

A Cursory Examination of Human Remains of Filipinos Exhibited at the Exposición General de Filipinas de 1887

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ABSTRACT

The article examines the ideological premises surrounding the exhibition of human remains of Filipino indigenous peoples at the Exposición de Filipinas de 1887 in Madrid, Spain, which were considered curiosities and examples of the uncivilized lifestyles of “primitive” Filipinos in the mountainous regions and Muslim south, fostering prejudiced reactions and attitudes toward them, and foisting the concept of exoticism in Southeast Asia.

KEYWORDS

Colonialism, colonial exhibitions, ethnographic collections, exoticism, Social Darwinism

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An enduring issue among museums that exhibit ethnographic collections is how the artifacts in these collections are represented and interpreted, delineating the curator's cultural biases in defining and contextualizing the multiplicity of personal histories of a particular society, and how these are presented to viewers. It is pertinent for us to realize that exhibitions are volatile platforms that may trigger contestation—in which objects are selected through individual and/or clique tastes and interests, politics, and impaired knowledge.

Much of these ethnographic collections trace their beginnings from the amassing of unique and strange objects gathered by Western adventurers from their colonies, with nary or scant scientific understanding and cultural evaluation from their initial collectors. From a postcolonial perception, this begs the question of who owns and dictates the knowledge that can be culled from these artifacts? Cultural writers Rohini Malik and Gilane Tawadros note: “Power belongs to those who name, define, and bestow identity, the storytellers. While the artworks and cultural artifacts have their own stories to tell, these original voices are to a certain extent silenced by the curatorial narrative imposed upon them.”¹

The much-touted platforms used in the exhibition of these ethnographic “curiosities” in the mid-nineteenth century were the great exhibitions and world's fairs that were held in several European capitals and cities in the United States of America. The first among these fairs was the Great Exhibition of 1851 held in London under the auspices of Prince Albert, the German consort of Britain's monarch Queen Victoria. Stanford University professor John Kemper points out that the fair was intended “as an international forum of the broadest possible dimensions, a gathering of industry and commerce, of ideas and values, and of peoples and nations. As envisioned by Prince Albert and the Royal Commission charged with its planning,

the exhibition was meant as a display of international goodwill, as a peaceful pageant of national identities.”² Deeply rooted was Britain’s vaunting its principles of industry, economic and scientific development, and liberal values exercised throughout its vast empire, which would usher in amity and free trade: “The exhibition of 1851 will fulfill the prophecy of the sacred volume, and hasten the period ‘when men shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning hooks.’ It is a stage forward in that millennium which announces ‘peace and goodwill towards men!’”³ Nevertheless, xenophobic prejudices against colonial subjects and their products were rampant due to their different racial appearance and perceived exoticism as portrayed in a cartoon below.⁴



“They go to have some refreshment . . . a party from the Cannibal Islands after eyeing little Johnny, in a mysterious manner, offer a price for him.”

Figure 1. Cartoon depicting Pacific islanders as cannibals eyeing a British child
[Geoffrey Cantor, "The Great Exhibition: Commerce and Christianity," *History Today* 60, no. 7 (July 2010)]

But the first international exhibition that focused on the triumph of the colonizer over the colonized was the 1883 Colonial Exposition held in Amsterdam (formally called “Internationale Koloniale en Untvoerhandel Tentoonstellingte Amsterdam”). The Amsterdam Exposition was unique since it imported and erected entire native dwellings peopled with its indigenous inhabitants, foisting the exotic on the exhibition visitors. The organizers built a Javanese village replete with native Javanese (Indonesians) inhabitants, a Javanese pagoda, and a bamboo bridge to simulate living conditions in the Dutch East Indies.⁵ An existing photograph of the exhibition pavilion shows the appropriation of the Buddhist stupa designs reminiscent of Borobudur in Indonesia. Succeeding expositions continued this trend of picturesque primeval villages and savages, to show the superiority of Western civilization and the inferiority of its colonized peoples.⁶



Figure 2. The facade of the 1883 Amsterdam Colonial Exposition Pavilion showing the influence of the Javanese stupa design to strengthen the exoticism of the event
("World Exposition in Amsterdam - 1883")

Indisputably, the 1887 Exposición de Filipinas followed suit with the colonial theme, in response to the decline of Spain's influence and loss of most of its overseas colonies during the latter part of the nineteenth century. The exhibition aimed to present to the Spanish public a slew of ethnographic objects, products, and people coming from its remaining colony in Southeast Asia, the Philippines, at the Crystal Palace of the Parque de Buen Retiro in 1887.

