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MONTJUICH

Tárrida's Crusade

Among the more than 300 people imprisoned at Montjuich in the aftermath of the Corpus Christi bombing of June 7, 1896, most were still there when Rizal joined them for that one night in early October. The key exception was the remarkable Cuban creole Fernando Tárrida del Mármol, Rizal's exact age-mate, whom we last encountered accompanying Errico Malatesta on his abortive political tour of Spain at the time of the Jérez *émeute* of 1892. Arrested late – July 21 – on the steps of Barcelona's Polytechnic Academy, where he served as Engineer-Director and distinguished professor of mathematics, he was released on August 27. He was lucky that a young lieutenant warden, recognizing him as his former teacher, had the courage to sneak down into Barcelona on pretext of illness and wire the news of his incarceration to the national press and to any influential figure he could think of. He was no less fortunate that his cousin, the Marquis of Mont-Roig, a conservative senator, then used his influence and contacts to spring the prisoner. (Tárrida was quite unembarrassed by this kind of help from the Right; but one can be sure that it impelled him to be maximally active on behalf of his less well-connected prison-mates). On his release, he very quietly made his way across the Pyrenees to Paris, taking with him letters and other documents from his fellow-prisoners that he had managed to smuggle or have smuggled out.

Tárrida's "*Un mois dans les prisons d'Espagne*," appeared in La Revue Blanche, France's leading intellectual fortnightly, exactly at the time Rizal was being taken back from Barcelona to Manila under heavy guard. But it was only the first of 14 articles he wrote for this journal over the next 15 months.¹ They covered in detail, not only the gruesome atrocities being

¹ See La Revue Blanche, 11: 81 (October 15, 1896), pp. 337-41. This review was originally the brain-child of two pairs of brothers, one Belgian, the other French (the cadet was only 16) who met in – where else? – Spa in the summer of 1889. The four secured the financial backing of the Natanson brothers, wealthy, cultivated, Polish-Jewish art-dealers, who had moved to Paris in 1880. The boys published the first number in December 1889 in Liège. In 1891, however, the review moved to Paris, with the middle

practiced in Montjuich, but also the Cuban War of Independence, the nationalist movements in the Philippines and Puerto Rico, abuse of prisoners from the Caribbean in Ceuta, America's noisy imperialist scheming, and, perhaps surprisingly, a pre-Wright Brothers equation-filled professional text on 'aerial navigation.' The second in the series, published on December 15, two weeks before Rizal's execution, was in fact devoted to "*Le problème philippin*" (the novelist himself was briefly described as a political deportee). One could venture to say that in this period Tárriada was the review's most frequent contributor. The extraordinary space given to him was certainly at the start the result of his personal testimony on Montjuich. This was the onset of what would become an 'Atlantic'-wide movement of protest against the Cánovas regime, dubbed by the writer, with his usual media flair, "the Inquisitors of Spain." Tárriada was a real find for La Revue Blanche, since he was that rare bird who was not only an open-minded, French-speaking anarchist intellectual from Catalonia, but also, as Cuban patriot, perfectly positioned to link Montjuich systematically to the independence struggles in Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines.

How did this conjuncture come about? Tárriada's own past career was of decisive importance.² He was born, as we have noted, in Havana in 1861, and lived there till the spectacular fall of Queen Isabel in 1868. It is not clear why his father, eventually a wealthy Catalan manufacturer of boots and shoes, should have gone to live in Cuba at all. But the date of the family's return suggests that it may have been one of the many likely targets of the regime in its final repressive years.³ The young Fernando was then packed

Natanson brother, Thadée, assuming direct charge, and in October the fortnightly started appearing in a much more lavish and elegant format. In January 1895, Félix Fénéon, recently acquitted of terrorism and sedition in the notorious 'Trial of the Thirty,' took over the main editorial work. As we shall see, he was a committed cosmopolitan anarchist and anti-imperialist and made the journal more visibly leftwing than it had been before. La Revue Blanche's last issue (no. 312) came out on April 15, 1903. It had always run a deficit, and now Thadée had lost a fortune by unwise investments in Eastern Europe, while his beautiful Polish wife, Misia Godebska, had left him for a millionaire newspaper magnate. Elder brother Alexandre, a first-class financier and stockbroker, felt he could not afford to bear the entire financial burden alone. See Halperin, Félix Fénéon, pp. 300-14.

² For this, and the following paragraph I am relying on the splendidly detailed chapter VIII ("Anarquismo sin adjetivos") in Esenwein's Anarchist Ideology.

³ Fernández hints at a different possibility. Tárriada's mother, very probably a creole, had a first cousin called Donato Mármol, who came from Oriente province, and was one of the first to rally to Céspedes' side. During the Ten Years War he rose to the rank of general. If Tárriada's family left for Europe immediately after the insurrection started,

off to the *lycée* in Pau -- where many decades later Bourdieu was to suffer. At this school, a classmate, future French Prime Minister Jean-Louis Barthou, converted him to republicanism. On his return to Spain, he moved further to the left, frequenting working-class meetings and clubs. By 1886 (a year before Noli Me Tangere appeared) he had become a confirmed anarchist, a magnetic lecturer, and a regular contributor of articles to the leading anarchist publications Acracia and El Productor. In July 1889 he was chosen by the Barcelona workers to represent them at the new International Socialist Congress in Paris.⁴ In a public lecture in November of that year, he coined the inimitable slogan *anarquismo sin adjetivos* as part of a sustained campaign to heal sectarian squabbles on the left. “Of all the revolutionary theories that claim to guarantee complete social emancipation, the one that most closely conforms to Nature, Science, and Justice, and that rejects all dogmas, political, social, economic, and religious, is called Anarchism Without Adjectives.” The idea was to end the bitter quarrels between Marxist and Bakuninist partisans: as he put it, true anarchism would never impose a preconceived economic plan on anyone, since this violated the basic principle of choice. But his campaign was no less directed against whole idea of solitary Propaganda by the Deed.

Tárrida was promptly denounced by Jean Grave, often jokingly called the ‘Pope of Anarchism,’ in La Révolte, as representing the wrongheaded Spanish anarchist tradition of ‘collectivism,’ i.e. attachment to an organized working-class base. It says a good deal for this Pope’s sane rejection of infallibility that he immediately published Tárrida’s toreador reply. The 28-year old mathematics professor wrote persuasively that small groups using propaganda of the deed without any collective organization behind them stood no chance against the centralized power of the bourgeoisie. Spanish anarchists believed, on the basis of long experience, that coordination was essential, since the organized resistance of the working classes was the only productive instrument for fighting state repression. It was completely wrong, therefore, to condemn the *centros obreros* out of hand, as naturally-authoritarian ‘hierarchies’; they had, on the contrary, proved indispensable to the growth of the revolutionary movement in Spain. Paris’s demand that working men’s associations be abolished was senseless. At the same time, however, Tárrida was quite ready to concede that in the case of the

this would mean that his father feared the consequences of this dangerous kin connection. Santa Agueda, p. 25.

⁴ This Congress occurred in the midst of the Great Exposition of that year, at which the Eiffel Tower - which Joris-Karl Huysmans called a ‘spread-legged whore,’ but Georges Seurat rather liked - was unveiled. Halperin, Félix Fénéon, p. 204.

moribund FTRE (Federación de Trabajadores de la Región Española – ashes of the First International), bureaucratism had become deep-rooted, and the organ-ization had lost any usefulness.

Tárrida's arguments were important in their own right (and fairly soon convinced Malatesta, Élie Reclus, and others), but in the present context the key thing is that they were published in La Révolte, to which, as we have seen, many of the leading novelists, poets, and painters of Paris were loyal subscribers. When he arrived in Paris after his release from Montjuich, he was therefore a familiar (printed) figure. That he was a Cuban in the time of Weyler's massively publicized repression on his native island further secured his entrée.

In the second place, Tárrida did not emerge in Paris as a lonely victim. Violent as the martial law regime in Barcelona was, Cánovas was wily enough not to extend it to the rest of Spain; but in September he forced through the Cortes the most punitive legislation of the (West European) time against terrorism and subversion. Still: according to statistics compiled by Ricardo Mella (a careful comrade-in-arms of Tárrida) for Paris's L'Humanité Nouvelle in 1897, the distribution of serious activist anarchists and sympathizers in Spain was as follows: Andalusia 12,400 (+23,100); Catalonia 6,100 (+15,000); Valencia 1,500 (+10,000), and New and Old Castile 1,500 (+2,000). Totals: 25,800 and 54,300.⁵ The social isobars revealed by the Carlist Wars could not be mapped more clearly: cold reactionary and clerical weather in the North and Northwest, torrid rains and storms in the South and East, with the Prime Minister's Andalusia, not Barcelona, as their eye. Besides, Cánovas's enemies, in his own party, and among the liberals, federalists, republicans, and Marxists, found the occasion ripe, for principled or opportunistic reasons, to take up the Montjuich scandal, exposed in searing terms in 'civilization's capital.' It helped that among those imprisoned in Barcelona were at least one ex-Minister, and three parliamentary deputies.

Furthermore, Paris was becoming an increasingly important site for political action by subjects of the Empire. Radical republican leader Zorilla had been settled there for a long time, plotting against the Restoration. His personal secretary, Fernando Ferrer Guardia, a seasoned leftist whom we shall encounter again, also taught Spanish at the famous Parisian Lycée Condorcet, where Mallarmé was employed until his early death in 1898.

⁵ Quoted and discussed in Esenwein, Anarchist Ideology, p. 202.

After Martí's initiation of the independence war in Cuba in the spring of 1895, Spain was too hot for nationalists and radicals from the Caribbean, and they gathered, under the energetic leadership of the legendary Puerto Rican revolutionary Dr. Ramón Betances, in the French capital, propagandizing and conspiring against Cánovas and Weyler. Finally, after the Corpus Christi razzias, many metropolitan radicals fled across the Pyrenees. Only the Filipinos were poorly represented in Paris. Rizal and Del Pilar were dead, and Mariano Ponce had left for Hong Kong. The painter Juan Luna remained as the sole well-known senior nationalist personality.

Paris Radicalized

To grasp why the Paris of 1897 was open to Tárrida's hugely successful campaign, it is necessary to go back in time to consider the earlier careers of two men of different generations who played central roles in creating a new intellectual and political climate.

Georges Clémenceau was born 1841, and grew up under the repressive and imperialist regime of Louis Napoléon.⁶ By 1861, just as Rizal was being born, he was moving in the circles of the radical republican left, where he encountered Henri Rochefort – the *ci-devant* Marquis de Rochefort-Laçay – who would later become his brother-in-law and a famously erratic radical journalist and editor. In 1862, he was jailed by the Emperor for his critical articles, and on release worked in a hospital next to the Sainte-Pélagie prison for 'politicals,' where he got to know and become fascinated by Blanqui. He even smuggled in a printing press from Belgium for the eternal conspirator. After Sedan, he became mayor of Montmartre, the *arrondissement* where the Commune broke out the next spring. Clémenceau was strongly opposed to the post-Louis Napoléon government's grovelling to Bismarck, and worked hard against the German siege of Paris. He created an arms factory in the mayoral office which created no less than 23,000 Orsini bombs for use against the invader. At this hour he became very close to Louise Michel. This remarkable woman, eleven years older than he, was the illegitimate daughter of a provincial aristocrat and a chambermaid, who had started sending her poetry to Victor Hugo when she was only fourteen. In the 1860s she was in Paris, moving steadily leftward

⁶ The following account of Clémenceau's political career (to 1900) is based primarily on Gregor Dallas, *At the Heart of a Tiger, Clémenceau and his World, 1841-1929* (New York: Carroll & Graf, 1993), esp. at pp. 30-38, 97-120, 185-87, 212-340.

in her politics, and in 1870-71 became famous for her devoted work in Montmartre for the wounded and the starving. Clémenceau stayed on the job till the last minute, saying to himself -- imagines Dallas -- as he left the capital "They are going to shoot all my constituents. But for all that, I can't let my name bear the blame."

He was among the first Third Republic parliamentarians to press for a general amnesty of the *communards*, tried to get Blanqui out of prison, and helped Louise Michel after she returned from New Caledonian imprisonment in 1880. When the Red Virgin was sentenced 1883 to another prison term, this time for anarchism, Clémenceau led the press campaign which forced the Third Republic to release her. A strong supporter of the workers' rights to organize and unionize, he was also a committed opponent of colonialism and imperialism -- including brutal French adventures in Indochina, Africa, and Oceania. No prominent French politician-publicist was more sympathetic to the Cuban cause. His newspaper, La Justice, which folded only in October 1897, was the most powerful and respected opposition organ of the post-Commune period. Clémenceau then moved to Ernest Vaughan's new L'Aurore just in time for the explosion of the Dreyfus Affair.

Félix Fénéon, two decades younger than Clémenceau, was born in Turin in 1861, ten days after Rizal in Calamba. A brilliant provincial schoolboy, he moved to Paris when he was twenty, took a job at the War Office, and started an astonishing career as art critic, literary editor, and (by the mid-1880s) active anarchist.⁷ At the age of 23, he founded the avant-garde Revue Indépendante (in its first incarnation it lasted a year), of which Huysmans' stories were the mainstay, but which also featured the writings of Proudhon, Blanqui, Bakunin and Kropotkin. It was extremely hostile to French imperialism in Indochina, as well as *revanchiste* French nationalism. Fénéon wrote sarcastically of the War Minister that he was "sending new troops to the Far East, with the intention of decimating and pillaging the Chinese -- who have all our best wishes."⁸

In the second half of the 1880s, the time of Rizal's Noli Me Tangere and Isabelo de los Reyes' El Folklore Filipino, he became a central figure -- in some ways the central figure, though he preferred to work behind the scenes -- of the Parisian *avant-garde*. He managed simultaneously to edit

⁷ His father was a French traveling salesman and his mother a young Swiss. Halperin, Félix Fénéon, p. 21.

⁸ Ibid., p. 56

(with the help of Laforgue among others), the original La Vogue (1885-9) -- which went out of its way to combat French nationalist provincialism by publishing Keats, Dostoievsky, and Whitman, as well as Laforgue's most oneiric poetry -- and a revived Revue Indépendante (1885-89). It was Fénéon who meticulously edited and organized the poetic chaos Rimbaud left behind into the bombshell Illuminations of 1886.⁹ In the same year the Salon des Indépendents held its second exhibition, the first in which Seurat (two years older than Fénéon) and Signac (two years younger) were spectacularly featured. Fénéon not only coined the term 'post-impressionists' for the young rebels, but became their determined and brilliant champion.¹⁰ It is characteristic of his political outlook that he sent his path-breaking 'high class' review of the exhibition to the Belgian avant-garde, socialist journal L'Art Moderne, and published another, entirely in Parisian argot, for the radical tabloid Le Père Peinard. If all this were not enough, he took over the job of theatre critic for L'Art Moderne from his close friend Huysmans, championing new playwrights writing under the powerful influence of Ibsen.

In the early 1890s -- the time of El Filibusterismo -- Fénéon veered back to radical politics without abandoning his other avocations. In August 1891 he met the bizarre figure who called himself Zo d'Axa (aka Alphonse Gallaud de La Pérouse), who had founded the violently anarchist-avant garde journal L'Endehors three months earlier.¹¹ It lasted less than two years. Six months after its launching, Zo was indicted for 'outrages on morals' because of his journal's scathing articles on the French army, judiciary, and parliament, fled to England, returned to Paris worried about his wife's fidelity, was arrested and held incommunicado for two weeks, got released pending trial, and disappeared for good.¹² Many of his comrades, however, went to prison for many years. Fénéon was not arrested, but his police dossier was started that year (1893). He took over the journal for the rest of its life, bringing in the great radical Belgian poet Emile Verhaeren, as well as Octave Mirbeau and Paul Adam, two young French literary *anarchisants* in Mallarmé's circle.¹³

⁹ Ibid., pp. 62-67.

¹⁰ T.J. Clark, in his Farewell to an Idea (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), p. 62, calls him the 'best art critic after Baudelaire,' which is high praise.

¹¹ Halperin, Félix Fénéon, pp. 245-46.

¹² Ibid., p. 252.

¹³ Maitron, Le mouvement anarchiste, p. 137.

It was at meetings of the Zo group that he met, and was fascinated by Emile Henry, whom, in a letter to Signac, he described as “the most anarchist of all,” because his acts were addressed to the electors ultimately responsible for the Third Republic. (Fénéon was also writing to Signac that “the anarchist acts have done more by far for propaganda than twenty years of brochures by Reclus or Kropotkin).¹⁴ On April 4, 1894, after Henry’s arrest (with swift execution certain), Fénéon planted a bomb on the window sill of the fashionable Foyot restaurant opposite the Senate, which killed no one, but caused some grave injuries.¹⁵ As we have seen earlier, he was soon arrested. It is typical of his *sangfroid* that while awaiting trial on capital charges, he set to translating Northanger Abbey, a copy of which he surprisingly found in the prison library.¹⁶ In the dock as one of the seditious ‘Thirty,’ he was acquitted after running brilliant and hilarious rings around the judges and having many intellectual celebrities, as well as Clémenceau, testify on his behalf.¹⁷ Mallarmé described Fénéon to the judges as *cet homme doux*, and when asked by journalists what his general opinion was of the art critic and his co-defendants -- a strange mix of intellectuals, criminals, and anarchists – calmly replied that “he did not wish to say anything about these saints.”¹⁸ But Valéry in 1895 was closer to the mark, when he characterized him as “one of the most intelligent men I have ever met. He is just, pitiless, and gentle.”¹⁹ On his release, Fénéon found it hard to get open work to his liking, so he went to La Revue Blanche as behind-the-scenes part-time editor. It was not long before he became the journal’s driving force.²⁰

¹⁴ Eugenia Herbert, The Artist and Social Reform: France and Belgium, 1885-1898 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), p. 113. She draws the second quotation from John Rewald, “Extraits du journal inédit de Paul Signac,” in Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 6:36 (1949), p. 113.

¹⁵ See the vivid reconstruction in Halperin, Félix Fénéon, pp. 3-4. It was not until many years later that he confessed what he had done to the anarchist Alexander Cohen, a cultivated Dutch Jew who had first translated Douwes Dekker’s Max Havelaar into French.

