Clothing and the colonial culture of appearances in nineteenth century Spanish Philippines (1820-1896)

Stéphanie Marie R. Coo

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CLOTHING AND THE COLONIAL CULTURE OF APPEARANCES IN NINETEENTH CENTURY SPANISH PHILIPPINES (1820-1896)

Volume I

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For my mother, Liza R. Coo and my brother, Winston “Tonchi” Coo, who passed away during the course of writing this work…

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Stored in several wooden baúl were textiles of all kinds, which my grandmother collected through the years in preparation for the marriages of her seven children. It was customary among Philippine-Chinese families like ours to present betrothal gifts of textiles and jewelry to the bride's family. I grew up hearing the words hablon (a type of woven textile), piña, jusi, borda (embroidery) while surrounded by costureras (seamstresses), who came in the morning and went home at dusk. My interest in studying the socio-cultural and economic context of dress was a consequence of these childhood experiences. I would like to posthumously thank my good friend, Randolph de Jesus, who led me to combine my interests in history, textiles and clothing by studying them 'historically.' I will be forever grateful to my adviser, Dr. Xavier Huetz de Lemps – the best adviser any Ph.D. student could ever have—whose wise words never failed to steer me into the right direction. Thank you for generously taking the time to read, discuss, offer comments and suggestions as I struggled to read and survive in French, do research in Spanish, translate, organize and write my work. Heartfelt thanks to Dr. Francis Gealogo for seeing past my frivolity and for actually believing in me. His critical reading of some parts of my manuscript was truly invaluable. To Dr. Filomeno Aguilar who, in seeing that I was struggling with access to scholarly journals, made sure that the resources of the Rizal Library would be made available to me, even if I was on-leave and offshore. I am also grateful for the warm welcome and assistance that Dr. Silvia Marzagalli (CMMC) extended to me.

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CONVENTIONS

I. General

- After consultation, the convention the writer adopted involved referring to herself in the third person.
- The figures/illustrations and the abstract translated to the French language are in a separate volume (Volume II). Volume II will not be published.
- The citation style that was used --Chicago Manual of Style, 16th edition, full note—does not include the abbreviations p. and pp. before the page numbers. The p. and pp. abbreviations only appear if the chapter numbers are indicated.

II. Italics

- Due to the use of multiple languages, particularly English, Spanish, Filipino and some French, the use of italics for technical terms in languages other than English was limited. Translations of frequently used terms are provided in the Glossary. The following were not italicized:
  1. Terms used along racial lines, such as, mestizo, mestizo de sangley, criollos or insular, peninsular
  2. Names of cloths, like cambayas, guinara, jusi, madras cotton, nipis, piña, rayadillos, sinamay
  3. Clothing terms, like alampay, baro/camisa, baro't saya, barong tagalog, mantilla, pañuelo, saya, tapís, patadiong, barong tagalog, salaual, salakot, sayasaya
  4. Spanish terms repeatedly used, e.g. buyeras, cigarreras, cocheros, costureras, gobernadorcillos, Ilustrados, lavanderas, lecheras, principalía/principals, pansiterías, sastres, sinamayeras, tejedoras, vendedoras
- Clothing terms that were used in moderation were italicized, e.g. traje del país, traje de mestiza, saya de cola, tapa de pecho
- Italics were used for the names of shops, title of books, periodicals, photographs and artworks but not for the titles of albums, i.e. Karuth Album, Gervasio Gironella Album, etc.

- Ordinary roman type rather than italics were used for the following abbreviations used in the text and in the footnotes: i.e. e.g.

III. Capitals

- Capitals have been used sparingly in the text. They have been used for proper names for places, institutions, etc.
- The term Ilustrado was capitalized, depending on whether it was used as a noun or adjective.
- Only the first word is capitalized in titles in European languages other than English, i.e. *Noli me tangere*.
- Clothing terms, like barong tagalog, were neither capitalized nor italicized.

IV. Spelling and Accents

- After consultation, spelling and accents used in the original documents have been corrected. For example, traje was used instead of trajes, Iloilo instead of Yloilo, etc.

V. Quotation

- The term Filipino in the 19th century was a sensitive issue in historical studies. During the period of study, the term was used to refer to the Spaniards born in the Philippines. The native inhabitants were referred to as indio/india, naturales or Tagals, Tagalogs. Hence, when referring to the general population as Filipinos, the word was kept under quotation marks.

VI. Quotations from foreign languages

- Texts in their original language are included in the footnotes. Only the English translations were included in the body of the dissertation.

ABBREVIATIONS

ADMU	Ateneo de Manila University, Rizal Library
BETA	Biblioteca de Estudio Teólogico Agustiniano de Valladolid
BNE	Biblioteca Nacional de España
BNF	Bibliothèque nacionale de France
BSP	Bangko Sentral ng Pilipinas
CARLI	Consortium of Academic and Research Libraries in Illinois
CCP	Cultural Center of the Philippines
GBR	Geronimo Berenguer de los Reyes Museum
IA	Intramuros Administration
KITLV	Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribeean Studies
MNA	Museo Nacional de Antropología
NBL	Newberry Library, Chicago
NIU	University of Northern Illinois Library
NYPL	New York Public Library
PNL	Philippine National Library
RICE	Rice University Library
RMV	Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde
SEA Visions	Cornell University Library Southeast Asian Visions
SIRIS	Smithsonian Institution Research Information System
UMICH	University of Michigan, Special Collections Library
UP	University of the Philippines
WISC	University of Wisconsin-Madison Digital Collection

Part I: Introduction

While most people are familiar with Chinese silk, Indian and Egyptian cotton, French and Belgian lace, many are not familiar with clothes made of the most exquisite of Philippine fabrics, proudly made by hand from the natural fibers of the pineapple and banana leaves. These translucent and luxurious textiles and its many incarnations, from dainty handkerchiefs to exquisite pañuelos (shawl), all attest to a period in Philippine history when clothes reveal - or conceal- status, affiliations and values. Worn by the crème-de-la-crème of Philippine colonial society, clothing made of native fabrics stood as witnesses to both the ordinary and extraordinary events of the 19th century. Esteemed as exotic and sumptuous enough worthy of European royalty, the fabrics and the clothes have been immortalized in the *nipis* baptismal gown of the infant King Alfonso XIII embroidered with the official emblem of the Bourbon monarchy,[1] in an unfinished *Maria Clara gown* intended for Queen Isabella II of Spain,[2] in a petticoat and undergarment for Queen Victoria of England,[3] and in a mysterious handkerchief with the words "Memoria de Fernanda," with "Fernanda" embroidered in black, supposedly using human hair.[4]

The 19th century was a period of unprecedented change in the different areas of Philippine colonial life. The second half was a particularly dynamic and glamorous era filled with monthly tertulias, occasional haranas (serenades), annual fiestas, galas, bailés (balls) and

[1] Since the 1860s, many European royalties received gifts of piña cloth originating from the Philippines from loyal subjects to commemorate momentous occasions. This baptismal gown in particular was presented as a gift to Alfonso XIII by Pope Pius X. Although dated 1907, this baptismal gown must have been worn between 1860-1890. This was bought from Joséfa Vilahur Bellestar in Madrid for 25,000 pesetas and became part of the Museo del Traje collection on December 31, 1981. Other examples of gifts include the piña handkerchief sent by Edwin Parr to Princess Alexandra of Denmark in 1862 in honor of her wedding to King Edward VII, the son of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert. *Nipis Baptismal Gown of King Alfonso XIII of Spain, Presented as Gift by Godfather Pope Pio X*, Nipis, 1886, Museo del Traje; Lourdes R. MONTINOLA, *Piña* (Makati, Metro Manila: Amon Foundation, 1991), 18–19; Linda WELTERS, "Dress as Souvenir: Piña Cloth in the Nineteenth Century," *Dress*, 1997, 20.

[2] Montinola writes that this gown was commissioned by the Marquis of Yriarte, then Governor of Laguna, for Queen Isabella II of Spain, who abdicated in 1870. This gown is special because of the sombrado type of embroidery which was unique to that era. What makes this extraordinary is the inconspicuous stitching used to sew the exquisitely embroidered piña appliques into the gown. This gown remains unfinished and has, in fact, never been formally presented to the Queen. *See* Lourdes R. MONTINOLA, "Piña, La Reina de Los Tejidos Filipinos (Piña, The Queen of Philippine Fabrics)," in *La Piña: El Tejido del Paraíso* (Madrid: Madrid Vive la Moda, 2005), 72.

[3] MONTINOLA, *Piña*, 22; MONTINOLA, "Piña, La Reina de Los Tejidos Filipinos," 72.

[4] Montinola reports that this piece can be found at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London. A pañuelo with the name Fernanda embroidered on the corner can also be found at the Museo del Traje in Madrid. MONTINOLA, *Piña*, 72; *Pañuelo with Embroidery of the Name Fernanda*, Abacá beige, 1830 to 1900, Museo del Traje (Call # CE040943).

even daily afternoon promenades. People from various sectors of local society were known to have loved dress –and to dress. They loved pageantry and they loved to impress. In fact, the fascination of the natives with clothes had led some periodicals at that time to deal with the subject of clothing and appearances seriously, pondering upon it on discourses relating to gender, race, even economics and morality. Yet, from the twenty-first century perspective, clothing as an aspect of Philippine culture and economy has not been thoroughly explored.

There were also major socio-cultural and economic changes, which affected the consumption patterns of the native population. European things, manners and lifestyles were glorified and idealized. As the orientation of local tastes became increasingly western, a whole variety of new products needed to be imported. This interplay of clothes, culture and economy has hardly been addressed by historians.

Studies have also been limited to the articulation of formal wear, typically associated with major life events, like weddings, baptisms, balls, etc. In being less elaborate, the study of everyday wear has essentially been disregarded. The mundane yet inescapable task of daily dressing and undressing has also been reduced to arbitrary caprice that somehow did not deserve a place in the history of everyday life. According to French historian Daniel Roche, "no economic historian has written about this active market, despite the number of clothes in circulation every single day."[5] What is essentially ignored is that clothing is one of the things that predominate ordinary life, especially "among those who cared about appearances."[6] Dressing according to mood, climate and occasion governs a part of people's daily decisions and points to a larger study of taste, habits, demands and consumption patterns.

Viewed in the context of a colonial society, dress, along with artworks, photographs and travel accounts can tell us a great deal about the essence and sensibilities of the 19th century. They are records and symbols of meaningful sartorial changes that occurred over time. Clothing in particular brings to light the continually evolving tastes and standards of dressing of a society as well as its impact on the clothing economy and on the broader national economy. It also captures the aspirations of the local population -- the composition of which was unique to the Philippine colonial experience—and how they responded to the changing times. This research was embarked on with a conscious awareness that changes in clothing norms and nuances attest to the progress of history. Clothing, therefore, had to be

[5] Daniel ROCHE, *The Culture of Clothing: Dress and Fashion in the "Ancien Regime,"* trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 3, 406.
[6] Ibid.

studied as part of a wider culture of appearances, involving complex, fluid, and evolving categories.

The journey of Philippine textiles and dresses to their current homes is often shrouded in mystery. They may now be just disembodied dresses hanging on museum displays and stored in museum back rooms, but what is important to remember is that these sheer pañuelos, piña shirts and nipis camisas once belonged to real people. The Philippine colonial society made up of clothed individuals therefore calls for some survey and analysis. The development and distinct use of the natural fibers of pineapple and banana as textiles and clothing attest to the weaving of foreign influences with local tastes towards the formation of a unique Filipino identity.

Clothing today is a multi-billion dollar industry that produced some of the wealthiest families, yet, the study of its history, especially in relation to culture and economy, continues to be viewed as trivial and unimportant. The clothes trade has been glamourized and at the same time, trivialized, not to mention prejudiced, under the term fashion. This study attempts to reveal the ubiquity of clothing, which prevailed in 19th century Philippines.

Statement of the problem

The purpose of this research is to reconstruct the clothing culture of 19th century Spanish Philippines and to discover the importance of dress in Philippine colonial society. This study explores the unique and complex interplay of clothing and appearance with race, class and culture in the context of the social, cultural and economic changes that took place between 1820 and 1896. The objective is to recreate an impression of colonial life by turning to clothes to provide insights on a wide range of race, class, gender and economic issues.

This study examines if clothing can, first of all, be used to analyze the complexity of Philippine society at that time. What can a study of clothing habits, despite its diversity and/or homogeneity, reveal about the ethnic, social and gender hierarchies of that period? In light of the changes that took place in the Philippines especially during the second half of the 19th century, did those changes have any impact on the local clothing culture? Can changes in clothing choices be used to observe the multiplicity of influences that shaped Philippine society within that century, specifically from Spanish formal colonization?[7]

[7] The Philippines has been dubbed as the 'Anglo-Chinese colony' due to the economic penetration of the British and Chinese in almost all significant areas of commerce –import, export, distribution, wholesale and retail. *See* Patricio N. ABINALES and Donna J. AMOROSO, *State and Society in the Philippines* (Lanham, USA: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2005), 80.

Significance of the Study

For the first time, this uses the study of clothing to understand the socio-cultural and economic changes that took place in 19th century Philippine colonial society. The different racial and social groups of the Philippines under Spanish colonization were analyzed in light of their clothing.

This locates the study of Philippine clothing practices in the context of a multi-ethnic, multi-cultural colonial society. After centuries of colonization, 19th century Philippines was – and continues to be- an amalgam of indigenous, Western and Chinese cultures. This study of clothing practices as an element of colonial life points to a broader study of cultural interactions, colonial lifestyles, human relations and social behavior. This work crosses the frontiers between the disciplines of Philippine studies, colonial history and costume studies.

It is hoped that a study of how the multi-ethnic inhabitants of the Philippines dressed in the 19th century could be added to the existing body of colonial literature. This study on clothing and appearance attempts to contribute to the understanding of the socio-cultural activities, gender relations, and economic changes as well as the professional lives of the people of that era.

This work addresses four main issues of lasting importance: conservation, recognition, revival, and rediscovery. On the issue of conservation, it is hoped that a Costume Institute will be established in the Philippines to systematically acquire, document and preserve distinctive pieces of Philippine clothing from the different eras and regions, as well as artworks, documents, periodicals and photographs related to this field of study. The author recognizes that a structured central repository that can accommodate clothing endowments and showcase them under proper conditions, will be a significant contribution to the Philippine cultural heritage. A Costume Institute will be an enduring legacy to the beauty of indigenous arts and a testament to Philippine cultural links, especially with Spain, China and its Southeast Asian neighbors. The institute could later on be expanded to integrate preventive conservation facilities and research resource and study centers. It is also hoped that a study on how clothing was used, historically, by the "Filipino" in his/her interactions with himself and with the world could serve as reference to productions of different types, from documentaries to movies to written works of fiction. On recognition, it is important that the youths of today are exposed to the exquisite clothes proudly made of hand-woven and hand-embroidered pineapple (piña) and banana (abacá or sinamay) fibers that once graced the wardrobes of local elites and some European royalties. Piña textiles, in particular have,

through the centuries, evaded mechanization and remains handmade even until today. On the risk of losing these rich native traditions on weaving and embroidery, it is the long-term objective of this researcher to raise awareness and obtain funding to hopefully reinvigorate these dying industries and develop it as a sustainable livelihood for producers. In the future, she intends to promote projects with the goal of reviving the luxury textile industry through fair trade. Lastly, there are many more collections of Philippine art and clothing in Europe that awaits "rediscovery." This dissertation was, in the first place, written with the hope of deciphering the archives of Philippine material culture scattered in the different museums all over the world. To further broaden our knowledge about Philippine colonial society, the researcher hopes to uncover more historical artifacts, particularly garments and artworks.

Review of Related Literature

Unlike the Indian textile trade and the Chinese clothing culture, which has been widely documented,[8] not much has been written on Philippine clothing history. The lack of a definitive study testifies to the intellectual ambiguity of the subject of what the varied groups of people wore in the Philippines during the 19th century. The study of the apparel of lowland, Christianized natives during the Spanish colonial period is essentially one of the overlooked aspects of the ethnographic material culture of 19th century Philippine life.

Except for a few articles, book sections, folios and exhibits, this subject has not been dealt with systematically and comprehensively.[9] Many of the literature written on this specific topic were coffee table books and has largely been identified and analyzed in the context of fashion and aesthetics. What has been written were often dedicated to one aspect of the Philippine textile and garments history, such as piña, men's barong tagalog, women's terno and on the woven textiles of highland tribes.[10] There were studies that analyzed the role of clothing in 20th and 21st century Philippine life, but there have been limited academic studies on the clothing culture of 19th century Philippines. Among several works, ten has been identified to be significant to this research. There is Marian Pastor-Roces' *Sheer Realities* (2000) folio, José Moreno's *Philippine Costume* (1995) coffee table book, Sandra

[8] Examples would be: Giorgio RIELLO and Tirthankhar ROY, eds., *How India Clothed the World: The World of South Asian Textiles, 1500-1850* (Leiden: Brill, 2009); Antonia FINNANE, *Changing Clothes in China: Fashion, History and Nation* (New York, Chichester, West Sussex: Columbia University Press, 2008).
[9] Lynne B. MILGRAM, "Islands of Embellishment: Transforming Traditions in Philippine Textiles," 2003, http://textilemuseum.ca/apps/index.cfm?page=exhibition.detail&exhId=163&language=eng; (-), *La Piña: El Tejido del Paraíso* (Madrid: Vive la Moda, 2005).
[10] MONTINOLA, *Piña*; Marian PASTOR-ROCES, *Sinaunang Habi: Philippine Ancestral Weave* (Manila: Communications Technologies, 1991); José MORENO, *Philippine Costume* (Manila: J. Moreno Foundation, 1995).

B. Castro's *Dissecting Dress* (2007) and *Cloth from the Wild Banana* (1998) articles, Lourdes Montinola's pictorial book on *Piña* (1990) and Dr. Mina Roces conference paper on *Gender, Nation and the Politics of Dress in the Twentieth Century* (2004). There were also book sections like Nicanor Tiongson's *Costumes of the Colonized* (1998), Ramon Villegas' *Costumes and Adornments* (1998), and Dr. Florina H. Capistrano-Baker's *Embroidered Multiples: 19th century Philippine Costumes and Images* (2007).

In 2000, Marian Pastor-Roces,[11] a Filipino scholar who dedicated two decades researching about Philippine textiles, curated an exhibit sponsored by the Grey Art Gallery at New York University, titled *Sheer Realities: Clothing and Power in Nineteenth-Century Philippines*. It was the first exhibition to display the nineteenth and early twentieth-century clothing and accessories of the lowland, Christianized Filipinos, particularly the elite mestizos (mixed-race).

As part of a larger exhibition that featured symposiums, lectures and theatrical performances, the clothing of the elite mestizo population was analyzed in light of how they sought to distinguish themselves from both the Spanish and the indigenous highland tribes, while, paradoxically, combining details of both into the design of their clothing and accessories.[12] The focus was on the elaborate sheer garments, particularly ceremonial dress, worn by society elites. Adorned clothes, especially when worn in social environments, were presented to have been expressions of power and status. Clothes, along with jewelries, were also used to initiate discussions on the complexity of "Manila society and its relationship to the nationalist sentiments in the late nineteenth century." This research conforms to the premise of the exhibit, of how clothing gives insight on "how the various inhabitants of the Philippines viewed themselves as well as how they wished to be perceived by others through

[11] Ms. Pastor-Roces wrote what Ms. Maria Panlilio referred to as "the first comprehensive book that provides a panoramic view of the history of textiles in the Philippines." In *Sinaunang Habi*, she made an exhaustive research on the weaving traditions of the different ethnic groups of the mountainous regions of the Philippines, particularly that of, among others, the *Kalingas, Itnegs, Bagobos, Mandayas, and T'Bolis*. However, this is not the scope of this research work, which mainly covers the clothing and textiles used by lowland, Christianized inhabitants of the Philippines. What can be learned from *Sinaunang Habi* are the historical and anthropological approaches Ms. Pastor-Roces used in analyzing the textiles produced by these indigenous groups. The associations she made between the naked body and textile, society and textile, clothing and hierarchy as well as micro polity and limited material wealth are approaches that may be adapted as framework for this research work. Maria PANLILIO, "PHILIPPINES' SINAUNANG HABI: Reviving the Art of Ancestral Weaving," n.d., accessed October 7, 2012; PASTOR-ROCES, *Sinaunang Habi: Philippine Ancestral Weave*, 219–222.

[12] Quoted from the exhibit folio, which discussed some of the items featured in the exhibit: "Despite commonly held notions to the contrary, there was a continuous interaction between the elite Mestizos and the indigenous groups (throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries), evident in some similarities of their material culture.". Marian PASTOR-ROCES, *Sheer Realities: Clothing and Power in Nineteenth Century Philippines* (Manila: Bookmark Press, 2000).

the clothing and accessories they wore."[13] The interplay of ideas concerning the dual role of clothing on exhibiting one's identity and on 'seeking' confirmation from the world was particularly interesting especially in the articulation of the value of clothing for the Ilustrados. In this exhibit, the Ilustrados were portrayed as a select group of privileged, educated men who were largely isolated from the rest of the colonial population. There was, however, some confusion with the use of sources, especially its periodization. For example, alongside the works of Justiniano Asunción, Damián Domingo's *tipos del país*, which were mostly from the 1820s and 1830s, occupied center stage in the *fin-de-siecle* section.[14] Unlike Asunción (b. 1816-d. 1896) who lived a prolific artistic life until the age of 80, Domingo already passed away in the 1830s.

In his *Philippine Costume* coffee table book (1995), José Moreno traced the origins of the Philippine attires to the 16th century *Boxer Codex,* an illustrated book of fashion by an unknown author. Arranged both chronologically and thematically, individual clothing pieces, like tapís, baro't saya, pañuelo and *Maria Clara* dress were articulated individually in light of the existing triangular structure unique to Philippine colonial society. In *Philippine Costume*, Moreno tried to identify the Asian and Western heritage of garment styles that propagated among lowland, Christianized groups. Despite the lack of proper citation,[15] this book, which featured a good selection of photos and paintings, sketches and *letras y figuras*, nonetheless offer a broad pictorial overview of Philippine costumes from the 16th century to the modern era.

In *Embroidered Multiples: Nineteenth Century Philippine Costumes and Images* (2007), Dr. Florina H. Capistrano-Baker,[16] the former director of Ayala Museum, discussed

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[13] Ibid. Quoting Vishakha N. Desai, Senior Vice President of the Asia Society and Director of Galleries and Cultural Programs during Marian Pastor-Roces' *Sheer Realities Exhibit* held at the Grey Art Gallery at New York University. The publication of the folio was based on this exhibit.

[14] Par PATACSIL, "Framed Transparencies, Veiled Motives: Review of Marian Roces' Sheer Realities," *Humanities Diliman* 2, no. 1 (June 2001): 108.

[15] The book seems unfinished. Of the 340 pages, only images until page 122 had source citations. Some citation only includes "Manila Milk Woman," published in *London Illustrated News*, 19th century, but the specific issue was not indicated. From page 123 onwards, sketches, for example, taken from *Ilustración Filipina* were not labeled as such. The periodization was also haphazard, for example, the traje de mestiza was indicated to be the "successor of the Maria Clara dress," when in fact, the term referring to the changing dress style of the mestizas predates it. MORENO, *Philippine Costume*.

[16] Dr. Florina H. Capistrano-Baker obtained her Ph.D. in Art History from Columbia University in New York in 1997. She then became the Pacific and Island Southeast Asian specialist in the Department of the Arts of Africa, Oceania and the Americas at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York from 1987-1994. From 1998 to 2000, she was the director of Museo ng Maynila and between 2000 and 2006, she was the Director of Ayala Museum. She is currently based in New York as Ayala Museum's Director of International Exhibitions. Florina H. CAPISTRANO-BAKER, Pieter TER KEURS, and Sandra B. CASTRO, *Embroidered Multiples: 18th-19th Century Philippine Costumes from the National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden, the Netherlands* (Makati, Metro Manila: Royal Netherlands Embassy and Ayala Foundation, Inc., 2007).

the historical context of the cache of Philippine historical clothing she found at the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde (RMV) in Leiden, Netherlands back in 1991. The garments formed part of the 290-item collection of a French diplomat by the name of Bréjard. Not much is known about Bréjard apart from the fact that he was Chancelier du Consulat de France in Manila between 1881 to 1886, according to Dr. Pieter ter Keurs,[17] the curator of the insular Southeast Asian collections of the RMV. Through a series of letters between Bréjard and the former Director of the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Dr. L. Serrurier, it was discovered that he sold the collection consisting of 290 items for a total of 5,000 francs in July 1886. Apart from being mentioned in the 1928 catalogue compiled by H.H. Junyboll, the collection appears to have vanished from the museum's inventory. Mr. Dorus Kop Jansen of the RMV's registration department figured out shortly before 2007 that the "disappearance" stemmed from the fact that Bréjard was, in fact, mislabeled and recorded as Brégald.

Although the bulk of the cache were items collected from Mindanao, there were "costumes and embroidery made of silk and *ananas* (pineapple) fiber of the inhabitants of Manila and surroundings, which were collected before 1886 and identified culturally as Tagalog or mesties (mestizo)."[18] From this discovery, the existence of the *sayasaya* pants worn by the elite men of varying ethnic and political backgrounds in Damián Domingo's paintings were proven to be real, and not merely as figments of the artist's imagination. Apart from having the only *sayasayas*(Fig. 181B) in the world, the museum also had rare examples of women's baro with attached *tapa pecho* or breast cover (Fig. 10). The collection of Philippine clothing before 1880s also showed the predominance of cloth and clothes made locally and by hand.

In attempts to contextualize the collection, Dr. Capistrano-Baker put forward the idea of fashion hierarchies, which was essentially based on the conventional pyramid structure, with the peninsulares on top, followed by the insulares, Spanish mestizos, sangleys, Chinese mestizos and the indios at the bottom. This was glaringly similar to what Nicanor Tiongson and Ramon Villegas presented as book sections titled "Costumes of the Colonized" and "Costumes and Adornments," respectively, in the book on *Life in the Colony* within the 10-volume *Kasaysayan: The Story of the Filipino People*. Dr. Capistrano-Baker's 15-page article, although short, was loaded with information on a variety of subjects ranging from the

[17] Dr. Pieter ter Keurs obtained his Ph.D. from Leiden University. He is a specialist on art and material culture. Pieter TER KEURS, "Cultural Hybridity in Museum Collections," in *Embroidered Multiples: 18th-19th Century Philippine Costumes from the National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden, The Netherlands* (Makati, Metro Manila: Royal Netherlands Embassy and Ayala Foundation, Inc., 2007), 32–43.
[18] Ibid., 39.

cultural and economic links of the *sayasaya* trousers to China, the *tipos del país* at the Ayala Museum, to the authenticity of the Justiniano Asunción watercolors found at the Peabody Essex Museum in Salem, Massachusetts to the *tipos del país* at Princeton University.

Complementing the work of Dr. Capistrano-Baker, former Intramuros Administration curator, Sandra B. Castro wrote a 27-page article titled *Dissecting Dress*, which used the *Bréjard Collection of Philippine Costumes* in a more detailed study of the history of Philippine apparel.[19] Drawing from various sources, from the 1734 map of the Philippines by Fr. Murillo Velarde to the *Boxer Codex* to the works of Damián Domingo, Castro discussed weaving and clothing in the colonial period, albeit with some limitations. For example, she did not use the terms saya or patadyong, instead she referred to to the skirt or "sole lower garment of the Visayan and Pampango women" as tapís, not as patadiong.[20] She based her use of the word tapís on the definition of Juan Francisco de San Antonio (1738), a Franciscan missionary, who identified the untailored wraparound skirt to be tapís, describing it as a "square piece of cloth wrapped tightly around the waist with one end tucked in to keep its place."[21] Using the generic term "skirt" and the term tapís to refer to both the overskirt and the wraparound skirt of Visayan women,[22] accurate distinctions between tapís, saya and patadyong were not made. In describing the varied elements of Philippine dress, there seems to be, in general, a confusion of terms, which must have been compounded from the works of earlier writers. For a subject on clothes, more often than not, secondary sources served to confuse more than enlighten.

Due to limitations in time and funding, the researcher was not able to view the collection at the RMV Museum in Leiden. However, the qualitative and technical descriptions and photographs featured in the articles of Dr. Capistrano-Baker and Sandra Castro provided a convenient alternative to the lack of access to the actual garments. Certainly, this approach relied mainly on trust in the credibility and level of scholarship of the two authors.

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[19] Sandra B. Castro completed her degree in museum studies from the University of Manchester, England. She was the former curator of Intramuros Administration (IA) and Ayala Museum. She also wrote *Nipis*, an IA exhibition catalogue. Sandra B. CASTRO, "Dissecting Dress," in *Embroidered Multiples: 18th-19th Century Philippine Costumes from the National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden, The Netherlands* (Makati, Metro Manila: Royal Netherlands Embassy and Ayala Foundation, Inc., 2007).

[20] Ibid., 54.

[21] Francisco COLIN, S.J., "Native Races and Their Customs. Madrid, 1663. [From His Labor Evangelica]," in *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, ed. Emma Helen BLAIR and James Alexander ROBERTSON, vol. 40 (Cleveland: Clark, 1903), 328–330; CASTRO, "Dissecting Dress," 51.

[22] In the conclusion, Castro writes that the "tapis was worn as a lower garment and later as a mere accessory to the Western skirt." CASTRO, "Dissecting Dress," 70.

The development of men and women's fashions has always been studied as distinct and separate. There were three works that focused on the evolution of the native dress shirt for men, the Barong Tagalog and one specifically on women's dress. *The Barong Tagalog: Its Development and Identity as the Filipino Men's National Costume* (1992) by Eric V. Cruz presented the history of the garment from the pre-Spanish era to the 1990s and beyond in only 12 pages of text and 110 pages of illustrations. The illustrations, which were sketches based on the works of the various 19th century artists like Damián Domingo, offered no citations. In Visitacion R. de la Torre's *The Barong Tagalog: Then and Now* (2000), his first chapter, which covered "How the Barong Tagalog Evolved in History," was also presented in less than 15 pages-- with half the pages dominated by sketches derived from Jean Mallat's *Les Philippines* (1846) and again, Damián Domingo. The author also made several descriptions, which were completely wrong. With statements like "by the 1840s, the trousers that the indios wore together with the baro assumed the shape and fit of real honest-to-goodness pants as they are known today," the tone and style of writing, not to mention the lack of citations, qualified this as an interesting read but not as a proper academic source. Meanwhile, the publication of *Garment of Honor, Garment of Identity* (2008) was undertaken by Ma. Corazon Alejado-Hila, Mitzi Aguilar-Reyes and Anita Feleo under the instigation and patronage of *EN Barong Filipino*, a boutique chain that specialized on ready-to-wear barong tagalog, found on the Kultura Filipino section of several SM Department stores nationwide. The book, which covers the 16th to the 20th centuries, clearly has a broad periodization. Encompassing different technical aspects of production, from weaving to embroidery, the book's real value is on their fabric comparisons between piña, jusi and abacá and on their pictorial presentation of the various Philippine embroidery design motifs.

Predating his work on the Barong Tagalog, Eric V. Cruz published *The Terno: Its Development and Identity as the Filipino Women's National Costume* (1982). *The Terno* presented the evolution of the Philippine women's ensemble from pre-Spanish Period to 1981, chronologically, and in less than 12 pages. The remaining 120 pages were sketches copied from Damián Domingo, Juan de Ribelles, José Honorato Lozano's Karuth Album (1858) and Jean Mallat, which was regrettably spelled as Mallot throughout the book. Many were also derived from the sketches C.W. Andrews made for *Ilustración Filipina*, although the exact issues of the magazine were not indicated. It must also be mentioned that since the

book was written twenty years before the Karuth Album was discovered to be the work of Lozano, most of the citations indicated Karuth as the artist.[23]

Other works that must be mentioned are books, articles, and exhibit catalogues specifically on textiles. To distinguish piña from sinamay, there was the well-researched and well-written coffee table book of Lourdes Montinola, aptly titled *Piña* (1991) and the 2-page article written by Sandra B. Castro, "Cloth from Wild Banana (1998)." In *Piña,* Montinola drew from the works of standard 19th century travel writers like German ethnologist Fedor Jagor, French scientist Jean Mallat, Englishmen Sir John Bowring and Frederic Sawyer to discuss the technical process of fiber extraction, manufacture and pricing of piña cloth. In her fifth chapter, she organized her analysis based on individual clothing pieces, which made use of piña fabric, centering on how each piece was used and what they signified. She essentially covered all aspects of piña, studying it in relation to other fabrics, and going so far as to discuss its care and preservation as well as the state of the industry at the time of publication. Meanwhile, Sandra B. Castro's article on the "Cloth from Wild Banana" in emphasizing that the term nipis was not exclusive to piña textiles also gave tips on buying piña. Having surveyed piña collections in Europe for her thesis in museum studies, she also pointed to specific repositories in, among others, Switzerland and Paris, where piña collections may be found.