The exposition was the brainchild of Victor Balaguer, president of the Philippine Council and minister of the Overseas Ministry (*presidente del Consejo de Filipinas y Ministro de Ultramar*), and it aimed to consolidate social and economic relations between the Iberian Peninsula and the archipelago. However, deeper political causes influenced the engineering of this exhibition, primarily the conflict between Spanish and German interests in the Caroline Islands, which were eyed by the Germans as an addition to their possessions in the Pacific. According to Professor Luis Ángel Sánchez Gómez of the Department of Prehistory and Ethnology of the Universidad Complutense Madrid:

Nos referimos al conflicto hispano-alemán creado en torno a las islas Carolinas, larvado desde tiempo atrás y que estalla en agosto de 1885, resuelto con la mediación y arbitraje del Papa León XIII. Aunque el problema se solventó favorablemente para los intereses españoles, no sin ciertas concesiones, la administración hispana temía los afanes expansionistas de las potencias europeas en el Pacífico, que podían acabar afectando, de uno u otro modo, a Filipinas.⁷

(We refer to the Spanish-German conflict concerning the Caroline Islands, which was simmering for some time and exploded in August 1885, but was resolved through the mediation and arbitration of Pope Leo XIII.

Although the problem was resolved favorably for Spanish interests, not without some concessions, the Spanish administration feared the expansionist ambitions of the European powers in the Pacific, which could ultimately affect, in one way or another, the Philippines.)

To a certain extent, the Spanish were staking their territorial claim on the Philippines, and was wary of the imperialist ambitions of Germany. Historian Karl-Heinz Wionzek indicated that Germany was toying with the idea of turning areas of the Philippines into a protectorate:

Reports from the German consul in Manila and others about Filipino sympathies for Germany, were an incentive for intervention. When the Spanish-American War broke out, the German Emperor expected the confrontation in the Philippines to end in an American defeat, with the Spaniards left in a sufficiently weak position for the revolutionaries to capture Manila. It would then be ripe for the German picking.⁸

Much as the *Exposición de Filipinas* had intentions of promoting goodwill, it elicited disapproving tirades from the Filipino community in Madrid who were involved in aggressively asking for economic and political reforms from the Spanish parliament. They were irked by the inclusion in the exhibition of Filipino indigenous groups inhabiting mock-up huts, presenting them as “*salvajes*” or savages, which made them an object of curiosity among Madrid’s citizens. Filipino reformist Evaristo Aguirre wrote to Jose Rizal on 31 January 1887 from Madrid:

There is no more need of talking, dear friend, of the notorious Philippine exposition. Let us endure the catastrophe, let us accept fate, let the abyss open and the fields separate well ... It has been Balaguer’s pet

project who, it is said, accepted the portfolio of colonies on condition that it would be held ... Govantes, Del Pan, La Serna, Pozas, are all agreed that the show will be ridiculous, that more than an advantage, the lucky exposition will be a moral and material misfortune for the Philippines, that the exposition will appear rachitic and what is more painful, the children of that country (this cannot be prevented) will come to be the object of the mocking, stupid, and rude curiosity of this truly savage people.⁹

Rizal himself was infuriated by the callousness of the Exposición. He wrote to his Austrian friend Ferdinand Blumentritt on 6 June 1887, while in Geneva, Switzerland, about the demise of one of the Filipinos exhibited:

My poor compatriots who will be exhibited are already in Madrid for some time. Some newspapers are mocking them, but others, like *El Liberal*, have a different opinion. This one says that it is not consistent with human dignity to be exhibited side by side with animals and plants. I have done everything possible to prevent the carrying out of this degradation of men of my race, but I have not succeeded. Now one woman died of pneumonia. The Igorots were housed in a *barraca*. And *El Resumen* still makes some mean jokes about it! *La Correspondencia de España* says: "The Filipino delegation enjoys perfect health in Madrid. Until now not more than three individuals have been sick of catarrh and bronchitis." I make no comment on that.

