

Philippine Women who Figured in the Catálogo Oficial of the 1887 Madrid Exposition

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ABSTRACT

The 1887 Madrid Exposition displayed the natural, social, cultural, and economic aspects of the Philippines under Spain in the late 19th century. Among the participants for this exposition were Philippine residents and government, religious, and private institutions that submitted objects reflecting the natural, social, manufacturing, and industrial products of the Philippines under Spain. The *Catálogo de la Exposicion General de las Islas Filipinas*

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lists the entries in this exhibition-competition. By searching and analyzing the entries with the word *doña* prefixed to the names of participants, the *Catálogo* reveals that 207 Philippine women from 20 provinces participated in this event. The objects they submitted reflected their social roles in the Philippines during the late 19th century. Although educated for their future roles as home managers, Philippine women were able to participate in a growing industrializing economy by doing what they did best: weave, embroider, paint and draw. The *Catálogo* highlights these women's active participation in culture, trade, and commerce while subtly exposing their passive participation in the natural sciences, industry, and agriculture. A product of several screenings by numerous male-dominated *sub-comites*, the *Catálogo* unintentionally illustrates a Philippine society that begins to open up to the idea of women taking roles in an industrializing world.

KEYWORDS

Women in Philippine history, historical method, descriptive statistics, document analysis, Philippine-Spanish trade

Note: the researcher chose to refer to the women in this study as Philippine women and not Filipina. The former refers to the native woman of the Philippines while the existence of the latter term during the late 19th century is debatable.¹

A glossary is provided at the end of this paper for the cultural and traditional Spanish and Filipino terms used in this study.

I. SEEING THROUGH THE CRACKS

Spanish colonial education aimed to train the native Philippine woman for her future roles as mother and wife. Thus, her activities centered on managing the home and creating masterpieces for it. However, in the late 19th century, quite a number of these women used their skills for something else: to join a competition of the materials to be exhibited in the 1887 Madrid Exposition of the Philippines. The objects they submitted are listed in the official catalogue of the exhibit, the *Catálogo de la Exposicion General de las Islas Filipinas Celebrada en Madrid Inaugurada por S.M. La Reina Regente*.²

The 1887 Madrid Exposition was organized primarily to promote financial and commercial relations between Madrid and Manila. The exhibition hoped that, like the 1876 Philadelphia and the 1883 Amsterdam exhibitions, the Madrid exposition would bring a “new era of prosperity and good fortune” for the Spanish “remote” provinces.³ It was opened at the Parque del Buen Retiro on 30 June 1887, two months delayed of the original schedule.⁴ The organizers published the *Catálogo* to present the “varied products of the Archipelago” for commercial utility and practical and detailed study by the public.⁵

Because the exhibition was also a competition, honorable mentions, bronze medals, silver medals, gold

medals, and diplomas of honors were given to outstanding entries. The organizers awarded winners from eight categories, namely:

- Nature of the Spanish Territories in Oceania (Naturaleza de los Territorios Españoles en la Oceanía)
- Population (Población)
- Army and Auxiliary Armed Institutes of the Administration (Ejercito e Institutos Armados Auxiliares de la Administración)
- Navy (Marina de Guerra)
- Geography, Botany of the Archipelago, its flora, forest, and fauna (Geografía, Botanica del Archipiélago, su flora, la forestal y su fauna)
- Agriculture, Horticulture, and Livestock Wealth (Agricultura, Horticultura y Riqueza Pecuária)
- Industry, Commercial Movement, Traffic (Industria, Movimiento Comercial, Tráfico)
- General Culture, Public Instruction, Sciences and Arts (Cultura General, Instrucción Publica, Ciencias y Artes)

The Royal Commissary in Madrid delegated to the Central Commissary in Manila the establishment of sub-committees in the provinces or districts in the Philippines to select and submit to Madrid the final entries based on the eight categories.⁶ The bulk of the work relied on the sub-committees (*sub-comite*) that were responsible for encouraging the public to participate as exhibitors while making sure that the submissions illustrated the natural, manufacturing, and industrial products of the province.⁷

It is important to note that the *Catálogo* did not specify the qualifications of those who joined the exhibit, thus begging the question: who were the women in the 1887 Madrid Exposition?