In the exhibition *Pineapple: The Fabric from Paradise* held at Casa de Vacas, Parque del Retiro, Madrid between September 2 and October 3, 2005, Montinola also shared her expertise on the subject by contributing an article for the exhibit catalogue. The objective of the exposition was to celebrate Spanish-Philippine relations through the display of the pineapple fabric. Historically, in attempts to increase revenues, the colonial government stimulated the weaving of piña, despite the laborious process of fiber extraction, not to mention the extreme care needed to weave the fragile threads. Piña, the beauty of which was greatly enhanced by the application of embroideries—an art likewise introduced to the colony by Catholic missionaries and nuns—is highlighted as no less than a cultural endowment of Spain.[24] Within the same catalogue, José Maria A. Cariño contributed an article on how piña was immortalized in *tipos del país* paintings before the advent of photography.

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[23] José Maria A. CARIÑO and Sonia Pinto NER, eds., "Karuth's Album on the Philippine Islands," in *Álbum: Islas Filipinas, 1663-1888* (Manila: Ars Mundi, 2004), 152–54.
[24] Jean-Baptiste MALLAT, *Les Philippines: Histoire, Géographie, Moeurs, Agriculture, Industrie et Commerce Des Colonies Espagnoles Dans l'Océanie* (Paris: Arthus Bertrand, 1846), chap. XXVII, p. 459.

Linda Welters' 26-page article on "Dress as Souvenir: Piña Cloth in the Nineteenth Century (1997)" acquaints readers with the wide range of textiles and sewn garments made of pineapple fiber found in American museums and historical societies, particularly in the New England area.[25] She specified, however, that many pieces originating from the Philippines labeled as piña -- which was often confused with similar textiles-- were proven, after microscopic tests, to have been made of silk, silk blends or abacá. Having evaded mechanization, unique handwoven piña came to America between the 1820s and 1880s in either textile and/or garment form as extravagant souvenirs and gifts.[26] The application of embroideries was also underscored as crucial in elevating piña as textile art and as gifts worthy of royalty. The article of Linda Welters, although short, is a particularly important contribution to Philippine costume history for three reasons: it determined where historical collections of piña may be found in United States, it provided insights into the identities of its original owners, and more importantly, it raises "the probability of misunderstandings by both merchants and customers when buying and selling piña cloth."[27] While these were information useful in establishing piña as a luxury fabric, they also set off trepidation that some items adulated as piña might not even be piña.

Other research works on textile or on the textile industry were undertaken by Augustinian priest, Fr. Policarpo Hernández. Fr. Hernández, who spent forty years in the Philippines, discussed the development and decline of the weaving industry in the context of the overall state of agriculture, commerce and industry of Iloilo City.[28] Then, there was also Marilyn Canta's article "Of Cambayas, Custas and Calicos (2009),"[29] which discussed Indian

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[25] Linda Welters is Professor and Chairperson of the Textiles, Fashion Merchandising and Design Department of the University of Rhode Island. She mentioned, without naming them, fifteen public and private collections in New England and several mid-Atlantic locations. WELTERS, "Dress as Souvenir: Piña Cloth in the Nineteenth Century," 16, fn. 3, p. 24.

[26] The author notes that Adelaide Best, purchased a fabric, which she thought was piña in Manila, and had it sewn into a dress in America in the 1890s. After miscroscopic testing, her dress was detected as made of a blend of silk and linen, not piña. Adelaide Best was identified to have come from a wealthy Toledo family, who apparently had a penchant for buying fabrics all over the world for the purpose of having them made into dresses. Ibid., 17, 19, 24.

[27] Ibid., 19.

[28] Policarpo HERNÁNDEZ, "Los Agustinos y su Labor Social en Filipinas," in *Archivo Agustiniano: Revista de Estudios Históricos Publicada por Los PP. Agustinos*, vol. XCIV, 212 (Valladolid: Editorial Estudio Agustiniano, 2010), 227–58; Policarpo F. HERNÁNDEZ, *Iloilo, The Most Noble City: History and Development, 1556-1898* (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 2008); Policarpo HERNÁNDEZ, "Descripción Corográfica de La Provincia de Ilocos Norte: Un Escrito Inédito del P. José Nieto, O.S.A.," in *Archivo Agustiniano: Revista de Estudios Históricos Publicada por Los PP. Agustinos*, vol. LXXXVIII, 206 (Valladolid: Editorial Estudio Agustiniano, 2004), 239–300.

[29] Marilyn R. CANTA, "Of Cambayas, Custas and Calicos: The Indo-Philippine Textile Connection," in *Manila: Selected Papers of the 17th Annual Manila Studies Conference, August 13-14, 2008*, ed. Bernardita CHURCHILL (Quezon City: Manila Studies Association, Inc., 2009), 119–36.

influences on native dress culture and on terms used for specific clothing items, like salaual, saya, sayasaya, and cambaya.

Compendia of art and photography --two fields strongly linked to clothing culture— were assembled by Juan Guardiola, José Maria A. Cariño, Sara Badia Villaseca, Santiago Pilar, Nick Joaquin and Luciano P.R. Santiago. These authors not only provided catalogues of important artistic works and pictures but also contextualized them. Luciano P.R. Santiago's numerous articles on various Filipino artists during the 19th century were, for example, particularly relevant for the context he provided about the paintings and about the life and times of the artists.[30] José Maria A. Cariño's translation of the text that accompanied the Gervasio Gironella Album (1847) by José Honorato Lozano was truly invaluable to this research. *Discovering Philippine Art in Spain*, along with Cariño and Sonia Pinto Ner's book, *Álbum: Islas Filipinas, 1663-1888,* provided overviews on the works of local artists and more importantly, where they may be found. Their works were truly essential to the understanding of 19th century Philippine art scene.

To summarize, in light of the recent "rediscoveries" of collections of art, photographs and actual garments, there is really a need to update existing literature written on the subject of Philippine cloth and clothing. As shown above, most of the works on aspects of Philippine costumes were written in the 1990s. Since then, a cache of actual garments was found at the RMV in Leiden in 1991.[31] With this discovery, the *sayasaya* silk pants worn by gobernadorcillos in Damián Domingo, Espiridión de la Rosa and José Honorato Lozano's works were, for the first time, proven to be real. It was not until 1997 that these garments were traced to the French diplomat simply known as Bréjard. For the longest time, what has since been known as the *Bréjard Collection of Philippine Costumes*, was mislabeled under the name Bregald.[32]

In using 19th century iconographic sources, there were also significant developments in the art world (which will be discussed further in the next section, under Primary Iconographic Sources). Justiniano Asunción's album of *Manila Costumes*, was recovered in London and acquired by its present Filipino owners only in the late 1990s. Some *tipos del*

[30] Luciano P.R. SANTIAGO, "Villaseñor and De La Rosa: Memoirs of Two Portraits," *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society* 15, no. 4 (1987): 277–294; Luciano P.R. SANTIAGO, "Miguel Zaragoza, The Ageless Master (1847-1923)," *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society* 14, no. 4 (1986): 285–312; Luciano P.R. SANTIAGO, "Figueroa and Ahujas: The Artist and His Patron," *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society* 15, no. 1/2 (1987): 1–11; Luciano P.R. SANTIAGO, *The Life, Art and Times of Damián Domingo* (Quezon City: Vibal Foundation, 2010).
[31] CAPISTRANO-BAKER, TER KEURS, and CASTRO, *Embroidered Multiples: 18th-19th Century Philippine Costumes*.
[32] TER KEURS, "Cultural Hybridity in Museum Collections."

país paintings of Espiridión de la Rosa were only found in 1998, some in 1999 and seven more were rediscovered in Spain shortly before 2004. José Honorato Lozano, despite being one of the most prolific of 19th century artists, was largely unknown to the modern audience before his works were recovered one by one in the 1990s and early 2000s. One of his albums was found in Madrid, together with a set of 19th century photos, in the early 1990s. It was not until 1992 when the Ayala family acquired what had since been known as the *Ayala Album* (1850-1851) from a Spanish collector. Lozano's Nyssens-Flebus Album (1844-1846) was only recovered in 1995 when a set of 25 watercolors were appraised in the hit television production of BBC, *Antiques Roadshow*. His Gervasio Gironella Album (1847) was only rediscovered at the Biblioteca Nacional de España by Regalado Trota José in 2000.[33] His Broken Album (1847) was rediscovered in 2001. His famous Karuth Album (1858), long attributed to the German Carl Johann Karuth,[34] was only identified and established recently as "unmistakably Lozano."[35] Many of his *letras y figuras*, commissioned by private individuals, only came to the hands of Filipinos in the late 1990s. His *letras y figuras* for a nobleman by the name of Edward A. Westley, which was a misspelling of what was supposedly Wesley, was rediscovered in Argentina and was then sold to its present Filipino owner only in 1999.[36] José Taviel de Andrade's *Panguingue* (1895, Fig. 96C)[37] was only brought to the attention of the world when it came up for bidding at an auction house in Madrid in 1993. His album, *Filipinas 1887-1888*,[38] with sketches detailing the attires of women, was only exhibited in 1996.[39]

Twelve invaluable photo albums of the former Dutch Honorary Consul to the Philippines, Meerkamp van Embden, only came to the hands of historian Dr. Otto van den Muijzenberg in 2000.[40] In addition, 19th century sepia photos that are now part of the collection of Geronimo Berenguer de los Reyes Museum were allegedly recovered from a

[33] José Maria A. CARIÑO, "Chapter IV: The Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid Gervasio Gironella Album," in *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, ed. José Maria A. CARIÑO (Manila: Ars Mundi, 2002), 96–97.
[34] Santiago A. PILAR, "The Loving Eye for Detail: A 19th Century Manila Burgher Records the Faces of His People," *Archipelago* 2, no. 18 (1975): 21; José Maria A. CARIÑO and Sonia Pinto NER, *Álbum: Islas Filipinas, 1663-1888* (Manila: Ars Mundi, 2004), sec. Karuth's Album on the Philippine Islands, pp. 152–154.
[35] CARIÑO and NER, "Karuth's Album on the Philippine Islands," 154.
[36] This was supposedly to be the only "letras y figuras subject of Lozano to belong to nobility." In January 1999, Alfred J. Wesley, Argentine of British ancestry contacted a Filipina to sell an 1858 painting by Lozano. Alfred inherited this in 1954. Sold to a Filipino art collector in 1999. Reproduced and contextualized in José Maria A. CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847* (Manila: Ars Mundi, 2002), 26–28.
[37] J. TAVIEL DE ANDRADE, *Panguingue*, Oil on canvas, Manila 1895, Private Collection.
[38] JOSE TAVIEL DE ANDRADE, *Filipinas, 1887-1888 (32 Sheets)*.
[39] CARIÑO and NER, *Álbum: Islas Filipinas, 1663-1888*, 246–250.
[40] Otto van den VAN DEN MUIJZENBERG, *The Philippines through European Lenses: Late 19th Century Photographs from the Meerkamp van Embden Collection* (Manila: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2008), 2.

flea market in Madrid. Apart from a brochure of their holdings, and some photographs appearing in the book, *The World of 1896*, the museum's collection has not been widely studied.[41]

Theoretical Framework

In preparing for this dissertation, general studies on the history of dress, appearances and material culture were studied in relation to the historical development specific to the Philippines during the 19th century. The approach on how to analyze the collection of photographs, artworks, periodicals, historical pieces of fabrics and wardrobes, and even works of fiction vital in reconstructing the clothing practices of the Philippines in the 19th century was adapted from several major works, including Daniel Roche's *The Culture of Clothing: Dress and Fashion in the 'Ancien Regime,'* Antonia Finnane's *Changing Clothes in China: Fashion, History and Nation*, Robert Ross' *Clothing: A Global History*, and Henk Schulte-Nordholt's *The State on the Skin: Clothes, Shoes and Neatness in (Colonial) Indonesia*.

These scholars have used clothes as tools to social history, regarding them as objects of human culture, which could reflect distinctive elements of each age and milieu. They established clothes as one of the key indicators of material civilization, illustrating how clothes are reflective of a period's class and gender issues, social behaviors and aspirations, human relations and lifestyles. In their varied approaches, their works have elevated the subject of clothing from the common perception of frivolity to one of significance. Daniel Roche, described as "one of the most distinguished of the new generation of French historians," for example, explored the relationship between clothes and customs within the framework of the wider socio-cultural history. By comparing the way the different classes of Parisian society dressed in the past, he highlighted the importance of clothes as a function of language and culture. In his work, he demonstrated the context and meaning of people's sartorial choices. Roche also introduced the idea to analyze data based on the framework of a Christian moral economy, suggesting the influence of the church in people's consumption values. This approach can be applied to this study particularly because of the predominance of church institutions in the Philippines.

Roche's study on dress and clothing of 17th and 18th century Parisians, however, digressed from the circumstances of 19th century Philippines in two ways: first, the place and

[41] Ibid., 8–9, 332; Lorna KALAW-TIROL, ed., *The World of 1896* (Makati: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1998).

periods of study are clearly different; second, the Philippines was a colonized state while France was not. Roche's pioneering approach, which extended to a general analysis of human appearances and its social, political and moral meanings, could nonetheless be used as a guide especially in the use of mixed sources. By applying Roche's unique and systematic approach to reading art, photographs, travel accounts and periodicals, this work will, hopefully, contribute something new to the Philippine colonial narrative.

The structure and organization of this research work was partly inspired by Antonia Finnane's *Changing Clothes in China: Fashion, History and Nation*.[42] The author used the study of clothes to chronicle Chinese society's changing experiences and social issues, which ranged from domestic problems to intrusions from the West. She organized her work chronologically, tracing the evolution of China's clothing culture in the context of changing regimes, from Manchu rule to the Cultural Revolution. Amidst all these historical events and turmoils, she explored the origins of certain styles and clothing practices distinct to China, like the *qipao*, the *Sun-Yat Sen suit*, the *Mao jacket*, and the *Jiang Qing dress*.

Finnane's work is valuable to this research especially for her analysis on gendered fashions, an aspect of the clothing culture, which she shares with the studies of Kristine Hoganson[43] and Henk Schulte-Nordholt.[44] She also made clear associations between clothes and international relations, highlighting the function of clothes as an expression - or suppression - of one's political views. Likewise, she discussed the political compromises China made in adopting the use of Western suit. Her references to the dichotomy between Beijing and Shanghai fashions prompted the researcher to ponder on clothing as a reflection of differences in urban and rural lifestyles. Although her discussion of the different aspects of Shanghai's fashion industry- advertising, tailoring, technology and print media- dealt with a different time period, they were essential in the development of ideas on how to write about local reception to innovations and new technologies.

While Philippine society, in being a colonized state, had undercurrents of race and class, studies on China's clothing culture showed less concern with colonial structures primarily because China was never colonized by the West.[45] In understanding colonial

[42] FINNANE, *Changing Clothes in China*.
[43] Kristin HOGANSON, "The Fashionable World: Imagined Communities of Dress," in *After the Imperial Turn: Thinking with and through the Nation*, ed. Antoinette BURTON (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2003), 266.
[44] Henk SCHULTE NORDHOLT, "The State on the Skin: Clothes, Shoes and Neatness in (Colonial) Indonesia," *Asian Studies Review* 21, no. 1 (July 1997): 23.
[45] Quoting Finnane: FINNANE, *Changing Clothes in China*, 104; Bryna GOODMAN, "Improvisations on a Semicolonial Theme, or How to Read a Celebration of Transnational Urban Community," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 59, no. 4 (November 2000): 915–923.

structures, Albert Memmi, in his controversial work, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, developed definitions of separation between colonizer, colonized and colonial, which guided this study.[46] While the division between colonizer and colonized is clear, the concept of a white, non-Spanish colonial is interesting for this research. It rests on the fundamental premise that a European living in the colony belonged to a subcategory within the ruling class and was therefore, privileged.[47] By virtue of skin color, the white colonial enjoyed degrees of acceptance and respect from both colonizer and colonized. The idea of a white "colonial" is interesting actually because many observers have noticed that natives often did not make any distinctions between Spaniards and other Europeans: for them, all Europeans were Spaniards.[48] The idea of understanding clothing in the context of these separations as suggested by Memmi serves to clarify the functions of clothing and appearance in Philippine colonial society.

Memmi provided a framework by which to understand the dynamics of colonial relations, from the cadence of life to the development of social spaces and standards of tastes. In embodying the idea of colonizers, who were predominantly white and in this case, Spanish, as different and superior from the colonized, who were predominantly brown indios, he offered a plausible social ideology about relations between these two groups.

The complexity of using Memmi's framework in studying the clothing culture of Philippine colonial society lies on several ambiguous groups: those who were treading between colonizer and colonized, like the mestizos, the natives with jobs in the colonial service and later on, as historical events and economic factors transformed society, those brown-skinned indios who worked as representatives of American and British commercial establishments. Added to these were the emerging groups of indios and mestizos enlarged by wealth, education and urbanized culture, who sought to bridge the gap between colonizer,

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[46] Albert MEMMI, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, trans. Howard GREENFELD, 1 vols. (London and New York: Earthscan Publication Ltd, 2003).

[47] Quoting Memmi: White non-Spanish colonials were "neither colonizer not colonized, they were nationals of other powers..but whether he expressly wishes it or not, he is received as a privileged person by the institutions, customs and people." Nadine GORDIMER, "New Introduction," in *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, by Albert MEMMI, trans. Howard GREENFELD (London and New York: Earthscan Publication Ltd, 2003), 31; MEMMI, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, 56, 57, 61.

[48] These writers noticed that natives did not make distinctions between Spaniards and other Europeans, for them all Europeans were Spaniards. Paul Proust de la GIRONIÈRE, *Adventures in the Philippine Islands, Translated from the French, Aventures D'un Gentilhomme Breton Aux Iles Philippines of Paul de La Gironière, Chevalier of the Order of the Legion of Honour...Revised and Extended by the Author, Expressly for This Edition* (London: Charles H. Clarke, 13, Paternoster Row, 1854), chap. VIII, http://name.umdl.umich.edu/AHZ9187.0001.001; Antoine-Alfred MARCHE, *Luzon and Palawan*, trans. Carmen OJEDA and Jovita CASTRO (Manila: The Filipiniana Book Guild, 1970), 56; Maria Serena I. DIOKNO, "Chapter Six: The Making of the Filipino," in *Kasaysayan: The Story of the Filipino People*, ed. Maria Serena I. DIOKNO and Ramon N. VILLEGAS, vol. 4: Life in the Colony (Manila: Asia Publishing Co., 1998), 112.

colonized and colonial through expanded social networks, enhanced culture and language, modern styles and dignified appearances. Through their clothing choices, these groups not only blurred differences between colonizer and colonized but also muddled the existing socio-cultural and even economic hierarchies.

Much of the discourse on Philippine clothing culture was also organized and analyzed around the existing social hierarchy of peninsulares on top and indios at the bottom. A more thorough investigation, however, would reveal that this could be quite confusing. This led other authors to organize their works chronologically and around individual clothing pieces.

Research using conventional anthropological approaches has also focused more on the study of exalted pieces, essentially ignoring clothing ensembles worn in everyday life. Recent literature has recognized the value of everyday things,[49] including clothing, in forging identities, both social and national. Many studies on Philippine clothing have, however, focused on piña as ceremonial wear, not everyday wear. Two things must be remembered: first, distinctions must be made between men and women and second, there were regular activities which were not really special occasions but which people dressed up for. For example, for the regular afternoon promenades, elite women were always dressed elegantly in the same baro't saya ensembles but with beautifully embroidered piña tops and petticoats under their skirts, while men's wear varied depending on what the occasion called for. He could wear piña barong for the afternoon promenade, a black Western suit for a business meeting, an all-white attire to a tertulia. As one can see, in Philippine cultural life, there were clothes that were neither everyday nor special wear. They were somewhere in between. This echoes Henk Schulte Nordholte who argued in his article, "The State on the Skin: Clothes, Shoes and Neatness in (colonial) Indonesia," that the lines separating "purely" special and "purely" everyday wear are often not clear.[50] Mixtures abound and oftentimes, regular clothing consists of an assortment of "purely" special pieces and "purely" ordinary pieces. For example, a woman could go out in public wearing an exquisite piña camisa and pañuelo, paired with a saya made of ordinary textile. The lines drawn were neither limited to the "purity" of the attire nor the "purity" of the occasion, they could extend to varied combinations, blending European and native elements, contemporary and vintage, modern

[49] Lynne B. MILGRAM, "Piña Cloth, Identity and the Project of Philippine Nationalism," *Asian Studies Review* 29, no. 3 (2005): 233; Michael BILLIG, *Banal Nationalism* (London: Sage, 1995); Tim EDENSOR, *National Identity, Popular Culture and Everyday Life* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2002); SCHULTE NORDHOLT, "The State on the Skin: Clothes, Shoes and Neatness in (Colonial) Indonesia," 21.
[50] SCHULTE NORDHOLT, "The State on the Skin: Clothes, Shoes and Neatness in (Colonial) Indonesia," 21.

and traditional, etc. A study on clothes should not be boxed in by labels and lines; rather, they must be approached with fluidity, fluctuations and creativity in mind.

In global readings of the varied ways by which clothing developed in different parts of the world as a response to political regulations, colonization and even church interventions, Robert Ross offers a thematic approach in his work, *Clothing: A Global History, Or the Imperialists' New Clothes*.[51] In investigating clothing from ethnographic, anthropological and nationalist point-of-views within the broader context of economic, socio-cultural, colonial and even, art histories, he presented a multiplicity of ways in which the history of clothing could be analyzed intellectually. A thematic approach can, however, be overwhelming. Ross' examples - from Japan to Africa to Spanish Americas – were at times discussed abruptly and they run the risk of being taken out of context by those with limited knowledge on world history. Nonetheless, his work is comprehensive and persuasive in its treatment of the subject on clothing. Among the important points he made, the three main ideas that resonate with the Philippine colonial narrative are (a) the global impacts of the West and the locals' response to colonial influences; (b) the role of missionaries and church institutions in the colonizing process and (c) the adoption of local costumes by Westerners living in the colonies.

On themes relating to contemporary "Filipinism" or identity construction through clothes, there were the works of B. Lynne Milgram on *Piña Cloth, Identity and the Project of Philippine Nationalism* (2005)[52] and Dr. Mina Roces on *Gender, Nation and Politics of Dress in Twentieth-century Philippines* (2004). In both works, piña textile and clothes were presented to have assumed central roles in post-colonial nation-building. Milgram, in featuring, for example, textile and clothes designers from the 1970 onwards, sought to study how national identity were fashioned and expressed in the quotidian. The premise of piña cloth permeating through the different aspects of everyday life is interesting. It shows how piña is deemed as adaptable –and fashionable-- to different ages, different occasions and different eras. Besides, everyday life could host a succession of events, which may require clothing changes. In the article, she also showed how piña became the material of choice of present-day politicians, who wished to present themselves as "nationalist icons."[53] Milgram was also the curator of the *Islands of Embellishments,* a five-month exhibition held at the

[51] Robert ROSS, *Clothing: A Global History, Or The Imperialists' New Clothes* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2008).
[52] B. Lynne Milgram is an anthropologist and professor in the Faculty of Liberal Studies, Ontario College of Art and Design. She is also the Adjunct Curator for Asian Textiles at the Textile Museum of Canada. MILGRAM, "Piña Cloth, Identity and the Project of Philippine Nationalism."
[53] Ibid., 242.

Textile Museum of Canada in 2003.[54] This exhibition was mentioned because it reveals that the real interest of the author was on how contemporary designers and artisans promoted Philippine identity in the global market through their use of uniquely Filipino clothing made of traditional native textiles.

Dr. Mina Roces, whose varied interests crossed the frontiers of women's studies, colonial and post-colonial histories, explored the connections between clothing, color, gender and politics in her article, *Gender, Nation and Politics of Dress in Twentieth-century Philippines* (2004).[55] Her article focused on how dress has been used as expressions of political views as well as perceived gender roles and identities after the Spanish colonial regime ended. Her periodization began with the early American colonial period (1902), continuing on to the democratic era between 1946 to 2004, encompassing the 1972-1986 Marcos dictatorship in between. In highlighting the tensions between Imelda Marcos' native-style Filipino dress and Corazon Aquino's Westernized yellow dress, she exposed enduring tensions and troubled relationships, which may certainly be traced to the state of affairs of the earlier colonial period. In her work, distinctions were made not only between native and various forms of Western garments (i.e. t-shirts), but also between colors, genders and notions of modernity.

There were also studies that promoted notions of imagined communities, a concept originally constructed by Benedict Anderson to address issues on nationalism.[56] However, this term is now used broadly and has been applied to the subject of dress. In Kristine Hoganson's article, "The Fashionable World: Imagined Community of Dress," she presented how the separate world of producers and consumers intersect in dress. The theory of an imagined community of dress is fundamentally based on the following premise: that producers and consumers intersect in dress but these two groups remain separate and invisible to each other, that people possess clothes the production of which they know

[54] MILGRAM, "Islands of Embellishment: Transforming Traditions in Philippine Textiles."
[55] Dr. Mina Roces obtained her doctorate degree from the University of Michigan. She is currently a Professor of History in the School of Humanities and Languages in the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences of University of New South Wales, Australia. Mina ROCES, "Gender, Nation and the Politics of Dress in Twentieth Century Philippines," in *15th Biennial Conference of the Asian Studies Association of Australia* (Canberra, 2004); Mina ROCES, "Gender, Nation and the Politics of Dress in Twentieth-Century Philippines," in *The Politics of Dress in Asia and the Americas*, ed. Mina ROCES and Louise EDWARDS (Great Britain: Sussex Academic Press, 2010), http://books.google.fr/books?id=IBdpE-aUchkC&pg=PA39&lpg=PA39&dq=Lourdes+Montinola+Pi%C3%B1a&source=bl&ots=vOCazLXWn2&sig=cZJqY3KnXch5v6vTZQwr3aHruJw&hl=en&sa=X&ei=ZyKYULzLHqGJ0AWKh4HoCQ&ved=0CFcQ6AEwCQ#v=onepage&q=Lourdes%20Montinola%20Pi%C3%B1a&f=false.
[56] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (Verso, 2006).

nothing about, that the lives of producers remained largely unknown[57] and that women, in particular, could be linked to other women in different parts of the world through what their clothes represent.[58] This guided the researcher in exploring the identities and relationships of producers and consumers in Philippine colonial society. In the Philippine experience, especially before the influx of imported ready-made clothing in the second half of the 19th century, producers (weavers, dressmakers, embroiderers) worked in the homes of the consumers. Many consumers, hence, had exclusive access to skilled labor. In addition, before the mid-19th century, cloth weaving and dressmaking were primarily done by hand and at home. In Iloilo City, the center of textile weaving, households that produced piña fabrics were distinguished from non-producers with the display of piña flags outside their homes. The lives of producers and clothes workers were also not wholly unknown. As evinced by the numerous 19th century periodicals that featured the lives of seamstresses, tailors, weavers, and washerwomen, there were generalizations and typecasting involved but their lives were shown to be subjects of worldly discussions. Furthermore, in sending "producers" to Spain for the 1887 Madrid Exhibition on Philippine cultural life to, for example, demonstrate weaving, they were dressed and presented to the world as icons of native crafts and industries. They practically gave a "face" to the countless clothes workers of the Philippines.

In engaging with 19th century periodicals, the writer was guided by the theory of Roland Barthes on *The Fashion System.* Barthes developed a complicated theory that separates text, printed image, and actual garment. The object of his study was the printed image, in relation to the textual discourses that accompanies it, not the actual garment, which he referred to as "real clothing." For Barthes, the quality of real clothing could be understood through the technical work involved in producing it, for example, the seams, the fineness of the embroidery, the regularity of the weave --details which do not expressly come through in print. Meanwhile, with print image, the accompanying text determines how it should be perceived and interpreted. He essentially highlighted the power of written text in setting the course of how consumers should view the printed image of a dress and what they should associate it with. By exploring the link between printed image and text, he uncovered and verbalized the fundamentals of imaging and the creation of desire, ideals and aspirations, which was, and still is, very much prevalent in advertising and marketing campaigns of various industries. His ideas on the role and function of captions and textual discourses serve

[57] Quoting Hoganson, "whereas fashionable women's doing and personalities merited detailed coverage, the daily lives of producers received relatively little, and their personal qualities virtually none." HOGANSON, "The Fashionable World: Imagined Communities of Dress," 270.
[58] Ibid., 261.

as a basis for understanding the image, humor and connotations of the 19th century illustrated articles and advertisements used as sources for this study.

Methodology

Data Processing Method

A survey of the clothing culture of 19th century Philippines was conducted in the context of the significant events and changes in Philippine colonial history. The first step in organizing the extraordinary amount of data gathered was the classification of primary materials as either iconographic or written sources. The wide variety of sources were then arranged chronologically as belonging to early or late 19th century in order to map out how they could be used in:

(a) identifying what changes in clothing and appearance occurred across classes, races and gender throughout the various decades of the 19th century;
(b) tracing why these changes in appearances and clothing occurred; and
(c) determining how the socio-economic and political changes that occurred from the second half of the 19th century influenced or shaped people's appearances.

The historical materials were then further classified as early or middle to late 19th century sources. It must be noted that from the 1850s onwards, there was an increase in the variety of sources that may be consulted for this study. Specifically, before the 1850s, the main sources were limited to *tipos del país* sketches, watercolor and oil paintings as well as a few travel accounts by British merchants and French diplomatic missions. From 1850 onwards, the variety of travel accounts increased to include narratives by the French, Americans, Dutch and Germans. There was also an increase in the variety of publications relating to women and fashion. Added to that was the development of illustrated print advertising as a tool of marketing. Along with this, photographs also started to be used, not to mention art became more journalistic in nature.

The last step was the creation of a digital database, which was connected to the images stored in the researcher's computer using hyperlinks. Conceived as a tool for organization and analysis, this database allowed for the voluminous collection of art to be systematically classified, sorted and filtered by year, by artist, by gender, by race, by social class, by occupations and more importantly, by specific articles of clothing. This was primarily designed to minimize errors arising from assigning the wrong dates to iconographic sources, as observed in earlier works on the subject. Meanwhile, the expanding collection of

photographs was organized under general subjects of Chinese, Ilustrado men, Ilustrado women, working men, working women, garment, clothes workers, etc. The researcher is eager to expand this digital source to include photographs, for the reason that, like art, they also belong to overlapping categories. For example, clothes workers also belong to the subject of working women, etc.

Since the creation of this database was an extremely time-consuming process, human error must be factored in, especially in the input of data. Although this digital system is far from perfect, its performance has been assessed as within acceptable limits. Conceptualized as a flexible, open-ended platform to catalogue and curate information, this database is easy to use and modify. In the future, this could be expanded to open access internet and could be used as tools for teaching, research and exhibition.

Design and Strategy

This research focuses on three main parts: the evolution of Philippine men and women's fashions, the analysis of Philippine clothing culture in the context of a changing colonial society and the reconstitution of the 19th century clothing economy.

Part I. The two dominant frameworks in historical studies undertaken based on ethnographic collections were evolutionism and categorization.[59] This work, which is a study of the clothed individuals that made up a complex, stratified and multicultural colonial society, proposes a structure based on the combination of both evolutionism and categorization. This study, therefore, begins by categorizing according to the three dominant sartorial cultures visible in Philippine society during the 19th century: Philippine, European and Chinese.