But I wish all would get sick and die like poor Basalia so that they would stop suffering. That the Philippines may forget her children had been treated in that manner—exhibited and mocked. And they say that all have come

unwillingly, deceived and forced.¹⁰

In a succeeding letter to Blumentritt dated 19 June 1887, Rizal indicated that the Filipinos in Madrid wanted an industrial exposition that celebrated the skills of Filipino workers:

As to the Exposition I agree with you. Five years ago we wanted to hold an exhibition of Filipino workers, weavers, etc., and we still want to hold one, but not an exhibition of odd individuals, showing our countrymen as a curiosity to entertain the idle inhabitants of Madrid. To that we cannot agree. Neither are we agreeable to the bad treatment that they are given, as the Madrid newspapers themselves say. By no means can we consider this good luck. Why do Joloanos, sailors, cuadrilleros, Carolinians, etc. who have no work come? Why are they all massed in a single hut that the newspapers brand as unhealthful and little sanitary? We want an industrial exposition, but not an exhibition of human beings, and the participants should not be compelled to live almost outdoors as in the case of Basalia, who, according to some, died of nostalgia, and, according to others of pneumonia or typhus!¹¹

What are the motivations that prompted the creation of these exhibitions of human beings and their remains in the first place? Early medieval and Renaissance collectors assembled natural curiosities comprised of unicorn horns (which were actually narwhal horns), rhinoceros horns, elk antlers, and mummies, shrunken heads, human skulls and skins because they believed that these objects promoted healing, longevity, fertility, and sexual virility. These early “natural history” collections were kept in special rooms called “*studiolo*” or in storage furniture called a “cabinet of curiosities” or “*kunstkabinett*.”¹² This fascination for collecting human remains is rooted in an

attraction to the human body, particularly to what constitutes the normal and abnormal, as stipulated by Susan B. Pearce, professor of Museum Studies, University of Leicester:

Our own bodies are the primary mode through which we have a sense of scale and an idea of what constitutes the normal. One way of discovering what a past age believed to be normal is to look in art and literature at what it considered to be freakish, since normal and abnormal exist together, defining each other. The normal body becomes the microcosm of the world, so that the body is metaphoric to the larger body of the universe. This corporeal relationship is the root reason why people are attracted to the bizarre and the freakish, and why museums hold material about which they are often nowadays shamefaced. Within this grouping comes human material associated with abnormality or death, like Egyptian mummies, some human skeletons, material like shrunk heads, and freakish animal material, either that which is naturally so, or that which has been treated to make perverted copies of human life, like mice turned by taxidermy and dressing into a copy of human life. Such material on display is both shocking and still often hugely popular, notwithstanding the changes in moral taste which have happened over recent decades.¹³

Another strange practice that may have contributed to this type of exhibit is the pseudo-science of phrenology. Phrenology examined the relationship between a person's character and the morphology of his skull. It was believed that by examining the shape and unevenness of a head or skull, one could discover the development of the particular cerebral "organs" responsible for different intellectual aptitudes and character traits.¹⁴ This particular study encouraged racial prejudice as it was used to

explain and justify the superiority and inferiority of various human races.

