

LITERATURE IN SPANISH

Philippine literature in Spanish includes all the poems, stories, novels, and essays written by Filipinos in the Spanish language. This literature began as a tool in the religious and political conquest of the Philippines in the 16th century, but eventually blossomed into a literature of protest against the Spanish colonizers from 1885 to 1896 and later the American rulers, from 1899 to the 1930s.

Poetry

The earliest known samples of Philippine poetry in Spanish appeared in the first decade of the 17th century, less than 40 years after the introduction of Spanish culture in the islands, apparently under the guidance of the Dominican priest Francisco Blancas de San Jose. His religious books featured the verses of his printers, the Chinese immigrant Juan de Vera, and the Bulaqueño Fernando Bagongbanta. De Vera's "Gracias a los castellanos" (Thanks to the Spaniards), 1602, tells of his coming to Manila in search of food and peace and his conversion to Christianity.

Other Chinese versifiers in Binondo were Jose Ma. Nicaisay, who wrote "Manila preciosissima" (Most Precious Manila), 1606, Tomas Chui Dian, who wrote "Corre en mis venas sangre celestial" (Heavenly Blood Runs in My Veins), 1613, and Carlos Calao, who wrote "Que Dios le perdone" (May God Forgive Him), 1614. Their verses centered on two themes: the Catholic religion and *hispanidad* (all things Spanish).

Ladino or bilingual poets also published their interlinear verses in Tagalog and Spanish with religious and hispanidad themes. These themes would recur through the centuries in Philippine poetry in Spanish. Ladino poetry persisted for almost a century, if not longer. Bagongbanta's bilingual verses, published in 1604, celebrate Spain's material and spiritual contributions to the islands—the Catholic religion, corn, tomatoes, wheat, and potatoes. In 1610 Tomas Pinpin published his Spanish grammar for the use of the Tagalog. In one of his poems, he espoused national unity by exhorting the different Philippine tribes to embrace the Cross, learn Spanish, and be loyal to the king. He, like Bagongbanta, also composed ladino poems. Other ladino poems were published by Pedro Suarez Ossorio in 1638, Pedro Bukaneg in 1638, Gaspar Aquino de Belen in 1704, and Felipe de Jesus in 1708. Francisco Baltazar could well be our greatest ladino poet as evidenced by his composition "Paalam Na Sa Iyo" (Farewell To You), a poem of superb and delicate quality.

In the 19th century, a call for reforms was made by creole and mestizo writers Luis Rodriguez Varela, Pedro Pelaez, Juan de Atayde, and Jose A. Burgos. Creole poetry's earliest expression is *El parnaso filipino* (The Filipino Parnassus), 1813, a collection of Luis Varela's poems. Its fame lies less on its literary quality

than on its political statement: the need for unity among the peninsulars, creoles, mestizos, and *indios* (native Filipinos) who comprised the Filipino nation.

In 1879, the Liceo Artístico-Literario sponsored a literary contest open to all peninsular, creole, and native writers. The winners in the poetry division were the *peninsulares* Eusebio A. Escobar and Gualterino Marino Seco, the creole Jose Juan de Icaza, and the natives Mariano Romasanta and Jose Rizal. Rizal's winning piece was "A la juventud filipina" (To the Filipino Youth). Second to Rizal as literary figures were Graciano Lopez Jaena, Marcelo H. del Pilar, Pedro A. Paterno, and Antonio Luna. Other writers of the period were Mariano Ponce, Antonio Ma. Regidor, Isabelo de los Reyes, Gregorio Sancianco, Jose Ma. Panganiban, and Eduardo Lete.

In 1880 Luis Arnedo published Pedro Paterno's *Sampaguitas y varias poesias* (Sampaguitas and Other Poems), which was to be the first volume of a project, *Biblioteca Filipina*, which was never realized. From Rizal's maturing pen came gems like "Me piden versos" (They Asked Me for Verses), 1882; "A las flores de Heidelberg" (To the Flowers of Heidelberg), 1886; and "El canto de Maria Clara" (The Song of Maria Clara), 1887. Rizal's poetry would blossom in 1895 with his "Mi retiro" (My Retreat), considered as one of his best works. It was also in 1895 that Fernando Ma. Guerrero published "Borja ante el cadaver de la emperatriz Isabel" (Borja Before the Corpse of Empress Isabel) and Cecilio Apostol published "El terror de los mares indicos" (The Terror of the Indian Seas).

In 1896 Rizal wrote his valedictory poem, "Mi ultimo adios" (My Last Farewell), which has been translated into many languages. Emilio Jacinto's "A la patria" (To the Native Land), 1897, and Jose Palma's "En la ultima pagina del Noli" (On the Last Page of the Noli), 1898, were only the first poems of a tradition inspired by Rizal's martyrdom and works.

When *La Solidaridad*, the novels of Rizal, and other works that awakened the Filipino national conscience failed to move the Spanish government, the call for reforms was transformed into a cry for freedom. But revolutionary literature in Spanish did not get published until Antonio Luna founded the newspaper *La Independencia* in 1898. Among its staff were Fernando Ma. Guerrero, Cecilio Apostol, and Jose Palma, who would become the poets of the war against America. Another excellent poet of this period was Manuel Ramirez Cabrera.