Historians already tackled the Madrid Exposition, although their topics revolved around the 19th century costumes⁸ and indigenous art,⁹ and how the Madrid Exposition compared to the 1904 St. Louis Exposition.¹⁰ These studies cited the women participants but focused more on the entries in the 1887 Madrid Exposition rather than those who submitted such entries. Whenever the authors mention the participation of women, it was not highlighted in their work and was discussed only in passing. The *Catálogo* is a 700-page book that is a microcosm of the Philippines in the late 19th century, and yet it has not been fully utilized by researchers to portray the society of that time.

These studies did not delve into questions such as: how did the objects submitted to the 1887 exhibition reflect the social role of Philippine women during the late 19th century? How many women from the Philippines participated in it? Where did they come from? What objects did they submit? How did these objects reflect the social role of these women during the time of the exhibition?

To answer these questions, the researcher proceeded to use a descriptive-analytical study using both quantitative and qualitative methods. For the former method, the researcher transcribed all the women-submitted entries in Microsoft Excel. The compiled data were analyzed

using a frequency formula to count the total number of participants, materials submitted, provinces of origin of the women, and the common materials they submitted.

It is noteworthy to mention that this study is limited to the entries submitted by the Philippine women or institutions that represented them as indicated by the term *doña* in the Catálogo entries. The items submitted by the *sub-comites* and the *dons* were not examined, although it is possible that they submitted items that referred to or reflected the situation of women during that time. Since this study aims to describe the social role of women from the Philippines alone, the researcher decided to only examine entries with the word *doña*. By limiting this study to the said topic, future researchers may still tackle other topics within the source using the same or even other methodologies.

II. THE PARTICIPATION OF PHILIPPINE WOMEN IN THE 1887 MADRID EXPOSITION

There were 215 women who participated in the exhibition. Only eight participants were not from the Philippines. Of these, seven came from Madrid and one from the Marianas. Some of these women submitted multiple entries in different categories or sent multiple items in the same category.

The 207 women from the Philippines came from 20 provinces. The women from Iloilo¹¹ sent the most entries with 126 participants. Manila was a far second at 16 participants, followed by Antique, Cebu, and Albay at 10,

8, and 8 participants, respectively. There were eight women from Madrid and the Marianas. Table 1 shows the province of origin of the women:

TABLE 1. PROVINCE OF ORIGIN OF THE PHILIPPINE WOMEN PARTICIPANTS

PROVINCE OF ORIGIN	NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS
Abra	1
Albay	8
Antique	10
Batangas	3
Bohol	5
Bulacan	1
Camarines Norte	1
Cavite	1
Cebu	8
Ilocos Sur	6
Iloilo	126
Laguna	2
Manila	16
Mindanao	1
Nueva Ecija	1

PROVINCE OF ORIGIN	NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS
Pampanga	4
Pangasinan	1
Samar	2
Zambales	1
Zamboanga	1
TOTAL	207
Madrid	7
The Marianas	1
GRAND TOTAL	215

The 207 Philippine women participants were present in only five of the eight sections of the exhibition. Table 2 shows the sections where the women’s entries were and the number of their entries per category. The highest number of entries was for *Sección Séptima* (Industry, Commercial Movement, Traffic) at 189. *Sección Octava* (General Culture, Public Instruction, Sciences, and Arts) was second at 35 entries. *Sección Segunda* (Population) had 19 entries, entries while *Sección Sexta* (Agriculture, Horticulture, and Livestock Wealth) and *Sección Quinta* (Geography, Botany of the Archipelago, its flora, forest, and fauna) had eight and two entries, respectively.

TABLE 2. NUMBER OF ENTRIES THAT THE PHILIPPINE WOMEN SUBMITTED IN SELECTED CATEGORIES OF THE EXHIBIT. NOTE THAT SOME WOMEN SUBMITTED MULTIPLE ENTRIES IN DIFFERENT CATEGORIES.

SECTION	NO. OF PARTICIPANTS	NO. OF ENTRIES
Segunda: Population	8	19
Quinta: Geography, Botany of the Archipelago, its flora, forest and fauna	2	2
Sexta: Agriculture, Horticulture, and Livestock Wealth	7	8
Septima: Industry, Commercial Movement, Traffic	172	189
Octava: General Culture, Public Instruction, Sciences and Arts	18	36
TOTAL	207	254

For ease of reference from hereon, the *Catálogo’s* sections will be referred by their headers in Spanish rather than their translated descriptions in English. These are:

- *Sección Primera:* Nature of the Spanish Territories in Oceania
- *Sección Segunda:* Population
- *Sección Tercera:* Army and Auxiliary Armed Institutes of the Administration
- *Sección Cuarta:* Navy
- *Sección Quinta:* Geography, Botany of the Archipelago, its flora, forest, and fauna

- *Sección Sexta: Agriculture, Horticulture, and Livestock Wealth*
- *Sección Séptima: Industry, Commercial Movement, Traffic*
- *Sección Octava: General Culture, Public Instruction, Sciences and Arts*

Using the brief description of each section, the highest number of submissions by the Philippine women involved industry, commerce, and trade followed by general culture, science, and arts.