Consonant with this practice is Social Darwinism, a theory propagated by the British philosopher and scientist Herbert Spencer. Spencer contended that the life of humans in society was a struggle for existence ruled by “survival of the fittest,” and it specified that the weak were diminished and their cultures delimited, while the strong grew in power and in cultural influence over the weak.¹⁵ Consequently this point of view was espoused by the imperialist countries, like the United States, to rationalize their colonial ambitions and to deny independence to the colonized.¹⁶ In the Philippines, the concept of Social Darwinism found its heyday in the American colonial period, with the racial studies undertaken by the Bureau of Science and the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes, specifically the works of Maximilian Herzog and Daniel Folkmar, both of which intimated the inferiority of Filipinos.¹⁷ These pseudo-scientific racial studies may have contributed to the popularity of another exposition in St. Louis, Missouri, in 1904.

Dr. Sánchez Gómez points out that exhibitions like these intended to show visitors the inferior and “wild” nature of colonized peoples—exhibitions masking itself as a veritable scientific study and denigrating in its presentations of the specimens, whether living or deceased:

Durante ese largo periodo de tiempo, y cada pocos meses, se presentan en público grupos más o menos numerosos de individuos procedentes de lejanos y exóticos territorios a quienes, supuestamente, se quiere dar a conocer al público y poner a disposición de antropólogos y estudiosos de toda condición. El carácter circense y denigrante de estos eventos es más que obvio; no en vano las exhibiciones se celebran

*en numerosas ocasiones en circos, en los tristemente famosos “jardines de aclimatación” o, directamente, en parques zoológicos. Así, los salvajes humanos comparten espacio físico y simbólico con las fieras salvajes, ya que para la sociedad del momento ambas comunidades de seres vivos participan de una casi idéntica esencia animal.*¹⁸

(For long periods of time, and every few months, the public were presented with individuals from distant and exotic lands for the supposed purpose of informing the public and to make available to anthropologists and scholars about their condition. The circus-like and demeaning nature of these events is quite obvious; these were vainglorious exhibitions that were held in circuses, such as in the infamous “acclimatization gardens” or even directly in zoos. Thus, these “savages” shared physical and symbolic space with wild beasts, for society then considered the living participants of these communities identical to the essence of beasts.)

Although there was an educative purpose to these exhibitions, primarily to provide the public with the spectrum of the Philippine archipelago’s ethnic and social diversity, it focused as well on the proselytizing efforts of the Catholic Church on the natives and the areas resided in by these “savages” that need to be reached for conversion. A good example would be the tribes in the Cordillera (such as the Tinguian and Bontoc) and the Aetas. While there were Muslims included in the exhibition, they were not regarded as savages but rather as pagans who needed to be spiritually redeemed. Lowland Catholic Filipinos were featured as well to show the civilizing benefits provided by the Spanish colonizers, demonstrating their artisanal skills and craft products, inhabiting urbane villages.



Figure 3. Opening of the Philippine Exhibition, Madrid, 1887
(*La Ilustración Española y Americana*, 8 July 1887)



Figure 4. Philippine Exhibition, Madrid, 1887
[Jean Laurent & Co., *Album Exposición General de las Islas Filipinas en Madrid*, 1887
(Madrid: Patrimonio Nacional)]



Figure 5. Philippine Exhibition, Madrid, 1887

[Jean Laurent & Co., *Album Exposición General de las Islas Filipinas en Madrid, 1887*
(Madrid: Patrimonio Nacional)]

The following preliminary listing of human remains included in the catalogue of the 1887 *Exposición* involved not only the skulls and skeletons of Filipino indigenous groups but also the remains of executed criminals, which again underlines the questionable character and objectives of these exhibitions. Most of the human remains came from the collection of the *Comisión Central de Manila*, comprising of skulls and skeletons of indigenous peoples from Mindanao, Bataan, Pampanga, Bulacan, Northern Luzon and Zambales, and Visayas. There were also specimens coming from private individuals, such as the parish priest of San Marcelino, Zambales, Don Francisco

González of Cagayan, Misamis, and Don Joaquin Ibáñez of Puerto Princesa, Paragua (Palawan), as well as from the provincial governments of Nueva Vizcaya and Tiangan.