Undoubtedly, Guerrero had a mastery of form, technique, and language. So did Apostol, whose "A los anonimos martires de la patria" (To the Anonymous Martyrs of the Country) and "Al heroe Nacional" (To the National Hero), 1898, became classics. Palma provided the lyrics of the Philippine National Anthem with "Filipinas." His other poems, such as, "Ven, oh paz!" (Come, oh Peace!), "Mi caida" (My Fall), "El kundirnan" (The *Kundiman*), and "De mi jardin" (From My Garden) are literary gems of great value. Guerrero would dominate lyric poetry, and Apostol, the epic.

Two other excellent poets were Manuel Romero and Carlos Peñaranda. Their impressive works, however, failed in comparison with the works of Guerrero, Apostol, and Palma. Romero and Peñaranda were not attuned to the new aspirations of the people.

With the beginning of the American colonial period, love for country was expressed in the themes of hispanidad and filipinidad. The defence, conservation, and promotion of the nation's hispanic heritage, especially the Spanish language and the Catholic religion, became an expression of resistance to Americanization. Poems that were paeans to the country were written. Descriptions of its scenery, its golden traditions, its heroes, the virtues of the Malay race, and hispanic culture embodied the poets' patriotism. Guerrero and Apostol, and later, Jesus Balmori, Manuel Bernabe, Claro M. Recto, Teodoro M. Kalaw, Macario Adriatico, Manuel Ravago, Tirso Irureta Goyena, Enrique Fernandez Lumba, and others would condemn the new western morality and exalt hispanidad, even as the country sank deeper and deeper into *sajonismo* of the American rule.

The Golden Age of Philippine poetry in Spanish is evident in the poems, columns, and polemics in verses published in newspapers and magazines, and in the literary contests held during the first four decades of the century. *Balagtasan* type poetic jousts in Spanish were held between Balmori and Bernabe, Balmori and Marfori, Guerrero and Apostol, Bernabe and Hilario, Bernabe and Zaragoza Cano, and Bernabe and Valdes on topics of contemporary interest. Pacifico Victoriano won three literary prizes in 1903, 1904, and 1909; Balmori won all three prizes in a contest in 1908; Recto won the Casa de España prize in 1917; Adelina Gurrea won in the Casino Español contest in 1919. The Zobel Prize was awarded to Bernabe in 1925, Bernabe and Balmori in 1926, Flavio Zaragoza Cano in 1929, Victoriano in 1931, Francis Villanueva Jr. in 1934, Gurrea in 1935, Ramon Escoda in 1936, and Antonio Fernandez in 1937. Balmori won the 1940 Commonwealth Literary Award for poetry.

Individual collections were published: *Vibraciones* (Vibrations), 1899, by Ramirez Cabrera; *Rimas Malayas* (Malay Rimes), 1904, by Balmori; *Bajo los cocoteros* (Under the Coconut Trees), 1911, by Claro M. Recto; *Adelfas* (Rosebays), 1913, by Zoilo Hilario; *Luzonicas* (Luzon Poems), 1911, by Vicente Bautista; *Melancolicas* (Sad Verses), 1912, by Palma; *Crisalidas* (Chrysalises), 1914, by Guerrero; *Patria y redencion* (Country and Redemption), 1914, by Hilario; *Aromas de ensueño* (Dream Scents), 1915, by Isidro Marfori; *Arias de primavera* (Airs of Spring), 1915, by Victoriano; *Cadencias* (Cadences), 1917, by Marfori; *Intimas* (Innermost Things), 1919, by Valdes Pica; *De mi jardin sinfonico* (From My Symphonic Garden), 1921, by Jose Hernandez Gavira; *A la Laguna de Bai* (To Laguna Bay), 1921 by Fernando Canon; *De Mactan a Tirad* (From Mactan to Tirad), 1921, by Flavio Zaragoza Cano; *Rubaiyat de Omar Khayyam*, 1923, by Bernabe; *El libro de mis vidas manileñas* (The Book of My Manila Lives), 1928, by Balmori; *Emocionario* (Emotionary) by Francisco Zaragoza Carillo; *Cantos*

del tropico (Songs of the Tropics), 1929, by Bernabe; *Cantame un canto en español* (Sing Me a Spanish Song), 1934, and *Mi copa bohemia* (My Bohemian Cup), 1937, by Hernandez Gavira; *Pentelicas* (White Marble), 1941, by Apostol; and *Rosas de amor* (Roses of Love), 1917, and *Lineas finales* (Final Lines), by Tirso Irureta Goyena.

Other poets were Anselmo de Jesus, Norberto Romualdez, Lorenzo Perez Tuells, Tomas Tirona, Jose Lauchengco, Alberto Campos, Esteban Nedruda, Jesus Casuso, Leoncio Magno, Monico Mercado, Juan Reyes, Jose G. Reyes, Jose Teotico, Vicente Pelaez, Antonio Zacarias, and Emeterio Barcelon.