Meanwhile, a large number of materials in the exhibit for *Sección Séptima* were the different types of native textile, clothes, and kerchief. Philippine women totaling 172 submitted entries for this section. *Algodon* or cotton was the top textile submitted with *piña* at the second spot. Interestingly, *seda* which was not a native textile came in third. *Sinamay*, *abaca*, *sinambre*, *jusi*, and *pinilian* were the other native textiles included in this section.

The textiles were either ready to wear clothes or pieces of fabric ready for cutting by a *costurera*. For example, *piña* fabric was made into *piña* clothes (*camisas* for men and women, *pañuelos* and a *vestida*). Decorated *piña* fabric was called *labrada* while those made for *camisas* were called *pinilian*. Quite many *piña* fabrics were submitted as *pañuelos*.¹² Cotton was made into *pantalones* and *patadiones*, and was also sometimes combined with *seda* to create such products.

For *Sección Octava*, the items submitted by 18 Philippine women ranged from personal arts and crafts to

embroidered pictures and a portrait of King Alfonso XII. The *pañuelo* reappeared here with different embroideries such as pictures, a lace, or a name. There were also picture representations of Philippine landscapes, an *india*, the Holy Family, still life, and a cross. Gold and silver threads are also significantly mentioned in the book. Of the 36 entries submitted in this section, 30 were related to the textile industry. The remaining items were paintings, pictures, and frames.

Meanwhile, the submitted entries in *Sección Segunda* were from eight Philippine women. The items ranged from *petate* or palm leaf mats,¹³ costumes of *indio* and *mestiza* with matching chinelas, Ilokano *saya*, *pallilera* with toothpicks “adornados con hilillo de plata y oro formando una piña,”¹⁴ *pañuelo*, and a *camisa*. The two entries from Madrid and Marianas were a nipa house model, *quichala* or native spoon, and “dos hojas, aventadores,” which roughly translates as leaf blowers.

In *Sección Sexta*, seven women submitted Philippine crops and products made from them. Teodora Alfajaro sent seven varieties of *palay* and ordinary coffee with shells from Albay. Victoria Cruz and Matea Rodrigues of Pampanga submitted *azucar negra*. Dalamacia Pinay of Cebu sent *tuba* vinegar while Nepomucena Rodriguez of Antique sent three sample branches of tobacco. Juana Mabacyaor of Antique submitted *azucar caña* or a mechanically extracted sugar from sugarcane.¹⁵

The very low number of submissions involving the natural sciences of *Sección Quinta* spoke volumes in terms of the Philippine women's lack of involvement in this field.

The two submissions in this section were the *adlay* of Juana Col of Danao, Cebu, and a *piña* fruit that Concepcion Sanchez of Antique submitted on behalf of the Real Sociedad Economica.¹⁶

Tracing the provinces of origin of the entries results in a breakdown of each entry by section. Table 3 shows that the bulk of the entries—which numbered 131 in *Sección Septima*—were submitted by the women from Iloilo. Manila women's entries concentrated on *Sección Octava* at 26 entries. Albay women's 20 submissions were equally split between *Sección Segunda* and *Sección Septima*. Antique's entries were distributed into sections *Quinta*, *Sexta*, and *Septima*.

The entries were usually one product per person only, but rarely there were also some multiple entries per woman. In the case of Iloilo, the women submitted individual entries but shared the same surnames, indicating they were blood-related. Most of the entries came from the towns of Oton, Mandurriao, Igaras, and Santa Barbara.

The women of Iloilo chose to showcase different textiles such as *algodon*, *sinambre*, *sinamay*, *piña*, *seda*, and *jusi*. They submitted the *piña* cloth in *labrada* form called *pinilian*. Products from these textiles included *pantalones*, *patadiones*, *camisas*, *pañuelos*, and *saya*. The textiles were submitted with their corresponding price per *vara*. Prices did not exceed three pesos.