Proposed Sartorial Structure

This work, in studying the clothing culture using existing social hierarchies, is proposing a new interpretation of the Philippine colonial structure. Guided by what Albert Memmi said about the pyramid being the "basis of all colonial societies,"[60] the pyramid constitution often emphasized in existing Philippine colonial literature still applies and is retained, but for a study on clothing culture, a shift in the organizational framework from race to a combination of race and class is being proposed. A multidimensional approach using a two-by-three triangular structure (Table 2) replaces the prevailing four- to six-tier triangular classification, largely based on race (Table 1). A closer look at the organizational framework

[59] TER KEURS, "Cultural Hybridity in Museum Collections," 32–33.
[60] MEMMI, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, 10.

employed by Marian Pastor-Roces, Dr. Florina Capistrano H. Baker, José Moreno and Eric V. Cruz, revealed that their fashion hierarchies[61] were based on the one-dimensional, race-based colonial hierarchy, which situates the peninsular on top, followed by the insulares, Spanish mestizos, Chinese mestizos, Chinese and indios at the bottom. The shift that is being proposed stemmed from the observation that there were, in fact, three dominant sartorial cultures (European, Philippine and Chinese)[62] and two main social classes (elite and common).[63] This acknowledges that the 19th century elite was drawn from the wealthiest, if not the most influential people of the various races, from peninsular to indios to the other nationalities that inhabited the islands.[64] The members of this class came from diverse backgrounds, some were colonial administrators, others planters or landowners, others were successful business owners.[65] Sources have shown that the Philippine elite were dressed in European or partly native, partly European attires even before the 19th century. This reveals that when it comes to clothing, what occurred initially, and more frequently, was the blurring of racial distinctions, which essentially is a blurring of differences between colonizer and colonized (represented as the blurring of the vertical lines in Table 2). What this also show is the prevalence of class distinctions in clothing, which supports the theories of Thorstein

[61] The section heading of Dr. Capistrano-Baker was "Nineteenth Century Fashion Hierarchies." Florina H. CAPISTRANO-BAKER, "Embroidered Multiples: Nineteenth-Century Philippine Costumes and Images" in *Embroidered Multiples, 18th-19th Century Philippine Costumes from the National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden, The Netherlands,* Florina H. Capistrano-Baker, Peter ter Keurs and Sandra B. Castro, eds.(Makati: Royal Netherlands Embassy and Ayala Foundation, 2007), 18.

[62] Referring to the festivities in Manila in 1825, Cariño and Ner remarked that "the paintings portray the dominance of three cultures in Manila: Chinese, Spanish and Filipino." In addition, owing to the accounts of Gironière, Marche, etc. who have noticed that the locals often did not make distinctions between Spaniards and other Europeans, it can be inferred that there were no major differences in the general styles. They associate all who were white and occidental as Spaniards. This idea of a white, non-Spanish or half-Spanish, perceived as Spanish was summarized by Maria Serena I. Diokno as "natives made no distinction among Spaniards, Frenchmen, Englishmen, Americans or among peninsulares, criollos and mestizos. All who were white were *kastila* (Spaniard)." José Maria A. CARIÑO and Sonia Pinto NER, eds., "Fiestas en Manila, Año 1825," in *Álbum: Islas Filipinas, 1663-1888* (Manila: Ars Mundi, 2004), 74; GIRONIÈRE, *Adventures in the Philippine Islands*, chap. VIII, p. 181; MARCHE, *Luzon and Palawan*, 56; DIOKNO, "Chapter Six: The Making of the Filipino," 112.

[63] Using different terms, almost all authors identified two main classes and some semblance of a third class, which was quite difficult to define. GIRONIÈRE, *Adventures in the Philippine Islands*, 79; Mary Helen FEE, *A Woman's Impression of the Philippines* (Chicago: A.C. McClurg and Co., 1910), chap. XVIII, http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/13392; Edgar WICKBERG, *The Chinese in Philippine Life, 1850-1898* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2000), chap. 5.

[64] Daniel Baboom, for example, was an Indian textile trader who associated prominently with Damián Domingo, -- the premiere artist of tipos del país of the 1820s and 1830s-- could be categorically considered as elite. Baboom commissioned Damián Domingo to paint people in varied attires for his own personal collection and for use as catalogue in his burgeoning textile importation business. His capacity to commission artworks attest to his financial means and wealth. But limited records about his life makes it impossible to describe his clothing and appearance in relation to the trends at that time. Luciano P.R. SANTIAGO, "Don Rafael Daniel Baboom: Collector of Rainbows," *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society* 18, no. 2 (1990): 118–21.

[65] The nobility and the aristocracy were a "landholding one, although untrained in the responsibilities of landholding." FEE, *A Woman's Impression of the Philippines*, chap. XI.

Veblen and Kristine Hoganson, that the "paramountcy of class helps explain why fashion subordinated nationality."[66]

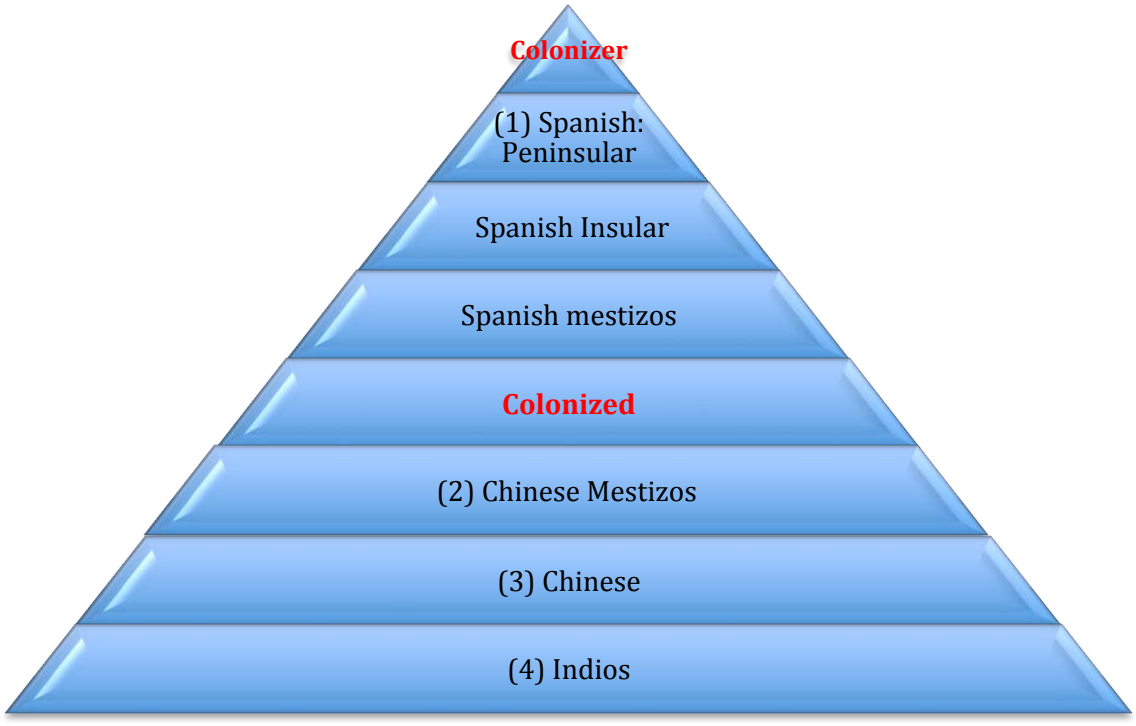

Table 1: Existing Colonial Social Structure

[66] HOGANSON, "The Fashionable World: Imagined Communities of Dress," 266, 271.

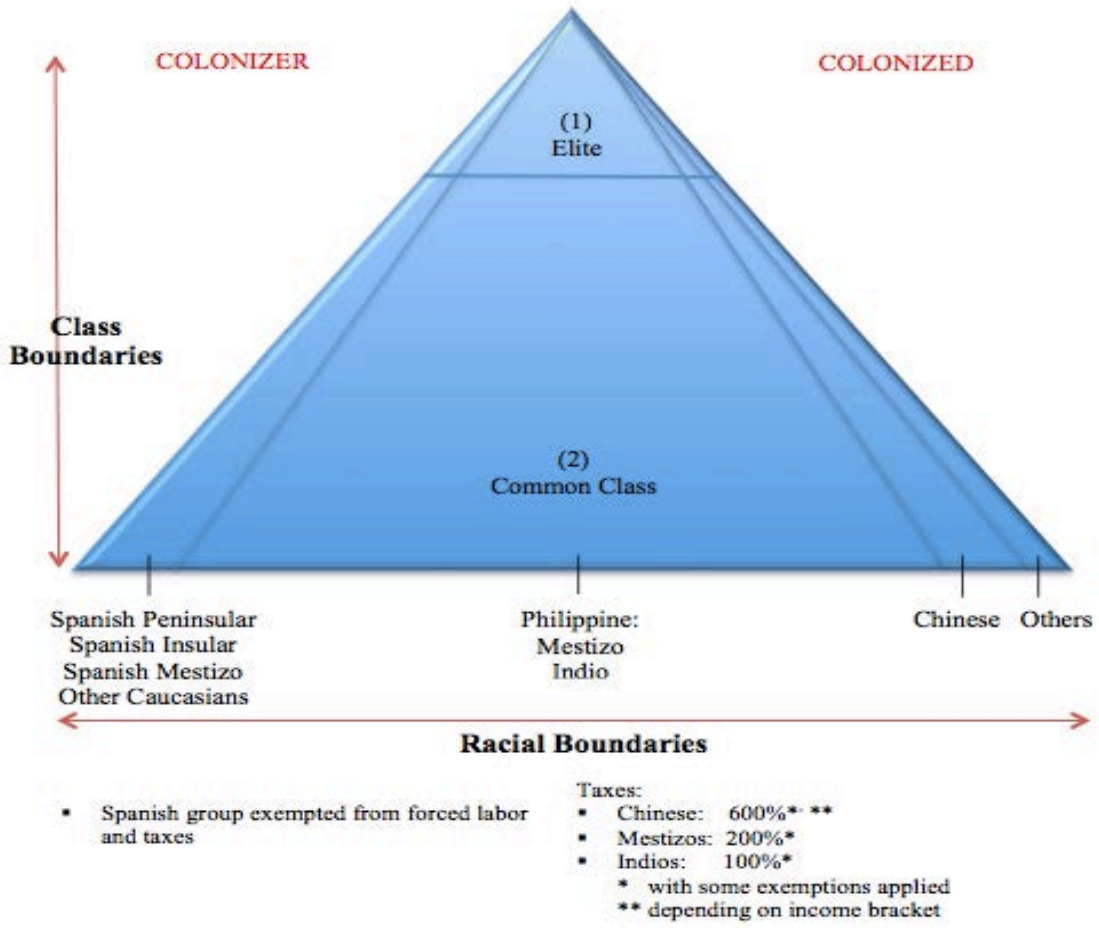

Table 2: Proposed Sartorial Structure

Due to limitations in time and sources, this study focuses mainly on the evolution of Philippine dress, which was in fact a fusion of indigenous and mestizo clothing cultures (Table 3). To be precise, this mainly documents the evolution of styles that developed among the lowland, Christianized sector of society. With the influx of foreigners starting in the 1830s, the opening of Manila and other provincial ports, and the intermixing of races, progressive changes in dress occurred as the lowland, Christianized group traversed the various racial and cultural borders of Philippine colonial society. Philippine fashions integrated elements of the so-called urbanized mestizo culture – styles, which were neither completely native nor completely European. Given the tropical climate, Philippine fashions was a kind of Spanish style but adopted using local materials.

As mentioned, the focus will be on the Philippine clothing culture, the researcher encountered two main problems in her attempts to reconstruct the cultures of dress of pure, overseas Europeans and overseas Chinese. One was the foreign population of the Philippines was predominantly male and second, each constituted less than one percent of the total

population. The reality was, except for a few exceptions, the Chinese and European minority retained their own dress styles. Hence, to trace the influences that shaped their styles and modes of dress would require a more thorough study of European and Chinese artworks, manuals of etiquette and periodicals published in their homeland. Nevertheless, attempts to represent them were undertaken using an anecdotal approach.

Colonizer				**Colonized**											
Spanish Spanish Mestizos and Europeans				Philippine								Chinese			
				Indios				Mestizos							
Women		Men		Women		Men		Women		Men		Women		Men	
				ELITE	COMMON	ELITE	COMMON	ELITE	COMMON	ELITE	COMMON				

Table 3: Organization of Part II of this Dissertation

Gender. Since there would be separate developments between men and women's fashions, the evolution of Philippine clothing traditions would be presented according to gender, then by class.

The visual contrast between women's Philippine style and the men's Western style is an aspect of Philippine colonial culture that must be pointed out. Progressions in women's fashions simply did not correspond with the men's adoption of the Western suit. The impractical attires of the native elite women also symbolized their exclusion from the usual avenues of power, which men of their class and social standing, could strive to achieve distinctions for.

Class. A simple two-class division of elite and common class status will be used. Attempts will be made to describe an ambiguous intermediate class. Taking into account the fluidity of this class system, wherein status could be altered, this study focuses more on the differences in appearance between the elite and the common classes and not between the elite and middling classes. Each tier covers the wide spectrum of races unique to the Philippine colonial experience. A guide to the class system used in this study is presented under historical context in Chapter 1.

Class Boundaries. The question that must be answered first concerns the definition of class boundaries. In this study, does wealth translate into class, and if so, did this manifest

in the appearance and clothing of classes? This question is challenging for it requires the integration of three separate elements: clothes and class in a multi-cultural colonial society.

Class figures at the center of analysis of different fields, from sociology, anthropology, political science to history. The notion of class, however, covers a broad scope of political, geographical and historical contexts. Often used interchangeably with the terms social class or specifically, socio-economic class, class is a concept, which has initiated much academic discourse.

The two main traditions of class analysis are the theories of Karl Marx and Max Weber's three-component theory of stratification, which shows that class could be understood in different ways and could take a variety of forms. In the governance of colonial societies marked by cultural diversity like the Philippines, race originally figured more prominently than economic wealth in the pyramid structure. What took root in the Philippines was ethno-social class, with emphasis on purity of blood, in the sense of peninsular Spaniards, who were white and pure Europeans on top and indios, who were brown and indigenous at the bottom. This ethno-social classification essentially distinguished colonizer from the colonized, superior from inferior based on race, racial mix, skin color and phenotype. These groupings had far-reaching legal and cultural consequences, affecting taxation, place of residence, etc.

Since Spanish rule was indirect and they governed through the native principalía, there formed a ruling group among the colonized, who were politically and culturally linked to the Spaniards and to the colonizing group.[67] From post-conquest to the early 19th century, the native principalía apart from having the privilege of hereditary office, enjoyed freedom from labor and taxes. The natives with wealth and authority were bestowed with symbols of power, like the cane and the European top hat. With these items was the privilege of donning the Western suit over native clothes. The reclothing of colonial bureaucrats was introduced in the form of social etiquettes (*trajes de etiqueta*) and by instilling pride in wearing garments that associated them with the superior colonizing community.[68]

After 1850, the Spanish colonial government instituted some changes, which made the local ruling positions of gobernadorcillo and cabeza de barangay electoral.[69] These ruling positions were now chosen on the basis of wealth, real influence in the community, and

[67] WICKBERG, *The Chinese in Philippine Life, 1850-1898*, 2000, 132.
[68] Juan ÁLVAREZ GUERRA, *Viajes por Manila à Tayabas*, Second edition (Madrid: Imprenta de Fortanet, 1887), chap. 20, p. 309.
[69] Charles WILKES, "Manila in 1842," ed. Austin CRAIG (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1917), sec. Government organization.

theoretically, literacy; in short, local power was to be entrusted to those with socio-economic and cultural standing, and not to those with heritage or lineage. Although in the last few decades of the nineteenth century when colonial power was waning, the rich and educated, in seeing no hereditary privileges, and neither real authority nor prestige in these local positions, refused to serve as officials, paving the way for nominal rulers.[70] The Western suit, which by that time became widely used by the various emerging groups, was no longer a sign of distinction.

This coincided with other developments that began in the mid-19th century. Commercial cash cropping and the opening of Manila to foreign trade and residence gradually created new groups of natives (indios and mestizos), who began to gain larger roles in society and economy. Enhanced and enlarged by wealth, education and culture, these new groups of middle class or new elites, muddled the colonial apartheid.

The contextual meaning of class shifted from ethno-social to socio-economic, which beginning in around 1850, revolved around shared socio-cultural (in terms of education, lifestyles, friendships and associations) and economic (in terms of money or income, either by ownership of land or control of means of production) status. This replaced classifications previously based on race and hereditary status.

The most common model of hierarchical class stratification based on socio-economic status was upper, middle and lower class. Examining the colonial social structure of Spanish Philippines from the mid-19th century would show that the basis of class position had changed from possession of land and capital to possession of skills and education, which coincides more with the theory of Max Weber. Class was determined by more than just people's relationship with the means of production. The upper class was no longer limited to propertied or landed persons with high income. Combining wealth and income with education and socio-cultural standing became more important signifiers of elite status in the class hierarchy. This corresponded with the emergence of new groups arising from new fields of commerce as well as new occupations and professions, i.e. working classes, professional classes, etc. Class was also used as in expressions such as "respectable classes,"[71] "high society," "educated elite" or *may pinag-aralan* in the Filipino language, and so on.

In a study that uses clothing to provide insights into the dynamic class of people -- individually and collectively-- of an evolving multicultural colonial society like the

[70] WICKBERG, *The Chinese in Philippine Life, 1850-1898*, 2000, 135.
[71] Erik Olin WRIGHT, "Social Class," in *Encyclopedia of Social Theory*, ed. George RITZER (Sage Publications, 2004), 1, http://www.ssc.wisc.edu/~wright/Social%20Class%20--%20Sage.pdf.

Philippines from the early, mid- to late-19th century, it was discovered that wealth, upper class status, and nice clothes were not always directly linked. In the same way, low income and common class status did not always equate to miserable clothing and appearance. Fr. Gaspar de San Agustín, writing in 1720, observed how men especially, despite having nothing to eat, "must not for that reason fail to have a shirt and a hat, and to dress in style."[72] Even the poorest knew the value of appearance. The archetype of a low-income but well-dressed tailor, Nengoy, for example, would sit on the floor to sew and baste but would keep his shirt cuffs fastened (Fig. 220A).[73] Another example would be Lorenzo Rocha's *Una India Filipina*, a street vendor balancing a basket on her head and holding a fish in her left hand (Fig. 44A).[74] The artist managed to capture not only her tiredness and the ordinariness and coarseness of her clothes but more importantly, her social dignity. Owing to their long history of standing erectly while balancing jars over their heads, many of them appeared admirably regal, even stately.[75]

In summary, the definition of class, in relation to clothing and appearance, became more fluid, with fluxing categories. The colonial world of appearances essentially became more complicated. There were undercurrents of deep-rooted factors, which transcended economic or social status, for example, race as evinced in skin color and facial features. The interplay of clothes, race and class will be explored in the next section.

A lot hinged upon how wealth and class was defined, understood and linked at different times during the 19th century. In some societies, wealth –meaning having an abundance of money, property and material possessions— is sufficient for one to qualify as upper class. In the Philippine colonial experience, inclusion to this class began to require more than just monetary wealth. Wealth was one of the indictors of class, but not the only indicator. Although money played a crucial role, membership to this class could also be based on various forms of political stature or cultural accomplishments. Clothing requirements and appearance varied according to personal style, culture, social itineraries and affiliations, income or resources --and even resourcefulness.

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[72] Gaspar SAN AGUSTIN, "Letter on the Filipinas, 1720," in *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, ed. Emma Helen BLAIR and James Alexander Robertson, vol. 40 (Clark: Cleveland, 1903), chap. VII, #49, p. 235.
[73] Félix MARTÍNEZ y LORENZO, "El Oficial de Sastre," in *La Ilustración del Oriente Revista Semanal*, Año II, Num. 14 (Manila: De J. Oppel, 1878), 159, 162.
[74] Lorenzo ROCHA E YCAZA, *Una Yndia Filipina (A Native Filipina)*, Oil on canvas, 1898, Museo de Bellas Artes de Bilbao.
[75] John FOREMAN, *The Philippine Islands: A Political, Geographical, Ethnographical, Social and Commercial History of the Philippine Archipelago, Third, Revised and Enlarged with Maps and Illustrations* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1906), chap. XXI, http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/22815.

From the mid-19th century onwards, the term upper class expanded to include peoples not only of wealth, but a combination of talent, education and culture –an urbanized culture, which was measured as sophisticated filipinized Spanish-ness or by extension, European-ness.[76] Appearances were influenced by additional factors, like education and friendships (social networks), ethno-legal status (in the sense that there was prestige attached to being a mestizo, who had double the tax obligations of the indios), beauty and skin color, etc.

As the contextual meaning of class had changed from ethno-social to socio-economic, the term class came to be defined as "people having the same social, economic or educational status," which means wealth alone did not automatically translate to upper class and it did not always manifest in clothing and appearance. This acknowledges that in matters of dress and appearance, class contradictions, although sparsely documented, clearly occurred.

Philippine Elite. Following the political and sociological discourses mentioned above, the elite as a class could based on a variety of factors: education, social prestige, economic wealth or political power. However, in hierarchical, colonial societies like the Philippines, perception contributed to a vague reading of social groups. Oftentimes, people were – and are-- informally classified based on perceived social or economic status in the community. Oftentimes, skin color, clothing and appearance influenced these confusing or misleading images. While the social class of a person may determine the clothes he was expected to wear on certain occasions, the clothes a person wear did not necessarily determine his social class. Inasmuch as the appearance of educated men began to be associated with Western clothes beginning in the 1840s, not all of those who wore Western clothes were educated. Clothes, in fact, had the power to reveal, conceal or worse, misrepresent people's real status.

The Philippine elite was marred by enduring inequalities and prejudices with regards to race, skin color, bloodlines, etc. As a group, they could not be defined by the same social status, roles, dress and norms of behavior. There was plurality and diversity in their dress and appearances. Oftentimes, they maintained separate communities with different patterns of behavior. They were likewise prone to discriminate against people of their own class, simply because that person's skin color is brown [indios] or yellow [chinese]. Social tensions also existed between the landed gentry, who claimed aristocratic bloodlines and those who made considerable fortunes through commercial activities. Within the same class, there were

[76] Quoting Wickberg, "cultural influences other than the specifically Spanish were felt…influence was something broader than an urban colonial version of Spanish culture, a step beyond filipinized hispanism to a cosmopolitan Western outlook." WICKBERG, *The Chinese in Philippine Life, 1850-1898*, 2000, 131–133.

divisions between "old rich" and "new rich" and between urban and provincial elites. Various nuanced groupings have arisen within the same category, which were based on perceived ranks or roles in society, for example, notions of "buena familia" or "alta sociedad," continue to persist even until today.

One encounters the following dilemmas when trying to define this class in a plural society. Other possible permutations certainly occurred in varying degrees of prominence and they must be equally explored and considered.

(1) There were those who could be categorically included as elite on the basis of their financial wealth but who neither had any prestige nor newsworthy social life and political position to speak of. Such was the case with the Chinese, many of whom came as laborers but soon evolved to become merchants and businessmen of various retail and wholesale sectors. Many continued to tread the streets of Manila in their simple clothes. This supports Roche's study that "the most costly and abundant clothes were not automatically found where there was the greatest of wealth."[77] Some Chinese were good examples of the rich, who appropriated the appearance of poverty. In mirroring values of frugality and thrift through their clothing and appearance, they have at the same time exposed their motivations and reactions to the long history of official persecution and discriminate taxation.

(2) There were those who had the political position and social connections but who may not necessarily have had substantial economic wealth. As the German traveler, Fedor Jagor, observed during his stay in the Philippines in 1859, many of the Spanish bureaucrats were living beyond their means. Their standard of living was grossly disproportionate to their official salaries, often living luxuriously in spacious European-style homes and having numerous servants in their employ.[78] The aristocratic skin color was also white and there was the danger of assuming that a person was elite simply because he was white and he moved within the upper class circles.

(3) There were those who had both economic wealth and political position but were still discriminated by virtue of their race or skin color, such as the case of the gobernadorcillos before the mid-19th century. After Spanish policies shifted, making municipal positions electoral, instead of hereditary, not many wealthy people were drawn to positions that neither had any real power nor prestige.

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[77] ROCHE, *The Culture of Clothing: Dress and Fashion in the 'Ancien Regime*, 107.
[78] Andreas Fedor JAGOR, "Jagor's Travels in the Philippines," in *The Former Philippines Thru Foreign Eyes*, ed. Austin CRAIG (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1917), chap. 3.

(4) There were also people who were not necessarily rich but were part of the upper class, by strength of their talents or cultural achievements, connections, education and social affiliations. It must be said though that socializations, in the sense of interactions in social settings, between the truly wealthy and the common classes were rather limited. Their interactions were, more often than not, hierarchical, similar to those that existed between patron-client and employer-employee.

Common Classes. The low income of a wage-earner translated to common status but poverty did not always manifest in clothing and appearance. The relationship of the common *tao* with labor and clothes would be discussed alongside the evolution of the clothing of the lower classes.

(1) The common class was divided between the more genteel, indoor laboring classes and the outdoor laboring classes Those with more genteel works were generally better dressed than their outdoor counterparts.

(2) Members of this class who worked in close proximity with their employers were often recipients of beautiful hand-me-down garments.

(3) They exhibited varying degrees of hispanization and fashionability.

Part II and Part III. The second and third parts studied Philippine clothing culture in the context of evolving colonial, gender and social relations. Assuming that links exist between clothing and customs validates an inquiry from a socio-cultural standpoint. Accordingly, colonial Philippine society's clothing practices were used to reflect on local responses to a wide range of issues arising from differences in race, gender and wealth.

Part IV. The last part investigates the clothing economy from textile production, distribution, to their transformation into clothes. The maintenance and upkeep of clothes were then analyzed in light of the lives of clothes workers, particularly seamstresses, tailors, embroiderers and washerwomen. Advancements in the clothes trade were signaled by new styles, new technologies, new types of clothes workers, new marketing tools and new shopping experiences.

Scope and Limitations

The clothing worn by the inhabitants of the Philippines, specifically, the lowland, Christianized Filipinos of varying racial origins, social class and occupations was studied against the backdrop of the historical realities of the 19th century life in colonial Philippines.

The focus of this study is between the 1820 and 1896, mainly because iconographic sources, which were used to reconstruct the clothing culture of the inhabitants, began to increase in the 1820s. The author, aware that fabrics and by extension, clothing, were used as symbols of nationalism during the revolutionary era, excludes the study of revolutionary clothing. This work ends with 1896 before the Philippine Revolution began.

Although the term Philippines was conveniently located as the spatial peg for the study, the main focus will be on Manila, as the main port city and the center of commercial and social life. Due to the increase in migrations to the country's capital, Manila best represented the variety in clothing, ethnicity, social and occupational backgrounds. As this study attempted to show, the clothing practices of the early 19th century was marked by divergence while the second half saw trends moving towards convergence. Visual and written records show that local and regional variations, at least among lowland, Christianized communities, were slowly disappearing.

Shoes, jewelry and other accessories, i.e. hairpieces, all of which are complementary to the study of colonial clothing culture, were regarded as a separate genre of fashion and were, therefore, not included from this work. Their styles, techniques and social meanings deserve a more detailed examination and analysis. The evolution of dresses for specific occasions, such as bridal wear (*traje de boda*), which represents a niche within the clothing industry, was likewise excluded from this study.

Constrained by the sources available, the scope of this study also does not extend to a consideration of stage costumes for theatrical performances. Fantasy outfits created for the stage have different roles to fill, requiring different approaches and processes. They are presumably intended to be visually striking from afar, which meant that cheaper fabrics could have been used. Their appeal would have also been on the colors and overall design, not on the quality of the details and the materials.

The researcher also found no references on the attires worn by pregnant women and marginalized groups, like prostitutes. Based on the data gathered, it was also not possible to use dress to comment on age differences, civil status and body type issues. Almost all subjects were between the age of 20-45, thin or average size, and civil status were usually not mentioned.

In a study of vestimentary continuity and change, clerical clothing – as well as the clothing of carved, wooden *santos* --deserves a separate study and should best be undertaken along with a definitive research on Philippine church history. Similarly, the changing military

styles should be investigated along with a more comprehensive study of Philippine military history.

One of the areas, which have not been sufficiently explored by the researcher was the vocabulary of fashion outside the eight main sources used. Cross-cultural influences, intra- and inter-class relations may still be further advanced by comparing and analyzing the linguistic variations of clothing terminologies as found in old dictionaries, grammar and language books written in Spanish, old Tagalog and Chinese. A wealth of raw data may be obtained by examining historically the vocabulary of clothing and the language of fashion. Elaborations can be generated and developed by investigating how the vocabulary of fashion was applied historically.

This work also implores other students of history to further explore the clothing culture of the minority groups of European and Chinese as well as to correct any erroneous statements or assumptions the writer may have made.

Limits of Sources

The researcher was aware that the limits of her study were partly based on the limits of her sources. This study does not claim to be definitive for so many works of Filipino artists that can serve as testimonies to 19th century colonial dressing have yet to be rediscovered. Second, it is important to note that only a small percentage of the clothes of a small fraction of the Philippine population have been preserved.

With regards to art, many of the paintings were unsigned. There was also the possibility that the images were idealized and that the artists may have adjusted their styles based on the objectives of their clients. For example, Damián Domingo may have felt compelled to show textile variety because his patron, Indian textile merchant Daniel Baboom, wanted to create a textile catalogue, both for personal and commercial reasons. The uncanny similarities among the different Damián Domingo albums suggest that the artist made multiple copies of his own work. The same with the Lozano albums, the recurring details and the identical poses of his clothed figures indicate that he may have copied from his earlier works.[79]

There were also noticeable similarities between the sketches that appeared in the book of Paul Gironière (1820-1840) and Jean Mallat (1846). The colored portrait of *India*

[79] Lozano's Karuth, Ayala and Gervasio Gironella albums were strikingly similar. The poses of his milkmaids and bread vendors were exactly the same, except for the costumes and faces. CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 52, 100.

Chichirica (Beautiful India, Fig. 31) that appeared in Vicente Barrántes'[80] *Las Mujeres de Filipinas* (1876) was also identical to C.W. Andrews' sketch of an *India Elegante* (Fig. 30), which appeared in *Ilustración Filipina* (1859).[81] Justiniano Asunción's *Manila Costumes* found at the Peabody Essex Museum in Salem, Massachusetts and Harvey S. Firestone Library at Princeton University was also confirmed recently to have been the reproductions made by a Guangzhou-based Chinese artist named Tingqua.[82]

In addition, there were also problems with the title of the artworks, in relation to the subjects' facial features and clothing. The images in some of the series were labeled as indias, mestizas, chinos but their skin color and features were very similar.[83] Like mannequins, only the clothes, accessories and tools varied. While this shows that clothes played a central role in the analysis of "types," the motive behind the clothing variety must also be taken into consideration when studying the history of clothing.

Most museum collections also labeled articles of clothing under the general term *nipis,* hence it was difficult to identify exactly what type of nipis textile was used. Equally, it was impossible to establish the hierarchy of textiles based on the iconographic sources. There

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[80] Jagor identified the position of Barrántes as the Spanish Secretary-General. Barrántes also appeared on the cover of Manila Alegre with the caption "Nuestros Escritores."JAGOR, "Jagor's Travels in the Philippines," chap. 1; D. Vicente BARRÁNTES, "Las Mujeres de Filipinas," in *Las Mujeres Españolas Portuguesas y Americanas: Tales Como Son en El Hogar Doméstico, en Los Campos, en Las Ciudades, en El Templo, en Los Espectáculos, en El Taller y en Los Salones: Descripción y Pintura del Carácter, Costumbres, Trajes, Usos, Religiosidad, Belleza, Defectos, Preocupaciones y Excelencias de La Mujer de Cada Una de Las Provincias de España, Portugal y Américas Españolas [Digital Version]* (Madrid: Miguel Guijarro, 1876), 34–71, http://scholarship.rice.edu/jsp/xml/1911/20705/494/aa00030tr.tei.html; Pedro GROIZÁRD, *Manila Alegre: Periódico Festivo Ilustrado*, Año 1 (Escolta 18: Imp. La Industrial, 1885), Deciembre 6, Num. 1.

[81] *Ilustración Filipina Periódico Quincenal*, Año I (Manila: Imprenta y litografía de Ramírez y Giraudier, 1859), fig. India Elegante, 1859 Setiembre 1, Num. 13, p. 103.