With the entrenchment of an Americanized culture in the Philippines through the public school system, the entry of British and American literature, and the spread of the English language, poetry in Spanish declined. The Spanish literary tradition of the Philippines since its beginning in the 17th century had stressed patriotism, religion, and hispanidad—themes which spurred it to greatness, but eventually also—stunted its growth.

World War II generally had a devastating effect on literature in all languages. However, it also inspired two of the most moving poems in Spanish: Bernabe's "Romeria de la muerte" (Pilgrimage of Death) and "Bataan! Corregidor!" Bernabe was crowned National Poet in Spanish in 1950. A prestigious literary award was the Premio Zobel, which was given to Vicente de Jesus in 1953, Gurrea in 1956, Esperanza Lazaro de Baxter in 1957, Fernando de la Concepcion in 1960, Zaragoza Carillo in 1961, and Benito Valdez Vaccani in 1966. Posthumous collections were published: Rizal's *Poesias* (Poems), 1961; and Guerrero's *Aves y flores* (Birds and Flowers), 1971.

More individual collections were published: Hernandez Gavira's *Mi bandera* (My Flag), 1945; Jose Montes' *Bajo el cielo de Manila* (Under the Manila Skies), 1943; Bernardo Garcia's *Al pie del Mayon* (At the Foot of Mayon), 1953; Remigio Jocson's *Luciernagas* (Glowworms), 1953; Gurrea's *A lo largo del camino* (Along the Road), 1954, *En agraz* (Unripeness), 1968, and *Mas senderos* (More Paths), 1967; Guerrero Zacarias' *Kaleidoscopio espiritual* (Spiritual Kaleidoscope), 1959; Barcelon and Zaragoza's *Rimas filipinas* (Filipino Verses), 1964. Critics consider Bernabe's *Perfil de cresta* (Profile of the Crest), 1957, the best of the lot.

Other writers tried to continue the literary tradition in Spanish: Guillermo Gomez Rivera, Angel Estrada, Edmundo Farolan, Eliodoro Ballesteros, and Federico Licsi Espino. However, except for the trilingual Licsi Espino, who won a Premio Bastierra in Spain in the 1960's for his *Tambor de sangre* (Percussive Blood), they failed to catch the attention of a steadily diminishing audience.

The Short Story

The Golden Age of Philippine literature in Spanish, 1900-1940, also saw the phenomenal growth of the Philippine short story in Spanish. Of all the literary types that flourished during this period, it was this genre that inspired the most numerous and the best writers. Many essayists, poets, dramatists, and newspaper editors tried their hand at the short story. Various literary contests stimulated the publication of short stories both in book form and in the literary sections of the newspapers, particularly *La Vanguardia*, *El Debate*, and *Nueva Era*.

Among the best writers of the period were Enrique Laygo, Buenaventura Rodriguez, Manuel S. Guerrero, Fernando Ma. Guerrero, Antonio M. Abad, Jesus Balmori, Francisco Rodriguez, Vicente del Rosario, Carlos Ledesma, Alejo Valdes Pica, and Evangelina Guerrero Zacarias. Those who wrote for *Renacimiento Filipino* were Jose Mariño, Angel Guerra, and Pascual Poblete.

Winners of literary contests were Laygo, Enrique Centenera, Vicente de Jesus, Marcelino Ocampo, Jose Hernandez Gavira, and Estanislao Alinea. Other writers were Epifanio de los Santos, Jose Teotico, Rafael and Miguel Ripoll, and Benigno del Rio. The most distinguished of these short story writers was Laygo, who won the Premio Zobel for his collection of short stories *Caretas* (Masks), 1925.

The most noteworthy collections of short stories, besides *Caretas*, were del Rio's *Prejuicio de raza* (Racial Prejudice), 1940, and Evangelina Guerrero Zacarias' *Primicias* (First Fruits), 1935. At this time, there also appeared two new forms of the short story: the *instantanea* or *rafaga*, a brief anecdote or account of incidents, and the *prosa romantica* or romantic prose, full of figures of speech and flowering phrases. Jesus Balmori excelled in these new forms.

The stories are distinct in kind and content. There are memorable stories about love, as in Balmori's "Redencion" (Redemption), 1900; Mariño's "Los fugitivos" (The Fugitives), 1922; and Alinea's "Amor inmortal" (Immortal Love), 1939. "El suegro de Kokumura" (The Father-in-Law of Kokumura), 1904, by Manuel Guerrero, and "La cara del diablo" (The Face of the Devil), 1903, are humorous and satiric. Abad's "Fotogenia" (Photogenic), 1939, and Maria del Rosario's "El pasado se compra" (The Past Can Be Bought), 1936, emphasize the double standards of morality. There are also vivid character sketches blended with local color, some of which embody moral criticism, like Pascual H. Poblete's "Capitan Ipe, el caritativo" (Captain Ipe, the Charitable), 1917.