¹⁶ David Sweetman, Explosive Acts, Toulouse-Lautrec, Oscar Wilde, Félix Fénéon and the Art and Anarchy of the Fin-de-Siècle (London: Simon and Schuster, 1999), p. 375. The translation later appeared in La Revue Blanche.

¹⁷ Halperin’s detailed account of the trial in ch. 14 of Félix Fénéon is masterly, and wildly funny. Although the police found detonators in his War Department office, they could not produce any direct evidence linking the accused to the Foyot bombing.

¹⁸ Joll, The Anarchists, pp. 149-51.

¹⁹ Halperin, Félix Fénéon, p. 6.

²⁰ After La Revue Blanche closed down, Fénéon began to withdraw from political life though in 1906 he started to contribute satirical and often moving minimalist contributions to Le Matin under the title *Le Terroriste en trois lignes*. Ibid., ch. 17. He became a key figure in one of the most successful art-dealing houses in Europe, and

Clémenceau and Fénéon, from different generations, with strong but contrasting personalities, and only partly overlapping political outlooks, were in the later 1890s poised to become interacting allies. One immediate reason, aside from hatred of the Third Republic's imperialist brutalities in Asia and Africa, was anger at the so-called *lois scélérates* enacted after the *attentats* of Ravachol, Vaillant, and Henry. These laws banned all revolutionary propaganda, and made those assisting, or even in sympathy with, 'revolutionaries' liable to severe punishment. (Camille Pissarro, who had a large police dossier, fled early to the safety of Belgium.).²¹ But there was also a wider political transformation afoot, which can be symbolized by the formation of the Parti Ouvrier Belge in 1885, and the publication of Zola's Germinal the following year.

The Parti Ouvrier Belge and Germinal

For much of the nineteenth century Belgium was second only Britain in its level of industrialization. Politically, however, it was generally backward, with a highly restricted suffrage, and domestic power largely in the hands of devotedly free-trade liberal magnates. Its late-century head of state, Léopold II, compensated himself for this situation by the notorious diplomatic and military interventions that made him absolute personal ruler of the Congo in 1885. That same year, however, the remarkable Émile Vandervelde created the Parti Ouvrier Belge and mobilized the working class to such effect that within a decade the suffrage was radically expanded, and the party's parliamentary presence surpassed that of the once all-powerful liberals. Vandervelde regarded himself as an open-minded Marxist who was respectful of the Belgian workers' Proudhonian traditions, and he kept up amicable relations with many peaceful anarchists. Perhaps even more significant, he was keen art-lover with close friends among his country's radical avant garde. Accordingly, he opened a very successful Maison du Peuple in Brussels, and hired the Émile Verhaeren to run its

retired in 1924. For the last twenty years of his life he lived in such complete solitude that many people assumed he was dead. Having for decades shown little interest in Marxism, he joined the French Communist Party after the end of the Great War, when he was almost sixty. But for the German Occupation of Paris, he would have left his magnificent art collection to the Soviet Union. Sweetman, Explosive Acts, pp. 493-95.

²¹ Pissarro (and his son Lucien) were serious radicals. Camille was a Jew and born in the Danish Antilles, so he had bad experiences of the brutal suppression of a slave revolt in the Caribbean, and anti-semitism in French schools. Degas and Renoir regularly referred to him as "the Jew Pissarro." Ibid., p. 220.

Section d'Art. Verhaeren in turn brought into the party's orbit the country's avant-garde painters, grouped together as Les Vingt, of whom the best known member was the *anarchisant* visionary James Ensor. On the literary front he was just as successful, winning the adherence of, among others, Maeterlinck, whom Vandervelde later remembered fondly as "an aggressive revolutionary."²² The arts-journal L'Art Moderne, and the literary periodical La Revue Rouge not only fostered local talents but were also firmly internationalist. It was under the aegis of Verhaeren and Vandervelde that Huysmans and Fénéon were invited to serve as reviewers, as we have noted earlier, while French impressionists and postimpressionists came eagerly to offer their latest work for exhibition in Brussels. (This was the Brussels where Rizal came in January 1890 to compose El Filibusterismo – one month after La Revue Blanche was born in Liège). French and Belgian writers published in each other's magazines, and William Morris's ideas and work received a very warm welcome. The impact of the Parti Ouvrier Belge's leaders and policies in France was substantial. Where the sternly philistine Jean Guesde had avoided almost all contact with the Parisian intelligentsia, by the mid-1890s he was starting to be supplanted by Jean Jaurès, who worked hard to emulate the Belgian model.²³

Though Zola was generally scorned by the literary radicals of Paris, his Germinal, based on intensive research on a bitter and tragic strike in the Anzin coal-fields of the Northeast, proved a political sensation, with an impact that followed every translation into another European language. (As quite often happened in the nineteenth century, a 'social' novel could have much deeper and longer political effects than 'fact-based' journalism). While Zola depicted the 'revolutionaries' among the coal-workers in a hostile manner, nonetheless Germinal offered readers a terrifying picture of the miners' poverty, industrially-caused disease, absence of safety measures, and exploitation by the mine-owners.²⁴ Clémenceau himself visited striking miners and was appalled by what he observed. It is notable that coal-fields were also connected – perhaps also via Zola – with one of Henry's more deadly *attentats* in 1894. Disguised as a woman, he left a

²² We may think of Maeterlinck primarily as the author of the misty-mediaevalist Pelléas et Mélisande, but he was one of the first members of the Cercle des Étudiants et Anciens Étudiants Socialistes in Brussels in 1889. As late as 1913, he was still writing for the Parti Ouvrier's Album du premier mai, at the time of the great general strike of that year. Herbert, The Artist and Social Reform, p. 99.

²³ The above paragraph is largely based on *ibid.*, pp. 9, 27-34, 67-71.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 162. Herbert goes so far as to say that Germinal was the first major novel directed at the working class. Zola was changing.

bomb at the offices of the Société des Mines Carmaux to punish the owners of the Carmaux coal-fields who responded to a workers' strike in which machinery was smashed by bringing in the armed police. Despite promises by socialist parliamentarians to mediate, months passed with no results, while the workers starved. Henry's bomb was discovered and taken to a police station, where it exploded, killing five policemen, and a boy.²⁵

The Dreyfus Affair

²⁵ Halperin, Félix Fénéon, pp. 272-73.

Nothing shows better the change in the political atmosphere in the less than three years that followed the enactment of the *lois scélérates* than the Revue Blanche's publication in the early spring of 1897 of a huge "*Enquête sur la Commune*," with contributions by the well-known anarchists Élisée Reclus, Louise Michel, and Jean Grave, as well as one by Clemenceau's radical-aristocratic brother-in-law Henri Rochefort. Tarrida was also prominently there, along with texts by Mallarmé, Laforgue, Jarry, Daniel Halévy, Nietzsche, the deceased Eduard Douwes Dekker, Paul Adam, and Huysmans' homosexual friend Jean Lorrain. Many years later Léon Blum, who was born in 1872, would write that "the whole literary generation of which I was part was...impregnated with anarchist thought."²⁶

Captain Alfred Dreyfus' initial kangaroo court martial on charges of spying for Germany and subsequent deportation to Devil's Island, taking place in the autumn of 1894 -- only three months after the guillotining of Carnot's young assassin and the Trial of the Thirty -- attracted very little engaged attention, though the following year Fénéon had attacked the verdict in the pages of La Revue Blanche. But by 1896, evidence that the Jewish Dreyfus had been framed by antisemitic, aristocratic, high-ranking army officers began to leak out, leading in time to an intense press campaign that forced the state to arrest the real culprit, Major Marie-Charles Esterhazy, in October 1897, and try him the next January. His brazen acquittal the day after the trial began led to Zola's famous *J'accuse* open letter published in Clémenceau's L'Aurore. The embattled regime saw no way out but to put Zola on trial in February 1898. Fined and sentenced to prison, the 'bourgeois novelist' suddenly found himself a hero to the Left.²⁷ Out of all this came a massive political confrontation between Right and Left, in which many avant-garde intellectuals became politically active for the first time in their lives, and the more fiery among them, such as Octave Mirbeau, almost got themselves murdered by antisemitic mobs.²⁸

Meanwhile, the Cuban exiles in Paris became increasingly active after the onset of Martí's uprising and lobbied (with growing success) such

²⁶ Quoted in Herbert's The Artist, p. 12.

²⁷ Many writers who had looked down on him as 'bourgeois' and philistine rushed to testify on his behalf. The sentence was overturned in April by the Cour de Cassation. A second trial was then instituted, but Zola, his political objectives achieved, decamped to England where he remained till an amnesty was declared.

²⁸ Herbert, The Artist, p. 203. Mirbeau was then working for L'Aurore.

leading journalists as Clémenceau to show anti-imperialist support for the cause of their country.²⁹

As noted earlier, Tárriada did not stay long in Paris. Spanish diplomatic pressure got him expelled to Belgium.³⁰ From there he crossed the Straits of Dover. This is why many of his later articles for La Revue Blanche came from London, politically still the most important capital in the world, as well as a popular safe haven for anarchists on the run from their own repressive governments. There the overlapping Montjuich and Dreyfus scandals aroused widespread indignation, and the young Cuban anarchist was welcomed enthusiastically for a lengthy publicity tour arranged by Keir Hardie, Ramsay MacDonald, and others.³¹ In a country with a long history of animosity to Spain, accounts of the doings of the 'New Inquisition' found ready ears. Tárriada made adept use of his multiple contacts across oceans and state boundaries to spur the creation of a broad press coalition of liberals, freemasons, socialists, anarchists, anti-imperialists, and anticlericals against the Spanish Prime Minister. Consider the following (very partial) list of newspapers and periodicals that joined the campaign:³²

France: Clémenceau's La Justice, Rochefort's L'Intransigeant, Le Jour, L'Écho de Paris, Jean Grave's Les Temps Nouveaux, Le Libertaire, La Petite République, and Le Père Peinard.

Britain: The Times, The Daily Chronicle, Freedom.

Spain: El País, La Justicia, La Autonomía, El Imparcial and Pí y Margall's El Nuevo Régimen.

Germany: The Frankfurter Zeitung, Vorwärtz, and Der Sozialist.

Italy: La Tribuna in Rome and L'Avvenire in Messina.

²⁹ According to the right-wing Eduardo Comin Colomer, Tárriada met the anarchist Fernando Ferrer Guardia (of whom more later), then teaching Spanish at the Lycée Condorcet, and a group of strong Cuban supporters including Clémenceau, Aristide Briand, Charles Malato, and Henri Rochefort, as well as Caribbean radicals led by Betances. See his Historia del Anarquismo español (Barcelona: Editorial AHR, 1956), Tomo I, pp. 180-81.

³⁰ Fernández, Santa Agueda, p. 27.

³¹ He found he liked England, and eventually settled down there, becoming, alas perhaps, a Fabian. He died, too young, during the Great War.

³² Comin's Historia del Anarquismo español, vol. 1, pp. 173-75; and Esenwein, Anarchist Ideology, p. 194. Fernández, Santa Agueda, p. 31 quotes the work of Paul Avrich, An American Anarchist, The Life of Voltairine de Cleyre (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), pp. 112-13, as claiming that 50,000 copies of the English translation of Les Inquisiteurs were distributed in Philadelphia alone.

Portugal: A Libertade, O Caminho and O Trabalhador.
Rumania: Miscarea Sociala.
Argentina: El Oprimido, La Revolución and the Italian language
L'Avvenire.
USA: Boston's Liberty; New York's Cuban El Despertar; and
Tampa's Cuban El Esclavo.

Cánovas found himself without much effective external support, even in Catholic Europe. Austro-Hungary was preoccupied with its own militant nationalisms and with the Balkans; France with the Dreyfus Affair; Italy with the effects of the disastrous March 1896 defeat at Adawa at the hands of the Abyssinian ruler Menelik. But the Prime Minister's nerve did not fail him. As we have seen, a few relatively prominent Montjuich prisoners were allowed to go into exile, but most of those not tried before military courts were deported, along with some Cuban 'troublemakers' sent in from Havana, to harsh camps in Spanish Africa. On May 5, 1897 Ascheri and the four Spaniards, sentenced to death for the Corpus Christi 'outrage', were executed, but not before letters, describing the tortures they had undergone, and proclaiming their innocence, had been smuggled out by a few of those released. Three months later Cánovas' own turn came to meet a bloody political death at the Basqueland spa of Santa Agueda.

Patriot of the Antilles: Doctor Betances

Ramón Emeterio Betances was born in Cabo Rojo, Puerto Rico, on April 8, 1827 -- a year and a half before Tolstoi. How he came by his part-African descent is not clear, not least because he seems to have been born on the wrong side of the blanket. In any case, his father was rich enough and modern enough to send this precociously intelligent son to study medicine at the Collège de Toulouse, where he became fluent in French. Thereafter, he continued his medical education at the Sorbonne, graduating in 1853. On returning to Puerto Rico, made a name for himself in the cholera epidemic of 1855. Child of Diderot and Byron, he was swept up by the Revolution of 1848 -- which also abolished slavery in the French Caribbean -- and may even have fought on the barricades of the capital.³³ For the remaining fifty

³³ *Participa activamente en la Revolución Francesca de 1848...revolución que se le presenta cual una revelación misteriosa* [He participated actively in the French Revolution of 1848...a revolution which came to him like a mysterious revelation.]. Félix Ojeda Reyes, "Ramón Emeterio Betances, Patriarca de la Antillanía," in Félix

years of his life he devoted himself to doctoring (like Rizal he specialized in ophthalmology) and to radical republican and anticolonial politics. An abolitionist from the start, he was also captured by the Bolivarian vision of a vast transcontinental movement of liberation aimed both against the decrepit and brutal colonialism of Spain, and the hungry imperialism of what he called the American Minotaur.³⁴ Though a patriot for Puerto Rico, he was convinced that the Caribbean islands, geographically scattered, multiply colonized, and militarily insignificant, could only survive and progress if bound together in a 'Bolivarian' Federation of the Antilles, which would include Haiti, the Danish colony of St. Thomas, and other non-Anglo-Saxon controlled territories.³⁵ One condition for the realization of this dream was what he termed the total de-hispanization of Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Santo Domingo; hence his complete hostility to "assimilationist" ideology among the colonials, and complete lack of belief in either Spanish or American good intentions.³⁶

Back in the Caribbean in the 1860s, he actively supported the armed struggle for the restoration of Dominican independence in 1863-65 (see Chapter III above), and circulated radical propaganda in Puerto Rico itself, until he was forced to flee. Prior to his return to Paris in 1872, he was constantly on the move – Saint Thomas, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Venezuela -- and even New York, pursued by Spain's spies, threatened by venal post-independence dictatorships, and evicted by non-Spanish colonial authorities bending to pressure from Madrid.³⁷ He spent his time treating

Ojeda Reyes and Paul Estrade, eds., Pasión por la libertad (San Juan, P.R.: Editorial de la Universidad de Puerto Rico, 2000), p. 32.

³⁴ In a letter written to fellow- Puerto Rican Francisco Basora, from Port-au-Prince, April 8, 1870, cited in Paul Estrade, "El Heraldo de la 'Independencia Absoluta,'" in Ojeda and Estrade, eds., Pasión por la libertad, p. 5.

³⁵ Betances lived in Haiti from February 1870 to the early autumn of 1871, helping to fight a cholera epidemic and composing his remarkable essay on Alexandre Pétiou, the Haitian patriot who sheltered Bolívar when he had had to flee Venezuela, and provided crucial military support of his later comeback. Betances' book was published in New York in 1871. A contemporary edition can be found in a collection of his major writings, edited by Carlos M. Rama., titled Las Antillas para los Antillanos (San Juan, Puerto Rico: Instituto del Cultura Puertorriqueña, 1975). Lauding Pétiou led him to some overly severe criticism of Toussaint.

³⁶ *Es igual yugo por yugo* [One yoke is the same as another]. Estrade, "El Heraldo," p. 5.

³⁷ It was in New York that he helped found and lead the Comité Revolucionario de Puerto Rico on July 16, 1867. The CRPR's manifesto denounced slavery, peninsular commercial monopolies, hunger, absence of schools, and total lack of progress in the colony. A month later he coolly swore before a court of law that he intended to become

patients among the poor, writing powerful polemical articles, and trying to buy, and safely cache till the time for insurrection was ripe, what arms he could manage. He also largely inspired the first armed uprising in Puerto Rico itself, which occurred in the mountain township of Lares on September 9, 1868 -- just four weeks before Céspedes' proclamation of Cuban independence -- and which lasted barely twenty-four hours.³⁸ Nothing really worked, not least because of his single-minded commitment to armed insurrection, and his methods of clandestine organizing about which the scent of Masonry, *blanquismo*, and '1848' continued to hang.³⁹ But in the process he became a legend.

Betances returned to Paris at the end of 1871, eight months after the fall of the Commune, and remained there for most of the rest of his life.⁴⁰ His medical research eventually earned him membership in the Légion d'Honneur, but he never ceased writing polemical articles -- we have seen already one fine example in the case of the *prinsesas* of Manila -- and cultivating political allies in Paris and other parts of Western Europe. Between 1879 and 1887, he even held a high post in the Dominican legation in the French capital, with responsibility also for London and Bern.⁴¹ Inevitably, as time passed, he became the doyen of the 'Latin community' in Paris (and to a lesser degree in other neighboring countries.) This was not an easy role to play for a man of Betances' views and temperament. In the mid-1890s, there were about 300 Cubans and Puerto Ricans in the City of Light, aside from hundreds of other Latin Americans. Almost all were very rich, hacienda rentiers, bankers, doctors, industrialists and playboys, whose politics were either completely conservative or, at best, liberal assimilationist. Ojeda notes sarcastically: *No hay un solo negro en su seno. Los artesanes brillan por su ausencia* [There was not a single negro in its midst. Artisans sparkled by their absence].⁴² Nothing could be more different from the largely poor, working-class Cuban communities in Tampa, Cayo Hueso and New York where Martí found his supporters.. But he held the community more or less together by force of personality, medical

an American citizen -- calculating that this would keep him out of Spanish clutches -- and left for Danish St. Thomas the next day! Ojeda, *El desterrado*, pp. 98-99.