Table 1. Listing of human remains exhibited at the 1887
Exposición de Filipinas

EXHIBITOR: COMISIÓN CENTRAL DE MANILA	
Place of Origin	Name of Artifact
Mindanao	Lung-hum ó ataud que contiene el esqueleto de unaniña Bagoba con algunos utensilios y adornos <i>Lung-hum or coffin containing the skeleton of a girl with some Bagoba utensils and ornaments</i>
	Un cráneo de Arac <i>A skull of an Arac</i>
	Un cráneo de Ata-ata <i>A skull of an Ata-ata</i>
	Un cráneo de Mandaya <i>A skull of a Mandaya</i>
	Un esqueleto de Bagobo <i>A skeleton of a Bagobo</i>
	Un cráneo de mora <i>A skull of a Moro woman</i>
	Un cráneo de moro hallado en Daron <i>A skull of a Moro discovered in Daron</i>
	Un cráneo de moro hallado en una ranchería del río Hijo <i>A skull of a Moro discovered in a ranch by the river Hijo</i>
Bataan	Tres esqueletos de negrito baluga (ranchería de Mariveles, Pr. Bataan) <i>Three skeletons of Negrito baluga (farm in Mariveles, Province of Bataan)</i>
	Otro de negrita baluga <i>Other Negrita baluga</i>

Pampanga	Dos de esqueletos de negrito baluga (rancheria de Porac, Pampanga) <i>Two skeletons of Negrito baluga (ranch in Porac, Pampanga)</i>
	Un cráneo de beluga <i>A skull of a beluga</i>
	Uno cráneo de Payapa, Baluga <i>A skull of a baluga from Payapa</i>
	Cráneo de Mateo Sunga, célebre tulisan natural de Macabebe, provincia de Pampanga, autor de cinco asesinatos. Fué muerto dicho Mateo Sunga por los guardia civiles en Septiembre de 1884 en la provincia de Bataan <i>(Skull of Mateo Sunga, famous thief, native of Macabebe, Pampanga province, instigator of five murders. Mateo Sunga was killed by civil guards in September 1884 in the province of Bataan)</i>
Bulacan	Cráneo de Juan Hernandez (a) Tangcad, célebre tulisan natural de Malolos, provincia de Bulacan, autor de doce asesinatos. Fué el Tangcad muerto en garrote en Manila, en 1879. <i>(Skull of Juan Hernandez (a) Tangcad, famous thief, native of Malolos, Bulacan province, instigator of a dozen murders. Tangcad was executed by garrote in Manila, in 1879)</i>
Northern Luzon and Zambales	Doce colecciones de cuarenta fotografias representando cráneos del Museo Fernández <i>Twelve collections of forty photographs depicting skulls in the Museo Fernández</i>
	Cráneos y esqueletos de igorotes (Lepanto) <i>Skulls and skeletons of Igorots (Lepanto)</i>
	Cráneo de igorrote (Tiangan) <i>A skull of an Igorot (Tiangan)</i>
	Cráneo de Aeta ó Buquil del valle de Cabuquitan(Zambales) <i>A skull of an Aeta or Buquil in the valley of Cabuquitan (Zambales)</i>
Visayas	Seis cráneos de la isla de Samar <i>Six skulls in the island of Samar</i>
	Un Cráneo de Malipano (Samar) <i>A skull from Malipano (Samar)</i>