The background of these stories is varied. There are stories about provincial life as in Rodriguez's "Nelia," 1912, Luna's "La maestra de mi pueblo" (The Teacher of My Town), 1927, Mariño's "El bandolero" (The Bandit), 1911, and Alinea's "Amor inmortal" (Immortal Love), 1939. Other stories are about the rich and the working class in the city, such as Mariño's "Paralelismo" (Parallelism), 1913,

Valdes Pica's "El caso Gonzales" (The Case of Conzales), 1935, and Bernabe's "El maestro que paro en la carcel" (The Teacher Who Ended Up in jail), 1936. The more sordid aspects of city life are portrayed in Rodriguez's "Cajita roja" (Red Box), 1934, and Wenceslao Flores' "La limosna" (The Alms), 1939.

The stories are about ordinary characters: teachers, bank clerks, office workers, artists, politicians, barrio officials, fugitives, beggars, sweepstakes vendors, priests, prostitutes, and lepers. These characters are placed in dramatic situations, sometimes involving death, as in Balmori's "Tormenta" (Torment), 1906, and Rodriguez's "Nelia"; or betrayal, as in Mariño's "Paralelismo."

In other stories, the characters are confronted with the harsh truth and forced to live with it, as in "Redencion" (Redemption), 1900, by Balmori, and Hernandez Gavira's "Cuando el amor muere" (When Love Dies), 1929. These characters appeal to our sympathies because they struggle against the unjust restrictions of the social, moral, or even religious codes of the world in which they find themselves.

The stories are rendered in various forms. Mariño's "Los fugitivos" (The Fugitives), 1922, and "De tierras ignotas: la leyenda de los cinco hermanos" (Unknown Lands: The Legend of the Five Brothers), 1910, are examples of Muslim legends. Abad's "El dolor del viejo campeon" (The Anguish of the Old Champion), 1925, and Balmori's "Los ojos que cerro la gloria" (The Price of Glory), 1918, are beast fables. Mariño's "El bandolero" (Highwayman) is a frame story. Luna's "La maestra de mi pueblo" (The Lady Teacher of My Town), and Fernando Ma. Guerrero's "La loca errabunda" (The Wandering Mad Woman), 1928, are character sketches. Josefa Diaz's "Yo soy casi honorable" (I Am Almost Honorable Already), 1931, is in the epistolary form. Balmori's "Bienaventurados los humildes" (Blessed Are the Meek), 1941, is a type of nature story in debate form.

These short stories belong to no classifiable school. They are transcripts of experience directly observed by the writers and set down with such simplicity and fidelity that they become in themselves unforgettable experiences. They strongly resemble the short stories of the French writers Alphonse Daudet, Guy de Maupassant, and Prosper Merimee in their concern for the middle and lower classes, their sympathy for their wretchedness, their attention to the immediate situation of the lives of the characters, and their emphasis on moral issues.

These stories give the readers a panoramic view of life during the American colonial and Commonwealth periods. All of them, whether serious or humorous, emphasize the moral concerns of the writers and display the writers' mastery of the Spanish language.

The Novel

The history of the Philippine novel in Spanish begins with Pedro Paterno's *Ninay: Costumbres Filipinas* (Ninay: Filipino Customs), 1885, and probably closes with Centenera's *Tomor-Cheg*, serialized in *El Debate* in 1969. Of the fewer than a dozen novelists in Spanish, four names stand out: Jose Rizal, Pedro Paterno, Jesus Balmori, and Antonio Abad. The rest are Estanislao Alinea, Enrique Centenera, Cesar Mercader, Miguel Ripoll, Rafael Ripoll, and Anastacio Teodoro.

Paterno's *Ninay* was written and first published in Spain. *Ninay*'s principal influences were the Spanish prose narratives, which sketched regional Spanish types and customs in the style known as *costumbrismo*. Focusing on vignettes and short pictorial descriptions, these narratives treated the plot as secondary to the detailed description of country customs. This attention to local customs is seen in Paterno's *Ninay*, whose tortuous plot incorporates descriptions of the *pasiyam* (nine-night prayers for the dead) and the pilgrimage to Antipolo.

Perhaps the most important Spanish influence on the Philippine novel tradition in Spanish is Benito Perez Galdos, whose *Doña Perfecta*, 1876, has striking similarities with Rizal's *Noli Me Tangere*. A strong social satire against Spanish clericalism and hypocrisy, *Doña Perfecta* has the same basic plot as the *Noli*. A young man educated in a foreign country arrives in his homeland which he realizes is very backward. He has come for his fiancée, the daughter of a rich and influential native. His homecoming is ominous because of the powerful presence of priests who direct the conscience and social affairs of the citizens. The priests are hypocritical, meddling, ignorant, and conservative. The young man is liberal and free thinking. The opposition is radical and the young man not only fails to marry his fiancée and change the ideas of his opponents; he is also overcome and effectively frustrated. The *Noli* ends with the hero Ibarra's escape.