³⁸ Betances himself was off hunting up guns in the Dutch colony of Curaçao, so missed the historic event.

³⁹ See Ojeda, *El desterrado*, pp. 349-51, for an interesting look at the affinities between Betances and Blanqui.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 221.

⁴¹ Estrade, "El Herald," p. 10.

⁴² Ojeda, *El desterrado*, p. 338.

services, and weekly social gatherings (*tertulias*) at his spacious office at 6 bis Rue de Châteaudun, curiously enough only a door or two away from the residence (at 4 bis) of Rizal's rich friend, and the financier of El Filibusterismo's publication, Valentín Ventura.⁴³

In his own way, the elderly doctor was a practical man and welcomed whatever allies might be available. It turned out, perhaps to the surprise of a man very far from being an anarchist himself, that the most energetic of these allies were anarchists or anarchist-inclined. Martí had frequently and acerbically attacked anarchism for what he regarded as its contempt for politics in the normal sense of the word, and its 'negation' of the concept of *patria*. On the other hand, there were plenty of anarchists who saw in the nationalist leaders' hunger for state power and the fetishism of elections a sign that independence would do little to ameliorate the real lives of 'presently-existing' working people.⁴⁴ In Paris, Betances' political friends were former *communards* and anarchist intellectuals. Élie Reclus (born in 1830) and Louise Michel (born in 1833) were of his generation, as was Henri Bauer, illegitimate son of Dumas, *communard*, and alumnus of New Caledonia's penal settlement. Rochefort was there, and the anarchist Charles Malato, whom Betances persuaded to go to Barcelona to try and start an uprising of workers to weaken Weyler's campaign in Cuba.⁴⁵ (He got nowhere, of course). None of these people had been to Cuba or the Philippines, and they had no emotional investment in their nationalisms. But they had many bitter experiences at the hands of the French state, both domestically, and imperially (New Caledonia, Devil's Island). Cánovas and Weyler could be seen as Thiers and Galliéni Iberianly transplanted. Less than the beauties of Cuba Libre and Filipinas Libre, what drew them into Betances' orbit was loathing of the barbarities in Montjuich, Cuba, and the Philippines.

⁴³ See Ventura's letters to Rizal of February 5 and May 19, 1890, the first reporting that he has signed a two year lease, and the second saying he is about to move in. Rizal stayed with him there in October 1891, prior to leaving for Marseilles and Hong Kong. Cartas entre Rizal y sus colegas...., 1889-1896, pp. 493-94 and 531.

⁴⁴ This important point is well brought out in Francesco Tamburini, "Michele Angiolillo e l'assassinio di Cánovas del Castillo," Spagna contemporanea [Alessandria, Piedmont] IV: 9 (1996), pp. 101-30, at p. 117. So it might be theoretically. But Cuban nationalism brought many local anarchists to Martí's side, and Spanish nationalism subterraneanly reinforced Spanish anarchism's distrust of Cuban (bourgeois) nationalism's separatist utopianism.

⁴⁵ Ojeda, El desterrado, p. 339 and 348; Estrade, "El Heraldo," p. 9.

Outside France, Betances' closest links were to Italian anarchists with Garibaldian traditions, enraged by Prime Minister Francesco Crispi's Cánovism, and the repulsive fiasco in Ethiopia. The spirit of 1848, the 'spring-time of nations,' also had its role to play. A man of 1848 himself, Betances supported the efforts of a number of these comrades to go to Cuba and fight Garibaldi-style for the revolution, but he was usually thwarted by the policy of New York headquarters, run by Tomás Estrada Palma, to prevent any 'foreigners' meddling in the island's struggle.⁴⁶ Curiously enough one of his most energetic sub-groups was in Belgium, run by the young Cuban engineer Pedro Herrera Sotolongo, who was a classmate and friend of Rizal's *protégés* Alejandrino and Evangelista.⁴⁷ Needless to say, the task of yoking a rich Cuban community which had not only no negroes or artisans, but lacked a single anarchist, with his non-Cuban anarchist friends was rather Sisyphean, but the Puerto Rican somehow, minimally, managed it.

Betances' moment finally came with the onset of Martí's war of independence in 1895. The two men seem never to have met, and little survives of their correspondence. But despite the fact that Betances was more than twice Martí's age, and endured a life experience utterly different from the younger man, they respected each other.⁴⁸ Martí's revolutionary headquarters in New York had always included Puerto Ricans at the highest levels, and Puerto Ricans had played their own role during the Ten Years War. Accordingly, on April 2, 1896, Betances was appointed officially as the top diplomatic agent of the Cuban Revolution in Paris, not merely in recognition of his age and his reputation, but because of his unrivalled knowledge of, and political alliances in, Western Europe.

⁴⁶ See Francesco Tamburini, "Betances, los mambises italianos, y Michele Angiolillo," in Ojeda and Estrade, eds., Pasión por la libertad, pp. 75-82; and Ojeda, El desterrado, pp.362-71.

⁴⁷ This 'committee' was composed of two Cubans, two Belgians, and a young Englishman called Ferdinand Brook, whose brother had gone to fight in Cuba against the Spaniards. Paul Estrade, Solidaridad con Cuba Libre, 1895-1898. La impresionante labor del Dr. Betances en París (San Juan: Editorial de la Universidad de Puerto Rico, (DATE??), p. 143. Herrera kept in close touch with Alejandrino when the latter moved to Hong Kong. He passed on to Betances information he received about the progress of the Philippine revolution. Betances' journal, La República Cubana, published two letters from Alejandrino, postmarked Hong Kong, one in July 1897, and one in September. Rizal's protégé also used his link with Herrera to urge the Cubans in New York to help with arms. It is not clear whether Alejandrino was acting on his own, or on instructions from his titular boss Mariano Ponce.

⁴⁸ On their relationship, see Ojeda, El desterrado, pp. 329-33.

It remains only to add, parenthetically, that Betances maintained a lively interest in the Philippine revolution, partly because it was diverting Spanish troops away from Cuba, but also for its own sweet-nationalist sake. As early as September 29, 1896, a month after Bonifacio started his uprising, the good doctor wrote to Estrada Palma in New York that the insurrection was much more serious than the Spanish public realized, and that 15,000 troops were already on the way to suppress it.⁴⁹ In the same month, Betances' journal La República Cubana published two articles on the Philippines – titled *Viva Filipinas Libre! And Qué quiere Filipinas!* [Long Live the Free Philippines!; What does the Philippines Desire?] – expressing strong support for the uprising.⁵⁰ Learning from Herrera how desperately the Filipinos needed arms, he passed the news on to Estrada in New York, urging him to do what he could to help.⁵¹ But he also mailed to Florida Rizal's last poem, which appeared in the Revista de Cayo Hueso on October 7, 1897, under the title "Mi Último Pensamiento."⁵²

Angiolillo: From Foggia to Santa Agueda

Michele ('Miguel') Angiolillo was born on June 5, 1871, just after the bloody end of the Commune, in the *mezzogiorno* township of Foggia, 112 kilometres northeast of Malatesta's Naples.⁵³ He was thus 44 years younger than Betances. While attending a technical institute he became politically conscious as a radical republican militant deeply hostile to the monarchy. Conscripted in 1892, he was observed attending a commemoration of the Parthenopean Republic of 1799, and was brutally punished for this by his military superiors.⁵⁴ He returned to civilian life a committed anarchist. During the elections of 1895, he published a manifesto against Crispi's version of the *lois scélérates*, for which he was arrested on charges of fomenting class-hatred. Briefly at liberty pending his trial, he sent the Minister of Justice a blistering letter of complaint about the prosecutor. For

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 372. According to Estrade, Solidaridad, p. 147, Betances told Estrada that he had a spy in the Spanish embassy who passed on a lot of confidential information.

⁵⁰ Estrade, Solidaridad, p. 147.

⁵¹ Ojeda, El desterrado, p. 373.

⁵² Ibid., p. 374.

⁵³ In the following account of Angiolillo's brief life, I have relied heavily on Francesco Tamburini's "Michele Angiolillo." This article is based on a thorough study of Italy's hitherto largely unexamined state archives on the Foggian and his assassination of the Spanish Prime Minister.

⁵⁴ This was the last of the four Italian republics formed between 1796 and 1799 under the protection of Napoléon's armies. It was based in Naples.

this he was sentenced to 18 months in prison and a further three years of internal exile. At this point he went to see a friend and former classmate, Roberto d'Angiò, who was already a correspondent of Jean Grave's Les Temps Nouveaux (La Révolte's new name after the Trial of the Thirty). D'Angiò took him to see Oreste Ferrara, then an obscure law student, but soon after to become famous as a recruit to the Cuban Revolution, a trusted aide to General Máximo Gómez, and eventually Cuba's Foreign Minister during the brutal presidency (1925-33) of General Gerardo Machado.⁵⁵ Advised by Ferrara to flee the country, in early 1896 he arrived, using a false name, in Barcelona via Marseilles.. The city had a considerable colony of Italian workers and artisans, as well a deserved reputation for its anarchist activism. Angiolillo had barely settled down to his trade as a freelance printer (and to acquiring Spanish) when the Corpus Christi bombing occurred, and the city put under martial law. A number of his friends were incarcerated in Montjuich, including Cayetano Oller, with whom he had worked at Tàrrida's and Sempau's journal La Ciencia Social. The grim rumors about the tortures inflicted on prisoners there persuaded the young printer to flee Spain for France. He was arrested in Marseilles for having forged papers, spent a month in prison, and was then expelled to Belgium, where he found temporary work with a printing press owned by a senior member of Vandervelde's Parti Ouvrier Belge, before moving to London in March 1897: three months after Rizal's execution, and with Tàrrida's crusade against the Cánovas regime at its height.

As mentioned earlier, London was the safest haven for Continental anarchists on the lam. The Spanish anarchist contingent was by now being augmented by people like 'Federico Urales,' as well as Oller, who after being terribly tortured, was released for lack of evidence, then expelled from his country. Angiolillo resumed his work as a printer, helped by his membership in a little-known institution, Typographia, which was a special section of the British printers' union reserved for foreigners. He certainly attended the huge demonstration of ten thousand people in Trafalgar Square on May 30, organized by a 'Spanish Atrocities Committee' led by the English anarchist Joseph Perry. The crowd was addressed by wide range of political notables, including Europe-famous Tàrrida, who spoke not in the name of anarchism, but as the representative of La Revue Blanche and in the name of Betances' Cuban Revolutionary Delegation in Paris.⁵⁶ Malato

⁵⁵ On Ferrara's career, see Tamburini, "Betances," pp. 76-77.

⁵⁶ Estrade, Solidaridad, p. 146; Tamburini points out that in Les Inquisiteurs Tàrrida described himself rather disingenuously as "a Cuban, but not a filibustero, a federalist but

made a passionate speech in which he asked who would avenge José Rizal and so many others murdered by the Cánovas regime. But the most emotional moments came when the maimed victims of Montjuich rose to tell their stories and bare their bodies. Not long afterward, Angiolillo personally met Oller and Francisco Gana, another horribly maimed victim, at the house of a friendly Spanish anarchist exile. The German anarchist Rudolf Rocker, who was present, described the scene as follows: “That night when Gana showed us his crippled limbs, and the scars over his entire body left by the tortures, we understood that it is one thing to read about such matters, but quite another to hear about them from the very lips of the victims...We all sat there as if turned to stone, and it was some minutes before we could utter a few words of indignation. Only Angiolillo said not a word. A little later, he suddenly rose to his feet, uttered a laconic goodbye, and abandoned the house...This was the last time I saw him.”⁵⁷

Not too long after this event, Angiolillo somehow made his way to Paris, with vengeance on his mind and a London-acquired pistol in his pocket. By this time he had read Tárrida’s hastily assembled Les Inquisiteurs d’Espagne which more than any other text of its time linked in detail Manila, Montjuich, and Havana. He is said to have attended lectures by Rochefort and Betances on the transcontinental crimes of the Spanish government. It was at this point that he went to see the Puerto Rican at one of the regular *tertulias* on the Rue de Châteaudun. Initially suspicious of a police plant, Betances was reassured by Tárrida and Malato, both of whom had talked with Angiolillo in London. What actually transpired when Betances and Angiolillo finally met *tête-à-tête* remains shrouded in uncertainty. Betances later said that Angiolillo told him that he planned to go to Spain to assassinate the Queen Regent and the infant Alfonso XIII. The good doctor replied that this would be a mistake: Killing a woman and a child would be ‘terrible publicity’; besides, neither was responsible for the cruelty of the Spanish regime. The true villain was Cánovas.⁵⁸ On the face of it, this account is a little implausible. Angiolillo was not an ignoramus.

not an anarchist, a freethinker but not a freemason.” “Michele Angiolillo,” p. 114, referring to p. 36 of Tárrida’s famous book.

⁵⁷ Fernández, Santa Agueda, p. 40, quoting from the Spanish version of Rocker’s memoirs, En la borrasca (Años de destierra) (Puebla, Mexico: Edit. Cajica, 1967), pp. 118-120. He also quotes a letter from Cleyre to her mother after seeing Gana personally, to the effect that his hands had been burned with red-hot irons, his fingernails torn out, his head put in a metal compressor, and his testicles ripped off. This account comes from Avrich’s above-cited An American Anarchist, p. 114.

⁵⁸ See Fernández, Santa Agueda, p. 45, for lengthy excerpts from Betances’ account.

He had lived in martial law Barcelona, had talked with tortured former comrades, and had attended the demonstration in Trafalgar Square. He knew perfectly well that Cánovas was the master of the Spanish Empire. Perhaps the old Puerto Rican wished to leave posterity with the idea that he had saved the lives of a woman and her child, while taking credit for ‘aiming’ Angiolillo at the Spanish Prime Minister.⁵⁹ Almost thirty years earlier, he had written to his great friend the Dominican patriot Gregorio Luperón about the need to arrest and try for treason the corrupt dictator Buenaventura Báez: *No parece me imposible coger á Báez, y puesto que la República Dominicana necesita incontestablemente una reforma radical, yo digo con Diderot, que parecía preveer la muerte de Luis XVI: “el suplicio de un Rey cambio el espíritu de un nación por siempre.”* [I don’t think it is impossible to get Báez, and since the Dominican Republic needs a radical reform, I say with Diderot, who seemed to have foreseen the death of Louis XVI: “The punishment of a king changes the spirit of a nation forever.”]⁶⁰

In any event, the Foggian then made his way to Madrid via Bordeaux, where he was briefly taken care of by Antoine Antignac, a young anarchist in the Proudhonian tradition.⁶¹ In the Spanish capital he learned that Cánovas was at the spa of Santa Agueda with his new, much younger Peruvian wife. Checking in at the same hotel, he watched his target’s movements for a day or two, and then, on August 8, shot him dead with the pistol he had brought from London. Angiolillo made no attempt to escape. His three-day trial, by a military court, *in camera*, was held the following week. In his defence speech, he spoke mainly of Montjuich, with vague allusions also to the wars in Cuba and the Philippines.⁶² He also said that

⁵⁹ It should be added that a key element in Tamburini’s account is a forceful demolition of the often-repeated story that Betances (or Rochefort) gave Angiolillo a substantial amount of money (variously 1,000 and 500 francs).

⁶⁰ Ojeda, *El desterrado*, p. 121, citing the second volume of Manuel Rodríguez Objio’s *Gregorio Luperón e Historia de la Restauración*, pp. 167-68.

⁶¹ Tamburini quotes from Antignac’s memoirs these mournful sentences: *Le livre qu’il lisait et relisait était intitulé Montjuich, par Tárrida del Mármol, sa valise ne contenait que celui-là... Quelques heures avant son départ nous dîmes à Angiolillo “Au revoir, camarade.” “Non, pas au revoir, Adieu!” À ce moment son oeil flamba sous les lunettes. Nous fûmes stupéfaits.* [The book that he read and reread was Tárrida del Mármol’s *Montjuich*, his suitcase contained nothing else... Some hours before his departure, we said to him “Till we meet again, comrade.” “No, we shall not meet again. Farewell.” At this moment his eye blazed behind his spectacles. We were stupefied]. “Michele Angiolillo,” p. 118.

⁶² It is a curious fact that in London, both *The Times* and *The Daily Telegraph* published on August 10 a Reuter’s report that the man it called Michele Angino Golli “has admitted that he shot Señor Canovas in order to avenge the Barcelona Anarchists, and Dr.

Cánovas “personified, in their most repugnant forms, religious ferocity, military cruelty, the implacability of the judiciary, the tyranny of power, and the greed of the possessing classes. I have rid Spain, Europe, and the entire world of him. That is why I am no assassin but rather an executioner.”⁶³ The court then sentenced him to death, and he was garroted on August 20. At the last moment of his life, he is said have cried out: “Germinal!”⁶⁴ Pío Baroja imagined him thus: *Era un tipo delgado, muy largo, muy seco, y muy fino en sus adelantes, que hablaba con acento extranjero. Cuando supe lo que había hecho, me quedé asombrado. Quién podía esperar aquello de un hombre tan suave y tan tímido?* [He was a slender fellow, very tall, very dry, very courteous in his gestures, who spoke with a foreign accent. When I learned what he had done, I was stunned. Who would have believed it of so gentle and timid a man?]⁶⁵

Cánovas’ death did not only sound the knell for Restoration ‘cacique democracy’ in Spain. It also brought with it the fall of Weyler in Havana, as the general immediately understood.⁶⁶ An interim government under War Minister Azcárraga lasted only to the end of September, when it was replaced by the eternal Sagasta, who made Segismundo Moret once again his minister for Overseas Territories. Both had been strong public

Rizal, the insurgent leader who was executed in the Philippines.” The following day the Telegraph gave its readers another Reuter’s report according to which “Golli is said to have expressed regret that he did not kill General Polavieja, for having caused the filibustering leader, Rizal, to be shot.” No mention of Weyler or Cuba at all. My thanks to Benjamin Hawkes-Lewis for this information.

⁶³ “Michele Angiolillo,” pp. 123 and 129. The quotation is my translation of the Italian original that Tamburini takes from the article “La difesa de Angiolillo,” published (after undergoing Crispi censorship) in Ancona’s L’Agitazione on September 2, 1897.

