have we a right to tax an alien people without representation? Have we a right to govern them without their consent? Have we any more right to make a colony than to make a king?"²² Doherty's appropriation of German science sought to appeal to U.S. national and anti-imperialist values, an effort underscored by Blumentritt's inclusion of articles from the Philippine Constitution, which were included in the English translation and irrefutably showed the Filipinos' capacity for self-government.

Despite the efforts of the anti-imperialists, the United States took over the Philippines. In 1903, the U.S. Senate published a bibliography of materials related to the former Spanish colony that revealed the intention to use comprehensive knowledge of the Philippines for ruling the

²⁰Ferdinand Blumentritt, *Die Philippinen: Eine übersichtliche Darstellung der ethnographischen und historisch-politischen Verhältnisse des Archipels* (Hamburg: A. G., 1900); and Ferdinand Blumentritt, *The Philippines: A Summary Account of their Ethnographical, Historical and Political Conditions*, trans. David J. Doherty (Chicago: Donahue Brothers, 1900).

²¹Blumentritt, *The Philippines*, 4.

²²Ibid., 5. A review of the English-language edition of Blumentritt's study stated that its publication "is to be welcomed at this time as shedding the pure light of scientific investigation on a subject that partisan prejudice has clouded over." Wallace Rice, "The Philippine Question Per Se," *The Dial*, December 1, 1900, 422.

islands. The general introduction described the compilation of writings as a joint venture between the Bureau of Insular Affairs of the War Department and the Library of Congress that began immediately following the “acquisition of the Philippines by the United States.” The accumulation of information appeared to be an extension of military operations against Spain, since after the 1898 “capture of Manila investigations were made of the resources of the Library on the Philippines and steps taken to acquire important works and fill in gaps.”²³

In the collection of works on the Philippines, the German scholars stood out prominently. The introduction to the list of writings portrayed Jagor’s study as “one of the most valuable descriptive accounts of the islands” and noted of the German that he “made scientific investigations and gives accurate accounts of the natural features and the people of the islands as he saw them in 1859-60.”²⁴ Later, the introduction pointed out that “among the writers on the ethnology of the Philippines are to be particularly mentioned Blumentritt, Meyer, Reyes y Florentino, Schadenberg, Semper, and Virchow.”²⁵ It also suggested general works by the Germans Adolf Bastian and Theodor Waitz that included information on the Philippines.²⁶ The bibliography contained numerous additional citations of German-language studies of the Philippines, including those by Hans Meyer, Wilhelm Joest, and Richard Drasche.

Studies by Filipinos were also among the sources listed in the bibliography, which illustrated the attempt to appropriate their work for the U.S. colonial project. As indicated above, the ethnological investigations of Isabelo de los Reyes were considered important for understanding

²³The Library of Congress and the Bureau of Insular Affairs, War Department, *57th Congress, 2nd Session, Senate, Document No. 74: Bibliography of the Philippine Islands* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1903), v.

²⁴*Ibid.*, xvii-xviii.

²⁵*Ibid.*, xix.

²⁶These were Adolf Bastian, *Reisen im Indischen Archipel: Singapore, Batavia, Manilla und Japan*, vol. 5 of *Die Voelker des Oestlichen Asien: Studien und Reisen*, (Jena: Hermann Costenoble, 1869); and Theodor Waitz, *Anthropologie der Naturvölker, Fünfter Theil, Die Völker der Südsee: Ethnographisch und culturhistorisch dargestellt*, Erstes Heft, “Die Malaien” (Leipzig: Friedrich Fleischer, 1865).

Filipino peoples and the bibliography also included writings by José Rizal, Pedro Paterno, Mariano Ponce, Pedro Serrano, and Pio Mondragon. Historians of the Philippines have examined the U.S. appropriation of Rizal as a figure representative of progress that the United States used to symbolize its own image in the islands.²⁷ The inclusion of Filipinos' works in the bibliography operated similarly in that it associated U.S. colonization with sympathy for Filipinos, science, and an absence of prejudice.²⁸

Just as the Americans appropriated Rizal and other Filipinos for their image of a civilizing mission in the islands, Filipino leaders soon did the same with the figure of Blumentritt to reassert the bond between science and Filipino culture that underscored their ability to rule themselves. Following the death of the Austrian scholar in 1913, the Philippine Assembly published a pamphlet describing Blumentritt's life and writings about the Philippines. It also included the Assembly's resolution to produce the pamphlet, a letter from the Assembly Speaker Sergio Osmeña eulogizing the scholar, a speech by the "Resident Commissioner" and future Philippine Commonwealth President Manuel L. Quezon on Blumentritt, a list of resolutions of condolences by the provincial heads of the Philippines, newspaper accounts of the passing of the Austrian, a statement by the Spanish historian Miguel de Morayta, and an announcement of the establishment of a Blumentritt Association that included Mariano Ponce.²⁹ After the 1903 U.S.

²⁷John N. Schumacher, *The Making of a Nation: Essays on Nineteenth-Century Filipino Nationalism* (Manila: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1991), 116-18; and Floro C. Quibuyen, *A Nation Aborted: Rizal, American Hegemony, and Philippine Nationalism* (Manila: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2008), esp. ch. 10 "Remaking Philippine History: American Hegemony, Official Nationalism and the Rizal Cult," 282-345.

²⁸In the preface to a collection of republished works on the Philippines in English, including studies by Jagor and Virchow, the editor described Rizal's "influence" by the former, a "friend and counsellor in his maturer years" of the Filipino nationalist. Austin Craig, ed., *The Former Philippines thru Foreign Eyes* (New York: D. Appleton, 1917), iv.

²⁹La Secretaría de la Asamblea Filipina, *Asamblea filipina, tercera legislatura, segundo periodo extraordinario de sesiones, documento no. 6633—A1: vida y obras de Ferdinand Blumentritt* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1914).

victory in the Philippine-American War, the guns of German science fell silent, though their influence can still be felt today, particularly in anthropology.³⁰

This dissertation reveals intersections between science, colonialism, and nationalism by looking at their interconnections in Germany, Spain, and the Philippines in the second half of the nineteenth-century. German science produced in a Spanish colony anticipated German imperialism. Also, imperialist networks, including those involving informal German colonialism, supported the production of German natural history and anthropology in the Philippines. Finally, the translation of German scholarship operated as a colonial technology to assist Spanish empire in the islands. At the same time, the creation of knowledge in and about a colony also became an outlet for nationalism in Germany, Spain, and the Philippines. While German scholars' critiques of Spanish knowledge shared attitudes with anti-Catholicism in Germany, Spanish writers conversely viewed Germany as a political rival and source of subversive ideas. Filipino scholars used science as a form of authority that attempted to demonstrate their superiority to the Spanish colonizers. As readily as nationalist and colonialist ideologies employ science to back up their claims, however, they are seemingly only as effective as the military, political, and economic forces which drive them.

³⁰See, for example, Filomeno V. Aguilar, Jr., "Tracing Origins: Ilustrado Nationalism and the Racial Science of Migration Waves," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 64, no. 3 (2005): 605-37; and Eric S. Casiño, "Father Rudolf Rahmann, SVD and the European Connection in Philippine Anthropology," *Philippine Quarterly of Culture & Society* 13 (1985): 253-61.

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