[82] The Justiniano Asunción's album found at the New York Public Library (NYPL) appears to be authentic. Florina Capistrano-Baker wrote about the collection in the *Philippine Star* on December 15, 2003. The album was exhibited in the Ayala Museum, Manila in 2004. Ambeth Ocampo wrote an article about the exhibit in the *Philippine Daily Inquirer* on October 1, 2004. Florina H. CAPISTRANO-BAKER, "Embroidered Multiples: Nineteenth-Century Philippine Costumes and Images," in *Embroidered Multiples: 18th-19th Century Philippine Costumes from the National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden, The Netherlands* (Makati, Metro Manila: Royal Netherlands Embassy and Ayala Foundation, Inc., 2007), 23–25; Justiniano ASUNCIÓN, *Justiniano Asunción Album of Philippine Costumes*, Watercolor, 1841, Stephen A. Schwarzman Building / Art and Architecture Collection, Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs, New York Public Library, http://digitalgallery.nypl.org/nypldigital/dgkeysearchresult.cfm?parent_id=573817&word=; Ambeth OCAMPO, "Two Exhibits," *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, October 1, 2004, sec. Opinion: Looking Back; Florina CAPISTRANO-BAKER, "Justiniano Asunción's Album of Watercolors Mirrors 19th Century Philippine Life," *Philippine Star*, December 15, 2003, http://www.philstar.com/arts-and-culture/231734/justiniano-asuncion%C2%92s-album-watercolors-mirrors-19th-century-filipino-life.

[83] Domingo's *tipos del país* all looked very similar to each other. Damián DOMINGO, *Colección de Trajes de Manila y de Las Provincias Inbentado por D. Rafael Daniel Baboom y Dibujado por D. Damián Domingo Director de La Academia de Dibujo por La Real Sociedad Económica de Estas Islas Filipinas No. 3.o*, January 1833, Mr. Paulino Que Collection, Dr. Eleuterio Pascual Collection and Ayala Museum and Library, Makati, Metro Manila.

were, after all, high-grade sinamay or jusi that could pass as piña.[84] It was also difficult to trace the origins of the garments because clothes were not commonly labeled. Impeccable workmanship spoke volumes of the patience and skill of the sewer or the embroiderer but without labels, it was impossible to determine whose handiwork they were. In addition, since many of the well-preserved pieces mainly belonged to the elite, most collections were not really representative of the clothing of the majority of the Filipinos.

One of the limits of the periodicals as a source is, like photography, many of the fashion sketches were in black and white, hence, it was not be possible to use them to envision the burst of colors in native clothing much admired by foreign writers.

There were also strong parallelisms between the written content of Fernando Fulgosio's *Crónica de las Islas Filipinas* (1871) and Jean Mallat's *Les Philippines* (1846). It can be surmised that Fulgosio based his work on Mallat.

There were also some confusion with regards to cloth and clothing terms. In *Discovering Art in Spain*, piña was described as a "gossamer fabric that combines the short leaves of wild pineapple plants with imported silk."[85] The author must have confused piña with jusi because piña textiles were made exclusively of the Spanish red or *visaya* variety, whereas jusi is woven by combining silk with other types of fibers, like cotton, piña and abacá.[86]

In her interactions with both primary and secondary sources, the main problems encountered by the researcher could be summarized as mislabeling, inaccurate terms, wrong attributions and biased captions or textual descriptions. She approached them with an awareness and understanding of their limitations and prejudices, learning to distinguish objective descriptions from opinions along the way. Using eight types of primary sources also allowed her to compare iconographic with written sources. She addressed problems with incoherence and imprecision especially with regards to terminologies through cross-referencing, discussions with her mentor and interviews with museum curators.

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[84] Quoting Linda Welters: "The variety of fabrics produced in the Philippines makes identification of piña cloth confusing. Not all fabrics said to be piña cloth contain pineapple fiber, despite seemingly reliable information from donors." Microscopic tests of fibers from selected fabrics catalogued as piña at the Peabody Essex Museum revealed that of the 12 19th century fabrics tested, only two proved to be piña. Eight were silk and two were cellulosic, possibly abacá. WELTERS, "Dress as Souvenir: Piña Cloth in the Nineteenth Century," 18.

[85] *Discovering Philippine Art in Spain* (Manila: Department of Foreign Affairs and National Centennial Commission-Committee on International Relations, 1998), 2–7.

[86] There were four varieties of pineapple, namely, the Spanish red, the Hawaiian, the Queen of Africa and the Buitenzorg. Only 1 out of this 4 varieties was grown for its fiber. "The Spanish red may have the worst appearance but it provides the most valuable fibers. A pineapple consists of 75% waste fiber and 25% future textile." *See* (-), *La Piña: El Tejido del Paraíso*, sec. Thread by thread, step by step, p. 53.

Chapter Summaries

Part I provides an introduction to the study. This introduces readers to the theoretical framework and methods used.

Part II presents a description of how the three dominant racial groups (Spanish, indio and mestizo, Chinese) that made up Philippine colonial society dressed in the 19th century. Clothes are used to understand Philippine society and the interactions between racial groups and between social classes. A study of sartorial similarity and diversity between varying social classes and racial groups reveal that clothes have a social purpose and is therefore, significant in reading and understanding social relations and ways of life in colonial Philippines. Various authors have associated the history of clothing with the history of struggle and social discrimination[87] thus, it is worth exploring how social inequality was reflected in manners of dressing and what social perceptions and judgments emerged from the way people dressed. **Part II** seeks to answer what the value of clothing and appearance was in colonial relations and in turn, how clothing choices were influenced or shaped by the types of social relationships formed at that time.

An analysis on the marked contrast of the sartorial appearances of the 19th century "Filipinos" and "Filipinas" have not been substantially undertaken. Iconographic sources of that period often showed a "Filipino" in a Western suit with his wife dressed in local dress. An awareness of gender through a study of their nuanced dressing habits and patterns is imperative in understanding the context of this visual representation. What does this sartorial differentiation represent? What does this say about the power relations within the family? Through a study of the separate worlds of masculine and feminine dressing, in their public and private lives, chapter three discusses how clothes reflect gender roles, relations and issues of 19th century Philippines.

The **first chapter** provides a broad historical context to Philippine colonial society. This discusses clothing against the backdrop of evolving racial, class and social relations. Under the sub-section *Social and Sartorial Mobilities*, clothes were studied to observe if changes in fortunes, by virtue of economic, cultural, social and symbolic capitals were expressed sartorially. Furthermore, operating under the assumption that clothes visually linked Catholicism and civilization, the clothing of lowland, Christianized natives were juxtaposed with the non-Christianized groups.

[87] ROCHE, *The Culture of Clothing: Dress and Fashion in the 'Ancien Regime*, 84.

The **second chapter** presents the evolution of the clothing of lowland, Christianized natives, organized by gender and by class. The individual clothing pieces were considered as separate but at the same time, parts of a whole. This proceeds with the description of the developments of general women and men's clothing. This discussed the evolution of native fashions in the context of the changing roles and images of women, evolving gender roles and relations, man's relationship with labor and clothes at a time of increasing population, migration and prosperity. The clothing of the mestizos was also analyzed to trace the influences that helped shape the culture --including dress culture-- that developed among them. As a class, the mestizos were generally portrayed as wealthier, well dressed and better-looking, which may have led to the idea that urban culture was mestizo in origin.

Without claiming to be comprehensive, the **third chapter** uses anecdotes to discuss how the creoles, the Spanish and Europeans dressed in the colony. This explores how their experiences in the Philippines shaped their clothing choices. Drawing on foreign travel accounts, this looks into the value of clothes for those who sought to establish themselves in the colony and the meanings behind their retention of European styles or their full or limited adoption of native fashions. Survey of their appearance reveals how they negotiated being white in Western suits amidst a predominantly brown milieu.

This chapter continues to discuss the meaning of the clothing and appearance of the Chinese in the Philippines. This explores how they were different, why they retained their peculiar dress and hairstyles and how they were perceived by the wider society. This looks into the existing structures of Philippine colonial society in order to explain the motivations behind the somewhat miserable appearance of some Chinese. Drawing from a vast number of sources, both pictographic and literary, which portrayed them in a range of social situations, their identities as Chinese seem to have prevailed in a society widely engrossed in social imitation and theatricality.

Part III. The third part analyzes how the clothing was linked to social distinction in Philippine colonial society. **Chapter four** attempts to show how clothing stood at the crossroads of cultural conversations on the multiplicity of human motives: pomp and pageantry in connection with modesty and propriety. Sub-divided into three parts, **chapter four** first delves into how colonization and Catholicism influenced the clothing and culture of appearances of 19th century Philippines. Considering the influence of the Catholic Church and the friars permeated through almost all aspects of Philippine colonial life, this questions what role they played in propagating values relating to decency and respectability, which in turn, influenced the way people dress? Using novels and manuals of etiquette written by

priests, this chapter then looks for evidences, in an atmosphere of paseos, tertulias, bailés, on how Catholic teachings helped shape social conventions and local habits relating to hygiene, modesty, and propriety. Finally, after analyzing clothing in different social and private contexts, elements that represented the spectrum between everyday and special wear were analyzed in light of whether genre distinctions were penetrable or not.

Chapter five shows how clothing stood at the crossroad of diminishing and emerging power. This articulates the clothing of gobernadorcillos, children, male and female students and the Ilustrados in light of the evolving meanings of power and wealth. Sub-divided into two sections, the first part showed how the changing clothes of the gobernadorcillos signified power and authority based on the earlier ethno-social categories. The decline of the power of gobernadorcillos coincided with the rise of the Ilustrados, whose clothing and appearance reflected wealth and power based on the new socio-cultural class categories.

The clothing of the gobernadorcillos as cultural examples of colonial servicemen were particularly interesting for they were literal examples of those caught in between colonizer and colonized. The evolution of the attires of the gobernadorcillos was analyzed in the context of a changing colonial society. The gobernadorcillos, with their western-style coat-tails, are interesting subjects for they were recognized by the Spanish colonial regime but at the same time, they were discriminated as locals. This chapter then proceeds by highlighting the role of clothes in the struggle for some semblance of national recognition and identity. The Ilustrados, born from some of the Philippines' most prestigious families but were studying and living in Europe in the 1800's, will be studied especially since by fashioning European clothing, they sought to create an image of the Filipino community in Europe not as the effeminate, inferior, primitive, uncivilized indios they were taunted as, but rather, as the distinguished *los indios bravos*, characterized by courage, high education and bourgeois heterosexual manliness. Through various old photographs, these *soi-disant* Ilustrados asserted national pride by portraying themselves as equals of their colonial masters through their impeccable manner of dressing, their confident stance, their extravagant appearance, their choice of 'aristocratic' sports, and even, their outward show of courage and honor by challenging condescending Spaniards to duels. Succinctly, they would be viewed as 'fashioning nationalism' in their quest for national self-assertion.

Part V articulates as to what extent were tastes, clothing –and subsequently, market demand - influenced by the Spanish and/or by extension, Western culture? If and when the aristocracy in Spain also made use of textiles imported from the Philippines will be worth exploring as well, especially through the careful use of colonial photographs and a survey of

museum inventories of actual clothes and fabrics. This section studies the convergence, diffusion as well as the dissociation of vestimentary paths. This likewise explores the cyclical nature of fashion and the growing internationalization of clothing, meaning the "West" influenced Philippine tastes and production and in turn, Philippine luxury products, specifically textiles, graced some European homes and wardrobes.

The domestic production, distribution and consumption of Philippine textiles and clothing will be studied in **chapter six.** Along these lines, an understanding of the histories of the component parts of the textile and clothing trade is imperative. The reconstitution of an aspect of the 19th century Philippine economy was approached from a study of producers, traders, consumers of Philippine textiles as well as the tailors that transformed them into clothing. This chapter also articulates the appearance –and image-- of those involved in the clothes trade (from clothes workers to business owners) in relation to their day-to-day lives in order to understand how economic promotion operated at that time.

Chapter six also documents the advancements in the clothes trade –of how changes in tastes were addressed with new types of imports, new type of cloth and clothing and new experiences in shopping. This chapter is linked with chapter two, which discussed the increasing role of print media and how it was used to promote not only fashion but European tastes, hispanized images and Catholic values.

PART II Dress in Philippine Colonial Society

Chapter 1 Historical and Colonial Context

19th century Philippines was a stratified colonial society based on race and class and clothing offered insights into the wearer's backgrounds. A careful look at the details such as textiles and fine embroideries often differentiated the wealthy from the poor. Expensive fabrics like piña and the addition of elaborate adornments were used by the well off to legitimize their social standing.

Colonial societies were recognizable by the separation between races and social classes.[1] In the Philippines, the colonial government nurtured the prejudices that pervaded the various racial and social groups. Spain's approach was rooted on the belief that unity amongst the colonized may threaten their power and control over the islands.[2] It was therefore not surprising that separate communities, with varying degrees of sociability, were maintained.

Racism was embedded within the norms and customs promoted by the colonial system.[3] Racial factors like facial features and skin color created a discriminating environment that transcended wealth and class. In Philippine colonial society, fair skin was associated with the colonizing group and dark skin was associated with the colonized. As a way of preserving their place on top of the social hierarchy, Spain brought to its colonies the idea that "color determined not only a person's racial classification, but also his position in the social economic and political hierarchy."[4] *Limpieza de sangre* or purity of blood was highly emphasized in 19th century Philippines. Ethnic or racial hierarchies have been represented in relation to demographics in the triangular or pyramid configuration typical of colonial societies.[5]

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[1] "The Colonialist system forbids assimilation of the natives, whose numerical superiority, if they had voting rights, would shatter the system." Jean-Paul SARTRE, "Introduction," in *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, by Albert MEMMI, trans. Howard GREENFELD, 1 vols. (London and New York: Earthscan Publication Ltd, 2003), 17–25.

[2] "The guiding principle of Spanish colonial policy was to set one class against another and to prevent either from becoming too powerful." JAGOR, "Jagor's Travels in the Philippines," chap. III, XIII.

[3] "Racism is built into the system. It is ingrained in actions, institutions, and in the nature of colonialist methods of production and exchange." SARTRE, "Introduction," 19–20.

[4] DIOKNO, "Chapter Six: The Making of the Filipino," 111.

[5] As Albert Memmi pointed out, "the pyramid is the basis of all colonial societies." *See* MEMMI, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, 10; CAPISTRANO-BAKER, "Embroidered Multiples: Nineteenth-Century Philippine Costumes and Images," 18; DIOKNO, "Chapter Six: The Making of the Filipino," 111–112.

The smallest population made up of Español-Peninsulares or Español-Europeo (Spaniards or Castila born in Spain) were on top of this pyramid, followed by the Spaniards born in the Philippines, the Insulares (otherwise referred to by the mainland Spaniards as hijos del país, Español-Filipinos, or simply Filipinos)[6], then the mestizos de español, the offspring of mixed parentage, particularly Spanish-indio. As descendants of Spaniards, Spanish mestizos qualified for the same legal rights as the Spanish *vecino* or citizen.[7] When fair and 'blonde,' some Spanish mestizos could, and would even pass themselves off as pure-blooded Spaniards.[8] Collectively, the small Spanish community, made up of peninsulares, insulares and mestizos de español, formed the ruling or colonizing elite, who were exempted from tribute or head tax. Allied with them but existing within the peripheries of the colonial class system were the Europeans and Americans living in the colonies, usually for purposes of business or trade. They maintained a separate community with fellow Caucasian expatriates but were often mingling with the ruling class or the socio-economic elite.[9]

Constituting the base of the pyramid was the bulk of the colonized population made up of indios or naturales (native inhabitants). Further down the hierarchy were the Chinese, who were historically treated with contempt but were, nonetheless, seen as subjects with whom tax revenues could be drawn from. The limited number of Chinese who came to the Philippines was predominantly men, between the ages of 20 to 35 years old.[10] Many of them intermarried with the locals and in time, their children formed the influential and wealthy group of Chinese mestizos or mestizos de sangley (offspring of Chinese-indio parents). As their numbers multiplied in the 18th century, a separate class of mestizos was established,

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[6] Nolasco stressed that the term Filipino was used differently during the Spanish period. Citing Sinibaldo de Mas, the term Filipino was applied in the 19th century to refer to Philippine-born Spaniards. Meanwhile, the natives were referred to as Indios or Indias, not Filipinos. While previously, chroniclers used the term hijo de Españoles, hijos del país, natural de Filipinas, criollo, in the 19th century, Spaniards born in the Philippines were identified as Filipinos, for example, in the works of Wenceslao Retana, Fernando Fulgosio, José Montero y Vidal, Sinibaldo de Mas and Manuel Artigas y Cuerva. *See also* MARCHE, *Luzon and Palawan*, 33; ABINALES and AMOROSO, *State and Society*, 86; Clarita T. NOLASCO, "The Creoles in Spanish Philippines," *Far Eastern University Journal* XV, no. 1 and 2 (September 1970): 1,2,5.

[7] DIOKNO, "Chapter Six: The Making of the Filipino," 111–112.

[8] ABINALES and AMOROSO, *State and Society*, 98.

[9] Memmi referred to the white, non-Spanish community as colonials, "who were neither colonizer nor colonized…but who by the mere fact of skin color, were guaranteed kith-and-keen privileges decreed by the colonial power." Quoted from Memmi and Gordimer. It must also be added that several Western authors (Gironière, Mallat, Marche) have all observed that natives made no distinctions between Spaniards and other Caucasians. MEMMI, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, 54–58; GORDIMER, "New Introduction," 31; MARCHE, *Luzon and Palawan*, 56.

[10] Daniel F. DOEPPERS, "Destination, Selection and Turnover among Chinese Migrants to Philippine Cities in the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of Historical Geography* 12, no. 4 (1986): 384–385; Richard T. CHU, *Chinese and Chinese Mestizos of Manila: Family, Identity and Culture, 1860s-1930s* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 67.

resulting to a four-tiered legal classification that distinguished the Spanish, indios, Chinese and mestizos.[11]

Although mestizo was used as a general term to refer to any biracial children, it was important to note that in the context of 18th and 19th century Philippines, it was used mainly to refer to mestizos de sangleys, whose numbers were more significant compared to its Spanish counterparts, who were, in any case, classified together with the Spanish group.[12] If the numbers were accurate, the recorded number of 7,000 Chinese men in 1810 were said to have produced close to 120,000 mestizo children.[13] In 1877, the 23,000 Chinese accounted for 290,000 mestizos. Mixed race births of Chinese parentage roughly numbered 12 to 17 mestizos. As French scientist Alfred Marche, who was in the Philippines between 1879 and 1885, remarked, "Tagalog mixed with Chinese, one meets them everywhere."[14]

Meanwhile, compared to the Chinese mestizo population, the Spanish mestizos would remain disproportionately low. Owing to the low number of Spaniards arriving from the mainland, their numbers would remain negligible at 0.9% of the population. This was based on the rough approximation presented by Don Luis Aguado, a long-term Spanish resident of the Philippines, in a pamphlet published in Madrid called *Filipinas' Fundamental Problem*.[15] In his 1891 figures, out of an estimated total population of 8 million, the Spanish community was made up of only14,000 peninsulares, 8,000 insulares and 75,000 Spanish mestizos.[16]

The Colonizers

In 1741, the four-tiered classification (Table 1) based on race was institutionalized and legalized.[17] Spanish, indios, Chinese and mestizos became terms of legal status,[18] with varied geographic directives, tax obligations and social associations attached.[19]

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[11] WICKBERG, *The Chinese in Philippine Life, 1850-1898*, 2000, 31.
[12] Ibid., n. 9, p. 7; DIOKNO, "Chapter Six: The Making of the Filipino," 112.
[13] CHU, *Chinese and Chinese Mestizos of Manila: Family, Identity and Culture, 1860s-1930s*, 66–67.
[14] MARCHE, *Luzon and Palawan*, 35.
[15] Frederic Henry Read SAWYER, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines* (London: Sampson Low, Marston and Company Limited, 1900), 415, http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/38081; VAN DEN MUIJZENBERG, *The Philippines through European Lenses*, 69.
[16] Based on the figures of Fr. Joaquin, the population increased from 1.5 million in 1800 to 7.7 million by 1899. Fr. Joaquin MARTÍNEZ DE ZÚÑIGA y DÍAZ DE ILARRAZA, *Estadismo de Las Islas Filipinas O Mis Viajes por Esto Pais, Tomo Primero* (Madrid: n.p., 1893), vol. 2, p. 115; SAWYER, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines (1900)*, 415; VAN DEN MUIJZENBERG, *The Philippines through European Lenses*, 69.
[17] VAN DEN MUIJZENBERG, *The Philippines through European Lenses*, 66.
[18] WICKBERG, *The Chinese in Philippine Life, 1850-1898*, 2000, 8.
[19] These classifications came with "subject to different rules with regard to taxation, assigned place of residence, possibilities of movement, dress, permitted occupations, and access to legal institutions." The establishment of separate administrative divisions *(gremios)* in many of the Philippines towns in the 18th century facilitated governance and tax collection. The *gremio de mestizos* (literally, guilds of mestizos) – distinct from the *gremio de chinos cristianos* and *gremio de naturales*—which was set up in 1741 was a worthwhile venture for the

The colonizers, understood as the ruling class, were composed mainly of the superior race of Spaniards (whether born in Spain, in the Philippines or in Spanish Americas) and Spanish mestizos. They were free from tax and labor obligations in the colony. Since natives at that time made no distinctions between the different types of Europeans, all who were white were looked at as part of this group.[20] Foreign travel literatures were filled with accounts describing the questionable origins of some of Spain's representatives in the colonies. Many of them were, in fact, considered as Spain's undesirables – quite ignorant and uneducated – who were sent to populate the colonies.[21]

To a considerable extent, every Spaniard regarded himself superior and privileged in the colony and every Indio a second-class citizen, regardless of his wealth.[22] It also did not help that white was the aristocratic skin color. Their sharp features and fair skin were highly regarded in a colony mainly populated by thick-lipped and brown-skinned indios with rounded nose. The indios themselves have developed preferences for fair skin. It was quite customary for *mediquillos* (folk doctors)[23] and midwives to rub warm coconut oil on newborns to protect them from getting dark. Little indio girls, fortunate enough to be born "by God's will, almost white and blonde," were the kind considered as beautiful in the colony, often being chosen to appear in religious processions dressed as cherubims.[24] However, these pretty little indio girls have shown propensities to become darker as they grew older, most probably due to sun exposure as they went about their daily activities.

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colonial government, especially since mestizos were taxed twice as much as the natives. There is a *Gremio de Naturales* document (in Spanish), which contained a register of names, ages, and amount of tribute paid for the year 1872, kept by Joaquin Cambronero in an official capacity for the town of Leon. Joaquin Cambronero served as Juez de Policia de Leon, a municipality in Iloilo Province between 1867 and 1869. VAN DEN MUIJZENBERG, *The Philippines through European Lenses*, 66; Gerard CLARKE, *Civil Society in the Philippines: Theoretical, Methodological and Policy Debates* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 136; Joaquin CAMBRONERO, "Gremio de Naturales (Document, Signed: Leon, Philippines, 1872)," 1857 to 1877, Harvard University Library (call #: MS Span 24), http://oasis.lib.harvard.edu/oasis/deliver/~hou01828.

[20] GIRONIÈRE, *Adventures in the Philippine Islands*, chap. VIII, p. 181; MARCHE, *Luzon and Palawan*, 56; DIOKNO, "Chapter Six: The Making of the Filipino," 112.

[21] JAGOR, "Jagor's Travels in the Philippines," chap. IV.

[22] MEMMI, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, 9, 55.

[23] Mediquillos, translated as little doctors, were folk healers with no formal training in medicine. D. Vicente BARRÁNTES, "Spanish, Portuguese, and American Women: As They Are in Their Home, in the Fields, in the Cities, in Church, during Festivities, in the Workshop, and in Salons: Descriptions and Pictures of the Character, Customs, Typical Dress, Manners, Religion, Beauty, Defects, Preoccupations, and Qualities of Women from Each of the Provinces of Spain, Portugal, and the Spanish Americas [Translation]," 1876, 47, http://scholarship.rice.edu/jsp/xml/1911/20705/494/aa00030tr.tei.html; Jean-Baptiste MALLAT, *The Philippines: History, Geography, Customs, Agriculture, Industry and Commerce of the Spanish Colonies in Oceania* (Manila: National Historical Institute, 1983), 284; ÁLVAREZ GUERRA, *Viajes por Manila à Tayabas*, chap. XI.

[24] BARRÁNTES, "Spanish, Portuguese, and American Women (1876)," 47.

Those who maintained their fair complexion took pride on the fact that it distinguishes them from the indios and their characteristic brown skin.[25]

Feelings of superiority were also shared by non-Spanish Europeans, Fr. Pedro Chirino, S.J., writing in the 1600s, mentioned how the "natives soon came to long for the honor which might be theirs from associations with the Spaniards, and from serving them with their industry and lands- not only providing them with what was needed for their sustenance, but acting as guides and exploration and conquest of the other islands as far as Manila…"[26] Frenchman Alfred Marche, writing about his experiences in the Philippines between 1879 and 1883, mentioned how he and his fellow Europeans "departed from custom and obliged an indio bride and groom to dine at their table to honor them."[27] His description of this act of kindness of letting the indio couple -- who prepared a feast of twenty meat dishes and around thirty desserts for their guests – join their table betrays a condescending spirit. It sounded as though the gesture was done in a way that was below their level of importance.

The Colonized

Unlike the colonizing group whose members were predominantly white, the colonized population consisted of two principal groups: indios and Chinese mestizos. The brown-skinned indios formed the bulk of the population while the Chinese mestizos made up roughly six percent of the total population.[28] In the margins of society were the Chinese cultural minority. Preserving their own customs and communities in the Philippines, they would be regarded in this study as outside the mainstream clothing culture.

Considered as part of the colonized population were the mestizos, particularly, by strength of numbers, those of Chinese-indio descent. As the mestizos established burgeoning business in Manila and in the provinces, they increasingly became influential, both, economically and socially. As a result, the label or the term mestizo began to acquire a

[25] MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1846, 65.
[26] Pedro CHIRINO, S.J., "Relacion de Las Islas Filipinas," in *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898*, ed. Emma H. BLAIR and James A. ROBERTSON, trans. Frederic W. MORRISON, vol. 12: 1601–1602 (Cleveland: Clark, 1903), chap. 3.
[27] MARCHE, *Luzon and Palawan*, 56.
[28] This was based on the figures in 1877, which placed the Chinese at 290,000 in a mean Philippine population of 5.5 million. G. William SKINNER, "Creolized Chinese Societies in Southeast Asia," in *Sojourners and Settlers: Histories of Southeast Asia and the Chinese*, ed. Anthony REID, Kristine ALILUNAS-RODGERS, and Jennifer Wayne CUSHMAN, Southeast Asia Publications Series,, No. 28 (St. Leonards, NSW: Allen and Unwin, 1996), 55; WICKBERG, *The Chinese in Philippine Life, 1850-1898*, 2000, 135; CHU, *Chinese and Chinese Mestizos of Manila: Family, Identity and Culture, 1860s-1930s*, 67, 70.

certain prestige.[29] Perceived as having higher income capacities and as "a class wealthier than the indios," their tax obligations were double than the indios, but less than the Chinese, whose tax liabilities amounted to at least six times more.[30] Author Edgar Wickberg clarified though that this notion of prestige was mainly evident among mestizos (de sangley) in Manila, Central Luzon and in various *mestizerías* ("mestizo towns"), like Tambobong (Malabon) and Pasig in the province of Tondo, Biñan, Sta. Cruz and Pagsanjan in Laguna Province and Molo and Jaro in Iloilo Province.[31] Elsewhere, the prestige value attached to being a mestizo was less pronounced. Unlike in the *mestizerías* where people sought to change their status from indio to mestizo despite the added tax burden, there were records of people outside these main areas who did the opposite. They applied to have their status changed from mestizo to indio, in order to be relieved of the burden of paying double taxes.[32]

Between Colonizers and Colonized

Colonial societies were also distinguished by the relationship between the colonized and the colonizers, whose dress, habits and lifestyles were emulated by the colonized. The colonizers, regardless of their questionable origins, provided the cultural capital while the colonized sought to imitate them.[33] The Spaniards were aware that the indios emulated them in so many ways, from their practice of expressing love through serenades to their food, language and dress. While the colonizers may not have encouraged the imitation of their dressing habits, they may not have discouraged them either. Many of the indios and mestizos aimed not only to match but at times, even to surpass the appearance of their social superiors.

Treading between the world of the colonizers and the colonized were the native representatives of Spain. With the pomp, the pride and the parade stood the petty bureaucrat in the form of the principalía, the hereditary nobility of colonial Philippines. These members of the pre-colonial indigenous elite, the datus and their descendants evolved to become gobernadorcillos and cabezas de barangay under the colonial administration, functioning mainly as collectors of tributes for the Spanish crown.[34] The colonizers barely made up one percent of the Philippine population, they had to choose and mold 'colonizers' from among

[29] Like the Chinese mestizos, many Spanish mestizos also made considerable fortunes as middlemen, negotiating deals for provincial natives or foreign trading houses. FOREMAN, *The Philippine Islands*, chap. XI; WICKBERG, *The Chinese in Philippine Life, 1850-1898*, 2000, 34.
[30] WICKBERG, *The Chinese in Philippine Life, 1850-1898*, 2000, 136–137.
[31] Ibid., 34.
[32] Ibid.
[33] MEMMI, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, 57.
[34] ABINALES and AMOROSO, *State and Society*, 57, 86; Emma H. BLAIR and James A. ROBERTSON, *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898*, vol. 42 (Cleveland: Clark, 1903), 326.

the colonized.[35] Spain's native appointees were drawn from within this limited number of preexisting local elite.

The principalía, the gobernadorcillos, the cabezas de barangay and their respective families, represented the native aristocracy until the third quarter of the 19th century. They were described to have hardly socialized with the common people.[36] The need of the principalía to distinguish themselves from those 'beneath them' showed how they identified themselves with the colonizers and how they developed prejudices alongside Spanish culture.

As part of the governing class, the native principalía enthusiastically endeavored to establish themselves within the Spanish community by adopting their lifestyles, manners, mentalities and of course, dress. Clothing was one of the superficial ways in which they expressed themselves elegantly and showed their social eloquence as they co-existed with their colonizers. Yet, they remain as members of the colonized with their accents and broken or 'kitchen' Castilan, which many Spaniards would condescendingly describe as rubbish.[37] They knew that powerful and propertied as they were, "they will never be colonizers, but they rejected the values of the colonized as belonging to a decayed world from which they eventually hoped to escape…they displayed proud disdain for the colonized and continually showed off their borrowed rank, which often belied a vulgar brutality and avidity."[38]

The colonial culture that developed also entailed a conscious strategy on the part of this native aristocracy to behave obsequiously in order to gain favor with their Spanish overlords. Effective relationships entailed "indirectness and courtier-like flattery, by blandishment and deceit."[39] In a parody of the groveling native principalía, Capitán Tiago, a Spanish-speaking, ex-gobernadorcillo in Rizal's novel *Noli me tangere* (1886), "always had an orchestra ready for congratulating and serenading the governors, judges, and other

[35] Since "colonizers cannot constantly supervise the colonized, the colonial situation manufactures colonizers as it manufactures colonies." The population of the Philippines has been estimated at 2.5 million in 1820 (Tomas de Comyn, cited in Diokno), 3.5 million in 1845 (Foreman quoting Gironiere) and more than 7 million by 1890 (Montero y Vidal, Sawyer). *See* SARTRE, "Introduction," 23; José MONTERO y VIDAL, *Archipiélago Filipino* (Madrid: Clark, 1866), 162–168; Emma H. BLAIR and James A. ROBERTSON, *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898*, vol. 17 (Cleveland: Clark, 1903), 336; SAWYER, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines (1900)*, chap. XXVII; DIOKNO, "Chapter Six: The Making of the Filipino," 112; FOREMAN, *The Philippine Islands*, chap. XXI.

[36] Paul de la Gironiere wrote that "every indian population is divided into two classes, the noble and the popular." The fact that the principalía reportedly did not socialize with the "common people" is indicative of how they viewed themselves as more superior. *See* CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 185, 189; GIRONIÈRE, *Adventures in the Philippine Islands*, 80.

[37] BARRÁNTES, "Spanish, Portuguese, and American Women (1876)," 41,50.

[38] MEMMI, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, 60.

[39] FEE, *A Woman's Impression of the Philippines*, chap. XI.

officials on their name-days, birthdays, birth, even deaths of their relatives!"[40] He thrived because he was ever ready to accommodate the requests of even the lowest Spanish officials and ever ready to present to them gifts of hams, turkeys and fruits imported from Europe and China. With Capitán Tiago as a cultural example, their efforts to please or placate were exposed as, more often than not, insincere, were done mainly for their own advancement, not to mention, to incite envy, mainly from people within their class.[41] As Capitán Tiago remarked, "You'll see! when Señor Linares is our son-in-law, we'll get into all the palaces! Everyone will envy us! Die of envy!"[42] This attitude --combining inferiority, opportunism and self-importance-- adopted by the wealthiest of natives kept alive the feelings of superiority of the Spanish and nurtured colonial biases.