EXHIBITOR: COMISIÓN CENTRAL DE MANILA	
Visayas	Esqueleto de Malipano (Samar) <i>A skeleton from Malipano (Samar)</i>
	Cráneo hallado en la cueva de Paranás (isla de Samar) <i>A skull discovered in the cave of Paranás (island of Samar)</i>
	Esqueleto de Manguían de Log-poc, rancheria de Nabucut , Pinamalayan (Mindoro) <i>A skeleton of a Mangyan from Log-poc, a farm in Nabucut, Pinamalayan (Mindoro)</i>
	Cráneo de primitivo habitante de la isla de Luzon, hallado por Mr. Marche en las cuevas de la isla de Marinduque <i>A skull of a primitive inhabitant of the island of Luzon, discovered by Mr. Marche in the cave in the island of Marinduque</i>
EXHIBITOR: CURA PÁRROCO DE SAN MARCELINO, ZAMBALES	
	Dos cráneos de indígenas (varón y hembra) <i>Two skulls of indigenous individuals (male and female)</i>
EXHIBITOR: DON FRANCISCO GONZÁLEZ (CAGAYAN, MISAMIS)	
	Cráneo de montes, sacado de un precipicio de un monte <i>A skull from the mountain, taken from a mountain cliff</i>
EXHIBITOR: DON JOAQUIN IBÁÑEZ Y VALERA (PUERTO PRINCESA, PARAGUA [PALAWAN])	
	Cráneo de los primitivos aborígenes <i>A skull of a primitive aborigine</i>
	Cráneo de indígenas <i>A skull of an indigenous individual</i>
EXHIBITOR: SUBCOMISIÓN PROVINCIAL DE NUEVA VIZCAYA	
	Cráneo de igorroto <i>A skull of an Igorot</i>
EXHIBITOR: SUBCOMISIÓN PROVINCIAL DE TIANGAN	
	Cráneo de igorroto y varios huesos <i>A skull of an Igorot and various bones</i>

(*Catálogo de la Exposición General de las Islas Filipinas*, 30 June 1887)

CONCLUSION

Although the 1887 *Exposición de Filipinas* was motivated by both an aspiration to improve socioeconomic relations between Spain and its colony, the Philippines, and as a means to staking a claim during a period of imperialist expansionism, it revealed the predominant point of view among Europeans: the cultured and urbanized West versus the “other” peoples who were seen as savages or uncultured.

Bolstered by centuries of collecting unusual and abnormal “curiosities” of nature, and pseudo-scientific attempts to explicate the differences between racial traits and features, Westerners who patronized these exhibitions cannot be blamed for embracing prejudices, which were inculcated in them through these events. In hindsight, these expositions may have attempted to educate the closeted West with the variegated diversity of the human race; but with the limitations posited by the sciences then, only a narrow understanding can be gained. Perhaps, what we can understand from accounts concerning these past exhibitions is that they were endeavors to learn and appreciate the cultures of Asia (and in particular, the Philippines) through their art and specimens of human remains, although marred in perspective.

Nevertheless, perceptible in these “colonial exhibitions” is the necessity of projecting the civilizing improvements introduced by the West in reforming the cultures of races it deemed savage. As pointed out earlier, these exhibitions also presented the latest products and technologies in Europe, and exhibited these machineries and commodities alongside the arts, crafts, and performances of the colonized, which may induce appreciation for their novelty and peculiarity but in hindsight, highlighted the antiquated production techniques and crude artistic expressions. The Spanish organizers likewise signified the benefits of “civilizing” by including Filipinos in Western-style

clothing and practicing civilized skills and occupations. It cannot be discounted that the 1887 *Exposición de Filipinas* permitted perspectives on the Catholic evangelization efforts and the extent of influence of the religious orders over the islands, indicating their initiatives to improve education, livelihood, health, and welfare of native Filipinos, especially those who inhabit the far-flung areas of the country.

Undeniably, with the huge turnout of visitors to the 1887 *Exposición de Filipinas*, which exasperated Filipino reformers like Rizal and Aguirre, it denoted that the European visitors enjoyed their tour of the colonial exhibition. We have to wonder about the possibility if the exhibited Filipinos were truly docile participants, willing and relishing to be viewed at by Westerners. Viewing a Western man or woman from the other side of the proverbial fence, may be an experience quite unconventional and exhilarating as well to indigenous Filipinos.

Yet, we must always recall that the *Exposición de Filipinas* foisted up to its viewers the differences in features and uncivilized way of life led by Filipinos in the mountainous regions and in the Muslim south, which significantly fostered prejudiced and negative reactions and attitudes toward them, and at the same time proved seductive for their exoticism and encouraged a misplaced sympathy from their viewers for their alleged uncouth manners and lifestyles. Certainly these bigoted viewpoints were carried over during the explorations conducted by the American ethnographers and pseudo-scientists during the US colonial period who came up with their racial studies to prove the superiority of the white race over their brown brothers.