⁶⁴ “Germinal” was a war-cry popular in the anarchist movement, probably as a result of the huge success of Zola’s novel. Ibid., p. 124. But the symbolism goes back to the calendar of the French Revolution, in which the first month of spring went by that name. So to speak, “if Winter comes, can Spring be far behind.”

⁶⁵ Pío Baroja, Aurora roja (p. 160), cited in Nuñez, El Terrorismo, p. 131.

⁶⁶ The general – whom Betances liked to call a mini-Attila (*pequeño Attila*) -- may even have been partly relieved. Fernández reports that he had been lucky not to have been blown to pieces in April the previous year. With the help of two Asturian anarchists, a young Cuban nationalist called Armando André hid a bomb in the roof of the ground-floor toilet of the Captain-General’s palace. The device was supposed to explode when Weyler sat down on the pot, bringing the whole second floor down on his head. The plotters were unaware, however, that Weyler suffered so severely from haemorrhoids that he almost never used the facility, preferring an earthenware field-potty when he had to relieve himself. The bomb went off, but no one was hurt, and Weyler decided to inform Madrid that the explosion had been caused by stoppages which prevented the latrine’s gases from escaping normally.

opponents of Cánovas' policies in Cuba and Barcelona (though Sagasta, in power when Martí's uprising began, had at least talked in just as hard-line a manner). On October 31 Weyler handed over command in Cuba to none other than Ramón Blanco – the man who had tried to save Rizal and who had been forced out of Manila by the clerical lobby's working on the Cánovas cabinet and the Queen Regent.⁶⁷ He came with a mandate for leniency, compromise, and reform, but it was now too late. The diehard colons greeted him with the organized mob violence that Guy Mollet would experience six decades later in Algiers; the revolutionaries had no taste for a second Zanjón; and American imperialism was on the move. Eight months later the United States was master of Cuba. It is probably true that only Weyler had the capacity and determination to give Roosevelt and Hearst a serious run for their money.

Into the Maelstrom

In the seven months between the execution of Rizal and assassination of his political executioner what had been happening in the Philippines?

Camilo Polavieja stayed in the Philippines only four months, but this short reign to have have long-lasting consequences. Twelve days after Rizal's death, twelve prominent Filipinos, 'led by' the millionaire Francisco Roxas, went before a firing squad at the place where the novelist had died. *Weylerismo* had arrived in Manila.⁶⁸

But Polavieja's main task was to crush the rebellion militarily, and in this he was successful except in the hilly province of Cavite. There his

⁶⁷ The enthusiastic popular reception of Weyler's return to Spain on November 19 panicked the new Liberal government, which feared he would lead a coup d'état. But the general, who was no fool, stood by the constitution and did nothing to encourage his supporters, who then began to look to the strongly Catholic Polavieja as a possibility. See Martín, *Valeriano Weyler*, chapter xiii.

⁶⁸ There is no reason to believe that the charges were true. Some of these men had been involved with Rizal's abortive Liga Filipina in 1892, corresponded with Del Pilar and the circle of *La Solidaridad*, and were cautious nationalists with plenty to lose. Ocampo reports that Bonifacio asked Roxas for funds to help the Katipunan, but the millionaire refused. The angry revolutionary then told his trusted aide Emilio Jacinto to forge the signatures of people like Roxas on the Katipunan's membership lists, and leave them where the Spanish police could find them. He seems to have thought that they would be arrested and tortured, and thus be converted to the rebel cause. *Rizal Without the Overcoat*, p. 246; see also Teodoro Agoncillo's *A Short History*, p. 86, based on his pioneering two-volume study of the Philippine Revolution.

troops were held up by a complex system of trenches and fortifications, planned and built on the orders of Rizal's former protégé Edilberto Evangelista, back from Ghent with a civil engineering degree in his pocket.⁶⁹ The political consequence of Polavieja's offensive was to force Bonifacio out the Manila area where his authority was undisputed into a province unfamiliar to him and famous for the clannishness of its people.⁷⁰ There he ran afoul of an ambitious *caviteño* clique led by Emilio Aguinaldo, the 27-year old mayor of the small township of Kawit. Aguinaldo belonged neither to the highly educated ilustrado elite exemplified by Rizal, nor to the often autodidact Manilan artisanate, like Bonifacio. His Spanish was mediocre, but he was a member of the commercial-farming, medium landowning provincial gentry, and his family was widely connected in the Cavite region. He had joined the Katipunan in March 1895 in a junior capacity, but once the fighting started, he demonstrated that he was a capable soldier.

In March an election was held in the town of Teceros to decide who would be the Revolution's president and who the members of his government. Bonifacio could rightly claim that he had formed the Katipunan – which Aguinaldo had joined – and had initiated the insurrection. But Aguinaldo's supporters felt that Bonifacio's uprising in Manila had proved a fiasco and was a thing of the past; the task ahead was running an effective war. Cavite had shown what needed to be done. In the end, Aguinaldo won the election and picked a cabinet almost entirely composed of fellow-*caviteños*. In addition, the former Supremo was openly sneered at for his irregular education and 'low-class' origins. Bonifacio did not take this denigration lying down and started to rally what supporters he could. The Aguinaldo group then arrested him, tried him in April, and sentenced him to death for treason to the Revolution he had initiated. He and a brother of his were executed on May 10.

Whether Polavieja was aware of these developments, and, if he knew, whether he cared, is unclear. In April he resigned his post (as he had earlier done in Cuba) in disgust at Madrid's unwillingness or inability to send the military reinforcements that he believed necessary to finish off the rebellion. By the end of 1896, his forces had risen to 16,000, and he received 13,300 more in January 1897, for a total of 29,300. After that, nothing.⁷¹ If the insurrection spread to further parts of the archipelago, he would not have the

⁶⁹ Evangelista was killed in action on February 17, 1897.

⁷⁰ The language of the province is a quite distinct dialect of Tagalog. The local notables, then and now, are well-known for their complex intermarriages.

⁷¹ Corpuz, *The Roots*, vol. 2, p. 239.

manpower to fulfill his mission. Cánovas seems to have understood that the time for *weylerismo* in the Philippines had past. Knowing the conditions that had caused the capable Polavieja to resign, no senior general would take the job of Captain-General without a change of policy. In April, Fernando Primo de Rivera arrived to take Polavieja's place. He had been a mildly popular Captain-General during the calm early 1880s when Rizal was setting off for Europe. With his knowledge of the colony, his military experience, and his political flexibility, he could be expected to pursue both a policy of attraction towards local elites, and of continuing the war, even if now with *contemplaciones*. A sort of revived *blanquismo*, one might say. In fact, the new Captain-General did manage to retake Cavite, but Aguinaldo and his generals eluded capture, and, making a wide detour around Manila, ensconced themselves in a rocky fastness well north of the capital, from which no succeeding military efforts managed to dislodge them.⁷²

On May 17, a week after Bonifacio's execution, Primo made what he thought was a major conciliatory gesture, pardoning 636 people who had been incarcerated either by Blanco or Polavieja. He further invited a delegation from this group to his palace, expecting expressions of gratitude and renewed loyalty. He was in for a disagreeable surprise. Prominent in the delegation was none other than Isabelo de los Reyes, who had been arrested in the immediate aftermath of Bonifacio's uprising. The busy folklorist and journalist had been taken completely aback by the insurrection. Prison was a terrible shock. Mariano Ponce wrote to Blumentritt a few months later: *el pobre Isabelo, tan pacífico y de carácter tan calmoso, por la serie de desgracias por que pasado, siendo la principal la muerte de su mujer, y los agudos sufrimientos morales y materiales que venía padeciendo, ha tenido accesos de irritabilidad nerviosa hasta el punto de maldecir en voz alta y en público lo que creía injusto y bárbaro y de las ordenes religiosas como origen de tamañas iniquidades* [poor Isabelo, so peaceable and of so calm a character, as a result of a series of calamities, the gravest of which was the death of his wife, and the acute moral and material sufferings he had just undergone, was affected by attacks of nervous irritability to the point of damning out loud and in public what he believes to be unjust and barbarous, as well as the religious Orders as the root of such enormous iniquities].⁷³

⁷² Today Biak-na-Bató (Split Rock) is an infrequently visited official heritage site. Some wading up a small winding river will take one to the bat-filled limestone caves where Aguinaldo and his men are thought to have hidden out.

⁷³ Letter from Hong Kong, dated September 22, 1897, in his *Cartas sobre La Revolución, 1897-1900* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1932), pp. 42-45. Ponce noted that

Indeed his ailing wife had died while he was behind bars, and he was not permitted by Polavieja to attend her funeral or to do anything for his many children.

In any event, he brought with him to the meeting a blistering memorandum, which he had already sent to friends in Spain, outlining what he believed were the *ilustrados*' conditions for a peaceful settlement. Above all, he demanded the immediate expulsion of the Orders, whose abuses of power he listed in great detail. He then insisted that Primo explain how the government planned to respond to the colony's aspirations, or at the very least those of the assimilationist 'party' (in the nineteenth century sense) to which he belonged. The Captain-General reacted 'as if he had been bitten by a snake.'⁷⁴ Furious at Isabelo's insolence -- 'the audacity of his temperament and his love of notoriety' -- he ordered the folklorist re-arrested three days later and clapped in irons in Manila's Bilibid prison.⁷⁵ Soon afterwards he was secretly deported to martial law Barcelona. The ship's captain was told to keep the young villain isolated from any contact with Filipinos "over whom he exercises considerable influence."⁷⁶ On arrival in Barcelona a month later -- Cánovas was still alive and well -- Isabelo was put in the municipal jail, where, after some money had changed hands, he was contacted by another prisoner, the veteran Catalan anarchist-republican journalist Ignacio Bó y Singla. This admirable figure, who was serving a six-year sentence because he had called for Cuban independence, and protested against the sending of Spanish troops to Weyler's Havana, told the bewildered young Filipino that 'the advanced Republican party' supported the independence of the Philippines.⁷⁷ But this was only the beginning.

he heard about the delegation's encounter with Primo from one of the people who was a member.

⁷⁴ Ponce, *Cartas*, p. 24. Letter to Blumentritt, written in Hong Kong on August 18, 1897. The phrasing is: *el General saltó como picado por una culebra*.

⁷⁵ Scott, *Unión Obrera Democrática*, p. 14, quoting from Primo's correspondence with his superiors in Madrid.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* It is interesting that, in his August 18 letter to Blumentritt cited above, Ponce said he had not seen Isabelo's name on any passenger list, meaning that he had someone in Manila to monitor outgoing shipping. He expressed his fear that the folklorist had been 'disappeared' as we say nowadays.

⁷⁷ Scott, *Unión Obrera Democrática*, p. 14. Isabelo recalled in 1900 that *estaba rigurosamente incommunicado en las cárceles nacionales de Barcelona, en un cabocillo á donde, para llegar, había que pasar por tres puertas cerradas con llave que, cuando, por arte de birlibirloque, un distinguido periodista federal, que estaba también preso por revolucionario, D. Ignacio Bó y Singla, logró introducirse en mi prisión* [I was kept

After a week, he was transferred to Montjuich, whose commandant calmly (and falsely) assured him that only those facing the death penalty were incarcerated in its cells. He was by not – by a long chalk – the first Filipino since Rizal to be sequestered there. The anarchist ‘Federico Urales’ -- who had been arrested after the Corpus Christi bombing because he had courageously adopted Pallás’s orphaned daughter, had opened a highly popular secular school for children, and had published an attack on trials by military courts in Barcelona – gave in his memoirs this touching account. He said that the ‘ultras’ *logró del gobierno que fuese destituido el general Blanco por demasiado transigente y que en su lugar se nombrase al general cristiano Polavieja, asesino del poeta y doctor filipino Rizal. Tan pronto Polavieja llegó á Filipinas, empezó á fusilar y á embarcar gente para España y un barco cargado de insurrectos llegó á Barcelona, siendo encerrados en la cárcel donde nosotros lo estábamos. Ello ocurría en invierno, y aquellos pobres filipinos fueron deportados llevando el mismo traje del país, que consistía en unos pantalones que parecían calzonillos y en una camisa de telaraña. Y era vergonzoso y triste á la vez ver á los pobres filipinos en el patio de la cárcel de Barcelona, paseándose, formando círculo y dando patadas en el suelo para calentarse los pies y tiritando de frío....Lo noble, lo hermoso fué ver á toda la población penal de la cárcel tirando al patio zapatos, alpargatas, pantalones, chalecos, chaquetas, gorras, calcetines para que se abrigaran los pobres deportados filipinos, en cuyo país no se conoce el frío.* [succeeded in getting the government to dump General Blanco for being too lenient, and to replace him with the Christian general Polavieja, the murderer of Rizal, the Filipino poet and doctor. On his arrival in the Philippines Polavieja immediately began executions and deportations to Spain. One ship laden with insurrectionaries having arrived at Barcelona, the prisoners were incarcerated in the same prison as ourselves. This happened in winter, and those poor Filipino deportees were (still) clothed in their native attire, which consisted simply of drawer-like pants and a cobweb-thin shirt. It was both shaming and melancholy to see the poor Filipinos in the courtyard of the

rigorously incommunicado in the national prisons of Barcelona, in a cell entry to which required passing through three locked doors; but obtaining the key by abracadabra means, the distinguished federalist journalist, D. Ignacio Bó y Singla, also a prisoner because taken for a revolutionary, managed to introduce himself into my place of incarceration]. Filipinas ante Europa, March 25. 1900. Federico Urales, Mi Vida (Barcelona: Publicaciones de la Revista Blanca, DATE?), Tomo I, p. 218, wrote that though Bó was physically insignificant (*casi ridículo*), he had enormous courage. He began his political life as a federalist with Pí y Margall, but moved on to anarchism and committed atheism. He also later published a lacerating book on Montjuich.

Barcelona prison, pacing about in a circle, kicking at the ground to warm their feet and shivering with cold. It was a noble, beautiful sight see the prison inmates throwing down into the courtyard shoes, rope-sandals, trousers, vests, jackets, caps, and socks to warm the poor Filipino deportees, in whose country the cold is unknown].⁷⁸

In September Isabelo received a new cell-mate, Ramón Sempau, who on the fourth of that month had tried to assassinate Lieutenant Narciso Portas, the torturer-in-chief of Montjuich, aka the ‘Spanish Trepov,’ whose name Tàrrida, via the European press, had made synonymous with the ‘New Inquisition.’ (The lieutenant had been made head of a special political intelligence unit by Weyler during his tenure as Captain-General of Catalonia prior to reassignment to Havana). Sempau was basically a bohemian literary figure, journalist and poet, with anarchist leanings.⁷⁹ If Urales’ memoirs are to be trusted, the plan to kill Portas was hatched originally in Paris, and after Sempau’s arrest the well-known French anarchist Charles Malato came to Barcelona to carry out what proved to be an abortive attempt to manage his escape.⁸⁰ In any case, Isabelo was enchanted by the failed assassin. In old age, he wrote that the Catalan was “very well educated; he knew by heart the scientific names of plants in the Philippines, and later translated Rizal’s *Noli Me Tangere* into French. In his fight with some hundred police agents, he showed an absolute lack of fear. His very name caused terror in Europe. Yet in reality he was like an honest and good-natured child – yes, even a true Christ by nature...I repeat, on my word of honor, that the so-called anarchists, Nihilists, or, as they say nowadays, Bolsheviks, are the true saviors and disinterested defenders of justice and universal brotherhood. When the prejudices of these days of

⁷⁸ Urales, *Mi Vida*, Tomo I, pp. 79, 196-97, and 200. Urales’ real Catalan name was Joan Montseny, but he took on the Ural Mountains (Siberia!) for his first *nom de guerre* and *nom de plume*. He was originally to be deported to Rio de Oro; but at the last minute he was sent into exile in London, where he immediately helped to organize the Committee on Spanish Atrocities. He returned to Spain in 1898 and founded *La revista blanca* in homage to the *Revue Blanche* (but it was more oriented to *obreros conscientes* than to leading intellectuals). He recalled, rather touchingly, that when he started *La revista blanca* he wrote very popular articles on diseases and the social conditions that caused them, under the pseudonym Dr. Boudin. He did so because the “intellectuals of the working class did not believe in the talent of Federico Urales, whom they knew to be Juan (sic) Montseny,” but they thoroughly trusted ‘Dr. Boudin.’

⁷⁹ See Nuñez, *El terrorismo*, pp. 55 (Narciso Portas), and 60-61 and 158 (Sempau). Sempau later became part of the Catalan Revival of the turn of the century, collaborating on the Catalan-language review *Occitània*.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 158, quoting from the second volume of Urales’ *Mi Vida*, pp. 80-81.

moribund imperialism have disappeared, they will rightfully occupy our altars.”⁸¹ Perhaps with Sempau’s help, Isabelo further got a friendly guard to pass him books and newspapers, which, as he later recalled, “really opened my eyes.” He learned that anarchism “espoused the abolition of boundaries; that is, love without any boundaries, whether geographic or of class distinction... with all of us associating together without any need of fraudulent taxes or ordinances which trap the unfortunate but leave the real criminals untouched.”⁸²

With Cánovas dead, and Sagasta’s opposition coalition in power, while Tárrida’s campaign was going full blast,⁸³ the situation of the Montjuich prisoners started to change. The demands of the army and the police that Sempau be tried by a military court, which would certainly have sentenced him to death, were rejected by the new government. Such was the odium in which Portas was held that no civilian judge wished or dared to declare the would-be assassin guilty. On January 8, 1898, Isabelo was freed. Thanks to letters of reference from Pí y Margall, Alejandro Lerroux, the head of the populist Radical Republican Party in Barcelona, and of Federico Urales, he quickly got a minor sinecure in the propaganda section of Moret’s Ministry for Overseas Territories. His articles on the Philippines, especially his tirades against the Orders, were published in Lerroux’s party organ, with Grand Mason Professor Miguel Morayta polishing their language. Best of all, armed with a revolver, he plunged happily into the radical demonstrations of the times, without shooting anyone, but not without getting an occasional bloody nose.⁸⁴

⁸¹ Quoted in Scott, The Unión Obrera Democrática, p. 15.

⁸² Ibid., p. 14.