In *El Filibusterismo* (Subversion), 1891, Ibarra, after 13 years abroad returns to the Philippines disguised as Simoun. He has made a huge fortune, which he will now use to avenge himself on his enemies, and rescue from the cloister his sweetheart Maria Clara. Again, he is frustrated, and the novel ends with Simoun's suicide. Both novels had an important social function—that of sociopolitical criticism. They also helped to forge unity among Filipinos of different regions, which in turn contributed to the outbreak and triumph of the Revolution.

Thirty years after *Ninay*, Paterno published a collection of his *novelas* (narratives) under the title *Aurora social*, 1910. This collection consisted of *El alma Filipina* (The Filipino Soul), *Amor de un dia* (A Day's Love), *Boda a la moderna* (Modern Wedding), *Maring: amor del obrero Filipino* (Maring: Love of the Filipino Worker), *Los heraldos de la raza* (Heralds of the Race), and *Los amores de Antipolo* (The Loves of Antipolo). These *novelas* use melodramatic plots to explore social problems such as poverty, the corruption of the rich, the unjust treatment of the labor class, and the abusiveness and irresponsibility of the

capitalist class. More important perhaps than Paterno are Francisco de Paula Entrala and Jose Felipe del Pan, both prolific writers. Their novelas dealt with Philippine society and its customs. Guillermo Gomez Windham won the Zobel Prize in 1922 for *La Carrera De Candida*, banner title of two short novels, six short stories, and three articles. Novels were serialized in the newspapers of the period. Among them were those written by women novelists like Antonia Rodriguez de Ureta and Ana Garcia Latorre.

A number of novelists emerged during the American period: Luis F. Nolasco, Antonio Abad, A.R. Teodoro, Buenaventura Rodriguez, Estanislao Alinea, and Enrique Centenera. One novelist from Pampanga was Jose Flaviano Sanchez.

Jesus Balmori wrote three novels: *Bancarrota de almas* (The Bankruptcy of Souls), 1910, *Se deshojo la flor* (The Flower Was Stripped of Its Petals), 1915, and the unpublished *Los pajaros de fuego* (The Fire Birds). These are conceived and executed in a romantic structure with romantic subjects and a romantic style. *Bancarrota's* romantic hero is a poet who dies from consumption. His pregnant sweetheart enters into a marriage of convenience, vowing that she will always love her poet-lover. A more convoluted plot is that of *Se deshojo*, which follows the numerous affairs of a married man who is also an artist with a bohemian spirit. His suffering wife dies from consumption; unable to find peace, he eventually kills himself.

Antonio M. Abad wrote four novels, three of which won literary prizes: *El ultimo romantico* (The Last Romantic), 1927, Premio Zobel, honorable mention; *La oveja de nathan* (Nathan's Sheep), 1929, Premio Zobel; *El campeon* (The Champion), 1939, Commonwealth Literary Award; and *La vida secreta de Daniel Espeña* (The Secret Life of Daniel Espeña), 1960. These novels reveal Abad's concern with and insight into current events of historical significance. *La oveja*, set in the 1920s, explores the independence question, denounces Western materialism, unmasks American duplicity, and condemns American imperialism. The concerns of Abad's last novel, *Daniel Espeña*, are more metaphysical as he raises questions about the salvation of the soul and the wages of sin. David Evangelista, a hardened criminal, changes his name to Daniel Espeña to escape the law. He marries a pious woman and donates large sums of money to charity. But the purgation of his soul lasts through three generations, and through terrible catastrophes both moral and natural, with all the heartaches attendant upon these. Costumbrismo is still evident in this last Filipino novel in Spanish, such as in the numerous notes on scientific names of plants and the detailed depiction of *tulisanes* (bandits) who rob and kill on the Visayan highway.

The Essay

The essay in Spanish began in the 17th century with the publication by the Spanish missionaries of meditations, translations, studies on the Philippine languages, and explanations of Christian tenets. Dominican friar Francisco Blancas de San Jose wrote *Arte y reglas de la lengua tagala* (The Art and Rules of the Tagalog Language), 1610, which is the first attempt to codify the rules of writing and speaking Tagalog.

The learning of the Spanish language, with the aid of grammar and vocabulary manuals, opened up several avenues for the expository prose in Spanish written by Filipinos: the *memorias* (memoirs), *reseñas* (resumes), *informes* (accounts), and *memoriales* (reports to evoke response from the authorities). Either official or private in nature, these essays covered topics such as politics, religion, technology, and others.

In the 19th century, the Reform Movement used the essay form as a means to present issues, expose and condemn Spanish abuses, and provoke the people into action. The strong nationalist sentiments produced not only editorials, columns, and feature articles, but also letters, diaries, sermons, speeches, travelogues, *papeles volantes* (loose sheets), and *prosa poetica* (poetic prose).

The literature of the Reform Movement was essentially a profession of adherence and loyalty to Spain, an appeal to Spain's sense of justice and a strong protest against friar rule. Because it was addressed to the Spanish government and because its writers were in Madrid and Barcelona, where they wrote the essays, most of the works were written in Spanish.