In summary, up to the present time, the preserved photographic documentation of the exposition, its artifacts of art and handicrafts and the human remains of Filipinos, which

are presumably kept in Spain's anthropologic and ethnographic museums, reminds us of the twofold effects of such human displays in colonial exhibits: the triumph of the civilizing West over what it views as different and "the other," and the continued prejudices levelled not only against Filipinos but to all races that have undergone the colonial experience.

NOTES

- 1 Rohini Malik and Gilane Tawadros, "(Mis)representations: The Curator, the Gallery, and the Artwork," in *Critical Studies & Modern Art*, ed. Liz Dawtrey, Toby Jackson, Mary Masterton, and Pam Meecham (United Kingdom: Yale University Press and the Open University, 1994), 113.
- 2 John Kemper, "Internationalism and the Search for a National Identity: Britain and the Great Exhibition of 1851," posted 23 May 2000, accessed 4 July 2014, <http://web.stanford.edu/group/ww1/spring2000/exhibition/paper.htm>.
- 3 Jeffrey Auerbach, *The Great Exhibition of 1851* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 161.
- 4 Geoffrey Cantor, "The Great Exhibition: Commerce and Christianity," *History Today* 60, no. 7 (July 2010), accessed 22 July 2014, http://go.galegroup.com.vlib.interchange.at/ps/retrieve.do?sgHitCountType=None&sort=DA-SORT&inPS=true&prodId=AONE&userGroupName=wash89460&tabID=T002&searchId=R2&resultListType=RESULT_LIST&contentSegment=&searchType=BasicSearchForm¤tPosition=9&contentSet=GALE%7CA231091900&&docId=GALE|A231091900&docType=GALE&role=.

- 5 “World Expositions in Amsterdam – 1883,” accessed 25 July 2014, http://parallel.park.org/Netherlands/pavilions/world_expositions/index_2.htm.
- 6 Holly Griffin, “1883 Colonial Exposition, Amsterdam,” in *Essays on the Material Culture of the World’s Fairs*, ed. P. Cossard and I. Gournay (USA: University of Maryland, 2001), accessed 25 July 2014, <http://hdl.handle.net/1903.1/34>.
- 7 Luis Ángel Sánchez Gómez, *Las exhibiciones etnológicas y coloniales decimonónicas y la Exposición de Filipinas de 1887* (Madrid: Universidad Complutense Madrid, 2002), 81.
- 8 Karl-Heinz Wionzek, *Germany, the Philippines, and the Spanish-American War: Four Accounts by Officers of the Imperial German Navy* (Manila: National Historical Institute, 2004), xvi.
- 9 Jose Rizal, *Rizal’s Correspondence with Fellow Reformists* (Manila: National Historical Institute, 1992), 76.
- 10 Jose Rizal, *The Rizal-Blumentritt Correspondence, Volume 1, 1886–1889* (Manila: National Historical Institute, 1991), 96.
- 11 *Ibid.*, 106.
- 12 Edward P. Alexander and Mary Alexander, *Museums in Motion: An Introduction to the History and Functions of Museums* (Tennessee: AASLH Press, 1979), 8–9.
- 13 Susan M. Pearce, *Museums, Objects, and Collections: A Cultural Study* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993), 57.
- 14 John van Wyhe, *The History of Phrenology*, The Victorian Web, accessed 10 March 2014, <http://www.victorianweb.org/science/phrenology/intro.html>.

- 15 “Social Darwinism, History, and Neo-Idealism,” in *The Great Political Theories*, ed. Michael Curtis (New York: Harper Collins Publishers), 257–67.
- 16 Edward Bell, *The Future of the Philippines* (Chicago: The Chicago Daily News Co., 1925).
- 17 Saul Hofileña Jr., *Under the Stacks* (Manila: Saul Hofileña Jr., 2011), 155–77.
- 18 Sánchez Gómez, *Las exhibiciones etnológicas*, 83.

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