Table 3 shows that all entries from Iloilo were in *Sección Septima*, indicating that the province was greatly

TABLE 3. CROSS-REFERENCE OF THE PROVINCES OF ORIGIN OF THE ENTRIES SUBMITTED BY WOMEN AND THE SECTIONS WHERE THEY BELONGED

	SECCIÓN SEGUNDA (POPULATION)	SECCIÓN QUINTA: (GEOGRAPHY, BOTANY OF THE ARCHIPELAGO)	SECCIÓN SEXTA: (AGRICULTURE, AND HORTICULTURE, AND LIVESTOCK WEALTH)	SECCIÓN SEPTIMA: (INDUSTRY, COMMERCIAL MOVEMENT, TRAFFIC)	SECCIÓN OCTAVA: (GENERAL CULTURE, PUBLIC INSTRUCTION, SCIENCES AND ARTS)	TOTAL
Abra	1	0	0	0	0	1
Albay	10	0	2	10	0	22
Antique	0	1	2	7	0	10
Batangas	0	0	0	3	2	5
Bohol	1	0	0	8	0	9
Bulacan	0	0	0	1	0	1
Camarines Norte	0	0	0	0	2	2

	SECCIÓN SEGUNDA (POPULATION)	SECCIÓN QUINTA: (GEOGRAPHY, BOTANY OF THE ARCHIPELAGO)	SECCIÓN SEXTA: (AGRICULTURE, AND HORTICULTURE, AND LIVESTOCK WEALTH)	SECCIÓN SEPTIMA: (INDUSTRY, COMMERCIAL MOVEMENT, TRAFFIC)	SECCIÓN OCTAVA: (GENERAL CULTURE, PUBLIC INSTRUCTION, SCIENCES AND ARTS)	TOTAL
Cavite	0	0	0	1	0	1
Cebu	0	1	2	5	0	8
Mindanao	0	0	0	0	1	1
Ilocos Sur	0	0	0	6	0	6
Iloilo	0	0	0	131	0	131
Laguna	0	0	0	2	4	6
Manila	0	0	0	6	20	26
Nueva Ecija	0	0	0	1	0	1
Pampanga	0	0	2	1	4	7

	SECCIÓN SEGUNDA (POPULATION)	SECCIÓN QUINTA: (GEOGRAPHY, BOTANY OF THE ARCHIPELAGO)	SECCIÓN SEXTA: (AGRICULTURE, AND LIVESTOCK WEALTH)	SECCIÓN SEPTIMA: (INDUSTRY, COMMERCIAL MOVEMENT, TRAFFIC)	SECCIÓN OCTAVA: (GENERAL CULTURE, PUBLIC INSTRUCTION, SCIENCES AND ARTS)	TOTAL
Pangasinan	0	0	0	0	2	2
Samar	1	0	0	1	0	2
Zambales	1	0	0	0	0	1
Zamboanga	1	0	0	0	0	1
Madrid	1	0	0	6	0	7
Marianas	3	0	0	0	0	3
Not stated					1	1
TOTAL	19	2	8	189	36	254

involved in the production, selling, and trading of native textiles. The women of Iloilo seemed to be among the prime movers of this industry, as shown by the sheer number of their submissions in the Madrid Exposition.

Manila's women submitted more for the category on general culture, science, and arts of *Sección Octava* than for commerce and trade of *Sección Septima*. The entries centered more on culture and arts rather than science. Visual arts such as portraits, pictures, and paintings were common submissions, with themes including the Church, King Alfonso XII, and activities of common people. Threads used in embroidery were considered important: Paz Longos used *lausin* or human hair as threads, Catalina Ansurez of Sampaloc used silk and chenille threads, and Maria Sierra of Hermita used gold threads for *zapatillas* embroidery. Eight of the entries in *Sección Octava* were submitted by an institution, the *Hermanas de la Caridad*. Of their entries, seven were embroidered pictures in unmentioned fabrics while one was a drawing of the church and convent of Santa Ana in *papel Bristol*.

Albay's 22 entries came from six women only: Josefa Garcia de Aramburu, Teodora Alfajaro, Felipa Conde, Irene Jansian and Cleta Rico. They were from the towns of Tiwi/Tiui and Guinobatan. These women submitted multiple entries in different categories. For example, Josefa Aramburu of Albay sent 11 entries, 10 of which were for *Sección Segunda*. Her entries in this section were *trajes de indio y india*, with their corresponding *pantalon de lana* and *tapiz de algodon*, *camisas* and *chinelas* for both men and women, *pañuelo* for women and *sulpoc* or "*bombones de caña labrada*." Her lone submission in *Sección Septima* was

a Jerez wine infused with ganod root with an accompanying explanation of its use and medicinal benefits.