⁸³ The committedly anarchist Théâtre Libertaine opened its doors in 1898 with a drama entitled ‘Montjuich,’ which remained popular for several years thereafter. Herbert, The Artist and Social Reform, p. 39. Herbert comments that in the 1890s Paris was very short of competent French playwrights, and Ibsen – often interpreted anarchistically – towered over everything.

⁸⁴ Scott describes the delicious welter that attended a lively demonstration against ‘Montjuich’ in February 1898 – in which Isabelo joined. Organized by a group close to Lerroux (including a woman journalist for his newspaper El Progreso who would become the Filipino’s second wife), it was composed of: the Association of Freethinkers, the Baralones Centre for Psychological Studies, El Diluvio, the Kardesian (Cartesian?) Spiritists’ Union, Liberal Students of the Faculty of Law, the Marxist Centre, the Progressive Feminist Society, Republican Youth, Revista Masónica, the Society of Stevedores, the Society of Lumber-loading Labourers, the Union of Workers’ Societies, and La Voz del Pueblo. Ibid., p. 16.

Go East, Young Man

Mariano Ponce, two years younger than Rizal, and one year older than Isabelo de los Reyes, came from the province of Bulacan, adjoining Manila on its northeast side (Aguinaldo's guerrilla hide-out Biak-na-Bató is located in this province). While still a student at Santo Tomás, he had become a nationalist activist under the tutelage of Del Pilar, and continued with his activism after arriving in Madrid to study medicine at Rizal's and Unamuno's Central University. He and his mentor were the driving forces in founding La Solidaridad in February 1889, and in moving it to the Spanish capital nine months later. Though he wrote articles under various pseudonyms, he discovered that his real talents were working as managing editor, treasurer, and archivist. More and more Del Pilar turned managing the journal over to him. It says a great deal for his calm, honest, and modest character that even when the relations between Rizal and Del Pilar were at their most fraught, Ponce remained the close and trusted friend of both.

After Rizal's arrest and deportation to Dapitan, La Solidaridad began a slow decline, and its last issue appeared in October 1895. One difficulty was that it depended financially on contributions from well-off sympathizers in Manila, and these were increasingly difficult to extract. But the main problem was that after six years of intensive labour, Del Pilar's policy of strategic assimilationism still had little impact on the Spanish government, and there was a growing feeling in the Filipino colony that it was a dead-end. Accordingly, in the spring of 1896, Ponce and Del Pilar decided to move to Hong Kong, where they could be safe from persecution but close to their home-land. But Del Pilar's health was by then broken, and, as noted earlier, he died a miserable death in martial law Barcelona on July 4. Ponce, who had faithfully nursed him, stayed on to settle their remaining affairs. When Bonifacio's uprising erupted at the end of the following month, the police raided the house where he was living and the premises of the Hispano-Philippine Association, removing many documents. Ponce himself was imprisoned, but only for one night, as the police found nothing seriously compromising. When things quieted down, he slipped across the French border to Marseilles and set sail for the Far East on October 11.

In the spring of 1897, at the age of 34, he began there the work which occupied him for the next four years, raising money for what was by then Aguinaldo's revolutionary government, attempting to buy guns and ammunition to be smuggled into the Philippines, and engaging in a ceaseless propaganda campaign on behalf of his country's independence. (In June

1898, he was sent by Aguinaldo to represent the Philippines in Japan.) In accomplishing the first two tasks he had little success. His Cartas sobre la Revolución contain a number of letters to wealthy Filipinos residing outside the country, begging them to show their patriotism by substantial financial contributions, and other letters, to close friends, complaining how odiously selfish and unpatriotic these people mostly turned out to be. The search for arms was even less successful. But the correspondence shows in fascinating detail how Ponce conducted his propaganda campaign, and tried to adapt to the hectic events of 1897-1900. Before undertaking an analysis of the texts, a brief recapitulation of these events is necessary.

Who is the Enemy?

While Isabelo was still languishing in Montjuich, the military impasse in the Philippines continued. Primo Rivera was unable to destroy Aguinaldo, and the man from Cavite was unable to make any serious break-out from his Biak-na-Bató redoubt. It was time for political initiatives. Aguinaldo's civilian associates advised that his position would be greatly strengthened if a democratic constitution were enacted to create a legal revolutionary government competing with the colonial regime. The task was assigned to Félix Ferrer and Isabelo Artacho. Teodoro Agoncillo dryly described the process this way: "...Ferrer and Artacho lifted the contents of the Constitution of Jimaguayú, Cuba, drawn up in 1895, and passed it off as their brain work... [A] contemporary scholar, Clemente José Zulueta, once calmly told a friend who expressed fear that the only copy of the Biak-na-Bató Constitution might be lost: 'Don't worry, we have a copy of the Constitution of Jimaguayú.'"⁸⁵ The only local addition was a then-divisive clause making Tagalog the national language. The caudillo, whose Spanish was weak, and who knew little about the world beyond the Philippines, proudly proclaimed the enactment of this 'Filipino' constitution on November 1. The next day he was sworn in as president.

But even before this grand gesture was being made, negotiations had begun with Primo de Rivera, who seems to have hoped, after Cánovas's death, Weyler's fall, and the return of Sagasta to power, to secure at best a sort of oriental version of the Pact of Zanjón. By the end of the year, it had been agreed that the rebels would lay down their arms and receive full

⁸⁵ Agoncillo, A Short History, p. 102.

amnesty; and that Aguinaldo and his officers would leave for Hong Kong with 400,000 pesetas in their pockets, and another 400,000 due when the surrender of arms was complete. A further 900,000 was to be allocated for the benefit of innocent Filipino victims of the fighting over the past 15 months. Primo de Rivera, aware of intense Filipino suspicion of Spanish treachery, sent two of his generals to Biak-na-Bató as hostages, while his 27-year old nephew, Colonel Miguel Primo de Rivera (the future dictator of Spain in the 1920s, much less intelligent than his uncle) would accompany Aguinaldo across the China Sea. Unsurprisingly, neither side lived fully up to the agreement – many rebels buried their weapons rather than surrendering them, and the second *tranche* of cash for the caudillo never materialized.⁸⁶

Meanwhile Washington was on the move, above all in the person of Theodore Roosevelt. As early as November 1897 he had written that, in the event of war with Spain over Cuba, it would be advisable to send the American Asiatic Squadron, based in Japan, to Manila Bay; simultaneously, he arranged for like-minded Commodore George Dewey to take over the squadron's command. At the end of February 1898, Roosevelt ordered Dewey to move his base of operations to Hong Kong. When war was finally declared on April 25, after the curious explosion of the warship USS *Maine* in Havana's harbor – it had been sent there to intimidate the Spanish -- Dewey set off for the Philippines within an hour of getting the official cable. On May 1, he destroyed the obsolete Spanish fleet within sight of Manila's shoreline. (At this point there was still no attack on Cuba itself!) At Dewey's invitation Aguinaldo and his men followed from Hong Kong on the 19th. But Washington's real aims soon became clear. Aguinaldo was barred from entering Manila, while Dewey's people started to fraternize with the defeated Spaniards, and relations with the Filipinos steadily deteriorated. Aguinaldo was forced to read the declaration of Philippine independence on June 12, not in the capital but from the balcony of his substantial home in Kawit. Shortly thereafter, he appointed Apolinario Mabini as his chief political adviser.

Mabini was an extraordinary figure.⁸⁷ Three years younger than Rizal, he was born to a poor peasant family in the province of Batangas, and throughout his brief life he never had a real penny to his name. He was a

⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 103.

⁸⁷ The wonderful and indispensable source is still Cesar Adib Majul's Mabini and the Philippine Revolution (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1996), originally published in 1960.

brilliant law student at Santo Tomás, as well as member of Rizal's abortive Liga Filipina. Fluent in Spanish, he had neither the means, nor, probably the inclination, to study overseas. The only time he left his country was when he was deported by the Americans to a political prison in Guam. In 1896 disaster struck, when he became paralyzed from the waist down, perhaps from rheumatic fever, perhaps from polio, but the condition saved him from Polavieja's fury. In the first half of 1898, while Aguinaldo was ensconced in Hong Kong, Mabini became celebrated for the passionate revolutionary manifestos he wrote in defence of the Revolution. When the caudillo summoned him to Cavite, hundreds of people took turns to bear his litter from the spa of Los Baños to the revolutionary leader's headquarters. He designed and wrote up virtually all the Aguinaldo government's decrees, and effectively managed their execution for the crucial year when he remained in power. A man of iron will, he was also a dedicated patriot, and one of the very few top leaders of the immediate post-Rizal era who recognized that the popular movement was essential to the Revolution's survival, and predicted early on that it would be betrayed by most of the *ilustrados* and the wealthy.

But Mabini's rise to power came just at the point when large numbers of American troops landed in Cuba. Six weeks later the hostilities there between Spain and the United States came to an end, and Washington became effective master of the island. The turn of the Philippines was bound to come next. At the end of the year the Treaty of Paris was signed between the US and Spain by which Madrid 'sold' the colony to Washington for twenty million dollars. (Germany bought up most of the Carolines and Marianas for a much lower price). In the meantime, a Philippine national assembly had assembled in Aguinaldo's temporary capital of Malolos (in Bulacan), created a new constitution, inaugurated the Republic of the Philippines, and elevated Mabini to the Prime Ministership. Every effort was made to mobilize political support in the islands outside Luzon, to reasonably good effect except in the Muslim far south.

The Filipino-American war broke out in February 1899. The Filipino soldiers fought bravely, but, poorly armed, were no match for their new enemies in conventional warfare. Worse was to follow. Mabini was driven from power in May by a cabal of wily *ilustrados* who were eager to collaborate with the Americans. Antonio Luna, chief of staff, and the only Filipino general with a clear strategic vision of how to conduct guerrilla warfare against the new colonizers, was assassinated in June by Aguinaldo and his clique, who were afraid that the Ilocano would eventually take power. The war officially ended in March 1901, when Aguinaldo was

betrayed and captured in the high Luzon Cordillera – and promptly swore allegiance to Washington, But other generals fought on for another year, and armed popular resistance was not finally stamped out till the end of the decade. The details of all this have been amply studied and need not detain us here. For present purposes only two things need to be underlined.

First, on the eve of the second anniversary of Rizal's execution, Aguinaldo issued a proclamation that the entire population should thereafter mourn, on each subsequent anniversary of his death, the country's National Hero. The earliest monument, two small Masonic pillars inscribed with the titles of Rizal's novels, still survives in the small hurricane-haunted town of Dáet on the Bicol peninsula of south-eastern Luzon. Second, the Americans, having ferociously denounced Weyler's 'concentration of populations' in Cuba, ended up by adopting this same policy -- in spades -- in the Philippines. Perhaps half a million Filipinos died of malnutrition and disease in these concentration zones, as well as in a merciless counterinsurgency warfare during which torture of prisoners was commonplace.⁸⁸

A Gentleman Globalized

With this background in mind, it is possible to return productively to Ponce's correspondence in his role as one of the most important overseas emissaries of the Philippine regime. Before doing so, one has to emphasize that his Cartas, published long after his death, contains only letters that Ponce himself wrote. Both the original letters from which they were culled, and all the letters of his correspondents, have long disappeared. There is no way to determine for certain whether they have been bowdlerized, and how many letters were omitted. (The editor, Teodoro Kalaw, a conventional mainstream post-revolutionary nationalist and politician, was probably not eager to have the revolutionary movement's dirty laundry hung out for public consumption. The collection as printed is notable for the absence of personal letters to Ponce's kin, of letters in any way critical of Aguinaldo, and of correspondence about the intrigues and financial manipulations – well known from other sources – of unprincipled 'leaders,' primarily in Hong Kong, but also elsewhere.)

⁸⁸ See Leon Wolff, Little Brown Brother (New York: Doubleday, 1961). Most recently, there is also Celerina G. Balucan's "War Atrocities," Kasaysayan, 1:4 (December 2001), pp. 34-54.

There are 243 letters in all, beginning in May 1897 and ending in March 1900. Two tables will give the reader a general statistical picture of the character of Ponce's correspondents. It should be noted that some of these correspondents used one or more pseudonyms (as did Ponce himself) to elude the monitoring of Spanish, British, and American spies. Not all of the real people behind these pseudonyms have been firmly identified.

Table I tabulates the 'nationality,' where known, of these correspondents: Filipinos 28, Japanese 17, Spanish 5, Cuban 4, Unknown 3, Austro-Hungarian 2, and one each for Dutch, Portuguese, British, American, Canadian, and Chinese.

Table II tabulates, by country or state, the addresses of these correspondents: Japan 18 (at least half in Tokyo), Spain 9 (evenly divided between Barcelona and Madrid), the Philippines (various) 6, Unknown 6, Hongkong 5, France 5 (all in Paris), the United States 5 (New Orleans, New York, and 'Pennsylvania'), Austro-Hungary (Dresden and Leitmeritz) 2, Macao 2, and one each for Singapore, The Netherlands, Mexico, Canada (Montreal), Germany (Berlin), and China (Shanghai).

Almost 50% of the letters were addressed to just five people: Galicano Apacible (who took over from Ponce in Hong Kong after the latter left for Japan), 43; Blumentritt 39; Vergel de Dios (Ponce's main contact with the Cubans in Paris) 15; 'Ifortel' (who may have been Rafael de Pan and whose address is unclear), 12; and Francisco Agoncillo (Aguinaldo's frustrated representative in the US), 11.

The languages used are also revealing. Generally speaking, Ponce used Spanish when writing to Spaniards, Cubans, Puerto Ricans, and Filipinos, with three interesting additions. All the lengthy correspondence with Blumentritt was in Spanish, as well as that with his own Japanese translator 'Foujita' and Miura Arajiro, the Japanese diplomat to whom he wrote while the latter was on a reconnoitering mission to Manila, and later in Mexico. On the other hand, Ponce used an English painfully acquired in Hong Kong to address all but two of his Japanese correspondents, as well as a Briton, a Dutchman, an American, a Canadian, a German, and an Austro-Hungarian. Most strikingly the only letters wholly in Tagalog are the two he sent to Aguinaldo (though a few sentences in otherwise Spanish letters are also visible). He was plainly aware of the caudillo's shaky command of the imperial language

Comparison between the two tables makes other things very clear. First is the extent of the Filipino and Cuban diaspora – Ponce was communicating with Filipinos in New Orleans, Paris, Hong Kong, Barcelona, Shanghai, Madrid, Yokohama, and Macao, and with Cubans in New York and Paris, but not in Havana or to any real extent in Spain. There is something else of special interest. When writing in Spanish, Ponce normally used the ultra-polite terms of address used in nineteenth century Spain. But to the two Antilleans to whom he felt closest, Betances and José Izquierdo in Paris – and only to them – he addressed his letters with the phrases *mi distinguidísimo correligionario*, and *mi querido correligionario* – where the playful ‘coreligionist’ clearly meant ‘fellow (non-Filipino) nationalist.’

If one steps back from the Cartas and considers their circumambience, the limits of their ‘globalization’ are revealed by the absences. Ponce had no contacts in the capitals of the New World, including Havana and Washington. In Europe, the biggest absence is London, followed by Vienna, Rome, Brussels, Lisbon, and Belgrade. In Asia, his important contacts with Chinese were in Japan, not China itself, while India and neighbouring Southeast Asia are almost invisible, though Ponce mentions a certain Matias Gonzalez working for the cause in Java. Politically, it is plain that he had very little communication with the Left. Clémenceau, Dreyfus, Tárrida, Vandervelde, Keir Hardie, as well as Malatesta, and the anarchists of Catalonia and Andalusia, are never mentioned, and seem to be off his screen. The people he wrote to were overwhelmingly liberal scholars and newspaper people in the West, and fellow-nationalists in the Cuban and Chinese diasporas. It is only in the case of the Japanese that the picture becomes more blurred.

Blumentritt

On December 16, 1896 Blumentritt wrote a quite uncharacteristically obtuse and emotional letter to Pardo de Tavera in Paris: *Celebro también que ha (he?) la gustado mi artículo que ha publicado en la Política de España, p (or?) q(ue?) (para?) condenar los que ahora se han rebelado en Filipinas. No puedo hallar bastante numeros de voces en el diccionario castellano que pudieron expresar bien la indignación que me inspira aquella nefando revolución. Sus instigadores merecen no solamente el castigo que pone la ley sino también el odio y desprecio de parte de los filipinos, pues la felonía de aquellos ha llevada al país á la sangre, desgracia y ruina. Todo la Europa simpatiza con la causa española y*

admira los esfuerzos heroicos con que España defiende en el Occidente y el Oriente la gloriosa bandera de su nación. Espero que en el momento cuando V. habrá recibido esta carta, será suprimida por completo aquella loca rebelión. [I am delighted that you enjoyed the article I published in the Política de España condemning those who are now in rebellion in the Philippines. I can not find enough words in the Spanish dictionary properly to express the indignation which this calamitous rebellion arouses in me. Its instigators deserve not only the punishment laid down by the law, but also the hatred and the contempt of the Filipinos, for these men's treachery has led the country to bloodshed, misfortune, and ruin. All Europe sympathizes with the Spanish cause and admires the heroic efforts by which Spain is defending, in the West and in the East, the glorious flag of its nation. I trust that by the time you receive this letter, this insane rebellion will have been annihilated].⁸⁹

Doubtless, he was agitated by the thought of what might happen to his bosom-friend Rizal in Fort Santiago. It is also possible that he was sending other letters of this kind to friends and colleagues in Spain in the hope of getting their help in saving Rizal's life. But some time in January 1897 he got the last letter Rizal wrote, saying he would be dead by the time it arrived. More than anything else the execution changed the Austrian scholar's mind, and from then on he was an intelligent and tireless supporter of the Revolution.

Although the two men had never met face to face, Ponce and Blumentritt had corresponded for years, since the latter wrote frequently for La Solidaridad and always sent to the editors copies of his latest scholarly texts on the Philippines. Now the relationship became extremely close. For Blumentritt, Ponce in Hong Kong was a generally well-informed and reliable source of detailed information on the ups and downs of the Revolution at a time when the Philippines itself was under martial law, and the European press generally ignorant. In return, Blumentritt appears to have given Ponce good advice on the world political situation, warning particularly against any naiveté about American intentions and ambitions.⁹⁰ Blumentritt not only used Ponce's reports to write regularly for the press,

⁸⁹ Taken from a retype of the original letter, found in the Ateneo de Manila's Pardo de Tavera Collection.