The Evolving Colonial Class System

19th century authors have defined the class system of this colonized population in similar ways, albeit using different names. If Paul Gironière identified the two classes of indios and mestizos as noble and the popular,[43] others had simply used the medieval European terms of the aristocracy and the poor (but further added the term Spanish *caciquism* alongside aristocracy).[44]

But the introduction of commercial farming and the opening of the various Philippine ports to international trade in the second half of the 19th century created a class of new rich, which either became the middle class or the new elite.[45] After the Galleon Trade ended in 1815, the Spanish colonial administration turned their attention to agriculture by encouraging the cultivation of various crops, including among others, cotton, pineapple, banana, and

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[40] José RIZAL, *The Social Cancer: A Complete English Version of Noli me tangere from the Spanish of José Rizal*, trans. Charles DERBYSHIRE (Manila and New York: Philippine Education Company and World Book Company, 1912), chap. 6: Capitán Tiago, pp. 42–43, http://www.gutenberg.org/catalog/world/readfile?fk_files=1647578.

[41] In the defined social system of the Philippines, Fee observed that feelings between classes were not bitter; but within each class, jealousy is rampant." FEE, *A Woman's Impression of the Philippines*, chap. VIII.

[42] RIZAL, *The Social Cancer: A Complete English Version of Noli me tangere from the Spanish of José Rizal*, chap. 60: Maria Clara Weds, pp. 462–463.

[43] Similarly, Wickberg used the term notables and commoners. Paul Proust de la GIRONIÈRE, *Adventures in the Philippine Islands, Translated from the French, Aventures D'un Gentilhomme Breton Aux Iles Philippines of Paul de La Gironiere, Chevalier of the Order of the Legion of Honour...Revised and Extended by the Author, Expressly for This Edition* (London: Charles H. Clarke, 13, Paternoster Row, 1854), 79, http://name.umdl.umich.edu/AHZ9187.0001.001; WICKBERG, *The Chinese in Philippine Life, 1850-1898*, chap. 5.

[44] FEE, *A Woman's Impression of the Philippines*, chap. XVIII.

[45] Juan GUARDIOLA, "The Colonial Imaginary," in *El Imaginario Colonial. Fotografia en Filipinas durante el Periodo Español 1860-1898* (Barcelona: Casa Asia, National Museum of the Philippines y SEACEX, 2006), 257.

indigo, both for export and domestic use.[46] This required a new land-tenure and land-use system, with the goal to increase productivity through better use of one's land. This extended to the development of various household industries, from raising animals and planting fruit trees in the backyard to cloth weaving in the living room.

It can be said that the rise of Philippine society's middle class had its roots in this redirection of focus from Galleon Trade to agriculture. The galleons enriched the Spaniards and the *obras pias*,[47] but certainly not the mass of *tao* that made up the majority of the population. This new cash-cropping economy and land-tenure system contributed to an increase in the number of well-to-do natives and mestizos, with the capacity to educate their children in the colony and abroad. Native and mestizo landowners in Albay, Western and Central Visayas, Pampanga and Batangas involved in the export of rice, sugar, abacá and coffee became wealthy.

The second-half of the 19th century essentially saw society and its people coping with the changes that were taking place. Beginning with the British occupation in 1762-1764, the Philippines gradually opened up to world commerce. In 1834, the port of Manila was officially opened for trade and foreigners were granted residence in the Philippines.[48] The port of Iloilo in Panay was opened in 1855, followed by Cebu in 1863. The opening of these ports to foreign shipping allowed direct trade with foreign countries and exposed the local inhabitants to foreign influences.[49] Wealthy native families were able to send their sons and daughter to Manila and some, even to Europe to be educated and acculturated. New groups emerged --new elites or new middle class that would be defined not so much by race and money but by education, culture and attitudes. This also explains why John Foreman (1906), alluding to the divide between the ancient Roman citizens and the plebeians, used education to distinguish the *gente ilustrada* or the intellectuals from the illiterates.[50] These *provinciano* students, who once converged in Manila from different parts of the Philippines, would play a role in the diffusion of styles to the various local regions.[51] Classed within this group would

[46] ABINAL ES and AMOROSO, *State and Society*, 77; Benito J. LEGARDA, *After the Galleons: Foreign Trade, Economic Change and Entrepreneurship in the Nineteenth-Century Philippines* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1999), 101–145; Onofre D. CORPUZ, *An Economic History of the Philippines* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1997), 109–111.
[47] charitable institutions which financed the galleons. Ramon M. ZARAGOZA, *Old Manila (Images of Asia)* (New York, USA: Oxford University Press, 1990), 14 and 21 of 47.
[48] ABINALES and AMOROSO, *State and Society*, 75.
[49] "The opening of these ports stimulated trade and agriculture in the Visayas." Ibid., 77.
[50] FOREMAN, *The Philippine Islands*, chap. XI.
[51] WICKBERG, *The Chinese in Philippine Life, 1850-1898*, 2000, 130.

be the small circle of self-styled Ilustrado*s*, scions of newly enriched indio and mestizo families who benefited from this economic and social transformation.

Fueled by newfound financial confidence, this educated, cosmopolitan new elites were able to forge varying forms of relations with the Spanish and the foreign communities who resided in the colony. Poised and eager to demonstrate their enhanced status, they began to celebrate their financial and social success through fine clothes, feasts in their grand homes, imported things, as well as paintings and photographs of themselves. During an era when affiliations with the white community were further marks of status and prestige, their appearance and the parties they threw were tantamount to social investments, intended to establish connections with the friars, native principalía, Spanish bureaucrats, British and American traders, etc.[52]

Wealth, talents and literacy essentially facilitated the convergence of indio and mestizo cultural –and sartorial—identities.[53] Interestingly, they shared a common Spanish and Catholic heritage and were united by a shared desire to be identified with the ruling, more superior class, largely made up of the white community. In the process of development, native groups "adopted Spanish prejudices along with Spanish culture."[54] By embodying elements of the superior culture, the wealthy sought to bridge the gap between colonizer and colonized. As inter-ethnic relationships improved, the wealthy appeared to be closer, in terms of culture, language, attitude and way of life, to the colonizers than to the common *tao*. In many respects, as their tastes intersected with that of the colonizers, they inadvertently distinguished themselves from the rest of the colonized. Hence, the fundamental issue shifted from race to class.

Among the colonized, clothing as a composite of culture generally varied depending on socio-economic status and levels of hispanization or westernization. The elite and the new elites or middle class manifested a common sense of filipinized Spanish-ness or European-ness, particular to their class and social standing. The cultural hybridity that paralleled the racial hybridity of mestizos, for example, would make them important mediators in the transmission of tastes, attitudes, values and new styles to the lower class indios and to the

[52] Manuel BUZETA and Felipe BRAVO, *Diccionario Geográfico, Estadístico, Histórico de Las Islas Filipinas ... [Texto Impreso]* (Madrid: Imprenta de José C. de la Peña, 1850), vol. 2, p. 244; José Felipe DEL PAN, *Las Islas Filipinas: Progresos en 70 Años*. (Manila: Imprenta de la Oceania Española, 1878), 399–400; MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1846, vols. 2, p. 134–135.

[53] This led to what Wickberg dubbed as the "disappearance of the mestizo community" or what Doeppers referred to as the "decline of mestizo categories." WICKBERG, *The Chinese in Philippine Life, 1850-1898*, 2000, 134; Daniel F. DOEPPERS, "Tracing the Decline of the Mestizo Categories in Philippine Life in the Late 19th Century," *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society*, no. 22 (1994): 80–89.

[54] WICKBERG, *The Chinese in Philippine Life, 1850-1898*, 2000, 36.

different regions. This coincided with the increased migration of people to the metropolitan center of Manila,[55] which resulted not only to the gradual elimination of regional differences but also to the diffusion of urbanized norms and cosmopolitan fashions. In 1892, the completion of the 195 km Manila-Dagupan (Pangasinan) railway improved connections between Manila and northern Luzon.[56] This facilitated the travel of trendy indios and mestizos returning from Europe to selected local regions or "train station towns,"[57] either to visit family and friends or attend fiestas. Edgar Wickberg underlined the incidental role of these returning students who "traveled back and forth between Manila and Spain and between Manila and their home provinces" in the transmission of culture and styles.[58]

Although living in the world of poverty, the attires of many of the members of the common class showed that they were not that far removed from the broader clothing culture. The reality of a divided lower class meant they would exhibit varying degrees of hispanization and fashionability. Those who were working for foreigners and hispanized families were, for example, regular recipients of clothes and even jewelries. Others, like cocheros and houseboys, were "costumed" or dressed in attires imposed on them by their employers. Almost every poor indio invested on, at least, one set of special attire for festivals and other celebrations.[59]

The growing sense of cultural homogeneity between upper and middle class (or elite and new elite) indios and mestizos essentially blurred and altered identities previously determined by race and blood. This posed a challenge to the neat apartheid system established by the colonial authorities. Recognizing the fusion of the cultural systems of

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[55] Based on the figures of Fr. Joaquin Martínez de Zúñiga, the total population of Manila between 1800 and 1899 rose from 1.5 million to 7.7 million. In the decade between 1876 and 1886, there was a 90% increase in the population of Manila. MARTÍNEZ DE ZÚÑIGA y DÍAZ DE ILARRAZA, *Estadismo*, vol. 2, p. 115; John N. SCHUMACHER, "The World of 1896," in *The World of 1896*, ed. Lorna KALAW-TIROL (Makati: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1998), 2–4.

[56] The line opened on November 24, 1892, not 1891 as Fr. Schumacher had stated. Rizal used this line to visit friends in the northern provinces. For a map of the Manila-Dagupan Railroad, 1892, *see* Arturo CORPUZ, "Effects of the Opening of the Manila-Dagupan Railroad Line on Central Luzon, 1892-1939," *Journal of the Eastern Asia Society for Transportation Studies* 1, no. 1 (Autumn 1995): 59–72; SCHUMACHER, "The World of 1896," 9.

[57] The three train station towns that had the highest revenues were Manila, San Fernando (Pampanga) and Tarlac (the provincial capital). For the route map and for a complete listing of the train station towns, *see* CORPUZ, "Effects of the Opening of the Manila-Dagupan Railroad Line on Central Luzon, 1892-1939," 60–61.

[58] WICKBERG, *The Chinese in Philippine Life, 1850-1898*, 2000, 130–133; DEL PAN, *Las Islas Filipinas: progresos en 70 años.*, 347.

[59] For special occasions, like church festivals, men generally owned 3 main items: one fine shirt worth 1 peso or more, fine pantaloons worth 4 reales, one pair of shoes worth 7 reales; while women owned at least 5 main items: one fine camisa worth at least six reals, a mantilla (veil) for churchgoing worth another six reales, which is estimated to last for four years, 1-2 sayas of European cotton worth 5 reals each, 1-2 pairs of pairs of slippers (*chinelas*) worth at least 2 reals, underskirts (nabuas), two pieces for 2 reals. JAGOR, "Jagor's Travels in the Philippines," chap. 22.

indios and mestizos, the colonial government enacted a series of reforms, which began with the abolition of the tribute or head tax system. The tribute was replaced with taxes to be levied upon everyone, depending on income and properties, i.e. the *contribución industrial* (1880s). With this, the colonial government also abolished the legal classification of mestizo. As a result, the four-tiered ethno-legal classification (Spanish, indios, mestizos, Chinese) was reduced to a three-tiered system, which distinguished the Spanish, indios and Chinese.[60]

Late 19th century Colonial Class System

In light of the socio-cultural and economic changes discussed above, the clothing of the inhabitants will be framed following the social realities that developed in in the second half of the 19th century. The first class was composed of the aristocracy with money (*la aristocracia del dinero*),[61] which included among its members, both the working and the non-working rich. Álvarez-Guerra's use of the term *taga-bayan*, which literally meant urban-dwellers or belonging to the city, indicated that this class was characterized not so much by race anymore but by wealth, socio-cultural standing and more importantly urbanity, which as mentioned, was equated to a sophisticated filipinized Spanish-ness or European-ness.[62] Quoting Marya Svetlana T. Camacho:

> Handbooks or rulebooks of urbanity in the Hispanic world began to gain importance and popularity in the nineteenth century. They formed part of the diffusion of the concept of civilization or polish association with urban culture, emanating from Western Europe, which contrasted with the uncouthness of country life and ways… [63] Manila as the primary city of the Philippine Islands possessed a cosmopolitan character, which provincial port cities shared to some extent…Europeanized – that is Hispanic --culture was normative for the upper classes which enjoyed the privilege of urban residence. Aside from being informally learned

[60] WICKBERG, *The Chinese in Philippine Life, 1850-1898*, 2000, 140–145.
[61] To refer to the aristocracy with money (*la aristocracia del dinero*), he used the term *taga-bayan* (literally, urban-dwellers), composed of blue bloods (*la sangre azul*). ÁLVAREZ GUERRA, *Viajes por Manila á Tayabas*, chap. 3, pp. 65–68; Juan ÁLVAREZ GUERRA, *Viajes por filipinas de manila á marianas*, First edition (Madrid: Imprenta de Fortanet, 1887), chap. 6, p. 116, http://www.gutenberg.org/catalog/world/readfile?fk_files=1484164.
[62] "La India Rica," *La Ilustración del Oriente Revista Semanal*, Año II, no. 3 (January 20, 1878): 28 (text), 30 (engraving).
[63] Patricia LONDOÑO VEGA, "Cartillas y manuales de urbanidad y del buen tono, catecismos civicos y prácticos para un amable vivir," *Credencial Historia, No. 85*, January 1997, http://www.banrepcultural.org/blaavirtual/revistas/credencial/enero1997/enero2.htm; Cited in Marya Svetlana T. CAMACHO, "The Public Transcendence of Intimacy: The Social Value of Recogimiento in Urbana at Feliza," in *More Pinay than We Admit: The Social Construction of the Filipina*, ed. Maria Luisa T. CAMAGAY (Quezon City: Vibal Foundation, 2010), 295.

at home in its material and non-material dimensions, it was formally transmitted in major educational institutions for both sexes, the majority of which were located in Manila.[64]

In general, they were Spanish-speaking, highly-educated and well-connected. Distinctive also to those belonging to this class was the way they maintained their place in the social hierarchy, through the bearing and pride with which they carried themselves -- and their clothes, for that matter.[65] The members of this class came in many guises and skin colors but as mentioned by the author of the article "Las Principalas Modernas" in the periodical *La Moda Filipina,* they were united more or less by their "vanity and aristocratic aura of class superiority [translation]."[66] Women, for example, tried to emphasize their *urbanidad* or European-ness by wearing *botitos* (booties), instead of the embroidered *chinelas*, on grand occasions and despite the tropical heat, they wore stockings on events of less importance.[67] One must also be interested in subtle nuances to identify them. They would be recognized by the way they tied their tapís (overskirt) at the back instead of on the side, the quality of the silk they used in their *saya suelta* (loose skirts) and the quality of the embroideries in their piña camisas.[68] At church, where they went to see and be seen,[69] well-bred women were conspicuous with objects that spoke of their literacy, their wealth, and of course, their religion. They were never seen without their prayer book, their rosary of coral, silver or mother of pearl. Almost all of them have been in school to be educated to read, write, embroider and play music.

In reading 19th century periodicals and travel accounts, one could get a clear sense of a native population divided by wealth. The rich among them were essentially enjoined by an urban, "filipinized Hispanic or European culture,"[70] which could be articulated as elevated, tasteful and refined, in comparison to the common culture of the laboring mass of *tao.* Demonstrations of urbanity point to two things that unfolded in the second half of the 19th century. First, the transmission of European tastes in fashion and dress (*modas y atuendo*),

[64] CAMACHO, "The Public Transcendence of Intimacy: The Social Value of Recogimiento in Urbana at Feliza," 295.
[65] *El distintivo culminante en la taga-bayan, es el orgullo con que llevan y mantienen su jerarquía.* ÁLVAREZ GUERRA, *Viajes por Manila à Tayabas*, chap. 3, pp. 65–68.
[66] J., "Las Principalas Modernas," in *La Moda Filipina Periódico Quincenal Ilustrado*, Año 2, Num. 24 (Quiapo: Redaccion y Administracion, 1894), 2–3.
[67] ÁLVAREZ GUERRA, *Viajes por Manila à Tayabas*, chap. 3, pp. 65–68.
[68] Ibid., 65–68.
[69] ZARAGOZA, *Old Manila (Images of Asia)*, 49.
[70] WICKBERG, *The Chinese in Philippine Life, 1850-1898*, 2000, 136.

cooking, and furniture essentially altered or shaped the habits of the colonial elite.[71] Second, when the Education Reform of 1863 gradually came into fruition, the transmission of skills and knowledge moved away from homes to more social environments like schools. The culture of appearances began to be shaped by extrinsic factors, like for instance, peers and professors (many of who were European religious). This was also linked to the increasing number of well-to-do indios and mestizos, who converged in Manila to become educated.

With a native population increasingly gaining wealth and influence, it no longer made sense for *colegios,* which were originally established to lodge and educate Spanish orphans, to remain exclusive in only accepting children of a certain race. Schools of different types, from, *San Juan de Letran, Santo Tomás* to the *Academia de Dibujo*, for instance, also began offering scholarships to talented students, irrespective of race and class, even going so far as to sponsor some to pursue higher education in Europe.

With literacy and prosperity, social networks opened up to include people of varying racial backgrounds, all of which influenced, directly or indirectly, local clothing culture and practices. While previously status was marked mainly by ethnicity and wealth, the second half of the 19th century saw the emergence of new signifiers, such as the look of "*may pinag-aralan,*"[72]which included friendships, speech, clothing, as well as other forms of socio-cultural capital, like manners and conduct, knowledge and talents.

La clase pobre, meanwhile, referred to the plebeians or the mass of *tao*, which, in the hierarchy presented by Álvarez Guerra, occupied the lowest class. Many images of clothed individuals provided insights to the social circumstances of people within Philippine colonial society, in a way that highlighted the extremes –clothes distinguished the rich from the poor. It must be mentioned though that the clothing of the working mass of *tao*, deviated in relation to the nature of their work and their work environments. Accordingly, the outdoor laboring classes developed different clothing needs from the indoor laboring classes.

The everyday clothes of the laboring classes varied depending on the requirements and nature of their work. The coarse fabrics of the vendor's (*vendedora)* clothes --their rolled up sleeves, the shawls or headscarves which doubled as handkerchiefs to wipe away sweat, not to mention the wooden platform slippers *(bakya)*, umbrellas, and hats (*sombreros)* used to protect them from rain and mud --conveyed differences between the outdoor working classes from the better-dressed indoor workers.

[71] LONDOÑO VEGA, "Cartillas y Manuales de Urbanidad y del Buen Tono, Catecismos Civicos y Prácticos Para Un Amable Vivir."
[72] DIOKNO, "Chapter Six: The Making of the Filipino," 134.

The outdoor laboring classes examined in this study were represented by, but not limited to, female *buyeras, lecheras, panaderas, lavanderas* and by male *aguadores, cocheros, cuadrilleros, pescadores, lecheros, panaderos* and *lavanderos*. On the other hand, the indoor laborers were represented by the female domestics (*i.e., criadas, costureras, sastres, bordadoras*), factory workers (e.g., *cigarreras*), weavers *(tejedora),* shopkeepers (*tenderas)*, teachers *(maestras*) and by male weavers, shopkeepers, tailors (including *maquinista*s), and houseboys.

It must be noted that the indoor working classes, termed by the American schoolteacher Mary Helen Fee as the "more intelligent of the laboring class" were those who were involved in patron-client relationships with rich families.[73] Why they were better-dressed compared to their outdoor counterparts was articulated by turning to secondhand clothing. Practices like the passing down of garments and other personal items from employers to workers within their homes was a phenomenon not altogether unique to the Philippines of the 19th century. Some writers imagined these provisions to have been used by employers of some industries to further patron-client relationships.[74] In the agricultural sector, for example, it was common for landowners to supply whole families with, along with tools and implements, cloth and clothes.[75] While this entrenched workers to their debts, it likewise, fostered feelings of indebtedness, and even gratitude.

In the study of clothing using colonial art and photographs, the researcher was confronted with the problem of how to define the middle class in the Philippine context. Many authors have claimed that there was "no bourgeoisie, no commercial class between the rich and the poor."[76] Does the term middle class refer to those newly enriched in the cash cropping business? Do they refer to the professional class of teachers or engineers? Do they refer to the poor who changed status because of marriage?

The middle class in the hierarchy was referred to by Álvarez Guerra as *taga-tabi*, which literally translates to on the margins. They may be similar in appearance and may even be seen in the same parties but nuance would distinguish them from the eminent, highly-educated, well-traveled Filipinos who spoke Spanish and who had varied associations with the colonial government, with the church, and with the various racial groups. The members of this middle class had varied levels of education but in general, they hardly spoke proper

[73] Fee first arrived in the Philippines in 1901. FEE, *A Woman's Impression of the Philippines*, chap. XVIII: The Aristocracy, The Poor and American Women.
[74] Ibid., chap. XVIII.
[75] JAGOR, "Jagor's Travels in the Philippines," chap. 24, see footnotes.
[76] FEE, *A Woman's Impression of the Philippines*, chap. XVIII.

Spanish. Among women, they were characterized as those who, in order to achieve the status of *taga-bayan*, pursued vertical mobility through marriage with native colonial officials, many of whom possessed economic, cultural, social and symbolic capitals.

> The constant longing and the greatest dream of the *taga-tabi*, was to reach the rank of the taga-bayan. To fulfill these desires, they often sacrificed their happiness by marrying and linking their fates with former gobernadorcillos or cabezas de barangay, whose wives were given the place of a *taga-bayan* in the hierarchy[77]

In exploring the colonial hierarchy of appearances, the difficulty and complexity in defining a clear middle class lies on class fluidity and on the overlapping of social categories. The roles that social elevation or vertical mobility (i.e., through marriages, *see section on Social and Sartorial Mobilities*) played in the shaping of appearances had to be taken into account. Then there was the problem of where to locate those people who defied the existing conventions of dress, those whose appearance did not reflect their social, economic and political status, those who represented positions radically different from the rest of mainstream society and those whose sartorial habits have never been recorded.

Owing to the reality of fluxing categories wherein identities were blurred and could be altered, this study would show that real and tangible differences in clothing and appearances were apparent not so much between the elite and the middling classes, but between the elite and the poor. It was presumed that the elite -- and to a certain extent the intermediate classes-- shared common styles and standards relating to propriety and conduct, which were similar to the colonizing community and at the same time, different from the poor (*la clase pobre*).[78] This idea is illustrated through the contrasting image of a working rich and a laboring poor. The stature of a rich, pretty and fashionable mestiza who worked is not unfamiliar. The conditions, which shaped her lifestyle and appearance, were incongruous with the experiences and clothing needs of, for example, the street vendor.

One must be forewarned though that the period, which saw the mass of *tao* beginning to dress like the Caucasian colonizing minority --and by extension, the indio and mestizo elites or "new elites"— set off trepidation among the ruling class. Signs of Europe among the lower classes were perceived to have signaled the emboldened spirit of nationalism.[79] In the

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[77] *El constante anhelo, el desideratum de los sueños de una taga-tabi, es poder llegar al rango de las taga-bayan, á cuyo deseo, suele sacrificar no pocas veces su felicidad, uniendo su suerte á la de algún viejo capitán pasado, ó cabeza reformado, cuyas jerarquías dan á sus mujeres un lugar en el suspirado taga-bayan.* ÁLVAREZ GUERRA, *Viajes por Manila à Tayabas*, chap. 3, p. 65–68.

[78] ÁLVAREZ GUERRA, *Viajes por Filipinas de Manila à Marianas*, chap. 6, p. 117.

[79] Clothing changes among the poor were viewed as signs of both progress and unrest. ÁLVAREZ GUERRA, *Viajes por Manila à Tayabas*, chap. 3, pp. 65–68.

two decades before the outbreak of the Philippine Revolution (1896), moralizing novels that made use of "clothing symbolics"[80] were strategically written by Spanish priests to address the growing dissatisfaction of the mass population, which were already finding expressions in clothing. The clothing and attitude of the frocked indio guilty of mimicking the European way of life was used by Franciscan priest, Father Miguel Lucio y Bustamante, in his novel, *Si Tandang Bacio Macunat* (1885), to convey the polarity between the corrupted urbanized citizens of Manila and the simple folks in the countryside. In associating frock coats (*levita*) with the words *nakikipantay* or to be equal with, the real intentions behind the novel was unraveled.[81] In *Tandang Bacio Macunat*, iconic Western garments were endowed with the connotation of degeneracy or deculturation, as opposed to progress, cultural elevation or acculturation.

Clothing and Appearance in the Context of Evolving Social Relations

There existed varying degrees of segregation and motivations between classes and races, which was, in fact, nurtured by the colonial government. Discrimination, pride and envy pervaded the different racial and social groups. Philippine history was marred by enduring conflicts and competition, for instance, among men, between peninsular and insular, Spaniards and mestizos; and, among women, between indias and Castilians, indias and mestizas, etc. Observers like Secretary-General Vicente Barrántes commented that indias have been known to cherish occasions when Castilian women would envy them.[82] In particular, during an *emprentada* (serenade), it seems that the india was more excited to be seen by the Castilian women of her neighborhood than to actually listen to her suitors singing songs of love outside her window.

The lyrics of a 19th century *emprentada* (serenade) will be used to explore the lives and motivations of the native inhabitants of colonial Manila.[83] Titay presumed to be an india of the lower class found excuses to get rid of her Nanoy, an indio, most probably after having caught the eye of a *Castila* or a mestizo. Nora Tiñan, the ubiquitous sidewalk betel nut vendor (buyera), gossiped that one evening in Quiapo, Titay refused to chew the betel nut and eat the pansit she offered her. Coincidentally, she saw Titay later that night with another man in no less than a *pansitería* (Fig. 51)! On another night, she gossiped that she saw what

[80] The term "clothing symbolics" was borrowed from Roche. ROCHE, *The Culture of Clothing: Dress and Fashion in the 'Ancien Regime*, 403.
[81] Fray Miguel LUCIO y BUSTAMANTE, *Si Tandang Bacio Macunat* (Manila: Imp. de Amigos del Pais, Calle de Anda, num. 1, 1885), chap. 2, p. 8, http://www.gutenberg.org/files/15981/15981-h/15981-h.htm.
[82] BARRÁNTES, "Spanish, Portuguese, and American Women (1876)," 50.
[83] Ibid., 51.

appears to be one Castilian and two Tagalogs contending for Titay's attention by singing songs outside her window.

Several realities were captured in this *emprentada*. One was that of Titay, a poor but seemingly ambitious india who left her indio boyfriend to date a *Castila*, who may in fact be a mestizo. Titay, who kept company with sidewalk betel nut vendors and who went on dates in roadside pansiterías, was clearly part of the common *tao* that made up the colonized. Pansiterías were usually makeshift roadside eateries set up by ambulant Chinese vendors that served quick-cooking thick, long noodles called pansit (Fig. 51).[84] The aspiration of many native women to marry a European or specifically, a Castilian, could not be emphasized enough by Spanish writers. Vicente Barrántes wrote that many native young ladies hoped to attract a Castilian administrative employee, such as a defense lieutenant.[85] He added that for a young, orphaned Spanish girl or mestiza, life really begins when an employee who makes 1,500 to 2,000 pesos per year makes her his wife."[86] Mallat described how "everything the natives do is to please the *castila* for whom they avow a weakness: they are especially proud when they can say that they have a white skin…to distinguish themselves thus from the other indio women."[87]

The above *emprentada* also showed that inasmuch as there were forms of *sociabilités* exclusive to the rich, there were also locales and social spaces that were more particular to the poor. Certainly, there were those that could not be designated to one particular class. Cockpits, for example, drew in people from all walks of life, more particularly the middle class mestizos, who bred these fighting cocks. In social spaces, one could observe the way people dressed in relation to the setting, to the time of day, to the company they kept and to the relative dynamism of the scene.

A glimpse into the daily street life of Manila at the break of dawn would, for example, show *lecheras* (milkmaids), *zacateros* (sellers of grass feed for horses), *aguadores* (water carriers), *panaderos* (bread vendor) and Chinese grass cutters out early to make their deliveries. Majority of the clothed individuals who were out on the streets at that time of the

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[84] Nancy Reyes LUMEN, "Republic of Pancit," *Philippine Center of Investigative Journalism, The Investigative Reporting Quarterly iReport*, March 2005, http://pcij.org/i-report/1/pancit.html.
[85] Vicente Barrántes was a Spanish Secretary-General as mentioned by Jagor. Barrántes supposedly inspired José Rizal's creation of a character in his novel, Noli me tangere – that of "an important public official who falsely imprisons a rich resident of Tondo with the intent of extortion. The same character refused to rescue Maria Clara in the Epilogue." "Vicente Barrántes," accessed April 21, 2013, http://joserizal.nhcp.gov.ph/Biography/man_and_martyr/barrantes_vicente.htm; JAGOR, "Jagor's Travels in the Philippines," chap. 1.
[86] BARRÁNTES, "Spanish, Portuguese, and American Women (1876)," 36–37, 52, 67.
[87] MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1983, 293.

day were ambulant vendors. Except for those on their way to attend early masses, one could hardly expect to see people of upper class bearing on the streets at that time of the day. The milkmaids would be easily recognized because of the pots they carried over their heads while the rest balanced their baskets over their shoulders with use of carrying poles. A little later, there would be roving Chinese barbers who doubled as nose and ear cleaners. At cafés where German beers were available, native male waiters were dressed in all-white ensembles with their shirts characteristically worn outside-- a manner of wearing the shirt that Frenchman Alfred Marche had noticed was everywhere.

Attires of lower class women generally showed no flowing trains, materials were typically made of cotton, the construction was fairly simple,[88] the lengths of their skirts were generally shorter (Fig. 14C) and the textures were not as varied. Nonetheless, the attires of these native women, of whom the great majority belonged to the working classes were equally colorful and charming. One could see them everywhere, in the streets, at markets, by the sidewalks, outside churches, etc. It was observed that despite the simplicity of their attires, women showed much dignity and bearing, while standing and walking at least. This was partly due to the fact that as they made their living, they had to balance over their heads jars of water and baskets of vegetables, while walking in platform wooden clogs (*bakyas*, Fig. 44A), sometimes during rainy days when the streets were muddy and slippery. Adversely, in markets and in urban sidewalks, visitors had particularly taken notice of the squatting positions of vendors selling fruits, flowers, and even lottery tickets. The way women managed their clothes in crouching positions– that of gathering their skirts in between their legs—gave the impression of destitution and misery, like some form of beggary (Fig. 198), but at the same time, it revealed an intuitive concern for modesty and decency.[89]

Between the working women who were standing tall and the squatting ones was the familiar seated figure of the character mentioned in the earlier *emprentada*, the buyera (betel nut vendor, Fig. 44B). A common feature in the local street scene, buyeras generally came from common class families. Buyeras were recognized less by their clothes and appearance than by their informal, expanded role in society as the lifeblood of gossip and scandal. While grinding the ingredients for betel nut chewing, their ears and eyes were well in-tuned to the situations and events that surrounded them. Their little stands represented somewhat of a

[88] FOREMAN, *The Philippine Islands*, chap. XXI.
[89] Ebenezer HANNAFORD, *History and Description of the Picturesque Philippines, with Entertaining Accounts of the People and Their Modes of Living, Customs, Industries, Climate and Present Conditions (over 150 Illustrations)* (Springfield, Ohio: The Crowell & Kirkpatrick Co, 1900), 85, http://dlxs.library.cornell.edu/cgi/t/text/pageviewer-idx?c=sea&cc=sea&idno=sea192&q1=Philippines&node=sea192%3A1.2&view=image&seq=9&size=50.

micro social space, where the appearances and the interactions of different types of people could be observed.