Irene Jansian and Cleta Rico's entries were native textiles: pieces of *abaca*, *piña*, *jusi* and *seda*. From Rico's entries, *abaca* and *jusi* were with *seda*, in thin strips or possibly, adjoined to *jusi*. She also submitted a complete loom with the apparatuses but it was not mentioned if the loom was a backstrap traditional kind or a different type.

Antique's entries were in three sections: *Quinta*, *Sexta*, and *Septima*. The lone entry in *Sección Quinta* was *piña* submitted by Concepcion Sanchez on behalf of the Real Sociedad Economica. For *Sección Sexta*, Juana Mabacyaor gave sugarcane extracted by a mechanical hydraulic machine and another that was extracted by a "*molino de sangre con cauas al aire libre*." Nepomucena Rodriguez also submitted three samples of tobacco in the branch. In *Sección Septima*, the women of Antique also submitted samples of cotton, *sinamay*, *piña*, and *abaca* fabrics labeled under different classes (2.^a or *segunda* and 3.^a for *tercera*).

Boholanas also implemented this kind of labeling of *sinamay* and *abaca* fabrics for their entries in *Sección Septima*. A new classification emerged here with the lone piece of abaca cloth which Isabel Castillo of Jagna, Bohol labeled as "*abaca fino de 1.^a clase*," or first-class fine abaca. Bohol's only entry in *Sección Segunda* was submitted by Regina Baquis of Balilijian: a "*Petate de Caling o Caucau*."

The eight entries of the Cebuanas were divided into those related to plants and agriculture and again, to native textiles. Aquilina Rodrigo of Bantayan, Cebu submitted

the pineapple fruit with a note that its filament was used for manufacturing fabrics. Dalmacia Pinay of Daan Bantayan submitted tuba vinegar, while Fidelisa Quianco, Maria Tionso, Josefa Villanueva, and Benita Villasin of Bantayan, Cebu had native textiles for entries: *pañuelos* made of *jusi* and *seda*, *piña labrada* for *camisas* and a new variety of the *piña* fabric: *piña lisa*. Meanwhile, Calixta Casas Gonzales of San Nicolas submitted a box containing 24 tablets of incense.

Pampanga's six entries were submitted by four women. Their entries dealt more on culture and arts, as exemplified by Pilar Gil y Cazador of Guagua's priest clothes made of satin, suit, colored skirt, and embroidered *piña pañuelos*. One of these *pañuelos* was framed and had a cross embroidery. Victoria Arnedo of Sulipan submitted pasta from wheat flour, while *azucar negra* entries were from Victoria Cruz and Matea Rodriguez of Apalit.

Only Filomena de Ocampo and Antonia Lopez represented Laguna but they had multiple entries. Filomena from Biñan submitted lilac and green clogs for men, while Antonia of Santa Cruz submitted embroideries of a laced *pañuelo* with a name. Her other entries were embroideries of a still life, a temple, and a house. For the last two images, *lausin* or human hair was used as thread for embroideries.

The six women of Vigan, Ilocos Sur chose to showcase their *algodon*, *jusi*, and *seda* fabrics. Benita and Eliana Encarnacion submitted cotton fabric for a gentleman's suit and a woman's *saya*. Saturnina Resurreccion also submitted a piece of cotton fabric for a *saya*. Meanwhile, Quiteria Florentino, Marcelina Pablo, and Juana delos Reyes

combined *seda* with *jusi* and *algodon*, pricing them from one peso to ₱ 1.25.

The five entries from Batangas belonged to *Secciones Septima* and *Octava*. There were only three women who participated, from whom two submitted multiple entries. Maria Mitra of Taal highlighted the use of *algodon* as towels and blankets. Brigida Morales also submitted *algodon* as blankets. Juana Floro of Lipa embroidered pictures of *Jesus, Maria y Jose* using gold in chenille fabric, and a landscape embroidery entitled “Recuerda a mi Madre.”