⁹⁰ In a letter of September 28, 1898, Ponce wrote to Blumentritt saying he shared the scholar's view, and had repeatedly warned his countrymen that "while doubtless under the Americans the country would grow rich in agriculture, industry and commerce, yet *esa riqueza no será nuestra, sino que estará en manos americanas* [the riches will not be ours, but will be in American hands]." Cartas, pp. 195-205.

but, aware of Ponce's unfamiliarity with the international academic world, used his scholarly contacts -- in Pennsylvania, Berlin, Dresden, The Netherlands -- to put Ponce directly in touch with sympathetic and active professors.⁹¹

The Antilleans

The Cartas contain eleven letters to diasporic Antilleans, dated between May 1897 and November 1898, most sent prior to the American conquest in August 1898. They were written therefore in the period when Cuba was seen as a shining example for Filipino nationalists, Spain as the enemy, and the United States as a potentially benevolent ally. Most of them were addressed to the Cuban José Izquierdo, who was evidently a good personal friend -- Ponce mentions their time together as members of the Ateneo club in Madrid. Izquierdo was a young lawyer and assimilationist liberal in the outer edge of Betances' nationalist circle in Paris.⁹² Sent on May 11, 1897, the first letter shows a pattern repeated regularly thereafter; Ponce updates his friend on the progress of the Philippine Revolution, and asks for publications of the Cubans, especially Martí's Manifesto and the writings of General Máximo Gómez on the principles of (guerrilla) war. He then proceeds to ask Izquierdo to put him in touch with the Cuban Delegation in New York to get advice on whether armed expeditions to the Philippines could be organized over there. It is telling of the way in which Ponce thought about the United States at that time that he wrote: *No hemos dado aún paso para conseguir la protección de los Estados Unidos* [We have yet to take any steps to seek the protection of the United States]. He went on to observe that *No se olvide de que son Vdes nuestros hermanos mayores y que somos nuevos y sin experiencia aún en estas empresas colosales, ya por lo tanto muy necesitados de ayuda, consejos, instrucciones, que sólo podemos esperar de Vdes. Cuba y Filipinas han recorrido juntas el doloroso camino de su historia de vergonzosa esclavitud, juntas deben también pulverizar sus cadenas* [We do not forget that you are our elder brothers and that we are new and still without experience in these colossal enterprises, and, just for that reason, we are in need of the aid,

⁹¹ Specifically Dr. Eduardo Soler in Berlin, Dr. Daniel Brenton in Pennsylvania, Dr. A.H. Meyer in Dresden, and the intellectual publisher A. Tjeenk Willink in The Netherlands. In an effusive letter of September 9, 1897 Ponce thanked Tjeenk Willink for publishing in his Op de Uitkijk a laudatory memorial article on Rizal by the famous Javanologist R. A. Kern. Cartas, p. 34. Later Blumentritt pushed Ponce to write for this periodical himself.

⁹² His name is mentioned only a couple of times in the hundreds of pages of El destierro.

advice, and instructions which we can hope for only from you. Cuba and the Philippines have together trodden the tragic path of shameful enslavement, and together we should also smash our chains].⁹³

Izquierdo must have been discouraging about prospects in America, since in the second letter, of September 8, Ponce asks whether in that case Mexico might be willing to permit ‘expeditions’ from one of its Pacific ports.⁹⁴ There is not yet any evidence that the Ponce-Izquierdo contacts were the cause, but it is interesting that some time in June 1898, shortly before the American onslaught on Cuba, a letter was sent to Mabini – only just in power, so the senders were *au courant* – by the Cuban Bureau of General Information, at Room 45, 81 New Street, New York, offering to sell the Philippines the ‘latest’ (*de nueva invención*) in arms, along with manuals showing how to use them. The details have their melancholy interest: a light mortar with its carriage, for \$125; a carton containing ten dynamite bombs with gunpowder, for \$40, at from 10-20% in discounts. “The carton in addition contains 12 capsules and 12 fuses for the bombs. The cover has a clasp and hinges, and is provided with handles and a leather strap so it can be carried on the shoulder and thus transported easily.”⁹⁵ Ponce’s later letters were mainly asking help from the Cuban Delegation in New York (Gonzalo de Quezada) and Izquierdo in Paris for Agoncillo, whom Aguinaldo had sent to America to lobby the press and legislators, and on to Paris to try to be heard at the talks leading to the Treaty of Paris. Neither mission had fruitful results. Strangely enough, the most touching correspondence arose from something of no political importance at all. On September 13, 1898 Ponce wrote a letter from Yokohama to Apacible in Hong Kong, addressed to ‘Kanoy.’ (Today *kanoy* is contemptuous Tagalog for ‘American,’ derived from *amerikano*, but here it only an affectionate Filipinization of Galicano). He told Apacible that he had received a letter from Betances – who died a few days later – making two enquiries. The first was about a young Puerto Rican lawyer, Manuel Rovira y Muñoz, working as a registrar of land-holdings in the province of Laguna, whose long silence had deeply worried his parents in Puerto Rico.⁹⁶ Betances’

⁹³ *Cartas.*, pp. 5-9.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 28-32.

⁹⁵ The letter does not mention Mabini by name, and is addressed tactfully to *Muy Sr. nuestro*. But the Americans who later captured it were almost certainly right in thinking it was meant for the man of the hour. The letter is on microfilm at the National Library in Manila.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 174-76. That same day Ponce wrote a strong letter to Mabini asking his help, adding that Betances was an old comrade to whom our ‘sacred cause owes much.’

second request was more complex and shows beautifully how ‘globalization’ worked at the end of the nineteenth century. He told Ponce that he was very concerned after hearing from a Cuban prisoner about the misery of five Cubans, including himself,’ and seven Filipinos incarcerated in Valladolid. Betances said he himself could help the Cubans, but he could find no representation of the Filipinos either in London or Paris, so asked Ponce to do what he could. Betances’ letter included a transcript of the ‘Cuban’ prisoner’s letter, a wonderful document in its own right. It is written in Spanish but with a peculiar orthography. Valladolid appears as ‘Balladolid,’ Capablanca as ‘Kapa-blanca,’ *aquí* as *akí*, and *cómo* as *komo*. There is no ‘v’ sound in Tagalog, and no letter ‘k’ in the standard Spanish alphabet. The spelling is impossible for Spanish-speaking Cubans, even with a low level of literacy, but it is close to the one already aggressively pushed by Rizal at the time of *El Filibusterismo* (as noted earlier).⁹⁷ The person who actually wrote the letter to Betances must have been a Filipino, probably following the dictation of an illiterate Cuban. This is nice anecdotal confirmation of Schumacher’s claim that in 1900 literacy in the Philippines was as high as in Spain, and *a priori* much higher than in Cuba.

The Japanese.

Japan was initially a total shock to Ponce, even if the shock passed in time, so that in the end he happily married a Japanese woman. On July 8, 1898 he wrote to Blumentritt that: *Tiene razón. Destruye toda noción que hemos adquirido en Europa, pues todo esto revela un mundo desconocido, completamente extraño y exótico á todo lo que se podía imaginar antes de verlo* [You are right. (Being here) destroys every conception that we have acquired from Europe, since everything discloses a world unknown, completely strange and exotic (compared to) everything that one might imagine before seeing (it) with one’s own eyes].⁹⁸ Knowing no Japanese – he wrote to almost all his Japanese correspondents in English – and with no experience of the intricate conflicts and intrigues within the late-Meiji elite, he was an easy prey, at first, for speculators. It took him time to understand that ‘the opposition’ –whatever it happened to consist of at any one moment – enjoyed blaming whatever coalition was in power for

Ibid., pp. 177-9. Later it transpired that the youngster had been detained by the Philippine government, but was in good health and spirits.

⁹⁷ What we will probably never know is whether poor Tagalogs picked up Rizal’s ‘innovation,’ or whether Rizal was borrowing from the practices of poor Tagalogs.

⁹⁸ *Cartas*, pp. 124-26.

‘weakness’ towards the ‘white’ Powers and unwillingness to help the exploited ‘Asian brothers,’ until the moment when the political wheel rotated, and opposition became government. He cultivated high government officials (often discreetly sympathetic), opposition politicians (less discreetly), the press, university professors, and shady adventurers, military and civilian, without getting very far, though he did persuade various periodicals to publish key documents of the Aguinaldo regime. (The reasons for Japanese caution have been laid out in Chapter IV).

The exception does not always prove the rule. On April 5, 1899, at the height of the Filipino-American War, he wrote to Apacible in Hong Kong that he had found the sustained outlet he needed. The periodical he called *Keikora Nippo* [Kaika Nippo] was publishing a long series of his articles under the rubric *Cuestiones Filipinas*. The miracle was not only the ‘contract’ itself, but that the journal had on its staff a man he called ‘Foujita Sonetaka’ who was reasonably fluent in Spanish.⁹⁹ On the 25th, he wrote again to Apacible about his pleasure at being invited to give an address to what he called The Oriental Young Men’s Society, composed of *indios* [Filipino ‘natives’? Indians?] *koreanos, chinos y japoneses*, after which he was made an honorary member.¹⁰⁰ Shortly thereafter, Ponce had the sensible idea of turning his series of articles into a book, revising, cutting duplications and so on. ‘Foujita’ was entrusted with the job of translating and publishing the text, getting the Japanese copyright in return. It seems probable that the articles, or news of the impending book, got ‘Foujita’ into hot water, since Ponce wrote to him on November 3 to say how badly he felt that his friend had been harassed by the Japanese police ‘because of our cause.’¹⁰¹ A week earlier he had written a chilly letter to Felipe Buencamino, leader of the clique that had plotted Mabini’s fall and now Aguinaldo’s right-hand man, to say curtly that, because of time constraints, he would be unable to submit his manuscript to *la censura de nuestro Gobierno*.¹⁰² The

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 316-17. Fujita must have been an unusually cosmopolitan figure for the Japan of his time. Professor Umemori Naoyuki of Waseda University has kindly informed me that he found the translator listed in 1908 as a professor of ??Hinduism at the Tokyo Gaikokugo Gakko, which later became the Tokyo University for Foreign Studies, and as author of articles on Islam in the journal *Toa na Hikari*.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 333-36. In the meantime he had met the 20-year old ‘Iwo,’ second son of the Korean dynast, who was being touted by Korean progressives as the best successor to the throne. Ponce was charmed by his youthful *élan* and liberal ideals.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 416-18.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 411. Letter dated October 26, 1899.

book did not appear until the following year, well after the Cartas come to an end.¹⁰³ (But it had consequences to be looked at later in this chapter).

When Ponce asked the translators to include the original Spanish text of Rizal's last poem – here titled Mi Último Pensamiento – he probably believed that he was introducing the martyred novelist to the Japanese public for the first time. If so, he was deceived. In early 1888, when Rizal set off from Manila to London, he spent six weeks in Japan (February 28 – April 13). Fascinated by the country, he immediately started to study not merely the Japanese language, but also Japanese painting and calligraphy.¹⁰⁴ On the liner that took him to San Francisco he met and befriended Suehiro Tettyo, who understood no foreign languages and felt miserably alone. The pair travelled together across the United States, and proceeded, via Liverpool, to London, where they parted ways.

Suehiro was a striking figure. Born twelve years before Rizal, in the legendary pirate town of Uwajima on the southwestern shores of Shikoku, he came from lower samurai stock. In 1875, at the age of 26, he joined the staff of the liberal metropolitan newspaper Tokyo Akatsuki Shimbun, eventually becoming editor-in-chief. For his attacks on government repression of the movement for democracy and freedom of speech he was sent to prison. Plagued by ill-health, he was hospitalized, but from his sick-bed wrote the political novel Setchubai (Plum in the Snow) which had a huge success among the young. It was the royalties from this novel that paid for his 'political study' travel to the United States and Europe in 1888. He was enormously impressed by Rizal as a person, as an extraordinary linguist, and as a political idealist. The Filipino novelist featured centrally in the account of his travels – amusingly titled Oshi no Ryoko (Travels of a Deaf-Mute) – which was so popular that it ran through six editions between 1889 and 1894. Furthermore, in the same year as El Filibusterismo, Suehiro published two novels, Nanyo no Daiharan (Storm over the Southern Ocean)

¹⁰³ On the inner title page it is described as Cuestion Filipina: una exposition (sic) historico-critica de hechos relativos á la guerra de la independencia, translated by H[eikuro] Miyamoto and Y.S. Foudzita. The publisher was Tokyo Senmon Gakko (early name for Okuma's Waseda University).

¹⁰⁴ See Caesar (sic) Z. Lanuza and Gregorio F. Zaide, Rizal in Japan (Tokyo: C.Z. Lanuza 1961), for several photographs of Rizal's elegant calligraphy and impressive brush-paintings in the Japanese manner.

and Arashi no Nagori (Remains of the Storm).¹⁰⁵ Three years later he combined them into a single book entitled Oonabara (Big Ocean).¹⁰⁶

The hero of the novel, a young Filipino named Takayama living in Yamada-mura (Yamada village) near Manila, is engaged to Okiyo, the daughter of Takayama's kind patron Takigawa who has in his possession two swords of mysterious origin. Takigawa is then murdered at the instigation of a scheming Spanish colonial bureaucrat, and one of the swords vanishes. The hero reacts by attempting an insurrection in the colonial capital, but it fails and he is imprisoned. Fortunately, a huge earthquake allows him to escape and join his fiancé in trying to stow away on a foreign ship. This plan too fails; with the colonial police after them, the desperate pair take to the stormy ocean in a tiny rowing-boat. Takayama is rescued by a British ship, and taken to London under the aegis of a friendly merchant, while Okiyo's fate is unknown. In his new home, he becomes well-known as the scholarly author of a critical book about the history of Manila. He then discovers Okiyo is safe in Hong Kong. The lovers meet again in Paris, and return together to the United Kingdom.

In the Japanese Section of the British Museum, they find Takigawa's missing sword. Learning the identity of the seller, they track down Okiyo's father's killer, and have him arrested. In London, they also find an expert who can read the mysterious [Chinese] characters in an ancient family document that Takayama has inherited. It transpires that its author was the celebrated Christian *daimyo* Takayama Ukon, exiled to Manila in 1614 by Ieyasu, the founder of the Tokugawa shogunate. The document also reveals

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., chapter VII. This text is full of errors, for the correction of which I thank Carol Hau and Shiraishi Takashi. The strange thing is that – so far as I can tell – Rizal only mentioned Suehiro once in his correspondence, in a letter to Ponce, sent from London on July 27, 1888. The two offhand sentences read: *hice conocimiento con un japonés que venía á Europa, después de haber estado preso por Radical y ser director de un periódico independiente. Como el japonés no hablaba más que japonés, le serví de intérprete, hasta nuestra llegada á Londres* [I made the acquaintance of a Japanese who was going to Europe, after being imprisoned as a Radical and director of an independent periodical. Since the Japanese spoke only Japanese, I served as his interpreter up to our arrival in London]. Epistolario Rizalino, 1887-1890, p. 34.

¹⁰⁶ For the following account of Oonabara I am very grateful to Umemori Naoyuki. He explains that up till about 1900 Meiji-era novelists regularly gave Japanese names to foreign characters and most foreign places, without this implying necessarily any 'real' Japanese connection. Translators of favorite European authors, such as Zola, followed the same practice. The idea was to make the texts more accessible to the ordinary Japanese reader.

that Ukon gave two magnificent swords to a faithful vassal called Takigawa. Soon after this happy discovery, the young Filipino patriot learns that a huge insurrection has broken out back home. He decides to return to the Philippines accompanied by his best (Filipino) friend, Matsuki, who enlists 40 'real' Japanese *soshi* to fight for the cause.¹⁰⁷ Takayama succeeds in expelling the Spanish, and is elected Governor-General. On taking office he proposes to the Filipino people that their country become a protectorate of Japan. With full popular support, he writes to the Emperor Meiji, asking him to get the Diet to accept the plan. The novel ends with Madrid acknowledging the Philippines as a Japanese protectorate.

In the preface to this novel, Suehiro wrote that it was based on a 'story' he had heard from an unnamed Philippine gentleman whom he had met in the West some years previously. But in two essays concerning his travels in the United States and Europe he gave the name of this 'gentleman' as Rizal. Indeed, if there were no other indications, Antonio de Morga and *daimyo* Takayama Ukon were virtual contemporaries, and young Takayama's discovery of his personal ancestry and Rizal's hunt for his nation's origins perfectly coincide -- in the British Museum!

It is worth remarking that the two novels wired together in Oonabara were written before the Sino-Japanese war that opened the era of Japanese imperialist expansion, and also before the insurrections of Martí and Bonifacio. Quite likely Rizal had told Suehiro of his immediate personal plans, and of his compatriots' eagerness to throw off the Spanish yoke. The sympathies of the ex-political prisoner were visibly engaged. If he wished to show his readers that Filipino patriots had blood-connections to early Japanese victims of persecution, and that they thought about securing the disinterested help of Japanese volunteers and the protection of the Japanese state, he was trying to make his private sympathies broadly popular.¹⁰⁸ Just what Blumentritt was doing in Austro-Hungary, one might say.

In any case, true to his lights, Suehiro returned from his travels to enter the political arena. He was elected to the Diet as a (genuine) liberal

¹⁰⁷ Though *soshi* in the twentieth century acquired the negative connotation of 'political bully,' Suehiro used it in the older, more positive, sense of 'defender of people's rights.' See the discussion in Appendix VII of Saniel's Japan and the Philippines.