The Reform Movement may be said to have begun at the turn of the 19th century, with Luis Rodriguez Varela's *Proclama historical que para animar a los vasallos a que defiendan a su Rey del furor de su falso amigo, Napoleon, primer Emperador de los Franceses* (Historical Proclamation Which Aims to Exhort the Vassals to Defend Their King From the Ire of His False Friend, Napoleon, First Emperor of the French), 1809, which already expressed the beginnings of a Filipino consciousness. A model of "pulpit oratory" was 6th Pedro Pelaez's *Colecciones de sermones* (A Collection of Sermons), 1869. Pelaez was the leading exponent of the secularization of the Philippine parishes, and he published his articles of protest in the Madrid newspaper, *El Clamor Publico*. However, his follower, 6th Jose Burgos, is better known for the work *Manifiesto de los leales filipinos en defensa de su honra y fidelidad* (Manifesto of the Loyal Filipinos in Defence of Their Honor and Faithfulness), 1864.

An early figure in the Propaganda Movement was Gregorio Sancianco, who was the first Filipino to write a treatise on Philippine problems, *El progreso de Filipinas* (The Progress of Filipinas), 1881. A part of the book builds a defence of the small farmer, whose apathy caused by abuse and exploitation, is often mistaken for indolence. This later became Rizal's source for his own essay, "Sobre la indolencia de los Filipinos" (On the Indolence of the Filipinos), 1890.

Rizal delivered his first political speech when Juan Luna and Felix Resurreccion Hidalgo won in an international painting contest in 1884 in Madrid. He published his articles in the Movement's periodical, *La Solidaridad*, 1889-1890. His versatility is seen in his combative "La verdad para todos" (Truth for All), his bitterness in "Ingratitudes" (Ingratitude), and his acute sense of history in the prophetic "Filipinas dentro de cien años" (The Philippines Within a Century). His satirical essays "La vision de Fray Rodriguez" (A Vision of 6th Rodriguez), "Por telefono" (By Telephone), and "Una visita del Señor a las Filipinas" (First Visit of Our Lord to the Philippines) all criticize the obscurantism of the friars in the Philippines.

A conscious attempt to grapple with the concept of "Filipino" is found in Pedro Paterno's series of works, 1887-1892, which exalt the people's prehispanic civilization. *La antigua civilizacion Tagalog* (Ancient Tagalog Civilization), 1887, depicts the people as highly civilized even before the Spaniards came; *El Cristianismo en la antigua civilizacion Tagalog* (Christianity in Ancient Tagalog Civilization), 1892, equates indigenous religious beliefs and practices with Christian doctrines and rituals. Other books by Paterno are pseudo-ethnographic studies of Filipino marriage customs, morality, and the Tagalog political structure. The best features of Paterno's rhetoric are contained in his inspiring inaugural speech at the Malolos Congress on 15 September 1898.

Marcelo H. del Pilar's *La soberania monacal en Filipinas* (The Monastic Sovereignty in the Philippines), 1888, is a brilliant analysis of the power of the friars in the Philippines—in the economic, political, and religious spheres. *La frailocracia Filipina* (Philippine Friarcrazy), 1889, makes a forcefully logical denunciation of friar rule.

Graciano Lopez Jaena's speeches and articles were collected in the book *Discursos y articulos varios* (Speeches and Various Articles), 1891. First and foremost an orator, Lopez Jaena wrote articles which were often florid and oratorical, but which also reveal an eclectic knowledge of the Philippines, as seen in his survey of the colony's agricultural products and a proposal for an arts and trade curriculum. His *Fray Botod*, circa 1889, a sarcastic description of a "typical" friar in the Visayas, is considered his masterpiece.

Collections of essays during this period include Antonio Luna's *Impresiones* (Impressions), 1891; Jose Felipe del Pan's *Hay que vivir!* (One Has to Live), 1884, Carlos Peñaranda's *Prosa* (Prose), 1893; and E. Polo de Lara's *Tipos y costumbres* (Types and Customs), 1897. Antonio Luna's editorials in the newspaper that he founded, *La Independencia*, called for independence from Spain, and later from America. While *La Independencia* was revolutionary, *Republica Filipina* was conservative. Its staff was composed of writers like Paterno, Manuel Xerez Burgos, Leon Luis, and Manuel Guerrero.

Apolinario Mabini lived through both the revolution against Spain and the Filipino-American War. “El verdadero decalogo” (The True Decalogue), which he translated himself into Tagalog as “Ang Tunay na Sampung Utos” (The True Ten Commandments), expressed his concept of a democratic Filipino government and citizenry. His “Ordenanzas de la Revolucion” (Ordinances of the Revolution) was used by General Emilio Aguinaldo as a basis for the program of the revolutionary government established on 12 June 1898.

An essay aptly depicting the temper of the *ilustrados* at the height of the Filipino revolutionaries’ victory and showing the generation gap at the turn of the century is “Venerables Puputs” (The Venerable *Puputs*), 1898, by Manuel Guerrero. It is an anticlerical piece in the tradition of the satires of Rizal, Lopez Jaena, and M. H. del Pilar. It pokes fun at colonial mentality and religious fanaticism as personified by two spinsters and a married woman well placed in society. They are convinced that the *insurrectos* are masons because of the triangle and the three points on their flag; and they lament the release of the Jesuits from prison instead of the friars. Serving as foil is the married one’s 15-year-old granddaughter, a free spirit who finds these three religious devotees laughable.