The remaining eight provinces had one or two entries:

- **Juana Mendoza of Bangued, Abra:** a *sugut-ti-oclo*, thick comb of ingenious use
- **Felipa Santos of Malolos, Bulacan:** sample of flour pastry
- **Tarsila Vargas of Talisay, Camarines Norte:** embroidered *pañuelos*
- **Ignacia Deosomito of Naic, Cavite:** an embroidery with gold and beads on velvet for *chinelas*
- **Felipa Dagailuan y Sebastiana Baez of Dipolog, Mindanao:** a collection of 120 samples of filament of abaca. Made in the villages of Lubungon and Dipolog
- **Salomona Maria Manalili of Tagahon, Nueva Ecija:** four dozen shells of mother-of-pearl
- **Maria del Carmen Villamil of Dagupan, Pangasinan:** silk and gold ornaments, and a framed picture of an embroidered landscape with embossed edges
- **Señoritas de D. Bernabe Jazmines of Catbalogan, Samar:** *palillera* with toothpicks

- **Victoria Jazmines of Catbalogan, Samar:** a framed embroidered *pañuelo*
- **Ramona Doctor of Agno, Zambales:** *saya de algodón* made from Ilocano fabric
- **Teresa Padua of Ayala, Zamboanga:** a sample of cinnamon wood
- **Rafaela Cepeda whose province of origin was not stated:** a box with *pañuelo* and several flowers made by the girls of the old school of Cavite

III. INSIGHTS ON THE PHILIPPINE WOMEN AS GLEANED FROM THE CATALOGUE OF THE 1887 MADRID EXPOSITION

It is clear that the entries of the women from the Philippines centered on textile, textile products, culture, and arts. Their involvement in agriculture production was minimal and there was no indication in the *Catálogo* that the women were interested in the natural and physical sciences.

The Visayan region seemed to be the center of the textile industry during the late 19th century while Manila and its nearby provinces delved more on the arts and crafts. The fabrics in the Visayas were created for practical use—that is, for clothing.

Women from Iloilo sent the highest number of entries at a time when the native textile industry faced decline and intense competition against imported fabrics. The export value of *piña*, *jusi*, and *sinamay* from 1883 to 1890 was valued at a few hundred pesos as opposed to

its six-figure value in the mid-1840s. The decline came to a point that, as author Benito Legarda, Jr. puts it, “the item either disappeared completely in some years or was so insignificant that it did not merit a listing in the annual customs reports.”¹⁷ The report of the British Vice Consul of Iloilo Sherlmerdine also laments this fact.¹⁸ Nonetheless, the Iloilo women, conscious that their works would be exhibited to the public in Spain, rallied to revive the interest of prospective businessmen who wished to engage in textile trade with the Philippines. Despite the effort, the export statistics of native textiles continued to decline because of the market preference for imported cotton after 1887. But the solidarity of the women from Iloilo, reminiscent of their movement as a social unit towards a united cause, deserves to be studied in depth.

In Manila and its nearby provinces, native textile was used for embroidery which was decorated or used with unique—or sometimes, luxurious—threads. *Seda* or silk was used more in Luzon than in the Visayas. Even clogs or *chinelas* had luxurious forms as shown in the entries from Manila, Laguna, and Cavite.

Framed pictures or handicrafts were evidence that the women of Luzon were focused on using their skills for recreation or home decoration. The women took pride in their outputs, as they framed their work so it can be viewed by others.

For those rare submissions focusing on industry, the procedure on how a product was made underlined the reality of a slightly industrializing economy during that

time, as shown by the sample of sugar derived both from a hydraulic machine and through traditional means. Another example was the pasta and flour pastry entries.

The *Catálogo* gives the reader a glimpse of the late 19th century women of the Philippines who might not have received the same level of education as that of the men but were still able to participate in an industrializing economy by doing what they did best: weave, embroider, paint or draw. The entries submitted in the Madrid exposition showed that the Philippine woman took pride in what she could do despite her education that centered on her expected role as a wife and homemaker. These women would have hesitated to represent their country if they were not convinced that their work was a result of their best abilities—a product of the education and experience they gained in the Philippines.

For the Philippine women of the late 19th century, their practical skills and what they could produce using them mattered more than what their academic intellect could. At the time of the exhibition, education for enlightenment seemed far from the minds of these women. This was partly because of the income she could prospect from her skills, and because of the expected social role of the woman as a homemaker. The *Catálogo* attests to the former: the Philippine women knew how to price their work. Their crafts were meant for both business and recreation.

The present research used the text from a catalog wherein entries were carefully chosen to illustrate the natural, manufacturing, and industrial conditions of

a given locality.¹⁹ While male-dominated municipal or district officials had the power to appoint the final representatives per province,²⁰ this power was not abused given the numerous women who were provided the chance to participate and win in this exhibition competition. Such opportunities also give the reader a glimpse of the changing perspective on women's participation during the latter part of the 19th century: male community leaders recognized the Philippine women's skills and economic contributions that gender differences were set aside in selecting the entries for the exhibition.