Buyo, along with cigar, counted as the two main extravagances of the local population.[90] Almost everyone-- from indios, sangleys, mestizos to criollos-- got into this habit of betel nut chewing, which supposedly worked as a mild stimulant, digestif or breath freshener.[91] Neither edible nor potable, the betel nut was one commodity, which was available almost everywhere -- in markets, in the roadside *tiendas* (Fig. 99) or *carinderias* and in the approximately one thousand two hundred betel nut stalls in Manila and in the areas surrounding it.[92] The betel, related to the pepper plant, from which leaves (*icmo*) were used as a wrap for parings of areca nut (*bonga)* and lime (*apog*) are chewed, turning saliva into red. With continued use, this blackens the teeth, which was why women were reported to consume less of this than men. [93] One foreigner too many were, in fact, put off by the pretty *dalagas'* blood-stained saliva.[94] As might be expected, the buyera's modest stall --and her less than half a centavo *buyos* [95] -- drew in different characters of varying social backgrounds.[96]

Almost all depictions of buyeras showed them dressed neatly, with their hair tied at the back. Only one illustration by C.W. Andrews in *Ilustración Filipina* (1859) showed her with her hair down. Until the 1850s, they were generally dressed in simple baro, checkered saya and striped tapís. Occasionally, they were depicted with a checkered alampay, which must have functioned as a wipe as well. The attires of the late 19th century buyeras evolved with the general trends of the time. Their sleeves, too, billowed like the rest of the common class population.

They were characterized not so much by their appearance, but by the varied kinds of people who were drawn to them and their little stands. Buyeras were virtually inextricable from the men that surrounded them. There were supposedly three types -- or stereotypes-- of

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[90] JAGOR, "Jagor's Travels in the Philippines," chap. 14.
[91] GIRONIÈRE, *Adventures in the Philippine Islands*, chap. 2, pp. 38, 47; Maria Luisa CAMAGAY, *Working Women of Manila in the 19th Century* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press in cooperation with the University Center for Women's Studies, 1995), 29.
[92] Buyo-chewing was to Filipinos as gum-chewing was to Americans. HANNAFORD, *History and Description of the Picturesque Philippines*, 75.
[93] JAGOR, "Jagor's Travels in the Philippines," chap. 14.
[94] HANNAFORD, *History and Description of the Picturesque Philippines*, 75.
[95] In Jagor's time (1859-1860), cigars cost half a centavo (peso). By the time of Hannaford (published 1900), fine cigars cost four times as much at 1 centavo (dollars) or 2 centavos (peso) a piece; a pack of cigarettes cost the same as a single piece of fine cigar. JAGOR, "Jagor's Travels in the Philippines," chap. 14; HANNAFORD, *History and Description of the Picturesque Philippines*, 44.
[96] CORENE, "La Buyera," in *Ilustración Filipina Periódico Quincenal*, Año 1, Num. 8 (Manila: Imprenta y litografía de Ramírez y Giraudier, 1859), pp. 62–63.

men identified and associated with the buyeras, at least of Manila. The first were the idle ones, supposedly distinguishable by their white shirts, colored pants, shoes or slippers. Their appearance were completed by the wearing of a type of hat called *castorcillo de medio lado*, which Camagay has explained to be a "a hat made of serge or twilled worsted fabric, worn cockily to one side."[97] In the original Spanish text, these types of men were referred to as *ocioso,*[98] which in the native nuance, refers to nosey, annoyingly inquisitive ones, who tend to pry impertinently into other people's lives. Meanwhile, in its English translation, the term idle characterizes a lazy person who seem to have made a habit of avoiding work. It is not entirely clear what their attire conveyed – the description offered was insufficient to draw any significant conclusions, although the shoes is suggestive of having a little bit of money. This translation of idle or lazy also conformed to the Spanish perception of the "indolence of Filipinos (Fig. 220B)."[99] To deter them from hanging around their stalls, the buyeras imposed a fee on them if they wanted to occupy a seat while chewing their *buyo*, which hints they may have had some means to pay. Whatever may be the case, he certainly appeared to be deliberately wasting time. On that account, he stood for the unproductive and the aimless, who seem to offer nothing to society.

The second were the parasites or freeloaders, or *dapos* as the buyeras would call them. They were described as foolish men who appeared to be throwing their lives away, having neither anything to gain nor anything to lose. Judging from the odd combination of their attire –the hat with the clashing colors and patterns of the shirt and pants- it is likely that they were wearing the discarded clothing of someone well-to-do. Loitering around, habitually waiting for free *buyos*, they were often the recipients of the canny *buyera's* bitter and subpar *buyos*. This type, hence, represented the unwanted indigent.

The last were the elegant, wealthy, freedom-loving and independent *provinciano* (provincial), whose presence the buyeras were partial to. Instead of investing their time learning Castillan or Latin, some male students, most likely scions of a prosperous sugar trader from the south or sons of some provincial landowners, reportedly spent their days hanging around buyeras, flirting using what little Spanish they knew. They enjoyed these regular playful interactions with the buyera, whom they teasingly called *ñora* (short for *señora*), a mischievous yet gracious designation comparable to addressing someone as "my

[97] CAMAGAY, *Working Women of Manila*, 30.
[98] CORENE, "La Buyera."
[99] This phrase was based on the title of Rizal's work. José RIZAL, *The Indolence of the Filipino* (Madrid, Spain: Philippine Education Co., 1913), http://www.filipiniana.net/publication/the-indolence-of-the-filipino/12791881584668.

lady." Much to the buyera's delight, she would reciprocate their friendly joshing by serving and preparing for him some of her best *buyos*.

Although no description about his appearance was mentioned, his profile represented the playful and educated lads from the provinces, who on account of being away from their well-off family, had both the freedom and the money to fully enjoy their youth in the colony's capital. They could certainly afford to be well-dressed and well-groomed in an attire common among their peers. Since the 1840s, male students have been dressed in white pants, white shirt, white vest, dark blue or black jacket.[100] This westernized attire was a sharp contrast to the previous decades, when the students were dressed in loose, long-sleeved baro, tucked out of loose and straight striped pants. Peeping once underneath their transparent baros were glaring white and wide waistbands. A large European top hat and a little cravat completed their attires between the 1820 and 1840.[101]

There appears to be no difference in the appearance of the provincial buyeras in comparison to their Manila counterparts. Indicators to distinguish the provincial from the Manila buyeras could only be made out by observing the setting and the attires of the men surrounding them. Figuring prominently in at least four Lozano Albums, the paintings documented not only their appearance but also the appearance of those who joined them in their makeshift stands.[102] In *Detail of a Buyera*, a Lozano painting from his Broken Album (1847, Fig. 44B), a buyera was shown all coy and shy next to a guy, perhaps a suitor, offering sugarcane candy to her.[103] The male suitor's appearance did not fit any of the stereotypes associated with the Manila buyeras. This man, dressed in striped pants and striped shirt, either made of *guinara* or cotton, has, instead of a hat, a handkerchief tied to his head, which was more common among working men outside of Manila.[104] Looking at the tray on his hand, he was, most likely, a sugarcane vendor. Unlike most vendors, he had leather shoes on.

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[100] José Honorato LOZANO, *Nyssens-Flebus Album: Album de Manille et ses environs*, Watercolor, 1844 to 1846, fig. Estudiantes de las diferentes universidades, Christie's London 2002, http://www.christies.com/lotfinder/LotDetailsPrintable.aspx?intObjectID=272493.
[101] DOMINGO, *Colección de Trajes de Manila y de Las Provincias*, fig. Mestizo Student of Manila.
[102] José Honorato LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album: Album Vistas de Las Yslas Filipinas y Trajes de Sus Abitantes 1847 (View of the Philippine Islands and Costumes of Its Inhabitants)*, Watercolor, 1847, fig. India Buyera, BNE Sala Goya Bellas Artes; José Honorato LOZANO, *Broken Album*, Watercolor, 1847, fig. Detail of Buyera, Private Collection-Spain; José Honorato LOZANO, *Ayala Album*, Watercolor, 1850 to 1851, fig. India haciendo buyos en su lancape, Ayala Museum; José Honorato LOZANO, *Karuth Album: J.A. Karuth Album on the Philippine Islands*, Watercolor, September 2, 1858, fig. Betel Nut Seller on her Native Bed, Betel Nut Vendor and Sugar Cane, Filipinas Heritage Library, http://www.retrato.com.ph/list.asp?keyword=Carl+Karuth&searchby=OR&searchwhere=title.
[103] LOZANO, *Broken Album*, fig. Detail of a Buyera.
[104] JAGOR, "Jagor's Travels in the Philippines," chap. 22.

As buyeras were almost consistently depicted as inseparable from their patrons, they entertained enough customers to enable them to pay one peso a week to the person they borrowed money from to start their business. The young among them often had suitors around who supplied them with cigarettes and sometimes even money. But not all buyeras were young coquettes, many in fact ended up becoming wives of the *cochero* or the Chinese c*ocinero* (cook),[105] despite their ambitions of marrying a wealthy *provinciano* or a European, who would literally take them out of the streets. Regardless of their reputation as the gossipmonger of the community, the image of buyeras, grinding buyos the whole day, represented the countless hardworking females, who despite having no capital, learned to survive and thrive under their circumstances.

The 19th century saw social changes brought about by the economic progress and the growing internationalization of the Philippine islands. Within this dynamic century, society changed –social networks were expanding, styles and standards of dress were changing, measures of distinctions were evolving -- and people's tastes adapted with the Philippines' increasing connections to Europe and to the world. One gets a sense of a society eager to participate in the vitality of the era and of a people eager to display their newfound prosperity as a way of countering the colonial discriminations.

By the second half of the 19th century, as some sectors of the native population increasingly became wealthy and educated, society saw a corresponding increase in inter-ethnic relations based on class. The period was, socially, an exciting era filled with monthly *tertulias*, occasional *haranas* (serenades), annual fiestas, galas, *bailés* (balls) and even daily afternoon promenades. The increased intermingling between the various racial groups, usually within the same class helped shape the growing homogeneity in dress and styles. The styles fashioned by the colonizing groups would serve as cultural inspirations to the upper class natives. In turn, the urbanized and westernized upper class natives, including the returning students from Europe, would serve as models of culture to the other sectors of society.[106]

Interactions, rivalries and comparisons also became more of a class nature rather than a racial one. It was noted that between the rich and the poor, "feelings were not bitter, but

[105] According to Sawyer, a cochero working for foreigners earn around 12 dollars per month, while a master cocinero (cook) earns around 18 dollars per month. *See* SAWYER, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines (1900)*, 180; CAMAGAY, *Working Women of Manila*, 53.

[106] Quoting Wickberg, "cultural influences other than the specifically Spanish were felt. Broader influences came from two sources. One was from the returning mestizos and indio students who had studied and traveled in other parts of Europe other than Spain, and the North European and North American merchants residing at Manila." WICKBERG, *The Chinese in Philippine Life, 1850-1898*, 2000, chap. 5, pp. 131–133.

within each class, jealousy was rampant."[107] This was rooted on the class system established by Spain which was described to be "medieval, monarchial and reactionary," where within each class, feelings of rivalry and envy prevailed over feelings of solidarity.[108] For example, French scientist Alfred Marche stayed in the Philippines from 1879 to 1883 through the recommendation of his friend, Ferdinand de Lesseps,[109] the engineer responsible for the building of the Suez Canal. Through the strength of de Lesseps' letter of recommendation, Lieutenant-General Domingo Moriones y Murillo, the Spanish Governor-General of the Philippines, met with Marche and granted him permission to travel freely around the colonies, dispensing with the need for passports and customs baggage checks.[110] Foreign visitors, depending on their importance, were usually housed either in the *convento*, if the parish priest was European, in the homes of local dignitaries or at the *Casa Tribunal*.[111] Through his connections with the wealthy French community of Manila, the Spanish and native elite opened their doors to him.[112] In Albay, he met the Spanish alcalde Don Juan Álvarez Guerra, who gave him a copy of his two-volume book[113] In Sariaya (Tayabas), he was accommodated in the home of the gobernadorcillo.[114] His interactions were not limited to the Europeans, he also socialized with the native elite. For example, in Lucban, he stayed in the home of a wealthy and well-educated indio woman who he referred to as Señora Vicenta.[115] In Binangonan, he was invited to a wedding feast of a well-to-do indio couple.[116] In Daraga, the capital of Albay, he stayed with the Muñoz family, either creoles or mestizos,

[107] FEE, *A Woman's Impression of the Philippines*, chap. VIII.
[108] Ibid., chap. XVIII.
[109] Monsieur Ferdinand de Lesseps was featured on the cover of this publication. Abelardo de CÁRLOS, ed., *La Ilustración Española y Americana: Periodico de Ciencias, Artes, Literatura, Industria, y Conocimientos Utiles*, Año XIV, Num. 1 (Madrid, 1869), Deciembre 25.
[110] MARCHE, *Luzon and Palawan*, 29.
[111] Nick JOAQUIN and Luciano P.R SANTIAGO, *Nineteenth Century Manila. The World of Damián Domingo* (Manila: Metropolitan Museum of Manila, 1990), 58–59.
[112] Among the French contacts he mentioned were: Mr. Parmentier, Mr. Warlomont, supposedly an important trader in Manila, Mr. Dailliard and the French Consul Mr. Dedemaine. He also had Spanish friends, the likes of Colonel Francisco Coello, whom he described as "one of the most distinguished Spanish geographers." MARCHE, *Luzon and Palawan*, 28–29.
[113] Don Juan Alvarez Guerra was the Alcalde of the Province of Albay. He was a collector of native weapons. His *Viajes por Manila á Albay* was considered by Pardo de Tavera as "insignificant if not for the descriptions he painstakingly wrote about the places he visited." Marche met the Alcalde's wife, a sophisticated Spanish woman, well-versed in French. Alfred MARCHE, *Luçon et Palaouan, Six Années de Voyages Aux Philippines* (Paris: Librairie Hachette et Cie, 1887), 162; Juan ÁLVAREZ GUERRA, *Viajes por Filipinas de Manila à Albay*, First edition (Madrid: Imprenta de Fortanet, 1887), http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/12275.
[114] MARCHE, *Luzon and Palawan*, 74.
[115] Ibid., 69.
[116] Ibid., 56.

who were apparently wealthy enough to be able to send their sons to obtain their degrees in Paris.[117]

Connecting Clothing and Appearance with Race and Class

Despite the growing cultural and sartorial homogeneity, the culture of appearances that took root in the Philippines had embedded racial and class issues. The same attires could yield different results, depending on who was wearing them. It was often said that Spaniards looked with disdain on "any pretensions to knowledge and culture," on the part of the indios and mestizos.[118] The brown-skinned among the colonized, in being aware that they could not alter their physical features and skin color, have learned to manipulate their outward appearances in order to establish their status in Philippine colonial society. An unspoken assumption was that a dress, when worn by a fair-skinned española or mestiza, would be enhanced while the same dress on a brown-skinned india would be, in a way, diminished. Certainly, there were exceptions, which proves that the matter was more complex. An india who was beautiful, well-connected and wealthy and who also embodied the Spanish qualities of piety and modesty, –in short, the stereotype of *la india rica* or *la india de clase* (the rich india, Fig. 58)[119] --would look equally elegant in the same dress. With the strength of her background and upbringing, *la india rica's* poise and "Spanish-ness" would shape the perceived value of her dress. It was understood that she would accord the dress the quality it deserved. In the same way, an exquisite dress on a pretty but ordinary wage-earner --a *kayumangging-kaligátan*[120] for Tagalogs --would raise questions and cast doubts on the wearer's origins --and the provenance of her dress.

In colonies like the Philippines, oftentimes, it did not matter that a white man was poor and of low birth, the fact that he was white -- better yet, a full-blooded Spaniard or European, particularly born in Europe (*peninsular*)—would already render him desirable.[121] Fine clothes could conceal his poverty in the same way that those clothes could magnify his wealth. Ragged clothes on a white man would be deemed uncharacteristic of the masters of the colony and would, perhaps, lead one to wonder what misfortune may have befallen him.

[117] Ibid., 161–162.
[118] FEE, *A Woman's Impression of the Philippines*, chap. XI.
[119] The term *india* could not have referred exclusively to race or the purity of her race; rather, the term could have also been used to refer loosely to locals in general, some of who were partly of native blood, in other words, mestizos. "La India Rica."
[120] This term appeared in the *Noli me tangere*. It referred to the beautiful and attractive among the pure brown natives, typically of lower class background RIZAL, *The Social Cancer: A Complete English Version of Noli me tangere from the Spanish of José Rizal*, chap. 16: Sisa, pp. 109.
[121] NOLASCO, "The Creoles in Spanish Philippines," 7.

Meanwhile, ragged clothes on someone, irrespective of race or gender, exhibiting all the qualities of someone known to be truly rich and educated could be dismissed as the folly and eccentricity of the wealthy.

Clothes that seem too costly for one's status could be misconstrued as pretention – and pretension, whether deliberate or not, could muddle any sense of class distinction one may gain from looking at his/her clothes and appearances. A *criada* (servant) wearing the fine garments handed-down to her by her *ama* (mistress) on a fiesta could serve to confuse, thereby, contributing to the complexity of the subject on appearances. In her *ama's* fine clothes, could she be mistaken as a rich india *(una rica india)*? Visually, perhaps, but apparel must be supported and reinforced by other signifiers, like displays of knowledge during conversations, poise, speech, or more importantly, diction. Needless to say, clothes must also fit well, although problems in fit could easily be remedied since most women at that time possessed basic hand-sewing skills.

Other combinations could be explored, like what impressions or estimations may be produced by fine clothes on a well-to-do, well-educated but brown-skinned indio. Would fine clothes make him look pretentious because of his indio features? Would they assert his status, or, would his fancy clothes be overlooked because of what his physical features denote? Celebrated artist Juan Luna[122] was a proud, talented, and well-connected indio who, with his brown skin, thick lips, rounded nose was deemed by his mother-in-law, Doña Juliana Gorricho as rather "ill-matched" for her pretty, intelligent and elegantly-dressed mestiza daughter, Maria de la Paz Pardo de Tavera.[123] In many of the paintings and photographs of

[122] Juan Luna (b. October 23, 1847-d. December 7, 1899; age: 42) was born poor in Ilocos Norte. He obtained his Bachelor of Arts degree from Ateneo Municipal de Manila. To develop his painting skills, he trained under Lorenzo Guerrero and Spanish artist, Agustín Sáez. He also enrolled at the Escuela Nautica de Manila to become a sailor. In fact, he was a second mate working on board a sailing ship, when his artistic work was recognized and he was granted the opportunity to study in Rome. It was in Rome where he made the historical painting*, Spolarium*, which won him the gold medal at the *Exposición Nacional de Bellas Artes* in Madrid in 1884. The *Spolarium,* which depicts a bloody scene of dying slave gladiators being dragged from the arena, is believed to be an allegory of the oppressiveness that permeated through every area of Philippine colonial life. Among the Filipino *Ilustrados* living in Europe, Luna's triumph in the art world was, equally, a triumph over racial and colonial inequality. As Ambeth Ocampo (Chairman, National Commission for Culture and the Arts) wrote, the achievements of Luna and Félix Resurrección Hidalgo (who won silver medal) "proved to the world that indios could, despite their supposed barbarian race, paint better than the Spaniards who colonized them." FOREMAN, *The Philippine Islands*, chap. XI; Ambeth R. OCAMPO, *Rizal Without the Overcoat* (Anvil Publishing, 1990); Leon Maria GUERRERO, *The First FIlipino: A Biography of José Rizal* (Manila: Guerrero Publishing, 2007), http://books.google.fr/books?id=o5UU2gSFxgsC&printsec=frontcover&dq=The+First+Filipino&hl=en&sa=X&ei=Vv82U8WqD-qN0AX9m4CADg&ved=0CDAQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q=despujol&f=false.

[123] The Pardo de Tavera family were Philippine-born Spaniards, of noble ancestry. Racially, Paz was Spanish mestiza while Luna was indio. Racquel A.G. REYES, *Love, Passion and Patriotism: Sexuality and the Philippine Propaganda Movement, 1882-1892* (Singapore: NUS Press in association with University of Washington Press, 2008), 66; Ruby PAREDES, "The Pardo de Taveras of Manila," in *An Anarchy of Families:*

Luna, he always appeared poised and impeccably in Western clothes. From Doña Juliana's apprehensions, one could sense that his Malay features took precedence over any of the fine clothes he donned. In a statement made by Doña Juliana's son, Trinidad, endorsing to their mother, Luna's marriage to Paz, one could gain insights on the sort of associations people made with this type of physiognomy.

> Luna is not a vulgar indio or native, he is a civilized man, a great artist, talented and educated, we have nothing to fear of him.[124]

As one can see, despite the fine clothes and elegant bearing, Trinidad had to verbalize Luna's cultural standing and background to highlight his worthiness before Doña Juliana consented to the union. In any case, the couple married on December 8, 1886 and in a dramatic turn of events, Luna, who accused his wife of having an affair with a Frenchman, a certain Monsieur Dussaq, whom she met at Mont Doré, shot her and her mother on the morning of September 22, 1892 at their home, Villa Dupont, in Paris.[125] Carlos E. da Silva in his essay on *Juan Luna*, insinuated that he became suspicious with the clothes and the timing when, just shortly after the death of their infant daughter, his wife would go out wearing make-up and colorful attires instead of the somber mourning robes.[126] Ruby Paredes, who wrote about the *Pardo de Taveras of Manila*, noted the undercurrent of racial prejudice that loomed over the killings and Luna's consequent acquittal:

> "Juan Luna was a Filipino patriot, a talented painter who brought glory to his native land, an Indio and therefore, a real Filipino. The Pardo de Taveras were the wealthy, Hispanicized elite, incapable of being, or becoming Filipinos. His acquittal by the Parisian court was seen by the nationalists as the ultimate vindication of a Filipino hero and the defeat of the unfaithful."[127]

State and Family in the Philippines, ed. Alfred W. MCCOY (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1994), 347–417.

[124] *Luna no es indio vulgar, es un hombre civilizado, es un gran artista, tiene talenta, tiene educación, nada debemos temer de el*. See *Proceso: Seguida Contra El Parricida Juan Luna San Pedro y Novicio, Natural de Badoc (Filipinas) Discurso Pronunciado en La Audiencia del 18 Febrero de 1893 Par Maître Félix Decori-Abogado de La Corte de Apelation de Paris*, n.d.; Cited in REYES, *Love, Passion and Patriotism*, 66; fn. 72, p. 82.

[125] The date Reyes indicated contradicts with E. Arsenio Manuel's account of the murders, which he specified to have taken place on September 23, 1892. REYES, *Love, Passion and Patriotism*, fig. 12, p. 62; PAREDES, "The Pardo de Taveras of Manila," 393–395; E. ARSENIO MANUEL, "Luna y Novicio, Juan," in *Dictionary of Philippine Biography* (Quezon City: Filipiniana Publications, 1970), 240–266.

[126] Carlos E. DA SILVA, *Juan Luna y Novicio* (Manila: National Historical Institute, 1977), 16–21.

[127] According to Paredes, the Pardo de Taveras were "a very old Spanish family, their Philippine branch was at that time, only its third generation." PAREDES, "The Pardo de Taveras of Manila," 394–395.

Social and Sartorial Mobilities

In 19th century Philippine colonial society, clothing changes occurred between generations (inter-generational) and during the course of one's lifetime (intra-generational). Differences in wealth and status achieved between generations, or changes of fortune over the course of one's life, could --and have-- engendered changes in some people's appearance.

Intra-generational changes usually transpired as results of marriages between peoples of different races and classes. Marriage to Europeans, but not to Chinese, often enabled sartorial changes, mainly among india and mestiza women.[128] A good case in point would be a pure native woman (*pura de india*) or mestiza who displayed the traditions of her race by wearing the light and beautiful native ensemble --consisting of a skirt or *saya suelta*, an embroidered piña baro so short that it only fell above the navel, an ornamented comb (*peineta*), small earring and tiny slippers-- up until the time she marries.[129] This was substantiated by Álvarez Guerra, who observed that changes in clothing styles among indias and mestizas usually occurred following marriages to Europeans (*modificar trajes y costumbres, cosa que suele acontecer, casándose con europeo*).[130] Accordingly, they began adopting the dress and customs of the Castilians and some Spanish mestizos, in the same way that Doña Victorina in Rizal's *Noli me tangere* (1886) endeavored to change not only her clothes but her entire appearance, after her marriage to the timid and penniless Spaniard, Don Tiburcio de Espadaña. She dabbled with her hair and skin color, by creating false curls – a contrast to the typically tied hairstyle of native women-- and putting on an incredible amount of makeup to make her appear more white.

Marriages seem to have marked a point when a woman must decide how she wished to dress and in a way, how she wished to be perceived and which racial group or class she hoped to be associated with. A creole woman in a *traje del país* in everyday life could suggest marriage to indio or mestizos. Certainly, there were also marriages and changes in status that did not have sartorial consequences. A mestiza de sangley who married a Chinese or indio usually retained her mestiza status. Born and raised in the colony, she was already dressed in the native Philippine style, fashionable among the local population at that time. One could hardly expect her to dress in the styles fashionable in China.

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[128] Foreman noted that india women were often alienated from the social connections of their Spanish husbands. But nonetheless, she is "raised slightly above her own class by the white man's influence and contact. This incongruous alliance," Foreman further observed, "diminishes the dignity of the superior race by reducing the birth-origin of both parents to a common level in their children." FOREMAN, *The Philippine Islands*, chap. XI.
[129] ÁLVAREZ GUERRA, *Viajes por Filipinas de Manila à Albay*, chap. 1, pp. 22–23.
[130] *la mujer india casado con un Europeo.* ÁLVAREZ GUERRA, *Viajes por Manila à Tayabas*, chap. 13, p. 213; ÁLVAREZ GUERRA, *Viajes por Filipinas de Manila à Albay*, chap. 1, pp. 22–23.

It can be surmised that shifts-- from native to European dress styles—mainly occurred following marriages to Europeans, and not to Chinese. Shifts that occurred during an india or mestiza's lifetime demonstrated intra-generational clothing mobility. In turn, the decision she made could possibly influence the next generation in her family, leading to inter-generational clothing mobilities. Mestizo youths were thought to generally affect the culture and customs of their mother.[131] As native women tend to appropriate European styles upon marriage to Europeans, their children would, predictably, be dressed in their mothers' chosen form. As will be demonstrated in the section on children's clothing, the style of a child's clothing would typically be consistent with that of his/her mother. This brings to mind that to understand the colonial culture of appearances, one could not disregard the race and culture of the parents and their wider family. As children grew older, they would experience their own intra-generational transformations within their own lifetimes while at the same time, reinforcing inter-generational style differences.

In articulating how clothes displayed intra-generational changes and inter-generational differences, fluctuations in fortune must also be considered. Clothes have been observed to signal changes in fortunes, by virtue of economic, cultural, social and symbolic (i.e. government positions) capitals. People moved up and down the colonial social hierarchy through improved incomes (either by individuals or by their families), literacy or education and marriages. Money, industry, higher education, and unions have qualified and enabled mobilities among the inhabitants, essentially creating fluid intermediate classes, which blurred existing racial and class distinctions.

There were also sources that suggest, directly or indirectly, that as the economy progressed, native and mestizo landowners in Albay, Western and Central Visayas, Pampanga and Batangas engaged involved in the export of rice, sugar, abacá and coffee,[132] benefited from this newfound prosperity and had the money to invest in their appearances. It is assumed that this economic and social elevation, called for a change in dress, or at the very least, an update. However, changes in clothing and appearances were often not implicit, for they were, in many instances, found in the subtle details, such as the use of a better grade of piña textile or the employment of more complex embroideries.

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[131] *Las costumbres de la mestiza por regla general, son las mismas de su madre. La impresiones, hábitos y costumbres de la infancia no se borran con facilidad…* ÁLVAREZ GUERRA, *Viajes por Filipinas de Manila à Albay*, chap. 1, pp. 22–23.
[132] SCHUMACHER, "The World of 1896," 2–3.

Jagor observed a connection between the rise of sugar export prices and the increase in the demand of luxury fabrics like piña among Negros and Iloilo planters.[133] He wrote that the rise in sugar prices from $1.05 to $1.25 per picul in 1854 to $4.75 to $5.00 per picul in 1868 Iloilo and Negros was accompanied by a "vast improvement in people's mode of dress."[134] More people were seen wearing luxury fabrics like piña, leading him to remark that an "advance in luxury is always a favorable sign." Many planters managed to upgrade their style and lifestyle from the exportation of sugar to Europe.[135] As colonial society increasingly became affluent with more people being able to afford affluent lifestyles, the piña weaving industry flourished in proportion. Similarly, there were links between the Lipa coffee boom[136] and the increasing appearance of stylish mestizas with large, sparkling jewelries in elegant Manila theaters. The prosperity that the coffee boom brought to the families who participated in that industry enabled many young lads and maidens to enjoy the attractions of the capital city.

Other amusing examples showing the link between social elevation and appearance was the case of Don Tiburcio de Espadaña in Rizal's novel *Noli me tangere* (1886). Additionally, a distinguished looking man, some unnamed financier, who around 1901 was enjoying social prestige, was whispered among Capiz's oldest families to be once garbed in tattered pants.[137]

People were also known to have applied for official changes in legal status—changes, which entailed higher tax obligations. In Rizal's *Noli me tangere* (1886), Capitán Tiago was actually an indio who bought for himself a place in the wealthy *Gremio de mestizos de Binondo* in order to establish himself as a Chinese mestizo, a label which represented wealth and an urbanity associated with Spanish-ness or European-ness.[138] One could imagine how the change of status from indio to a higher class of mestizo found expressions in clothing and lifestyles.

Changes arising from changes in fortunes, marital and legal status must, however, not be confused with changes in the cut, silhouette, color, fabrics and overall dress style.

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[133] JAGOR, "Jagor's Travels in the Philippines," chap. 23.
[134] Ibid.
[135] SCHUMACHER, "The World of 1896," 2.
[136] Lipa enjoyed 20 years of prosperity before the coffee blight of 1889. MARGARITA, "Las Alhajas de las Lipeñas," *La Moda Filipina Periódico Quincenal Ilustrado*, February 28, 1894, 24 edition, sec. Algo de Moda, Hemeroteca Municipal de Madrid.
[137] FEE, *A Woman's Impression of the Philippines*, chap. XVIII, pp. 232–249.
[138] James A. LE ROY, *Philippine Life in Town and Country by James A. Le Roy | Questia, Your Online Research Library* (New York: Oriole Editions, 1973), 186–195, http://www.questia.com/library/1328094/philippine-life-in-town-and-country; WICKBERG, *The Chinese in Philippine Life, 1850-1898*, 2000, 137.

Women's clothing, in particular, steadily evolved over the course of the 19th century with the development of more sophisticated techniques in embroidery, the introduction of new technologies and new patterns, and the importation of new textiles. Changing sensibilities arising from the way men and women related to each other may have also influenced what was considered as acceptable lengths and acceptable skin exposure.

Clothing, Catholicism and Civilization

Ang magandanglalaqui huboma ay mariguit
Even though naked, gentility will show itself[139]

In the 19th century, notions of civilized and uncivilized, which developed alongside the evolving concepts of propriety and *urbanidad*, were captured or realistically characterized in a Tagalog-Spanish *sainete* by the poet and dramatist Francisco Balagtas y de la Cruz (1788-1862).[140] In his 1860 comedy, *La filipina elegante y negrito amante* (The Elegant Filipina and the Amorous Negrito), the leading man was a self-proclaimed dandy and loverboy, Capitán Toming, a loincloth-wearing, pagan Aeta or Negrito (Fig. 1C)[141] who fell madly with Menangue, a pompous lowland Tagalog girl sarcastically presented in the title as the elegant Filipina.

For the duration of Capitán Toming's courtship, he practically wore all of the different garments that represented the different racial and cultural groups that inhabited the Philippines. As an Aeta, he was marginalized as unconverted and therefore "uncivilized."

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[139] Sir John BOWRING, *A Visit to the Philippine Islands* (London: Smith, Elder and Co.,65, Cornhill, 1859), chap. XIX: Popular Proverbs, p. 289, http://books.google.fr/books?id=Je1GAAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=sir+john+bowring+a+visit+to+the+philippine+islands&hl=en&sa=X&ei=Zf6IUdzlJeeL7Ab4toHwCw&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=sir%20john%20bowring%20a%20visit%20to%20the%20philippine%20islands&f=false.

[140] A *sainete* was a Spanish-inspired one-act comic play, performed soulfully with music. Francisco Balagtas would adopt the last name Baltazar, following the 1849 Edict of Governor-General Narciso Claveria y Zaldua that natives should have Spanish last names. He was born in Bigaa, Bulacan before moving to Tondo, Manila to work as a houseboy. The children of Balagtas indicated that the first production of *La Filipina elegante y Negrito amante* was in 1860. Tomas Capatan HERNANDEZ, "The Emergence of Modern Drama in the Philippines (1898-1912) and Its Social, Polical, Cultural, Dramatic and Theatrical Background" (Doctor of Philosophy in Drama and Theatre, University of Hawaii, 1975), 56.