Isabelo de los Reyes began writing during the time of the Reform Movement, and then continued writing well into the American colonial period. Like Pedro Paterno, he used history to express his nationalism; but, unlike Paterno, his historical accounts were more carefully and accurately researched. His books consist of *Historia de Ilocos* (History of Ilocos), 1890, two volumes of *El folklore Filipino* (Filipino Folklore), 1889, *Las Islas Visayas en la epoca de la conquista* (The Visayan Islands in the Time of Conquest), 1889, and *Historia de Filipinas* (The History of the Philippines), 1889. De los Reyes, who wrote in both Spanish and Ilocano, founded *El Ilocano*, in 1889, first regional paper established by a Filipino. It published articles in both Spanish and Ilocano. American colonialism began almost immediately after the Filipinos had won their independence from Spain. The nationalist tradition in writing in Spanish, begun by the Propaganda Movement, was fueled by this turn of events. Defiance of the new rulers ran high and was expressed in historical accounts, memoirs, and biographies of patriots. De los Reyes wrote his *Sensacional memoria sobre la Revolucion Filipina* (Sensational Account of the Philippine Revolution), 1899, while confined at the Bilibid. Other memorias were written by Apolinario Mabini, Felipe Calderon, Teodoro M. Kalaw, and other patriots. Biographies were written by Manuel Artigas, Teodoro M. Kalaw, Rafael Palma, Mariano Ponce, Jaime C. de Veyra, and Epifanio de los Santos. Kalaw’s romanticized biography of Gregorio del Pilar may be considered the most literary of the crop.

From 1900 to the 1950s, the essay in Spanish continued to enjoy great popularity. Subjects were on folklore, literature, social, political, and religious problems. It was a formidable tool for forming public opinion. Patriotic works were written by Trinidad Pardo de Tavera and Manuel Guerrero, who wrote scientific essays; Leoncio Gonzalez Liqueste, who wrote technical essays; and Kalaw and Manuel Ravago, who wrote philosophical essays. In the early 20th

century, outstanding writers of the Spanish legacy were Rafael Palma, who wrote “El alma de España” (The Soul of Spain), 1900; Macario Adriatico, “Voto por el intercambio de ideas” (I Vote for the Exchange of Ideas), Tirso de Irureta Goyena, “Por el idioma y cultura hispanos” (For the Spanish Language and Culture), 1917, and Benigno del Rio.

Patriotic writings continued to appear in the papeles volantes of Anacleto Ramos and in newspapers like *La Patria*, *El Renacimiento*, *La Vanguardia*, *La Opinion*, *El Mercantil*, *El Debate*, and other magazines. The more significant essayists were Claro M. Recto, Teodoro M. Kalaw, Vicente Sotto, Epifanio C. de los Santos, Trinidad Pardo de Tavera, Jorge Bocobo, Rafael Palma, Fernando Ma. Guerrero, and Cecilio R. Apostol.

The newspaper *El Ideal* published a series of articles alternately written by Jaime C. de Veyra and Mariano Ponce, who both wanted to promote a national consciousness. These articles, written in 1911-1912, ranged over topics of social, historical, and political interest; these were then compiled in a book called *Efemerides Filipinas* (Philippine Almanac), 1914. Another columnist was Teodoro M. Kalaw, whose series of essays from 1926-1927 was called *Dietario espiritual*. While Kalaw’s fame was usually associated with the controversial editorial of Fidel Reyes, “Aves de rapiña” (Birds of Prey), 1908, his *Cinco reglas de nuestra moral antigua* (Five Perspectives From Our Ancient Morality), 1935, and *Hacia la tierra del Zar* (Towards the Land of the Czar), 1908, are of considerable literary merit.

Columnists were Jesus Balmori, Antonio M. Abad, and Benigno del Rio. As American rule became more firmly established, contrary positions were taken by the writers in Spanish. Pardo de Tavera attacked religious fanaticism in essays and speeches, like “El legado del ignorantismo” (The Legacy of Ignorantism). Nationalist and anti-American themes were tackled in the essays of Kalaw, Palma, and Irureta Coyena. Adriatico’s speeches stirred his audience, as did those of Sergio Osmeña, Manuel Quezon, and Claro M. Recto. Some of the more representative essays of the period are Recto’s “El castellano como factor de nuestra nacionalidad” (Spanish as a Factor of Our Nationality), Palma’s “Alma Mater,” 1950, Epifanio C. de los Santos’ *Filipinos y Filipinistas* (Filipinos and Filipinists), 1909, Vicente Sotto’s “Una rapida vuelta al mundo” (A Quick Trip Round the World), 1930, Jose G. Reyes’ “Ideales de humanidad” (Ideals of Humanity), 1933; and Luis Guzman Rivas’ “Pigmeos” (Pygmies), 1940.