Thus, the 1887 Madrid Exposition served not only as an industrial and commercial representation of the Philippines, but also as an illustration of Philippine society that was beginning to accept the role of women in an industrializing world.

NOTES

- 1 It is important to understand the cognitive history of the term *Filipino*, before using it in this paper the way a 21st century resident of the Philippines understands it. "Filipino" in the 19th century refers to all residents of Las Islas Filipinas while today's meaning refers to one's nationality. Nationalism was only developing in the 19th century and so, identifying a person's loyalty to the country or colony are completely separate terms. Leon Ma. Guerrero identified these loyalties as *patria chico* and *patria grande*. For a deeper discussion of *patria chico* and *patria grande*, please see Guerrero's explanation in *The First Filipino* (Manila: Guerrero Publishing, 1998), 76-80.
- 2 *Catalogo de la Exposicion General de las Islas Filipinas Celebrada en Madrid Inaugurada por S.M. La Reina Regente El 30 de Junio*

de 1887 (Madrid: Est. Tipográfico de Ricardo Fé, 1887). Hereon referred to as *Catalogo*.

- 3 *Catalogo*, viii. Exact words from the preface were: “nueva era de prosperidad y ventura para aquellas apartadas provincias.”

Germán Gamazo, Ministerio de Ultramar at that time, also reiterates this thought in the section for official provisions and documents in page 2 of the *Catalogo*: “La trascendental importancia de esta clase de certámenes, sus resultados para el desarrollo del comercio, la importancia que para las naciones tiene el estrechar toda clase de relaciones entre la Metropoli y sus colonias, y los favorables resultados que para la riqueza de nuestro Archipiélago se obtuvieron en las Exposiciones de Filadelfia y Amsterdam, han impulsado al Ministro que suscribe a aceptar la mencionada propuesta.”

- 4 The original target date of exhibition was on 1 April 1887 but the difficulty of shipping the objects for exhibition from Manila to Madrid postponed the opening date.

- 5 *Catalogo*, 4.

- 6 *Catálogo*, 6.

- 7 *Catálogo*, 18.

- 8 See Stephanie Marie R. Coe, *Clothing and the Colonial Culture of Appearances in Nineteenth Century Philippines (1820-1896)* (PhD diss., Université Nice Sophia Antipolis, 2014); and Marlene Flores Ramos. *The Filipina Bordadoras and the Emergence of Fine European-Style Embroidery Tradition in Colonial Philippines, 19th to 20th Centuries* (Master of Arts Thesis, Mount Saint Vincent University, 2016).

- 9 Luis Angel Sanchez Gomez, “Indigenous Art at the Philippine Exposition of 1887” *Journal of the History of Collections* 14 no. 2, (2002), 283-294.

- 10 Erin Hardacker, *Constructing a “Good” Colonial Society: Representations of Philippine Colonial Education at the 1887*

Philippine Exposition in Madrid and the 1904 World's Fair (Master's Thesis, Loyola University of Chicago, 2011).

- 11 The Catálogo spelled the province as Ilo-Ilo.
- 12 The *pañuelo* in the Catalago may either refer to the kerchief placed on the woman's collar or a handkerchief. See D.E. Fernandez' *Vocabulario Tagalo-Castellano Quinta Edicion* (Manila: Establecimiento Tipo-Litografico de Ramirez y Compania, 1896), 8, wherein *pañuelo* is translated as *panyô*.
- 13 These are called *banig* in Filipino.
- 14 *Catálogo*, 261.
- 15 *Catálogo*, 400-455.
- 16 *Catálogo*, 352. The *piña* submission refers to the fruit, given the section where it was catalogued.
- 17 Benito J. Legarda, Jr., *After the Galleons Foreign Trade, Economic Change and Entrepreneurship in the Nineteenth-Century Philippines* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2002), 153.
- 18 Op. cit., 154.
- 19 It is easy to blame the *sub-comites* for the manner of selecting the entries by the Philippine women, but the criteria for selecting the entries was clear in Capitulo IV, Artículo 31 of the Reglamento in pages 17-18: "Cuidaran las Comisiones provinciales de proponer a sus Presidentes efectivos los medios de fomentar la concurrencia de expositores de ilustrarles acerca de las producciones naturales, fabriles, industriales, etc., que existan en el territorio de sun mando dignas de figurar en el Certamen; de depositar en sition conveniente los productos enviados por las Comisiones municipales o los particulares con destino a la Exposicion de que los objetos sean empacados con esmero, atendiendo en lo posible las agrupaciones de los progoramas y remitirlos a la Comision central de Manila."
- 20 Artículo 31 of the same Capitulo states that the Sub-Comites were to be composed of the "Jefe de la provincia, el Juez