[141] The Aetas or Negritos are the flat-nosed, thick-lipped, kinky-haired aborigines of the Philippines often discriminated for their very dark color. They were called negroid dwarfs for they were, on the average, only 4 feet 8 inches tall. They were usually depicted scantily-clothed, according to Hannaford, "mostly of strips of bark or wild-boar skin and the more dudish may sport knee-breeches of horsehair." Ibid., 55; Antoine-Alfred MARCHE, *Luzon and Palawan*, trans. Carmen OJEDA and Jovita CASTRO (Manila: The Filipiniana Book Guild, 1970), 34; SAWYER, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines*, XXII, pp. 201–207; Ebenezer HANNAFORD, *History and Description of the Picturesque Philippines, with Entertaining Accounts of the People and Their Modes of Living, Customs, Industries, Climate and Present Conditions (Over 150 Illustrations)* (Springfield, Ohio: The Crowell & Kirkpatrick Co, 1900), 22–23, http://dlxs.library.cornell.edu/cgi/t/text/pageviewer-idx?c=sea&cc=sea&idno=sea192&q1=Philippines&node=sea192%3A1.2&view=image&seq=9&size=50.

Each time, Menangue, who condescendingly looked down on her little "black" Negrito suitor, kept turning him down. He first came to see her, bearing gifts in a *bahag* or loincloth, which must have petrified someone shallow and superficial as her. So Capitán Toming abandoned the *bahag* in favor of the Tagalog mestizo clothes (*damit mestizong Tagalog*, Fig. 81, Fig. 166) and even wore a wig to conceal his kinky, woolly hair. When that did not do the trick, he reinvented himself again, this time into a Chinaman by wearing the characteristic loose shirt and wide-legged pants *(baro't salawal intsik,* Fig. 132, Fig. 133, Fig. 147*)*. He even came with a present but still that failed to impress her. He then wore the Balanggingi Muslim warrior's attire (*morong Balanggigi*, Fig. 1B), hoping that through his clothing, he may be able to insinuate valor and heroism. His last recourse was to appear as a Spaniard. In dramatic and uproarious fashion, the adorable Aeta wore the *levita* or *levites fracs* (Fig. 207A, Fig. 208), a fitted European-style, long-sleeved, knee-length frock coat with a center slit at the back, as he appeared at the *plaza mayor* where he worked as a street cleaner.

> Am I not elegant? Do you know why I am wearing these fine clothes?" he asks his fellow street sweeper, Uban.
>
> "You look ridiculous in that suit of yours," his friend replied, to which the audacious and cheeky Capitán Toming retorted, "I am now Spanish in form and fashion; Spanish enough, Uban, to be loved by the beautiful Menangge.[142]

Before he got into this *levites fracs*, he already went through at least four sartorial transformations, which represented not only the different racial types but to a certain degree, the progression of civilization as well as the evolving concepts of modernity or *urbanidad*. In a *bahag* (Fig. 1I), only his private parts were covered, and he was seen as uncivilized and primitive.[143] As an Aeta (Fig. 1C), he stood at the peripheries of colonial society but in dressing as one of the conquered or semi-conquered subjects, he integrated into the rest of the colonial population. Being fully covered in *mestizo, sangley* and *moro*'s clothing, his appearance was deemed acceptable, he looked civilized, but, he still looked unmodern or

[142] Francisco BALTAZAR, "La india elegante y el negrito amante," Sayneteng wikang Tagalo na sinulat sa tula ni Francisco Baltazar at nilapatan ng tugtugin ni Gregoria San José (Udyong, Bataan, 1855), Unpublished Manuscript, Philippine National Library; Francisco BALTAZAR, "La india elegante y el negrito amante," trans. Ignacio Manlapaz ENRIQUEZ and A.V.H. HARTENDORP, *Philippine Magazine*, November 1932; Francisco BALAGTAS y DE LA CRUZ, "La india elegante y el negrito amante (The Elegant Native [Woman] and the Negrito Suitor, 1860). A Tagalog-Spanish Sainete in One Act.," in *Kun Sino Ang Kumatha Ng "Florante" [Who Wrote "Florante"]*, ed. Hermenegildo CRUZ (Manila: Libreria 'Manila Filatelico, 1906), 161–175; Cited in Racquel A.G. REYES, *Love, Passion and Patriotism: Sexuality and the Philippine Propaganda Movement, 1882-1892* (Singapore: NUS Press in association with University of Washington Press, 2008), 11–13.

[143] There were some Negritos in Palawan who were scantily dressed in only one piece of garment called *salipan*, a loincloth made of the inner bark of a tree. It is important to note that some Negritos who frequently interacted with the lowland, Christianized Filipinos wore clothes, which they would put on before entering villages. SAWYER, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines (1900)*, chap. XXII, pp. 201–207.

unsophisticated. Finally, more than just covered, he was dressed in layers – in unnecessary layers no less. In a European gentleman's coat, he hoped to be perceived, especially by Menangue, not only as civilized but more importantly, modern and sophisticated. Now, for him, his ingenuous transformation was complete.

But, needless to say, the love story did not end there. Even with a coat, he was everything but a Spaniard. A monkey, however richly dressed is after all, but a monkey, as the popular proverb goes.[144] He thought he could make her fall in love with him by changing his outer appearance (*labas*). Through Menangue's hollow judgments, man's (or woman's) tendency to be superficial and self-serving was exposed. Meanwhile, the more the enamored and well-meaning Aeta hero carried on trying to dress to impress, the more his backwardness, naivité, and lack of sophistication were emphasized, which was what made this the perfect comedy of manners.

Channeled into this comedy was the sardonic representation of the Filipino's fondness for imitation, ostentation and display. After repeated attempts to model himself after the "other Filipinos," the short, thick-lipped, kinky-haired Aeta decided to model himself after the fair-skinned Spaniards to assure himself of the greatest victory in love. With every rejection, he lamented by singing the *kundiman*, the moving love song of the Tagalog. In song, Capitán Toming poured out his heart, his soul and the depths of his despair. In the end, it was his essence *(loob)*, not his appearance, which won him the girl. Through the purity of his intentions and his idealism, he unassumingly embodied the ideal self *(loob)*.

Through the character of this lovesick Aeta, Francisco Baltazar created a character so lovable spectators would certainly root for. In the character of Menangue, the aspiring colonized was typified, but, with her eventual acceptance of Capitán Toming's love, her humanity unfolded. With her epiphany and in her going beyond appearances, her true self shined through.

As exemplified in the *sainete* above, clothing was one of the ways by which one's level of civilization may be announced and demonstrated.[145] For the Spanish colonizers, the unconquered and uncoverted, many of whom were naked or partially naked, were considered

[144] A similar proverb in Spanish which goes like this, *unque la mona se viste de seda, en mona se queda*, which translates to "though clad in silk, the monkey is a monkey still." BOWRING, *A Visit to the Philippine Islands*, 288–289.
[145] ROSS, *Clothing: A Global History*, 84.

uncivilized and wild.[146] The meaning of civilization, is, however, "vague, often signifying little more than a conformity to their own ideas in dress and manner of living."[147]

The governance of a multicultural colonial society like the Philippines was based on the degree of "interactive acculturation"[148] with Hispanic culture, which distinguished between *gente de razón* or *grupos cristianos* (Hispanics and Christianized) and *gente sin razón* or *idolatras* (non-acculturated natives, non-Christianized, which included the Muslims and the highland tribal groups). Operating under the assumption that clothes visually linked Catholicism with civilization, varied states of dress formed one of the basis for categorizing the civilized *gente de razón* as separate from the scantily clad, uncivilized *razas salvajes* (savages).[149] Those who were covered or fully covered following the Western ideas of coverage, were Christianized and therefore civilized, while those who were not converted were uncivilized. Clothing conformity was viewed not only as allegiance to Catholicism but also to the colonial regime.

Before a detailed discussion of the evolution of styles that developed among the lowland, Christianized sector of society, it is important to understand why and how they were different from the non-Christianized groups.

Non-Christianized Natives

The archipelagic geography of the Philippines made full conquest a challenging endeavor for Spain. Due to the fragmented nature of the islands, the highland tribes of Northern Luzon, Palawan and Mindanao as well as the Muslims groups in Sulu were not subdued by Spain and were, therefore, isolated from Western influence for an extended period of time.[150] There was no separation between church and state in Spanish policy and since conversion of natives to Catholicism was one of the primary objectives of colonization, the predominantly Islamicized groups of Mindanao were disconnected from the developments that occurred among the majority of the converted lowland population.

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[146] SAWYER, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines (1900)*, chap. XXII: Aetas or Negritos, pp. 201–207.
[147] ROSS, *Clothing: A Global History*, 85.
[148] This term was borrowed from Richard y. BOURHIS, "Towards an Interactive Acculturation Model: A Social Psychological Approach," *International Journal of Psychology* 32, no. 6 (1997): 369–86.
[149] ÁLVAREZ GUERRA, *Viajes por Filipinas de Manila à Marianas*, chap. 3.
[150] There were different classes of Aetas, Itas, Igorots from Ilocos Sur to Cagayan, Nueva Viscaya and Nueva Ecija, as well as Negritos from the mountains of Mariveles, Zambales. A subgroup, the Mayoyaos, were referred to as one of the more ferocious Igorot tribes. LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 65: Igorrote de Mayoyao; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 240–241.

The pagan tribes or *idolatras* as they were labeled by some Spanish writers,[151] consisting mainly of the Aetas or Negritos, Gaddanes, Igorotes, Tinguianes in Luzon and the Moros and Bagobos in the South, developed their own tastes, weaving traditions and clothing cultures, distinct from the mainstream society of the *grupos cristianos*.[152] The word Igorot was also used as a generic term to refer to individual communities considered different from natives who were converted, Hispanized and civilized enough to be fully and properly clothed.[153] Since they did not recognize Spanish domination, "neither the pagan nor the Moro indigenes ever submitted to wear the yoke of the Christian white man."[154] French traveler Pierre Sonnerat (1782) mentioned that, in the late 18th century, people in the mountainous regions of the Philippines were still in a savage state.[155] The Aetas, especially, were described as the "savage tribe closest to Manila, which practices the purest traditions of the aboriginal race."[156] These mobile groups who typically avoided interactions with other people were believed to have remained rather undomesticated. Aside from cooking pots and some bows and arrows, they were described as not civilized enough to be using any utensils.[157] As a group, these different tribes have been classified as wild races and as idol-worshipping heathens in the mountains *(taga-bundok)*, who paid no tribute to the Spanish colonial administration. The Negritos who also paid no tribute were considered as outside the sphere of influence.[158] Trade and interactions with them, as with other independent tribes, were historically punishable by one hundred blows and two years of forced labor.[159] As a result,

[151] The image of Busaos (idolatras de los montes de Luzon) were nonetheless classified as one of the *tipos Filipinos*. *La Ilustración del Oriente Revista Semanal*, Año II (Manila: De J. Oppel, 1878), Enero 27, Num. 1, p. 6.

[152] Many of the works of Félix Martinez were classified in the MNA as "grupos cristianos," to distinguish from his works depicting minority groups, like aeta hunters and warriors, igorots from the Cordilleras and moros from Jolo (i.e., call numbers CE1264, CE2370, CE2374, CE2377). Félix MARTÍNEZ y LORENZO, *Mestizo Español*, Watercolor, 1886, Museo Nacional de Antropología, Call #: CE3796.

[153] DIOKNO, "Chapter Six: The Making of the Filipino," 135.

[154] In Mindanao, civilization, at least according to the Spanish concepts of civilization, were "confined to the Spanish towns scattered along the seacoast and various rivers." Barrántes also mentioned that these independent tribes have, "in their own way, accepted Spain's administrative organization," as separate and distinct from them. HANNAFORD, *History and Description of the Picturesque Philippines*, 126; BARRÁNTES, "Spanish, Portuguese, and American Women (1876)," 45.

[155] Pierre SONNERAT, *Voyage Aux Indes Orientales et à La Chine, Fait Par Ordre du Roi, depuis 1774 Jusqu'en 1781. Dans Lequel on Traite Des Mœurs de La Religion, Des Sciences & Des Arts Des Indiens, Des Chinois, Des Pégouins & Des Madégasses*, vol. 3, Chapter 10 (Paris: Dentu, Imprimeur-Libraire, quai des Augustins, no. 17, 1782), chap. 10; Fr. Joaquín MARTÍNEZ DE ZÚÑIGA y DÍAZ DE ILARRAZA, *An Historical View of the Philippine Islands, Vol II (of 2): Exhibiting Their Discovery, Population, Language, Government, Manners, Customs, Productions and Commerce*, trans. John Maver (London: T. Davison, Whitefriars, 1814), sec. Extract, http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/39027.

[156] BARRÁNTES, "Spanish, Portuguese, and American Women (1876)," 45.

[157] JAGOR, "Jagor's Travels in the Philippines," chap. 17.

[158] Ibid., chap. 22.

[159] On March 18, 1897, Dr. Virchow mentions how the Negritos were "not involved in a bloody uprising that had broken out everywhere against the existing Spanish rule. Their isolation, their lack of every sort of political,

they were detached from the Hispanized tastes that developed among lowland, Christianized groups. Punishments mentioned above must not have been strictly enforced because there were records of, for example, Igorots and Tinguianes showing up in the Jaro open-air markets to trade gold and other precious stones with the lowlanders.[160]

Most images of these minority groups captured by late 18th and 19th centuries foreign travelers show them scantily clad as compared to the lowland men and women. During the Malaspina expedition (1792-1794), Juan Ravenet y Bunel painted the *Negros del Monte* (Mountain Aetas, Fig. 1C) in watercolor with everyone in loincloths (*bahag or bahague*), except for a few women who were shown with a panel of cloth covering their breasts.[161] In *Album de la Provincia de Cagayan* (1874) and *Album Tipos Filipinos* (1887), both from the Museo Nacional de Antropología (MNA), most of the men were only in bahag while the women were bare-breasted, with only a wraparound skirt or patadyong. The Igorots from Mayoyao were painted by native artist, José Honorato Lozano (1847) only in loincloths and have been described in the accompanying notation to be dog eaters who grew their hair long, tattooed themselves and painted their bodies.[162] Even early 20th century American writers like William Dickson Boyce (1914) titled a chapter of his work, "dog-eating Igorots."[163] Adjustant Ebenezer Hannaford (1900) referred to the Gaddanes as headhunters. Other peculiar practices mentioned to prove they existed still savage and feral includes teeth sharpening, skull deformation and forehead flattening.[164] In highlighting their fossilized state of savagery, these writers have somehow disregarded the varied and evolving connections

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often indeed of village organization, also their meager numbers, render it conceivable they may not participate on the greatest changes that may take place amongst their neighbors." Ibid., chap. 17; Rudolf Carl VIRCHOW, "The Peopling of the Philippines (O.T. Mason's Translation; Smithsonian Institution 1899 Report)," in *The Former Philippines Thru Foreign Eyes*, ed. Austin CRAIG (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1917), 536–549.

[160] Jaro tianguis or fairs took place every Thursdays. They sold various objects which they either made themselves or foraged in riverbeds. Félix LAUREANO, *Recuerdos de Filipinas: Álbum-Libro: Útil Para El Estudio y Conocimiento de Los Usos y Costumbres de Aquellas Islas Con Treinta y Siete Fototipias Tomadas y Copiadas del Natural*, ed. Felice-Noelle RODRIGUEZ and Ramon C. SUNICO, trans. Renan PRADO (Mandaluyong, Filipinas: Cacho Publishing House, 2001), 43.

[161] Juan RAVENET y BUNEL, *Negros del Monte (Mountain Aetas)*, ink, watercolor on paper, 1792 to 1794, Museo de America, Call #: 2.304; *Discovering Philippine Art in Spain*, 236.

[162] There were different classes: Aetas, Itas, Igorots from Ilocos Sur to Cagayan and Nueva Viscaya and Nueva Ecija, Negritos from the mountains of Mariveles, Zambales. Mayoyaos are one of the more ferocious Igorot tribes. LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 65: Igorrote de Mayoyao; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 240–241.

[163] William Dickson BOYCE, *The Philippine Islands* (Chicago, New York: Rand, McNally, 1914), chap. XI, http://ebooks.library.cornell.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=sea;idno=sea187.

[164] "They compressed the head of a newborn child between 2 boards, so that it would be no longer round but lengthened out; they also flattened the forehead, which they looked upon as a special mark of beauty." For more information, *see* VIRCHOW, "The Peopling of the Philippines (O.T. Mason's Translation; Smithsonian Institution 1899 Report)," chap. IV; JAGOR, "Jagor's Travels in the Philippines," chap. XIX.

these tribes had with the rest of the population.[165] Those who were in contact with the Christianized natives would, in fact, make it a point to put on clothes before entering towns and villages.[166] This shows that they were aware and respectful of the colonial and Catholic norms of decency and modesty.

In the last quarter of the 19th century, many of these independent tribes have been largely pacified – and some have been converted. Advancements such as this had sartorial consequences. Some of the male Negrito chiefs, with their characteristic frizzy hair, thick lips and flat noses, who usually wrapped simple cloths around their hips and fastened them around the waist like girdles were described by José de Olivares (1899) to have started combining their loincloth with high silk hats and canes.[167] As part of the colonial government's policy of attraction, Spanish colonial officials most likely bestowed these European accessories to them "as marks of distinction."[168] In a photo of Mateo Cariño and his family, one of the *paterfamilias* of pacified Benguet, Don Mateo paired his loincloth with a long-sleeved, closed-neck European jacket. Additionally, the chairs they were sitting on must have been brought out to accord to the Igorots' headman respectability –respectability, at least, according to Western notions of political dignity (Fig. 188).[169] Meanwhile, Mateo Cariño's brother, Don Alvaro, was photographed after his baptism in the 13th of June 1897, dressed like a British in all-white drill suit and pants (Fig. 134).[170] This shows how clothes were perceived as one of the external symbols of conversion – that the adoption of a new faith called for the adoption of new styles. This supports Ross' observation of how "the rituals of conversion and baptism were marked by dress…and how closely associated were Christianity and the adoption of European-style clothing"[171] In another photo, dressed in black suit, pants, white shirt and black bow tie, he looked every bit like an oriental equivalent of a European gentleman, He was holding a cane, which "belongs to his position as Spanish-

[165] BOYCE, *The Philippine Islands*, chap. XI, pp. 91–99; HANNAFORD, *History and Description of the Picturesque Philippines*, 26.
[166] SAWYER, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines (1900)*, chap. XXII: Aetas or Negritos.
[167] De Olivares have included unpublished facts and new observations made by distinguished officers and soldiers in the field. José DE OLIVARES, *Our Islands and Their People as Seen with Camera and Pencil*, ed. William S. BRYAN (St. Louis: N.D. Thompson Publishing Company, 1899), 609, http://ebooks.library.cornell.edu/cgi/t/text/pageviewer-idx?c=sea&cc=sea&idno=sea195&q1=pi%C3%83%C2%B1a&view=image&seq=197&size=50.
[168] VAN DEN MUIJZENBERG, *The Philippines through European Lenses*, 229–230.
[169] In the words of Muijzenberg, "to provide him with the European dignity, which in European eyes belonged to his headmanship." Ibid., fig. 53, p. 229.
[170] The baptism of a chinese and two igorots in Benguet was a significant achievement for the colonial government, considering that only 4 years before, not a single native of Baguio was christianized. Ibid., chap. 4, fig. 46, pp. 222–223.
[171] ROSS, *Clothing: A Global History*, 90, 96.

instituted *kapitan*."[172] To quell their apprehensions, they were evidently beguiled with manifest symbols of power. The wielding of the cane, in fact, shows that they have acquiesced in the customs and conventions established and propagated by their colonial superiors.

Similarly, the chief of the Igorots from Bontoc, was dressed, like lowlanders, in all-white, from his v-neck shirt, trousers, all the way down to his white shoes.[173] He was holding what looked like a handkerchief in his hand. Standing in sharp contrast next to him were his subordinates, barefooted and dressed only in loincloths. These are examples of how the new political assignments impressed upon the tribal leaders influenced their tastes and personal acquisitions. They began to buy articles of clothing previously unknown or inessential to them, like trousers, shirts, ties, suits, leather shoes, canes and handkerchiefs. Their religious conversion also came with new sets of values and conventions, which encompassed even their dressing habits. In refashioning themselves, in departing from styles traditional to their tribes, they presented themselves as, borrowing ideas from Ross, "modernizing and powerful figures."[174] Symbolically, their new attires and accessories lent them social and political legitimacy in a "new order" in which they were now part of. Changes in their clothing represented newfound political cohesion and their social integration to the colonial fold.

Although these minority groups developed clothing and weaving traditions independent of the lowland, Christianized communities, there were still parallelisms between the two. They produced the same types of cloths from the same native plant fibers; the difference rests mainly on the design techniques and on the belief systems surrounding the use of certain types of cloth and clothing. The Bagobos of Mindanao, for example, also made fabrics out of wild banana (abacá), but dyed them using *ikat* techniques. They also believed that textiles have magical properties that can shield the Bagobo wearer. Some tribes were described to be wearing almost the same clothes as the Christianized groups, with almost the same standards of modesty. In the Gervasio Gironella Album (1847), the Igorots were said to be "generally in loin cloths, although others were wearing the same clothes as the natives."[175] Jagor (1875) was equally surprised to find the highland women in Mt. Isaróg to be decently clad, just like the Christianized women.[176] By and large, resemblances and parallelisms in

[172] VAN DEN MUIJZENBERG, *The Philippines through European Lenses*, chap. 4, fig. 54, p. 230.
[173] Photo reproduced and captioned in DIOKNO, "Chapter Six: The Making of the Filipino," 135.
[174] ROSS, *Clothing: A Global History*, 21.
[175] LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 65: Igorrote de Mayoyao; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 240–241.
[176] Mt. Isarog can be found in Camarines, in between San Miguel and Lagonoy bays. JAGOR, "Jagor's Travels in the Philippines," chap. 17.

clothing developments point to coexistence -- and some semblance of shared culture-- which must be viewed in terms of their connections and relationships to each other and to the wider society. A very interesting group photo of Igorots of varying gender, age and modes of dress, in a sense, summed up their evolving relations with the lowland communities and the varying degrees of Western influence. Some men, with their black suits and bowler or top hats, are shown in full European clothing (Fig. 1F). Others are in a combination of loincloth and European suits, while another one was in a white camisa chino and pants. The children were wearing loincloths, loincloths with sash or just a short jacket, with no bottoms. Following Western concepts of modesty, the women were decently clad in short jackets and knee-length skirts.

Non-Christianized Women

Negrito or Aeta women who have been described to cover their bodies only from waist to knees continued to dress that way even until the twentieth century. Except for some beads that adorned their neck and ear, they usually left their tops bare. A photo of Dean Worcester posing beside a bare-breasted Aeta substantiated descriptions of their manner of dressing.[177] Images such as this however, must be viewed in the context that America at that time was gathering visual evidences depicting uncivilized natives in order to justify their presence in the Philippines. Another photograph shows an Aeta woman posing in a studio against a plain background.[178] Noted particularly for her exposed breasts and her wide-eyed bewilderment or crazed expression in front of the camera, it was powerful images such as this --without taking into account their varying levels of civilization-- which were used in the 19th century to represent the "wild tribes (Fig. 1D." Stereotypes abound, studying postcards produced between 1900-1920, Jonathan Best presented, set against art nouveau borders, a double vignette of a girl with her hair down, dressed modestly in a simple baro and another girl with exposed breasts and a great deal of hair, neck and arm bead accessories.[179] The caption "Typical Manila Girl and Her Uncivilized Sister (Fig. 1D)" explained this distasteful

[177] Worcester was a zoologist by training. It is clear that he was involved in various anthropological projects, which included collecting and propagating images of , according to Villaseca, American superiority. His superiority-- and masculinity-- are suggested not only through blatant disparities in their dress and pose, but also in their size. He was conveniently standing beside a woman almost half his size. ANÓNIMO, *Junto a Una Mujer Aeta*, Copia en papel albuminado, 1900, Dean C. Worcester Photograph collection, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Special Collections; Sara BADIA VILLASECA, ed., *Mujeres Filipinas: Un Camino Hacia Luz* (Madrid: Fundación Mapfre and Universidad de Alcalá, 2007), 111.
[178] Manuel MAIDIN, *Mujer Aeta*, Copia en papel albuminado, 9.9 x 6 cm, 1874, Album de Cagayan, Museo Nacional de Antropología, Call #: FD4296; BADIA VILLASECA, *Mujeres Filipinas*, 64.
[179] Jonathan BEST, *Philippine Picture Postcards, 1900-1920* (Makati, Metro Manila: Bookmark, 1994).

and derogatory juxtaposition. The contrasting effect illustrates that civilization came to be associated with adherents of Western concepts of sartorial propriety. Images such as these contrasted the social groups and segmented communities, which developed outside the Spanish colonial system.

While Negrito women's dressing practices may have remain unchanged, women from other tribes, the Igorotas from Abra, for example, were shown clothed with knee-length, striped wraparound skirts and short, long-sleeved jackets.[180] Another image of an igorota from Calinga de Cagayan dressed in a *traje de fiesta* (party dress, Fig. 1A) shows the degree of sophistication this tribe has attained on their own.[181] Her jacket, skirt, hairstyle and accessories contribute to her overall stylish appearance. Following Finnane's observations that "progress placed much store on clothing, which separated the savages from the civilized," her attire, with her bellies exposed, may not fully conform to European standards of propriety but it does pose a challenge to existing classifications.[182] She embodies a sartorial complexity, common also among the elite women of lowland communities --that of looking indigenous or native, but at the same time, civilized and contemporary. Although this woman in this particular attire was assessed by Sara Badia Villaseca as "conceived as a type," it is more likely, that she was singled out, like a curiosity, for the ambiguity of her skirt's contours (or her body shape), which defies the common silhouettes of that period.[183]

Moros

In contrast to the semi-clothed mountain tribes, the male and female Moros from the south were fully clothed. The clothing and material culture that developed among these coastal trading communities under the sultanates showed more of Indian, Chinese and Southeast Asian rather than European influences. 19th century images assert that Muslim's unique clothing styles, generally more elaborate and more colorful, prevailed throughout the Spanish colonial era.[184] In an engraving of *Tipos de Mindanao* (*La Ilustración del Oriente*, 1877 Deciembre 2) and in Félix Martinez's *Mora de Jolo* (Muslim lady from Jolo, 1886), the women were shown in ankle-length skirt similar to *patadyong* (wraparound skirt, commonly seen among Visayan women) with long-sleeved tops that had figure-hugging bodice, some of

[180] DE OLIVARES, *Our Islands and Their People as Seen with Camera and Pencil*, 609.
[181] Manuel MAIDIN, *Mujer Igorrota del Norte de Luzón*, Copia en papel albuminado, 9.9 x 6.5 cm, 1870, Album de Cagayan, Museo Nacional de Antropología, Call #: FD4296.
[182] FINNANE, *Changing Clothes in China*, 37.
[183] BADIA VILLASECA, *Mujeres Filipinas*, 66.
[184] Muslim women were "excessively fond of bright colors, especially scarlet and green." HANNAFORD, *History and Description of the Picturesque Philippines*, 126; Eric V. CRUZ, *The Barong Tagalog: Its Development and Identity as the Filipino Men's National Costume* (Diliman, Quezon City: Office of Research and Publications, College of Home Economics, University of the Philippines, 1992), 2–3.

which had front button openings.[185] Another type of outfit was a slim, long-sleeved shirt under a *malong* -- a long, tube garment secured around the chest area. A strip of cloth would sometimes be draped diagonally across their bodies, a style very similar to Indian women's (Fig. 1G).[186] This rectangular piece of "nondescript drapery" was worn in a variety of other ways and used also "as a protection against the sun," even by men.[187] The moro chieftains of Mindanao, photographed with their male children and servants, could be distinguished by this sash (Fig. 1G).[188] In the image of *Moros from Jolo* during the Madrid Exposición in 1887, the slim or tight-fitting forms of men's wear were a sharp contrast to the more comfortable attires of lowland men.[189] They wore several types of headdresses, "most likely of Mohammedan import from neighboring Malayan countries."[190] The *potong or pudong* was wrapped around the head using a rectangular panel of cloth, the size of which is 1 foot by 3 to 4 feet long. Félix Martinez's *Moro de Jolo* (1886, Fig. 1B), in similar slim fit garments, is seen in a conical hat, which can only point to Southeast Asian origins.[191] This type of form-fitting attire is highlighted when worn by a smiling Mindanao Datu (1910) next to his retainers dressed in loose knee-length *saluales* (breeches).[192] This supports the idea that constricting and slim fit garments like these were worn mainly by upper class Moros -- or those who were generally free from hard labor.[193] For Muslims, "work was degradation," which explains the culture of slavery that thrived in their territories.[194] Loose trousers, meanwhile, typical among Moro warriors and attendants, were, in broad terms, for those whose duties and activities required clothes with more relaxed fit and which allowed more freedom in movement.[195]

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[185] Hannaford described their skirt to be baggy or loose and hanging in folds. The form is very different from the balloon saya worn by Christianized women. *La Ilustración del Oriente Revista Semanal*, Año 1 (Manila: De J. Oppel, 1877), Deciembre 2, Num. 10, p. 8; Félix MARTÍNEZ y LORENZO, *Mora de Jolo (Muslim Lady from Jolo)*, Watercolor, 1886, Museo Nacional de Antropología; *Discovering Philippine Art in Spain*, 242; HANNAFORD, *History and Description of the Picturesque Philippines*, 126.
[186] *La Ilustración del Oriente Revista Semanal*, 1877, Deciembre 2, Num. 10, p. 8.
[187] HANNAFORD, *History and Description of the Picturesque Philippines*, 126.
[188] Ibid.
[189] The image was captioned: "La Colonia Filipina en el Parque de Madrid: Los Moros Joloano Buton-Bason y Oto Jadcaqui, con sus mujeres basalsa y juda (del Natural, por Comba.)" Abelardo de CÁRLOS, ed., *La Ilustración Española y Americana: Periodico de Ciencias, Artes, Literatura, Industria, y Conocimientos Utiles*, Año XXXI,, Num. XIX (Madrid, 1887), Mayo 23, p. 332.
[190] CRUZ, *The Barong Tagalog*, 3, 24.
[191] Félix MARTÍNEZ y LORENZO, *Moro de Jolo (Muslim from Jolo)*, Watercolor, 1886, Museo Nacional de Antropología, Call #: CE2377.
[192] Jonathan BEST, *A Philippine Album: American Era Photographs, 1900-1930* (Makati City: Bookmark, 1998), 194.
[193] Ibid.
[194] HANNAFORD, *History and Description of the Picturesque Philippines*, 126.
[195] Félix MARTINEZ y LORENZO, *Moro en Traje de Guerra (Muslim in Warrior's Clothes)*, Watercolor, 1886, Museo Nacional de Antropología; Reproduced in *Discovering Philippine Art in Spain*, 242.

Lowland, Christianized Natives

In the earliest illustrations depicting the clothing of 16th century "Filipinos," the *Boxer Codex* (1590), showed not only the variety of clothing but also the varying degrees of civilization and wealth, particularly during the early years of colonization.[196] Presented along regional lines, some males, labeled as *Cagayanes* and *Naturales* were shown with a loincloth *(bahag or bahague)*, covering their male organs. Interestingly, the male Zambales type showed the most variety: they either had a loincloth on, a loincloth with a shirt on or a shirt with loose shorts on. The shorts referred to here must be a type of *salaual or salauales*, a shorter variant of the wide and shapeless Indian breeches called *sherawal*.[197] The *pintados* (painted or tattooed Visayans) were wearing also the *bahag* or *bahague* (loincloth), a single piece of cloth, wrapped around the waist and genitals, except that theirs have more width and fabric, which led some 19th century writers like Frederic Sawyer (1900) to describe it as some sort of apron.[198] In loincloths, the *pintados* were, in fact, dressed no differently from the unassimilated and supposedly uncivilized Negritos (Aetas).