¹⁰⁸ As we have seen, the Katipunan would, two years later, seek just such Japanese assistance.

democrat, and even served briefly as its Speaker. Alas, he died of cancer just a few months before his Filipino friend's execution.¹⁰⁹

Chinese Connections

In his second letter to Aguinaldo, dated June 8, 1899 Ponce wrote: *Malaki po ang tulong na ibinigay sa akin ng mga reformistang inchik, at si Dr. Sun Yat-sen na siyang nangungulo sa kanila ang siya ko pong kasama at kagawad sa lahat* [The Chinese reformists have given me a great deal of help, and Dr. Sun Yat-sen, their leader, has been my companion and helper in everything].¹¹⁰ Two years younger than Ponce, Sun had been leading an adventurous, but as yet not very successful life. Leaving China in 1894, he had gone to Hawaii where he founded the Hsing Chung Hui (Revive China Society) and then moved its headquarters to Hong Kong early in 1895. That October, in alliance with various local secret societies, he launched a disastrous uprising in Canton. Hong Kong was now too hot for him, and he left for Europe. The following year he became internationally famous when agents of the Ch'ing regime attempted to kidnap him in London. Thereafter he spent most of time in Japan, propagandizing and organizing among the large community of Chinese students, political exiles, and businessmen.

Ponce met Sun for the first time in early March 1899, when the Philippine-American War had just begun and the Filipinos were still holding their own. Sun was brought to Ponce's home in Yokohama by Hirata Hyobei, a Tokyo lawyer and political fixer, who had earlier helped José Ramos become a naturalized Japanese citizen.¹¹¹ The two young nationalists (35 and 33 years old), chatting in English, hit it off at once, and eventually became life-long friends.¹¹² It is notable that Ponce, perhaps of partial Chinese descent, and in any case quite familiar with Chinese from his student days in Manila, found nothing in the least 'strange' or 'exotic' about his new comrade. Barely four months later, Sun made possible the only large shipment of arms that came close to being successful. He brokered a

¹⁰⁹ Lanuza and Zaide, Rizal in Japan, chapter VII..

¹¹⁰ Ponce, Cartas, pp., 353-54.

¹¹¹ In a March 6 letter to Apacible in Hong Kong, Ponce wrote that Sun and Hirata were currently visiting with him. It must have at this meeting that the famous photograph of the two men was taken – Ponce in European clothes, except for some very odd shoes, and with a fine moustache; Sun in Japanese clothes, and an even finer moustache. The photo is included with the letter in Ibid., pp. 292-96.

¹¹² Ponce published a biography of Sun in 1914, and was on his way to visit when he suddenly fell ill and died in Hong Kong on May 23, 1918. See the entry for Ponce in volume 2 of Filipinos in History, pp. 115-16.

deal by which Wan Chi, a rich friend of his, joined hands with Nakamura Yaroku, a sympathetic Japanese nationalist, to buy a ship, which was then rented to the Filipino revolutionaries. Loaded at Nagasaki, the *Nonubiki Maru* had stowed on board six million cartridges, ten thousand Murata rifles, one fixed cannon, ten field-guns, seven field-glasses, a pressing machine for gunpowder, and another for making ammunition.¹¹³ The passengers included Japanese military men knowledgeable in gunnery, engineering, and munitions manufacture.¹¹⁴ Leaving Nagasaki, the ship detoured towards China to divert suspicion, but was caught in a typhoon and sank on July 19 off the Sadde (Saddle?) Islands – today the Chu-san archipelago -- a hundred miles from Shanghai.¹¹⁵

Why? Quite aside from the real friendship between the two men a revolution had been developing in the thinking of Chinese intellectuals, which has been splendidly described by Rebecca Karl. Such intellectuals had been accustomed to seeing China as far ‘behind’ Western Europe, the United States, and Japan. But from about 1895 on, the telegraph was bringing to the local newspapers accounts and photographs of the Cuban insurrection (1895-98), the Philippine Revolution and the war against American imperialism (1896-1902), and the Boers’ armed struggle against the advancing British empire (1899-1902). On three continents, so to speak, ‘small’ peoples, previously ignored or despised by educated Chinese, were showing themselves, thanks to their unity and courage, well ‘in advance of’ China. Karl convincingly shows that from following the close-by Filipino insurrection parts of the intelligentsia started to view their struggle against the Manchus as ‘anti-colonial,’ and to visualize ‘revolution’ for the first

¹¹³ Named after their inventor Murata Tsuneyoshi, a lower samurai from Satsuma, the rifle was a creative mix of up-to-date French and German models. An improved version was a decisive element in Japan’s victory over Imperial China in 1895. It was superseded in 1897 by Arisaka Nariakira’s Mauser-based rifle. This is why plenty of obsolete Murata rifles were available on the clandestine arms market. My thanks to Tsuchiya Kenichiro for his expertise on this subject.

¹¹⁴ Shiraishi Takashi kindly informs me that no less than Japan’s Army Chief of Staff was behind this whole undertaking, and it was at his orders that the unlucky military officers were on board. Nothing in Ponce’s correspondence suggests that he was aware of this.

¹¹⁵ See the succinct account in Silvino V. Epistola, *Hong Kong Junta* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1996), pp. 123-24, which is based on letters Ponce sent to Apacible on July 25 and 26 (*Cartas*, pp. 364-81). The Americans had their spies in Japan, and also maintained effective naval patrols of Philippine waters.

time.¹¹⁶ Ponce, a humble man, was perhaps surprised that after the Japanese version of his book came out it was immediately published in Chinese and quickly went through several printings. But he should not have been.

Pawa: Internationalizing the War

In a letter to ‘Ifortel’ of February 19, 1898, Ponce reported the arrival within Aguinaldo’s entourage of three exceptional contributors to the armed revolution. Two were well-known *ilustrado* nationalists, Miguel Malvar and Del Pilar’s nephew Gregorio del Pilar. But the third was absolutely not. Ponce described him admiringly as *el coronel Pawa, un chino sin coleta, más valiente que el Cid y muy entusiasta* [Colonel Pawa, a Chinese without a pigtail, braver than The Cid, and very ardent].¹¹⁷ José Ignacio Pawa was born in an impoverished Fujian village in 1872, with the name Liu Heng-fu.¹¹⁸ At the age of eighteen he emigrated with his uncle to Manila, and became a skilled blacksmith, while taking up Chinese martial arts as a sideline. He was an early and enthusiastic recruit to the Revolution, and became a great favorite with Aguinaldo. While the general was still fighting in Cavite, the twenty-four old immigrant recruited a number of his Chinese blacksmith friends to set up an arms factory for the badly under-armed Filipino troops. Teresita Ang See describes his activity like this: “Under his skilful supervision, old cannon and broken Mausers captured from the enemy were repaired, large bamboo cannon taped with wires were manufactured, numerous *paltik* (crude firearms) were made, and thousands of cartridges were filled up with home-made gunpowder.” Pawa also trained Filipinos how to melt down metal objects, especially church bells (!), to create weapons, and proved himself a very resourceful and brave battlefield commander. See quotes the Filipino lawyer Teodoro Gonzalez’s unpublished memoirs as follows: “It was a strange sight in camp to see him - a dashing officer with a colonel’s uniform but having a pigtail. His soldiers were Tagalogs, all veteran fighters, yet they were devoted to him, and were proud to serve under his battle standard, notwithstanding the fact that he was

¹¹⁶ See her *Staging the World* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2002), especially ch. 4, ‘Recognizing Colonialism: The Philippines and Revolution.’

¹¹⁷ *Cartas*, pp. 190-91.

¹¹⁸ This name was kindly given to me by Carol Hau, reporting on recent research by scholars in China. The account of Pawa that follows is largely based on Teresita Ang See’s article “The Ethnic Chinese in the Filipino-American War and After,” *Kasaysayan*, 1:4 (December 2001), pp. 83-92.

a Chinaman.”¹¹⁹ Finally, sent by Aguinaldo to Bicol to raise money for the Revolution among the local Chinese and Chinese mestizos, he managed to raise the staggering sum of 386,000 silver pesos.

Remarkable as Pawa was as a person, he was only one among many non-Filipinos who, for various reasons, joined or supported the Revolution. Immigrant Chinese, ghettoized, despised and often abused by the colonial regime, had plenty of reasons to want the Spaniards gone. After the American conquest of Cuba, substantial numbers of young Spanish officers decided to ‘fight on’ by joining Aguinaldo’s forces. Antonio Luna, as Chief of Staff, happily took advantage of their professional training to put them to work as personal aides, instructors, and creators of fortifications. Quite a number served well as battlefield commanders when the Philippine-American War broke out. There were also a few Cubans in the Spanish military who joined the revolutionary cause, alongside Frenchmen, Italians (including a captain who later joined the Boer War on Kruger’s side), a few Britons, quite a number of Japanese, and even deserters from the American forces, mainly Blacks.¹²⁰

Malatesta to Manila

Meanwhile, in Madrid, Isabelo de los Reyes had managed to put together the funds to start publishing a fortnightly that he named Filipinas ante Europa, with the impeccable editorial logo: *Contra Norte-America, no; contra el imperialismo, sí, hasta la muerte.*¹²¹ What Del Pilar had once maliciously called the folklorist’s ‘deplorable fecundity’ came in handy, as most of the contents had to come from his pen.¹²² The loss of empire, and the humiliations inflicted by Washington, brought about a substantial change in public opinion in Spain. Anger at the Americans created a new sympathy for the Filipino cause. The change suited Isabelo’s book, since he had

¹¹⁹ If this description is accurate, Pawa must have cut off his pigtail on arrival in Hongkong, where Aguinaldo needed him as an interpreter (He probably spoke only Hokkienese, perhaps a little Cantonese, and Tagalog, which made the caudillo feel very comfortable with him).

¹²⁰ This paragraph is a regrettable condensation of the splendidly detailed material in Dery, “When the World Loved the Filipinos.”

¹²¹ It ran for 36 issues between October 25, 1899 to June 10, 1901. After closing, probably because of trouble with the Madrid police, it reappeared as El Defensor de Filipinas, a monthly which ran from July 1 to October 1, 1901.

¹²² See Scott, The Unión Obrera Democrática, p. 13, citing the Epistolario de Marcelo H. del Pilar (Manila: República de Filipinas, Dept. de Educación, Oficina de Bibliotecas Públicas, 1955), vol. 1, p. 20.

plenty of Spanish friends, had just married a Spanish journalist, and had always attributed the evils of colonial rule mainly to the malign power of the Orders. Hence the aim of his fortnightly was to strengthen this convergence by blistering attacks on American imperialism and what he charmingly called *la codicia* underlying it. McKinley was a favorite target on account of his Tartuffian claims that the conquest was designed to bring liberty to the Filipinos.¹²³ Isabelo regularly attacked the United States for its racism and lynch-law, rightly saying that this was bound to affect how the Filipinos, as non-whites, would be treated.¹²⁴ Yet he also went out of his way to feature excited reports about the campaigns of the American anti-imperialists. Isabelo's other main target was what he regarded as the treachery of those wealthy *ilustrados* who, having supplanted Mabini in the Revolution's leadership, were the first to jump ship and grovel to the new colonial masters.¹²⁵ Mabini was constantly held up as a shining example of steadfast patriotic refusal to buckle to the *yankís*. The folklorist did not forget to underline that Cuban 'independence' was turning out to be a complete sham. In the middle of this he still found space for an article on how much the Boers had learned from the Filipino guerrilla fighters, and now how much the Filipinos could learn from the sober discipline of the Boers.¹²⁶

But by the summer of 1901, with Aguinaldo's capture and quick swearing of allegiance to Washington, the Revolution was over. Those prominent men who refused to swear – including the crippled Mabini – were packed off to the new tropical Siberia: Guam.¹²⁷ Isabelo saw no point in

¹²³ Characteristic is the headline "*Mac-Kinley, embustero ó criminal?* [McKinley, Liar or Criminal?]," *Filipinas ante Europa*, March 10, 1900.

¹²⁴ "*Negro porvenir de los filipinos bajo la dominación imperialista* [Black Future for Filipinos under Imperialist Domination]," *ibid.*, November (exact date not given), 1899. *A los negros, les cazan como á fieras en las calles, si tienen la desgracia de enamorarse de una blanca* [As for the blacks, they are hunted down on the streets like wild beasts if they have the misfortune of falling in love with a white woman].

¹²⁵ Alas, this group included Pardo de Tavera, who returned to the Philippines to become a member of the Republic's legislature. Later he justified going over to the Americans on the grounds that caudillism was already rampant, and the Philippines would suffer the fate of South America if it got its independence prematurely. Alas, too, the elderly Basa and Regidor also moved into the American column. Isabelo regularly called these people 'Judases.' A good example of the ferocity of his rhetoric is "*Contra la traición* [Against Treason]," *Ibid.*, February 10, 1900.

¹²⁶ "*Organización del ejército boer* [The Organization of the Boer Army]," *ibid.*, September 10, 1900.

¹²⁷ Mabini was captured on December 10, 1899, and imprisoned in Manila. From jail he wrote his most powerful articles against American policy, some so fierce that the press refused to publish them. On June 21, 1900 a general amnesty was announced for

staying in Spain any longer. He had not seen his six children by his first wife in four years. Like Rizal in 1892, he would go back to face the colonialists, politely telling them that he was coming, and see what he could politically achieve, more or less within the law.¹²⁸

political prisoners provided they took the oath of allegiance to the new colonial government. But Mabini still refused to do so. On October 3, he was briefly released, but continued his attacks on Filipino collaborators and the American regime's policies. On January 15, 1901, the man described by future Governor-General William Howard Taft as "the most prominent irreconcilable among the Filipinos" was put on a ship which left for Guam the following day, along with about 57 others, including nationalist militants – and their personal servants (Mabini had none). On July 4, 1902 President Roosevelt issued a further amnesty, which was sent to Guam; all but Mabini and one other man accepted its terms and sailed home. Finally, on February 9, 1903 Mabini was informed that he was no longer a prisoner of war, and could go freely anywhere he wished, but that he would not be allowed back to the Philippines without swearing the oath of allegiance. Feeling he now had no alternative, he agreed to do so on arrival in Manila. He died of cholera three months later, on May 13. His funeral was the largest mass gathering of Filipinos in the capital seen in many years. See the last chapter of Majul's Mabini.

¹²⁸ In "*A mi casa* [Going Home]," in the final, October 1, 1901 issue of El Defensor de Filipinas, he gave a persuasive and modest account of his reasons.

Isabelo set sail for Manila in early October 1901.¹²⁹ In his bags he had packed a small idiosyncratic library: Aquinas and Voltaire, Proudhon and the Bible, Darwin and Marx, Kropotkin and Malatesta. There is every reason to believe that these were the first texts of Marx and the leading anarchist thinkers, perhaps even of Darwin, to enter the Philippines. His

¹²⁹ The following section on what Isabelo did on his return to the Philippines is largely drawn from Scott's excellent book. Almost the last person he visited before going home was (the still controversial) Fernando Ferrer Guardia. Ferrer, born in 1859 to a well-off conservative Catalan family, left home at the age of 14 to escape a 'stifling religious atmosphere,' and eventually made his way to Paris where he worked for a long time as the secretary of the veteran republican conspirator Zorrilla. After 16 years in France, where he became a convinced anarchist, he returned to Barcelona in 1901 and started the influential anarchist publication La Huelga General, made possible, it is said, by a million franc legacy from a Frenchwoman who had been his pupil. He also founded a model laicist and progressive Escuela Moderna, which interested Isabelo very much. Later he was tried, but acquitted, for supposedly masterminding two failed assassination attempts on Alfonso XIII (May 31, 1905 in Paris; May 31, 1906 in Madrid). In July 1909, in response to massive and unruly protests in Barcelona over the dispatch of Spanish troops to Morocco, the conservative government of Antonio Maura declared martial law in the city, closed all leftwing clubs and progressive, non-religious schools, and banned the anarchist and republican groups. Ferrer was again arrested, and this time convicted of sedition by a military court. He was executed on October 13. The Maura regime fell twelve days later. J. Romero Maura, "Terrorism in Barcelona," pp. 141-42, and 182-83; and Nuñez, El Terrorismo, p. 66. Nuñez adds a disquieting note on Ferrer's end before a firing squad. On November 12, 1909, a month after the execution, Unamuno wrote to his friend González Trilla: *En efecto, querido amigo, ha sido España, la legítima España, la española, quien ha fusilado á Ferrer. Y ha hecho muy bien en fusilarle...Ferrer era un imbécil y un malvado, y no un inquietador. Sus escuelas, un horror. Pedagógicamente detestables. Su enseñanza, de un vacuidad y una mala fé notorias. Sus libros de lectura horrorizan por lo estúpido.... Ferrer, una vez condenado por el Tribunal, no por instigador, sino por participe en los incendios, no debió ser indultado. Se trataba de la independencia espiritual de España, de que el gobierno no podía sucumbir á la presión de la 'golfería europa' – anarquistas, masones, judíos, científicos, y majadores – que pretendía imponérsele y que 'antes del juicio' estaba ya pretendiendo trocarlo. Habían declarado 'a priori' inocente á Ferrer. [In effect, my dear friend, it has been Spain, legitimate Spain, Spanishness, which has shot Ferrer. And by shooting him has acted very well. Ferrer was an imbecile and a malefactor, not an awakener of consciences. His school, a horror. Detestable pedagogically. His teaching (was) of a frightening vacuity and bad faith. His texts make one's hair stand on end by their stupidity. Once sentenced by the Tribunal, not for being an instigator but for personal participation in arson, he did not deserve any indulgence. It was a question of Spain's spiritual independence, and of the government being obliged not to succumb to the pressure of the 'European wave' [of indignation] -- anarchists, freemasons, Jews, scientists and idiots – who had the presumption to impose their will and even before the sentence claimed the right to change it. They declared Ferrer innocent a priori.] Unamuno is said later to have regretted this Daily Telegraphese (p. 150).*

reputation as a staunch adversary of American imperialism had preceded him. The Manila Times, mouthpiece of the swelling population of American business-vultures, immediately denounced him as a dangerous agitator and bloody anarchist. Not by chance: the previous month President McKinley had been shot to death in Buffalo by the 28-year old Polish-American anarchist blacksmith Leon Czogolsz. The new colonial regime immediately banned Isabelo's planned newspaper, El Defensor de Filipinas, and prohibited his proposed Partido Nacionalista.