de primaria instancia, el Cura Parocco de la Cabecera, el Administrador de Hacienda, el Jefe de la Guardia Civil, el Medico titular, el Gobernadorcillo, el Teniente primero de Justicia, dos comerciantes, dos propietarios, y la persona el designe Presidente para desempeñar el cargo de Secretario”

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GLOSSARY

<i>Abacá</i>	Cloth made from the fibers of the abaca plant, <i>Musa textilis</i> Née, a banana species; popularly known as <i>cañamo de Manila</i> (Manila hemp) by Europeans*
<i>Algodon</i>	Cotton**
<i>Baro / Camisa</i>	Shirt or sleeved shirt**
<i>Chinelas</i>	Slippers**
<i>Costurera</i>	Seamstress
<i>Jusi</i>	Raw silk fibers woven mainly in Panay Island, Caloocan, and Hagonoy, Bulacan; inexpensive and soft to touch; good for men’s and women’s shirts* Silk woven with cotton, abacá or piña fibers**
<i>Labrado/Labrada</i>	Textiles with some form of decoration (i.e., striping, embroidery, brocading); in Iloilo, the ground fabric is usually made of piña with brocaded pattern in silk*

<i>Lana</i>	Wool**
<i>Lausin</i>	Human hair used as embroidery thread.*** For more information, see Eloisa May P. Hernandez, <i>Homebound: Women Visual Artists in Nineteenth Century</i> (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 2004), 56.
<i>Pallilera</i>	Toothpick holder
<i>Pantalón</i>	Pants
<i>Pañuelo</i>	Square kerchief folded to form a triangular shawl, worn around a woman's shoulder; also referred to as alampay in Tagalog or <i>candongas</i> in the Visayas**
<i>Patadiong</i>	Could mean: (1) a versatile fabric, a kind of <i>tapís</i> sewn along the edges but larger, or (2) a tubegarment (<i>malong</i>), with both ends sewn together**
<i>Petate</i>	Native woven mat**
<i>Pinilian</i>	In Iloilo province, a <i>piña</i> fabric of the finest quality and is made to order*
<i>Piña</i>	Cloth from the leaf fibers of the pineapple plant*

<i>Quichala</i>	Native spoon
<i>Saya</i>	Skirt or <i>faldas</i> in Spanish**
<i>Seda</i>	Silk
<i>Sinamay</i>	Cloth woven from abaca and cotton; coarse, open-weave, and made into placemats, ribbons, and other decorative material.* A textile sample of its variety, <i>sinamay de sabá</i> , was submitted to the 1887 Madrid Exposition but was listed as an entry of both Doña Felipa Dagailuan and Doña Sebastiana Baez of Dipolog, Mindanao. For a photo of this collection, see Figure 17 of Castro, <i>Textiles in the Philippine Colonial Landscape</i> .
<i>Sinambre</i>	A type of <i>piña</i> fabric from Oton, Iloilo but may also refer to a design or a technique of weaving fabric, as there are two different entries in the <i>Catálogo</i> referring to this fabric as brocaded, while another was referred to as <i>pinilian</i> .*
<i>Tapiz/Tapis</i>	Overskirt; a rectangular piece of cotton or silk textile worn over the skirt**
<i>Traje</i>	Attire

<i>Tubâ</i>	Coconut wine
<i>Vestida</i>	Dress
<i>Zapatillas</i>	Shoes

* Sandra Castro, *Textiles in the Philippine Colonial Landscape: A Lexicon and Historical Survey* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2018), 25, 34, 52, 54, 69, 79.

** Stephanie Coe, *Clothing the Colony: nineteenth-century Philippine sartorial culture, 1820-1896* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2019), 508-517.

*** Marlene Flores Ramos, "The Filipina Bordadoras and the Emergence of Fine European-Style Embroidery Tradition in Colonial Philippines, 19th to 20th Centuries" (master of arts thesis, Mount Saint Vincent University, 2016), 35.