The best essays in Spanish were those that exalted the virtues and heroism of the Filipino race, defended the hispanic legacy, and prophesied the coming of the new colonial masters. By the 1950s there was no longer any reason for such essays to be written. Still, there were some representative essays of this period: Enrique Fernandez Lumba’s *Hispanofilia filipina* (Philippine Love of Spain), 1954; Manuel Briones’ *Discursos y ensayos: Tematios y vida filipina* (Speeches and Essays: Philippine Themes and Life), 1955; Vicente Guzman Rivas’ *En España*

son asi (It's That Way in Spain), 1959; and Encarnacion Alzona's *El legado de España a Filipinas* (The Legacy of Spain to the Philippines), 1956. Recto's *El monroismo asiatico* (Asiatic Monroism), 1929, was thought to be the pinnacle of Philippine prose in Spanish until the publication of Recto's undelivered speeches in 1960. They were later published in a bilingual edition, *The Recto Vaedictory*, in 1985. This book, which carries an English translation by Nick Joaquin, is a compilation of Recto's speeches that he had intended to deliver in Madrid in 1960 when death stopped him in Rome. In the 1960s, the straightforward, almost belligerent style of Guillermo Gomez Rivera, best illustrated by his *Filipino: Origen y conotacion y otros ensayos* (Filipino: Origin and Connotation and Other Essays), 1966, contrasted strongly with the impeccable language and serene style of Fernandez Lumba and the flowing lyrical prose of Nilda Guerrero Barranco in *Nostalgias* (Nostalgia), 1969.

Epilogue

From 1900 to 1930, as the American insular government became firmly established throughout the islands, more than 200 newspapers and magazines were founded. These were successively established in Cebu, Iloilo, and Manila. *El Renacimiento*, *La Democracia*, *La Vanguardia*, *El Debate*, *La Opinion*, *El Comercio*, *El Mercantil*, *La Defensa*, and several magazines like *Renacimiento Filipino*, *Cultura Social*, *Cultura Filipina*, and *Excelsior* became the publishing outlets for literary works in Spanish. The American magazine *Philippines Free Press* would be in both Spanish and English for some time.

Plays and zarzuelas in Spanish were still being staged. Poetic jousts, polemics in verse, and literary contests were held. The Manila Grand Opera was filled to capacity when Balmori and Bernabe held a *balagtasan*. Novels were serialized. Verses, short stories, essays, dramas, and novels were published in book form. Speeches were delivered and songs were composed. *Tertulias* and *veladas* were celebrated. There were Filipino-produced movies in Spanish in the 1930s. These were all expressions of the Filipinos' continued resistance against the new masters. On the other hand, Paterno, through his plays, and Pardo de Tavera, through his essays and speeches, promoted the Americanization of the islands.

Recto, Apostol, Balmori, and Bernabe continued to dominate literature in Spanish; and Antonio Abad became a symbol of this tenacity to promote the Spanish language and literature. He wrote dramas, novels, short stories, essays. He won the first prizes in the 1940 Commonwealth literary contest in three categories—the novel, essay, and drama.

World War II devastated Philippine literature in Spanish. Newspapers and magazines diminished in number: *La Voz de Manila*, *El Debate*, and *Nueva Era* in Manila; *La Prensa* in Cebu; *Ahora* and *Veritas* in Iloilo; *Civismo* in Bacolod; and *El Sur* in Zamboanga. When Martial Law was declared in 1972, the only

remaining Spanish dailies would be *El Debate* and *Nueva Era*. That this stream of literature was drying up was also evident in the erratic results of the Premio Zobel. It ceased in 1942, and its revival in 1951 yielded only one entry: a poem in 31 verses. In 1955 and 1958, there were no entries. The contest was suspended from 1967 to 1973. Since 1975 it has ceased to be a literary award, the entries now dealing with sundry topics on the country's hispanic heritage.

Besides the survivors of the war, other writers continued to develop the prewar theme of hispanidad. But it was Bernabe and Recto who would remain as revered hispanic writers. When Recto and Bernabe died in 1960, the glorious age of Philippine literature in Spanish finally ended. But *El Maestro*, the organ of the newly organized Solidaridad Filipino-Hispana, served as an impetus for new writers: Guillermo Gomez Rivera, Conchita Huerta, and Federico Licsi Espino, among others.

The imposition of Martial Law in 1972 gave Spanish letters in the Philippines another blow. The only remaining prestigious Spanish daily then, *El Debate*, was closed along with the other dailies. In the succeeding years no work of literary merit would come out except for the essays and short stories of Nilda Guerrero Barranco and the poems of Federico Licsi Espino.

The Centro Cultural of the Spanish Embassy in Manila launched in 1985 an annual literary contest which encourages more research on Filipino-Spanish topics rather than literary creativity. Hispanidad in the Philippines is a thing of the past, and it would be impossible for Filipino writers to attain the heights of Philippine literature in Spanish reached by such giants as Rizal, Guerrero, Palma, Apostol, Recto, Balmori, Bernabe, and Abad. • E. Tiamson with P.E. Mariño, F. Hornedo and N.G. Tiongson.

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