But he was man not easily put down. In old age he recalled that he "took advantage of the occasion to put into practice the good ideas I had learned from the anarchists of Barcelona, who were imprisoned with me in the infamous fortress of Montjuich." So he set himself, under the noses of the Protestant conquistadors, to radicalize and organize the working-class in Manila. In this endeavour he had some perhaps unsuspected advantages. He had always been a partial outsider for the *ilustrado* nationalist intelligentsia, which was overwhelmingly Tagalog: not exactly aristocratic, since there had never been an indigenous 'feudal' state in the Philippines, but with aspirations, above all the landowners among them, in that direction -- especially in the face of a Spanish imperialism which both had strong feudal roots and continued to fancy itself in feudal fancy-dress even when the reality was bare-faced corruption, shady caciquism, and Orderly landlordism. Isabelo was just the opposite, an honest businessman, publisher, printer and journalist, who had employees rather than servants, and treated them in a democratic spirit. Better still, he was, as we have seen, an upcountry man from northern Luzon, the home of the Ilocanos, an ethnic group legendary for its thrift, hard-work, plain speaking – and clannishness. (Ilocos is still the one area of the Philippines, aside from the mountain-slopes south of Rizal's Calamba, where one sees every poor peasant home surrounded by a tiny, beautifully tended garden of flowers and flowering shrubs). He was not the only Ilocano in the nationalist elite, but he was the only *provinciano* among them. The Luna brothers were also Ilocanos – Juan the painter who in a jealous fit murdered his wife and mother-in-law, escaped heavy punishment in a Paris solicitous of *crimes passionelles*, especially by artists, and died miserably in Hong Kong; and Antonio, trained as a chemist, who became the most brilliant general in the war against the Americans, and was assassinated for his pains by Aguinaldo's jealous clique – were Manila-bred, and assimilated themselves to elite Hispano-Tagalog culture.

The crucial thing was this: as Rizal had rather disdainfully put it to Blumentritt, the *Dienstleute* of late nineteenth century Manila were overwhelmingly industrious immigrants from hardscrabble Ilocos. The incipient working-class too, though one would never guess this from reading Noli Me Tangere and El Filibusterismo. Isabelo could talk to these people in their own language, which, in those days, virtually no educated Tagalog knew. (Did Rizal ever meet a Filipino urban worker and talk to him or her? No worker appears in his novels.) He was also perfectly familiar with their sturdy culture of the street and the *barrio*.

In classical fashion Isabelo first targetted the printers. But his success with organized strikes encouraged other sectors to follow suit and the union became quite quickly a Barcelona-style free-wheeling 'central' -- a *Unión Obrera Democrática* which would have delighted the Tárrida of *anarquismo sin adjetivos*. The American rulers watched with disbelief and alarm a huge wave of strikes in Manila and its surroundings, many of them successful because they were unexpected by capitalists and administrators alike.¹³⁰ They were also befuddled by some of Isabelo's methods. Street demonstrations he had learned in his revolver-waving days in Lerroux's Barcelona. But when he raised money for the strikers and his organization by holding a series of popular balls combined with lectures, and staging zarzuelas and other theatricals with themes hostile to the Americans and their elite Filipino collaborators, he was shrewdly tapping the Filipino passion for fiestas, dancing, theatre and music.¹³¹ The rulers eventually found various ways to bar Isabelo from the labour scene. In late June 1902 he was arrested and tried for 'labour conspiracy,' but sentenced to only four months in prison when it became clear even to the judge that many prosecution witnesses had been suborned. Before going to jail he threw a huge party at a newly-formed workers' club in the working-class neighborhood of Tondo, and resigned his leadership. He was succeeded by Dominador Gómez, fellow-returnee from Spain, active in the circle of La Solidaridad, and Isabelo's collaborator on Filipinas ante Europa, who soon lived up to his authoritarian name;¹³² and eventually by his secretary, Hermenegildo Cruz, a slum boy still illiterate at the age of twelve, who

¹³⁰ See the chapter 'The Strikes' (pp. 35-41) in Scott's The Unión Obrera Democrática.

¹³¹ He called these events, straight-faced, *veladas instructivo-recreativas* -- perhaps 'pedagogico-recreational soirées.'

¹³² He was also one of the very few Filipinos to go to Cuba. A former medical student in Madrid, he served, as Rizal was supposed to do, with the Medical Corps of the Spanish military forces there. Schumacher, The Propaganda Movement, p. 190, n. 12.

became an admirable *obrero consciente* from his reading in Isabelo's little library. Aside from his organizing activities, Cruz would publish detailed notes on the Spanish translation of Elisée Reclus' anarchist L'Homme et La Terre and a Tagalog translation of parts of La Ilustración Obrera by Pablo Iglesias, the old founder of Spain's Marxist Socialist Party. Isabelo, meanwhile, was getting alarmed by the possibility that the Americans would return to the Orders the estates which the Revolution had confiscated. So he turned to agitating against the Catholic lobby, and busying himself with the organization of the 'schismatic' nationalist Aglipayan Church, formed by a fellow-Ilocano, the revolutionary priest Gregorio Aglipay, in the time of the First Republic.¹³³ The UOD collapsed in 1903, but out of its ashes came many other labor organizations, and eventually, a Socialist and a Communist Party which merged in 1938, led the Hukbalahap guerrilla movement against the Japanese military invaders, and ultimately carried on a revolutionary war against the American-arranged Second Republic inaugurated on, when else? July 4, 1946.

In 1912, perhaps as a way of distracting himself from the grief caused by the death of his second wife, Isabelo turned to the electoral arena, and ran successfully for membership of a Manila Municipal Council controlled by appointed Americans.¹³⁴ Serving in this capacity he was a consistent champion of the city's poor. In 1922 he returned to Ilocos to run as an independent for a seat in the Senate. Insisting, as he always did, in the manner of his old anarchist friends, that he was both an individualist and a collectivist, he was elected, to his own surprise, against the well-heeled machine of the dominant, cacique-ridden Nacionalista Party of Manuel Quezon. He appalled his fellow-senators by coming to the assembly's session in a horse-drawn *calesa*, saying it was better to give money to a coachman than to throw it away on a car and its gasoline which would only benefit American business. At the same time, he insisted on living for the

¹³³ Aglipay was enraged by the Vatican's unconditional support for Spanish colonial rule, and the local (peninsular) hierarchy's ferocious hostility to the revolutionary movement. His efforts were supported by Apolinario Mabini, who wanted to break Rome's hold over the more traditional sector of the indigenous population. If one goes to Sarrat in northern Ilocos, the site of the uprising of 1815, one will find as neighbors a Spanish-style Catholic church and its Aglipayan competition. In the first the crucified Counter-Reformation Christ is in blood-stained torment and clothed only in a tattered grayish loincloth. In the second, He is serenely bearing His suffering, has a svelte, mostly unbloodied body, and wears an elegant, embroidered, sky-blue satin pair of drawers. Perhaps this was Isabelo's cheerful doing.

¹³⁴ This paragraph is drawn from Llanes's The Life of Senator Isabelo de los Reyes, pp. 22-32.

rest of his life in working-class Tondo, erecting an apartment building for poor tenants who were never evicted for being in arrears. After 1929, when he was partly paralyzed by a stroke, he confined himself to work for the Aglipayan Church. He died on October 10, 1938.

Afterglow West: Isabelo de los Reyes

Isabelo had on occasion been treated disdainfully by Rizal, who disliked his Ilocano patriotism and thought he wrote too much, too fast, for any depth, but the folklorist was not the type to brood over slights and for the most part he greatly admired what Rizal had achieved. Filipinas ante Europa often ran articles about Rizal as the exemplary patriot, even if they rarely mentioned the novels. But appearances can always be deceiving. Already in 1899 the first translation of Noli Me Tangere into a non-Spanish language was published – in Paris (which must have delighted the martyr's shade).¹³⁵ It is very unlikely that Isabelo had no hand in this, since one of the two joint-translators was his long-time Montjuich cellmate, Ramón Sempau, while the other was a Frenchman, Henri Lucas, who was also probably an anarchist. Under the slightly depressing title Au Pays des Moines, this translation was advertised in La Revue Blanche as volume no. 25 in the Bibliothèque Sociologique of Pierre-Victor Stock -- who inherited a publishing company dating back to 1708, but between 1892 and 1921 issued a long line of anarchist titles under this rubric. The catalogue is rivetting. No. 1 (1892) was Kropotkin's La conquête du faim, followed by Jean Grave's La Société mourante et l'anarchie (1894), the French anarchist Charles Malato's De la Commune á l'anarchie (1895), Bakunin's Oeuvres, vol 1 (1895), Grave's La Société Future (1895), Kropotkin's L'Anarchie: sa philosophie, son idéal (1896), Georges Darien's Biribi: armée d'Afrique (1898); the Dutchman Ferdinand Domela Nieuwenhuis's Le Socialisme en danger (1897), Tárrida's Les Inquisiteurs d'Espagne: Montjuich, Cuba, Philippines (1897); Elisée Reclus' L'Évolution, la révolution et l'idéal anarchique (1897); and Louise Michel's La Commune (n.d). Then Rizal's novel, wholly innocent of anarchism, appears sandwiched between the Italian historian Guglielmo Ferrero's Le militarisme et la société moderne (1899) and Charles Albert's L'Amour Libre (1898).

¹³⁵ The edition I have had access to was printed in 1899, but the front matter indicates that this was already the third printing, so that an original publication late in 1898 is just possible.

Should we be surprised that the at least *anarchisant* El Filibusterismo did not follow? Probably not. As Jovita Castro points out, the Lucas-Sempau Noli Me Tangere was by no means a faithful translation. The Narrator's seductively *narquois* asides to the Reader were all eliminated, as well as references to Filipino folk-tales and legends, and anything remotely erotic. The vitriolic attacks on the Orders were also, for reasons that are not clear, toned down.¹³⁶ The effect was to turn the novel into a flatly *sociologique* description of 'a' colonial society. If Noli Me Tangere had to suffer this surely well-meaning bowdlerization, we can guess that its inflammatory sequel would have been hard to swallow now that anarchism (hand in hand with syndicalism) had, in France anyway, mostly left the age of propaganda by the deed behind it.

Afterglow East: Mariano Ponce

There are hundreds of statues of Rizal decorating the plazas of Philippine towns, crowned by an impressive monument erected in the American time – but not from an American initiative -- on the spot where he was executed. In Spain and in Spanish America, it is common to find streets named after him. In the United States, however, there is little more than a small statue in an out-of-the-way part of San Francisco, and a larger one in Chicago. Perhaps this ignorance and indifference can be read as the world-hegemon's unconscious response to the novelist's own indifference to, and ignorance of, God's country.¹³⁷

However, there is now a large, recently-built, Rizal theme-park in Amoy, financed mainly by wealthy Hokkien Chinese-Filipinos, whose ancestors sailed to Manila from that port. Commercial motives aside, there

¹³⁶ See her introduction to her translation into French, titled N'y touchez pas! at pp. 31-35.

¹³⁷ One can have fun considering Rizal's brief diary of his trip across the United States in the late spring of 1888. After more than a week in quarantine in San Francisco Bay, he spent three days as a tourist in city, then took the boat to the transcontinental railhead in Oakland. The next day, Monday May 7, he set off, passing through Sacramento and Mormon Salt Lake City, to Denver (May 9). The train reached Chicago on the early morning of the 11th, and left for New York that evening. Rizal's only comment on the windy city was that "every tobacco-shop has in front of it a statue of an *indio* [sic], each one different." He reached Manhattan on May 13, and boarded a ship for Europe on the 16th. He had nothing at all to say about the home of the Statue of Liberty. See his Diarios y Memorias, pp. 217-20.

is something else here that is rather interesting, even touching, especially if we realize that there have almost forty Chinese translations of Rizal's final poem, most of them the work of Hokkienese.

Yet probably the very first was done by none than than Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, as early as 1901. It comes as a mild shock to realize that Liang was twelve years younger than Rizal, and only 23 when the Filipino was executed. Like Rizal a brilliant youngster, his wide-ranging critical articles on the state of China revealed by its crushing defeat at the hands of the Japanese, led him to become one of the key figures in the famous "100 Days of Reform" in 1898. But when the Dowager Empress Tz'ü Hsi struck back, Liang, like many other liberals and progressives, had to flee for his life -- to Japan. How he came to translate Rizal's poem is a question that can not yet be answered conclusively. But a few things are certain. Liang was Cantonese, not Hokkienese, and moreover had lived in Peking since his late teens. It is very unlikely therefore that 'Amoy' played any role in his writing. From the newspapers about which Rebecca Karl writes so informatively, he would have known about Rizal's death, but newspapers do not usually publish long poems, still less those in a language which very few readers understand.

The circumstantial evidence looks like this. Ponce was a close friend of Rizal, and deeply committed to his memory. On October 13, 1898, he wrote to Dr. Eduard Soler (presumably bilingual in Spanish and German) in Berlin, thanking him for the German translation of Rizal's last poem and its publication in the bulletin of the Anthropologische Gesellschaft of which Rizal had been a member.¹³⁸ On February 28, 1899, Ponce wrote to Apacible about plans to reprint Rizal's works in Japan, mentioning that the cheapest printer was Shueiba, and noting that if the manuscripts were used rather than existing editions, it would involve extra work and cost more.¹³⁹ We also know that as early as November 1898, Ponce was in touch with Chinese 'reformists,' well before he met Sun Yat-sen. In a letter of November 19, 1898 he wrote to Apacible that the previous evening he had met 'Lung Tai-kwang,' self-described as the personal secretary of K'ang Yu-wei, leader of China's *partido reformista*, who arrived in Japan on May 25, and was planning a revolution to restore the 'Kwan Han' (i.e. Kuang

¹³⁸ *Cartas*, pp. 210-11. Ponce adds that he has heard about the translation from Blumentritt, who was surely behind the endeavour.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 288-89. This indicates that Ponce had the manuscripts in his possession or knew where he could lay hands on them. The books were to be in Spanish rather than Japanese.

Hsü) emperor to the throne.¹⁴⁰ ‘Lung Tai-kwang’ must have been Hokkienese, since Ponce observed that the man knew Pawa personally. Finally, as evidence of Ponce’s literary inclinations, on the whole rather rare among the ilustrados in Spain, there are three successively more irritated letters to Vergel de Dios, asking again and again for a copy of Paris, Zola’s latest novel.¹⁴¹ Furthermore, Ponce insisted on including the original Spanish text of Rizal’s last poem in the Japanese version of his book on the Philippine Question. One curious feature of this version is that while the main text is written in the usual mixture of Chinese (*kanji*) and Japanese (*hiragana*) scripts, the introduction is composed in pure classical Chinese. In turn this suggests that since one or both of the translators were fluent in classical Chinese, the pair were also responsible for the Chinese translation, which came out almost simultaneously. Should this conjecture prove correct, then Liang Ch’i-ch’ao’s version was either cribbed directly from Miyamoto and Fujita, or, more likely, was a more elegant adaptation of their ‘Chinese’ translation. The nagging partial-problem is that though Liang and Ponce were certainly together in Japan, the latter seems totally unaware of this, and never mentions the former by name in his correspondence.

In November and December 1901, perhaps prodded by Liang, but more likely by the newspapers, Ma Hsün-wu published a five-part series, called “Fei-lu-pin Min-tang Ch’i-yi Chi [The Uprising in the Philippines]” in the Hangch’ou Vernacular Newspaper, following up in 1903 with a biography of Rizal in Liang Ch’i-ch’ao’s influential magazine Hsin-min Ts’ung-pao, published in Japan. These articles may explain Lu Hsün’s later references to Mi Último Adiós and Noli Me Tangere, his linking of Rizal with Sándor Petöfi and Adam Mickiewicz as great poet-patriots; and a new translation of the farewell poem by a student of Lu Hsün’s, Li Chi-yeh, in the 1920’s.¹⁴² A generation later, during the 1940s, an avatar of Pawa, K’ai Chung-mei, fought in the Hua Ch’ih guerrilla units allied with the native Filipino left-wing Hukbalahap against the Japanese occupiers. In old age, returned to China, and using the *nom de plume* Tu Ai, he undertook a three-volume novelization of his wartime experiences. In the course of Feng-yü T’ai-p’ing-yen [Storm over the Pacific], Rizal’s farewell poem is quoted in full or in substantial chunks at least four times, while references to the First

¹⁴⁰ Cartas, pp. 223-25.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., pp. 162-64; 232-35, 244-45.

¹⁴² For these notes on Rizal’s early reception on China, I would like to thank Wang Hui.

Filipino and Josephine Bracken – as a woman warrior – litter the pages.¹⁴³ This all seems a little ironic in that Rizal, though partly of Hokkien descent, was not above – sometimes -- a certain mild racism with regard to the Chinese. (But a long way from the virulence of Petöfi's venom against the ethnic minorities in 'Hungary.')

Isabelo de los Reyes and Mariano Ponce: good men now mostly forgotten even in the Philippines, but crucial nodes in the infinitely complex intercontinental networks that characterize the Age of Early Globalization.

Postscript

In January 2004, I was invited to give a preliminary lecture on some of the themes of this book by the famously radical-nationalist University of the Philippines, where the influence of (Ilocano) José Maria Sison's Maoist 'new' Communist Party, founded at the end of 1968, remains quite strong. Arriving much too early, I filled in time at an open-air campus coffee-stall. A youngster came by to hand out leaflets to the customers, all of whom casually scrunched them up and threw them away once he had left. I was about to do the same when my eye caught the title of the one-page text. *Organize Without Leaders!* The content proved to be an attack on the hierarchies of the country – boss-ridden party-political, corporate capitalist, and also Maoist-Communist – in the name of 'horizontal' organized solidarity. The leaflet was unsigned, but a website was appended for further enquiries. This was a serendipity too good to keep to myself. I read it out loud to the audience, and was surprised that almost everyone seemed taken aback. But when I had finished speaking, many hurried up to ask for copies. One can not be sure if Rizal would have been pleased by the theme park in Amoy, but one feels quite certain that Isabelo would have been enchanted by the leaflet and rushed to his laptop to explore the website *manila.indymedia.org*. He would have found that this website is linked to dozens of others of similar stripe around the world. Late Globalization?

¹⁴³ The first volume was published in Canton in 1983, and the second in Peking in 1991, the year before he died. A complete set of the three volumes, supervised by his widow, appeared only in 2002, in Chuhai. My thanks to Carol Hau for this plangent information.