Meanwhile, both male and female *Tagals, Bisayans, Cagayanes* and *Naturales* were shown fully clothed in the *Boxer Codex*. The skin of the Visayans, for example, was not only adorned with tattoos, but their private parts were always sufficiently covered. Fr. Pedro Chirino, S.J. (1604) confirmed that in any case, they never go naked.[199] Some of the male *"pintados,"* as the Spaniards referred to them, were even fully clothed in full-length, long-sleeved tunics. The women, on the other hand, were depicted wearing long skirts, which reached their ankles, paired with short- or long-sleeved, collarless shirts.[200] Some of the Tagalogs were shown in similar clothes but with added head veils or *lambóng.*[201] The modesty and cleanliness of their appearance, as found in the illustrations, were confirmed by Miguel de Loarca (1582), who not only mentioned the type of materials the *pintados* used in their dress, but also the source of imports. Particularly interesting was his mention of *medriñaque*, a textile from the different types of native fibers, like burí and abacá, generally used as sheathing or lining-- that is to say, as an added layer of modesty.

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[196] *Boxer Codex [manuscript]*, 1590, The Lilly Library Digital Collections, Indiana University, http://purl.dlib.indiana.edu/iudl/general/VAB8326.
[197] Canta presented the salaual (*salawal)*, which means either breeches or underpants, as possibly of Indian or Persian influence. CANTA, "Of Cambayas, Custas and Calicos: The Indo-Philippine Textile Connection," 127–128.
[198] SAWYER, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines (1900)*, chap. XXVII: Igorrotes, pp. 254–267.
[199] CHIRINO, S.J., "Relacion de Las Islas Filipinas," chap. VII: Of the division and distribution of bishoprics and provinces in the Filipinas.
[200] The images in the Boxer Codex matched the description of Fr. Chirino. Ibid., chap. VII.
[201] *Boxer Codex [manuscript]*.

> The *pintados* tattoo their entire bodies with very beautiful figures, using therefore small pieces of iron dipped in ink. This ink incorporates itself with the blood, and the marks are indelible. Their women's dress is neat and modest, made generally of cotton, *medriñaque* or silk (which they get from China and other places). They wore beautiful ornaments, not only in their ears, but also around their necks and arms.[202]

Several things could be made out of this. First, during the early years of colonization, the natives, in covering their private parts, were shown to have already been aware of their nakedness and were cognizant of their need to cover. More than that, the use of *medriñaque* to line clothes demonstrated that they were governed by some standards of decency and respectability. The mention of *medriñaque*, in fact, confirms their concern over the thinness of their clothing fabrics. Fr. Pedro Chirino, S.J. in reporting that the *pintados* only wore these types of garments in public, illustrated their acquaintance with the normative differences between public and private dressing.[203] Secondly, clothing and jewelries were used, as it seems, to signify civilization, wealth and cultural standing. The colorful embroideries, which bordered their clothes, revealed how their clothes functioned not only as protection but also as ornamentation and symbols of status.[204] For women, their honor and status was signaled by clothing that could only be described as modest, even prudent.

For the lowland, Christianized "Filipinos,"[205] acceptance of the Catholic faith entailed acceptance of the new standards of modesty. Conformity represented the link between clothing, conversion and Catholicism. While before the Spaniards came, some native groups felt no shame in their nakedness --or partial nakedness, that is-- Christian teachings introduced to them the indignity of being scantily clothed. The new religion instilled the

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[202] According to Fr. Chirino, they tattooed themselves when they had performed some act of valor. They adorned their bodies with figures from head to foot, when they were still young and able to tolerate the pain of tattooing. They did not tattoo their bodies at the same time; they tattoed them a section at a time. "Children were not tattooed, and the women tattoo all of one hand and part of the other." Miguel de LOARCA, "Relacion de Las Islas Filipinas," in *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898*, ed. Emma H. BLAIR and James A. ROBERTSON, vol. 5: 1582–1583 (Cleveland: Clark, 1903), chap. 6: Of the inhabitants of the Pintados Islands and their mode of life; CHIRINO, S.J., "Relacion de Las Islas Filipinas," chap. VII: Of the division and distribution of bishoprics and provinces in the Filipinas.

[203] CHIRINO, S.J., "Relacion de Las Islas Filipinas," chap. VII.

[204] Thomas Carlyle, in his *Sartor Resartus,* pointed out that the first purpose of clothes was not warmth or decency but ornament." Cited in ROSS, *Clothing: A Global History*, 8; *Boxer Codex [manuscript]*, fig. Naturales (Tagals), Bisayas.

[205] The Spaniards originally referred to the native inhabitants as Indios or naturales. The term Filipino was used for the Insulares (Spaniards born in the Philippines) until the Ilustrados adopted it for themselves and for the rest of the colonized population. In this study, the term Filipino is used not to refer to any race or nationality but will plainly refer to those who were born in the Philippines. HERNANDEZ, "The Emergence of Modern Drama in the Philippines (1898-1912) and Its Social, Polical, Cultural, Dramatic and Theatrical Background," 56; FOREMAN, *The Philippine Islands*, chap. XI, pp. 163–194.

importance of covering the physical body, which could tempt and cause others to sin.[206] Christianized natives began to make distinctions between fully and partially clothed, as well as between decently or indecently dressed. Fully clothed meant both upper and lower body parts were covered while partially clothed meant the genitals, in particular, were covered. Further distinctions were made between naked below *(hubo)* and above the waist *(hubad)* or completely naked *(hubo't hubad)*.[207] There were many 19th century images of men and women who were naked above the waist but none that shows partial nudity below the waist or full nudity altogether. This can lead us to surmise that to be *hubad* was far more acceptable than to be *hubo*. Notions relating to decency and indecency in terms of dress, meanwhile, had much to do with being sufficiently or inadequately clothed—issues which originally arose from the translucency and relative thinness of the fabrics used by the natives in their clothing.

While Capitán Toming showed how the state of dress varied according to both race and class, the state of undress or nakedness varied according to gender, which means public reception and acceptance of male nudity was – and continues to be-- distinct from that of females. It was acceptable for lowland, Christianized males to be naked above the waist, but stricter standards of modesty were applied to their female counterparts.

During the 19th century, it was quite common to see men doing hard labor go around without their shirts on. Among the earliest 19th century images were two watercolors called *Indumentaría Filipina* (Philippine Apparel, 1814) showing two shirtless men carrying one long piece of wood and a man only with a loincloth on lifting something heavy as well.[208] In the countryside, many *hamaqueros* (hammock carriers) and firewood sellers were depicted without their shirts on.[209] Similarly aguadores (water carriers) and cargadores (porters) in a state of "undress" were likewise a common sight in the streets and ports of Manila.[210] The annotation that came with the Lozano image of *Aguador de Mariquina* states that: "He covers his body merely for decency, which he can achieve with a cloth in the form of *bajague* or

[206] Maria Luisa T. CAMAGAY, "Filipino Sexuality in Nineteenth Century Philippines: How to Avoid Conception," in *More Pinay than We Admit: The Social Construction of the Filipina*, ed. Maria Luisa T. CAMAGAY (Quezon City: Vibal Foundation, 2010), 122.
[207] Ramon N. VILLEGAS, "Chapter Eleven: Costumes and Adornments," in *Kasaysayan: The Story of the Filipino People*, ed. Maria Serena I. DIOKNO and Ramon N. VILLEGAS, vol. 4: Life in the Colony (Manila: Asia Publishing Co., 1998), 273.
[208] *Indumentaría Filipina (Philippine Apparel)*, Handdrawn, watercolor on paper, February 13, 1815, Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla, Spain.
[209] LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 29: Indio con carreton de leña; 34: Indios llevando hamacas.
[210] Ibid., fig. 49: Aguador de Mariquina; DOMINGO, *Colección de Trajes de Manila y de Las Provincias*, fig. Indio Cargador de Manila.

taparabo (loincloth)."[211] Considering the tropical climate and the heavy load these men carried over their shoulders with the use of *pinga* (carrying pole), they would usually take off their shirts, which they would then use to cover their heads. Otherwise, they would keep their shirt with them by tying it around their waist or around their shoulders, as seen in the *Indio Banquero* painting of Félix Martinez (1886).[212] Many boys and young boys were also wearing what was described as "inadequate shirts."[213]

There was one interesting account of the son of Mary Helen Fee's *lavandero* (laundryman) appearing half-naked during his father's funeral. The American schoolteacher described:

> appareled in a pair of blue denim trousers, his body, naked to the waist, was glistening brown after a bath, and he carried under on arm a fresh laundered *camisa*, or Chino shirt of white muslin, to be put on when he reached the church…Before entering the *convento* or the priest's house, the dead man's son reverently put on his clean shirt.[214]

This shows that while partial nakedness was accepted, Catholic rules of propriety dictate one must be decently clothed when entering the house of God. To emphasize his respect for the church, the young man made sure to wear a "freshly laundered" and "clean" shirt.

[211] Otherwise spelled *bahag* or *bahague*. LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 49; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 209.
[212] CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 204.
[213] FEE, *A Woman's Impression of the Philippines*, chap. V, pp. 45–59.
[214] Ibid., chap. XX: Sickbeds and Funerals, pp. 262–269.

Chapter 2 Evolution of Native Fashions

Evolution of Lowland, Christianized Women's Fashions

Visitors were struck with the fact that Manila was the home of many races- Spanish, Chinese, natives (indios and mestizos). To reflect the three dominant cultures in the Philippines, there were three different styles apparent in the first half of the 19th century, women were either dressed in the Philippine, European or Chinese styles.[1] But, with the influx of foreigners starting in the 1830s, the opening of provincial ports and the intermixing of races, progressive changes in dress occurred as people traversed the various racial and cultural borders of Philippine colonial society. A fourth style emerged which was neither completely native nor completely European. The *traje de mestiza* was a compromise, flourished in a place, which was administratively Spanish-governed, economically Anglo-Chinese and at the same time colonial and tropical (Fig. 20, Fig. 40, Fig. 41).[2] As might be expected, this *traje de mestiza*, was a hybrid of European and native elements. The dress was European-inspired in construction, style and silhouette, native in material and ornamentation but the wearer was colonial in bearing. Clothing simply incompatible with tropical lifestyles points to colonial attitudes. The wearing of voluminous skirts and petticoats unsuitable to the tropical climate associated the natives and mestizas to their European social and cultural superiors.[3] The design inspiration of many of the clothing pieces and accessories were still also European. They wore locally-made European-style feathered hats. Their necklaces were religious in nature. Although the baro did not resemble the European shirts at that time, especially with the airy angel and bell sleeves, the sewing methods and embroidery patterns were all based on European techniques. Changes, for example, in the baro's armholes from square and angular to round were results of European sewing methods introduced in the colonies in the 1840s. The saya also evolved to be a reproduction of Western balloon skirts. The pañuelo was based on the *fichu* but reworked using native materials such as piña. Piña, a highly admired product innovation of the 19th century, was integrated into the native dress and markedly became an indicator of wealth. "The piña embroideries, which are fabricated with such wonderful patience and skill, and are so celebrated for the fineness of their work, are as a rule, spiritless imitations of Spanish patterns."[4]

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[1] CARIÑO and NER, *Álbum: Islas Filipinas, 1663-1888*, 74.
[2] RICARDO DE PUGA, "La Mestiza Española," in *Ilustración Filipina Periodico Quincenal*, vol. 1, Año 1, Num. (Manila: Imprenta y litografía de Ramírez y Giraudier, 1859), 159.
[3] HOGANSON, "The Fashionable World: Imagined Communities of Dress," 261.
[4] JAGOR, "Jagor's Travels in the Philippines," chap. 4.

If the clothing practices of the early 19th century were marked by divergence, the second half saw trends moving towards convergence. Class differences prevailed while racial differences in clothing between the Spanish or creoles, the mestizas and the native women began to show signs of convergence. Depending on the circumstance or occasion, they would either appear in European or in Philippine-style of dress. Meanwhile, wives of the British, German, Dutch, American and Chinese residents retained their own manners of dressing, engaging only what is called limited orientalism.[5] The game of appearances also started to shift from the full attire to the small details that made up the outfit. *Urbanidad*, a by-word in the 19th century, was characterized not only by a stylish appearance, poise and elegance but by tasteful details such as imported fabrics, fancy trimmings, and fine embroideries. The rules that governed urbanity, the diffusion of which was facilitated by handbooks on etiquette, manners and dress, showed clear influences from Spain—or Europe. As maritime trade and foreign residency increased, Manila and the other provincial port cities, like Iloilo and Cebu globalized and developed in such a way that it made international influence possible.[6]

To conform to the conventions of the lowland Christianized community, both the upper and lower parts of the body had to be covered. A modestly clad woman was seen as a good, well-bred woman. Several layers of clothing became necessary for the sake of propriety. The women wore undershirts under long-sleeved baros with attached *tapa de pecho* (Fig. 10) and then draped a pañuelo over their shoulders. The lower part was also extremely covered with layers of petticoats, full-length saya, and dark-colored tapís. Some also wore stockings to make sure that no skin was left exposed.

Until the 1880s, invitations to formal balls still called for European styles of dressing. Female guests came wearing the bustle skirt, in which the fullness of the skirt was gathered at the back. This was a design popularly associated with English Victorian fashions (1839-1901). From around mid-1880s onwards, at a time of nationalist awakening, the European-style formal wear became less common.

The baro't saya evolved into the *traje de mestiza*, also referred to as the Maria Clara dress. Towards the end of the 19th century, this *traje de mestiza* became the standard dress for females of the various social classes and in the context of the nationalist struggle and

[5] HOGANSON, "The Fashionable World: Imagined Communities of Dress," 270.
[6] CAMACHO, "The Public Transcendence of Intimacy: The Social Value of Recogimiento in Urbana at Feliza," 295.

eventual revolution, this began to be referred to as the Filipino dress or *traje del país*.[7] This Filipino dress would enjoy an enduring popularity, incorporating changes in the sleeves, cut and silhouette, which saw its development into the *terno* of the 20th century. During the early years of the American period (before the 1920s), the baro't saya that made up the *traje de mestiza* was worked using the same type of fabric, texture and color and consequently became known as *terno*. From the Spanish word, which means "matched",[8] the *terno* is associated with three main things: its uniform material for both the upper and lower garments, its above-the-elbow butterfly sleeves and the refashioning of the *tapís* as *sobrefalda*. Ensembles made entirely out of unique, locally-made textiles like piña, jusi, sinamay and rengue were vitalized as the new American administration developed "programs to help the Philippines become economically self-sufficient."[9]

Philippine Style: Late 18th Century to 1830s

The attire of native women towards the end of the 18th century, generally consisted of two basic pieces-- a plain collarless baro or camisa (shirt or blouse) and a checkered saya (skirt) for Tagalog women. The baro was short, with straight, long sleeves while the saya and the patadiong were long, both reaching the ankle.

Although the two-piece ensemble was called *pares*, which translates to pair or combination, the term was more associated with the skirt, whose width was distinctively narrow, compared to the semi-billowy ones that appeared in the mid-19th century and the voluminous ones of the mid- to late-19th century. The *pares* was straight, narrow and close-fitting, "almost like a sheath, tucked at the waist by a number of strings, but made more interesting by the addition of wide, flat pleats along the waistline, tucked together by head pins."[10]

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[7] In the original Spanish text, written by a certain Emilia in the Philippines, writing to her friend in Spain, Luisa: "*Al abrir esta carta habrá de sorprendente un ejemplar del precioso grupo de que te hablaba. No me busques en él, por que aun cuando te señalase. el sitio, y no he querido hacerIo, no me conocerías, por lo oculta que estoy entre dos niñas que me dan sombra, y por mi* ***traje de mestiza, ó mejor dicho filipino****, por que eso de mestiza es calificacion que no me parece propia de nuestro siglo civilizador, que pronto vá á dejarnos, dandonos á su hijo el veinte, más sabio y más nivelador social que su papá. Con este traje sucede lo mismo que con todos los de nuestras provincias al principio nos parece raro antiguo y sobre todo: falto ele gracia; después vamos conociendo que lo aparente de su mal gusto en la primera imprésion, se convierte después en agradable y sobre todo propio del clima*." (-), "Brisas del Oriente," in *La Moda Filipina Periódico Quincenal Ilustrado*, vol. 2, 33 (Quiapo: Redaccion y Administracion, 1894), Octubre 10, p. 2.

[8] Eric V. CRUZ, *The Terno: Its Development and Identity as the Filipino Women's National Costume* (Quezon City: The U.P. College of Home Economics, 1982), 55.

[9] Ibid., 8.

[10] Marcia SANDOVAL, "The Filipino Terno," *Philippines Free Press*, December 9, 1961, 54 edition, 99; CRUZ, *The Terno*, 3.

In addition to the baro and saya ensemble, Tagalog women sometimes wore two more pieces of clothing- the tapís and the pañuelo or alampay. Over their saya, they would wear a striped overskirt similar to an apron, called the tapís. Over their baro, they would wear around their shoulder a type of kerchief called pañuelo or alampay.

When Fr. Joaquín Martínez de Zúñiga, OSA and French traveler, Pierre Sonnerat (1782) described how the women of Manila wore a type of shift, he must be referring to the shapeless camisa or baro (blouse) and the "white linen cloth, which encircles the body and is fastened by a button at the waist"[11] must refer to the saya, or specifically, the *pares*. When he wrote that the women threw over their skirt "a coloured stuff, manufactured by the inhabitants of Panay,"[12] he must be referring to the *tapís*.

Juan Ravenet, the visual chronicler of the Malaspina Expedition to the Philippines between 1792 to 1794, captured in drawing the *Mestizos de Manila* (Fig. 1H) wearing the four pieces of clothing mentioned above- the baro, saya, tapís, and pañuelo.[13] Although it is difficult to visually identify in Ravenet's sketch whether the saya underneath the tapís was tucked or secured with pins or buttons, it confirms the narrow silhouette that distinguished the saya as *pares*.

The slim cut of the *pares*, however, was rather constricting and would soon proved impractical for daily life. Women started wearing a semi-billowy skirt called *saya a la mascota*, perhaps for more ease and comfort.[14] The *saya a la mascota* had close resemblance to the European skirt worn by the few Spanish women in the Philippines. This explains why the *saya a la mascota* has been referred to in some texts as a Western skirt.[15] First seen in the books of French planter, Paul de la Gironière who was in the Philippines between 1820 and 1840, this type of saya was worn with the tapís by elite-looking women (Fig. 2A)[16] and worn without a tapís by working women (Fig. 3).[17]

The saya, derived from the Spanish and Portuguese words *saya* and *saia* to refer to *faldas* or skirts, generally reached the ankle but variations in length have been seen among the different age and social groups. While it was acceptable for girls below the age of thirteen

[11] SONNERAT, *Voyage Aux Indes Orientales et a La Chine*, vol. 3, Chapter 10, chap. 10; MARTÍNEZ DE ZÚÑIGA y DÍAZ DE ILARRAZA, *A Historical View of the Philippine Islands*, sec. Extract.
[12] SONNERAT, *Voyage Aux Indes Orientales et a La Chine*, vol. 3, Chapter 10, chap. 10; MARTÍNEZ DE ZÚÑIGA y DÍAZ DE ILARRAZA, *A Historical View of the Philippine Islands*, sec. Extract.
[13] Juan RAVENET y BUNEL, *Mestizos de Manila, Yslas Filipinas*, pen and ink and colored gouache on paper, 1792 to 1794, Museo de America.
[14] CRUZ, *The Terno*, 3.
[15] CASTRO, "Dissecting Dress," 70.
[16] GIRONIÈRE, *Adventures in the Philippine Islands*, fig. Chinese Metis or Half–Breeds; Spanish Metis or Half–Breeds.
[17] Ibid., fig. Ilocos Indians; Inhabitants of Bulacan.

to wear knee-length sayas, propriety dictated that teenage girls must wear sayas from the mid-calf or longer.[18] Female adults from the upper classes were consistently seen in full-length sayas throughout the 19th century. Meanwhile, women from the poorer classes whose occupations required more ease and flexibility in movement were, at times, depicted wearing mid-calf versions.[19]

The sayas were originally multi-paneled, constructed by sewing together several panels of textiles, as clearly depicted in only one, signed Espiridión de la Rosa watercolor painting, dated between 1820 to1835. In his *Una Mestiza Sangley con su venta* (Chinese Mestiza Selling her Goods, Fig. 4, Fig. 5), the five panels that made up the skirt were each represented by a different color and a different checkered pattern.[20] The size of the panels was limited by the technology at that time. The widely used back-tension looms and the European floor looms, which were introduced in the Philippines in 1775, produced textiles of narrow widths, requiring up to seven panels to make a whole skirt.[21]

Although Sonnerat did not mention saya's textile patterns, almost all the native women, were wearing checkered prints. Jean Mallat, writing in 1846, identified this white cotton with stripes of red, green and yellow as cambayas, otherwise known also as gingham (Fig. 4, Fig. 5, Fig. 6, Fig. 80B).[22] Originally imported from Madras and Cambay (Gujarat, India), Mallat reported that they were originally sold in Manila at 50 piastres (50 pesos) for a piece, which was enough for two sayas.[23] As such, cambayas were once considered as luxury handwoven fabrics that only the rich could afford.[24] These patterned cotton cambayas were popular around Southeast Asia and were widely copied,[25] resulting to lower-grade, locally-

[18] JOAQUIN and SANTIAGO, *The World of Damián Domingo*, 72.
[19] DOMINGO, *Colección de Trajes de Manila y de Las Provincias*, fig. Una India Pescadora de Manila, Una Mujer Pangasinana Lavandera, Una India Ollera de Pasig; JOAQUIN and SANTIAGO, *The World of Damián Domingo*, 54–55, 64–65, 76–77.
[20] Espiridión DE LA ROSA, *Una Mestiza Sangley Con su Venta (Chinese-Filipina Mestiza Selling Goods)*, Watercolor on paper, 1820 to 1840, Private Collection-Spain.
[21] Francisco Ignacio ALCINA, S.J., *History of the Bisayan People in the Philippine Islands*, trans. J. Kobak CANTIUS, OFM and Lucio GUTIERREZ, OP, vol. 3 (Manila: University of Santo Tomas, 2005), 139; CASTRO, "Dissecting Dress," 60; VILLEGAS, "Chapter Eleven: Costumes and Adornments," 277.
[22] MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1846, 65; CASTRO, "Dissecting Dress," 65.
[23] A piece came in a length of 3 vares (3 meters, 48). Jean-Baptiste de Bassilan MALLAT, *The Philippines: History, Geography, Customs, Agriculture, Industry and Commerce of the Spanish Colonies in Oceania* (Manila: National Historical Institute, 1983), 293; Fernando FULGOSIO, *Crónica de Las Islas Filipinas*, Crónica General de España, O Sea Historia Ilustrada y Descriptiva de Sus Provincias, Sus Poblaciones Más Importantes de La Península y de Ultramar (Madrid: Rubio, Grilo y Vitturi, 1871), pt. 2, Ch. 8, p. 43.
[24] Fulgosio asserts these cambayas from Madras were not for the poor. In original Spanish, *la pieza suele tener tres varas de largo…recibíanlas antes de Madras, y de la pieza, que costaba cincuenta pesos, se hacian tan solo dos sayas, de suerte que no era traje para gente pobre.* FULGOSIO, *Crónica de Las Islas Filipinas (1871)*, pt. 2, Ch. 8, p. 43.
[25] JOAQUIN and SANTIAGO, *The World of Damián Domingo*, 26.

made-in-China[26] and made-in-Malabon imitations, which people from the poorer classes would also begin to use in their clothing[27]

Paired with the saya was the baro or camisa in Spanish (sleeved shirt), the piece of clothing said to best represent one's status.[28] The barú, baro or bayú, a kind of simple shirt with sleeves donned by the natives to cover their upper bodies, which had no translation in Castilian, was said to have predated Spanish colonization.[29] The existence of the term bayú or barú in the local dialect indicates that the precolonial natives knew how to cover their nakedness. The use of camisa as a term synonymous to baro or barú signalled contact with Europeans. Soon, the baro would manifest influences derived from European sewing and embroidery techniques.

The baro or camisa worn by elite women were different from those worn by the lower classes in terms of fabrics, construction and design. The sleeves, for example, in Ravenet's well-groomed *Mestizos de Manila* (1792-1794, Fig. 1H), were shown to be long, straight and fitted, with bracelets and watches worn over it. In the costume illustrations of Damián Domingo (1820s-1830s), there was a slight difference in the sleeves that the wealthier women wore. It was the same long, straight sleeves except that it appeared to be less fitted, gradually narrowing towards the wrist and embellished with ruffle details (Fig. 6). There was only one Domingo painting of a mestiza wearing fitted short sleeves, a digression from the norm at that time (Fig. 7). From the same period, the sleeves worn by the wealthy women in Espiridión de la Rosa's works appeared much looser, although they tapered in nearly the same way (Fig. 8). Domingo and de la Rosa's depictions were validated when three actual baros made of nipis with this type of long sleeves were discovered in 1991 in the storage of the RMV in Leiden.[30] The construction appeared simple and angular, with their square necklines and square armholes,[31] but looking at the fabric, ornamentation and embroideries, they must have belonged to well-to-do women (Fig. 9). Two have lace or ruffled cuffs while the other one have embroidered cuffs. Fr. Joaquin Martínez de Zúñiga mentioned that the price of a high quality camisa in 1800 was between three to four pesos, quite expensive for a

[26] Among the items showcased during the 1778 Fair in Acapulco, Mexico were the cambayas de China. *See* Carmen YUSTE LOPEZ, *El Comercio de La Nueva España Con Filipinas (1590-1785)* (Mexico: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1984), 93; CASTRO, "Dissecting Dress," 65.
[27] Rafael DÍAZ ARENAS, *Report on the Commerce and Shipping of the Philippine Islands. 1838*, trans. Encarnacion ALZONA (Manila: National Historical Institute, 1979), 65; CASTRO, "Dissecting Dress," 65.
[28] CASTRO, "Dissecting Dress," 70.
[29] LAUREANO, *Recuerdos de Filipinas*, 39.
[30] CASTRO, "Dissecting Dress," fig. 34 and 35, plate # 13, pp. 66–67.
[31] "Round armholes would have come later, with tailoring innovations of the European-type shirt." Ibid., 66–67.

criada (maidservant) who earned a mere two pesos a month or a janitor who earns five pesos a month.[32]

The fabrics used for the wealthy woman's baro were usually contemporarily labeled under the general term nipis, which refers to a wide range of fine, transparent cloth produced in the Philippines (Fig. 149B, Fig. 150).[33] Nipis may also include mixed fabrics like jusi, silk woven with cotton, abacá or piña fibers.[34] There was a hierarchy of textile with different grades and prices. The price of piña, depending on the quality, ranged from 1 peso per vara, with each vara measuring approximately 2.8 feet. According to Rafael Diaz Arenas (1838), lower grade ones were sold at 2 pesos for 5 varas. In the hierarchy of textiles, piña being the most laborious was the most expensive. Jusi was cheaper, having been woven from the cheaper raw silk yarns imported from China. These nipis textiles would either be printed or embroidered using silk threads, which created colorful stripes (Fig. 151, Fig. 152).[35]

The tapís was a piece of cotton or silk textile worn over the skirt. Derived from the word *tapi,* which means apron or cover, Tagalog women wrapped it around their skirts like a sarong and tucked it either on the front, side or back.[36] They were usually quite long, with the length running from the mid-calf to the ankle. The tapís, although exhibiting similarities with the Indonesian sarong, was unique to the Philippine costume.[37] Its use, however, appears to have been discretionary. Many Tagalog, mestizas and even Chinese women living in the Philippines were seen with and without it.

Like the saya, the tapís were also made up of several panels of textiles. The stitchings used to join the panels together were, for example, visible in the two handwoven tapís found in the RMV collection. One, which measures 188 x 115 centimeters, was made of three narrow panels.[38] Embroideries were added to conceal the joinery stitches (Fig. 11). Franciscan missionary Juan Francisco de San Antonio, O.S.F. described the tapís in 1738 as

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[32] Joaquín MARTÍNEZ DE ZÚÑIGA y DÍAZ DE ILARRAZA, *Status of the Philippines in 1800* (Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, 1973), 420; CASTRO, "Dissecting Dress," 64.
[33] Nipis was supposedly "the generic term for sheer fabrics of natural fibers." *See* CAPISTRANO-BAKER, "Embroidered Multiples: Nineteenth-Century Philippine Costumes and Images," 30.
[34] D. Warres SMITH, *European Settlements in the Far East; China, Japan, Corea, Indo-China, Straits Settlements, Malay States, Siam, Netherlands, India, Borneo, the Philippines, Etc* (London: S. Low, Marston and Company, 1900), 312, http://ebooks.library.cornell.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=sea;idno=sea023; CASTRO, "Dissecting Dress," 64.
[35] MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1846, 66.
[36] Ibid., 65.
[37] In original French: *les tapís sont un objet de fabrique particulier au pays.* MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1983, 66.
[38] *Wraparound Skirt (Tapís)- Luzon*, Silk, 19th century, Plate 20, Collection of Rijksmuseum voor Volkendkunde, Leiden, Netherlands.

plain and in solid colors.[39] It is possible that plain tapís was in vogue in the early 1700s but by around the 1790s, horizontally-striped tapís was already being used by people of varying social classes. In Ravenet's *Mestizos de Manila* (1792-1794, Fig. 1H), the two wealthy looking mestizas were wearing what appears to be tapís in natural colors with red and yellow horizontal stripes.[40] From the early to the mid-19th century however, the *tapís* would appear in almost all illustrations in characteristically dark colors, with muted horizontal stripes. Actual pieces of tapís, which were quite difficult to come by, must be studied to confirm the colors of the tapís depicted in the paintings.[41] Two embroidered pieces from Luzon were recently discovered in 1991 in the RMV in Leiden.[42] The one in the usual blue stripes is commonly seen in 19th century paintings, while the other one in a more colorful shade of green with red embroidery is quite rare. What is interesting about these actual pieces of tapís are the embroideries which the artists failed to capture in their drawings. Artists painted the tapís in their distinct dark blue or purple striped patterns, but without embroideries. It is quite surprising considering how they painstakingly included the embroideries in both men and women's baro, but not in their tapís. The presence of these embroideries again suggests that these pieces may have belonged to someone from the more affluent class. As suspected, the annotations that came with the RMV collection indicate that the pieces were part of the collection of a French diplomat, who was simply recorded as Bréjard, a Parisian, who lived in Manila between 1881 to 1886.[43]

The tapís were usually made of pure silk, cotton or mixed cotton.[44] Mixed cotton tapís were mainly cotton woven with colored silk threads to create the stripe patterns.[45] Tapís made of silk were produced in Baliwag, Bulacan.[46] There were also silk tapís imported from China, which was most probably produced exclusively for the Philippine market since women in China do not wear tapís.[47] It is likely that they arrived plain and would later be embellished

[39] Juan Francisco de SAN ANTONIO, O.S.F., "The Native Peoples and Their Customs. Manila, 1738 [From His Cronicas]," in *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, ed. Emma Helen BLAIR and James Alexander ROBERTSON, vol. 40 (Cleveland: Clark, 1903), 328–330; CASTRO, "Dissecting Dress," 56.
[40] RAVENET y BUNEL, *Mestizos de Manila, Yslas Filipinas*.
[41] CASTRO, "Dissecting Dress," 70.
[42] *Wraparound Skirt (Tapís)- Luzon*, 19th century; *Wraparound Skirt (Tapís)- Luzon*, Cotton, Silk, 19th century, Plate 19, Collection of Rijksmuseum voor Volkendkunde, Leiden, Netherlands.
[43] CASTRO, "Dissecting Dress," 44.
[44] *Wraparound Skirt (Tapís)- Luzon*, 19th century; *Wraparound Skirt (Tapís)- Luzon*, 19th century; (-), *Catálogo de La Exposición General de Las Islas Filipinas: Celebrada en Madrid ... El 30 de Junio de 1887* (Madrid, 1887), sec. Septima, Grupo 50, pp. 496–527.
[45] CASTRO, "Dissecting Dress," 62, 116, 117.
[46] MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1846, 66; MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1983, 294.
[47] In the notation that came with the Damián Domingo Album, it was written there that the "tapís was always native manufactured, generally of silk." MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1846, 66; JOAQUIN and SANTIAGO, *The World of Damián Domingo*, 26.

locally.[48] Tapís made of cotton were either locally made in Tondo and Ilocos or imported from India.[49] For example, Damián Domingo's *Una India de Manila Vestida de Gala* (Fig. 6) was indicated to be wearing an indigo tapís of Ilocano weaving.[50] Iloilo also produced various types of woven textiles for the tapís.[51]

The pañuelo was a square kerchief folded to form a triangular shoulder cloth.[52] From the Spanish word for *fichu*, pañuelo, was also referred to as alampay in Tagalog or *candongas* in the Visayan dialect.[53] Originally an optional clothing accessory, the pañuelo, which covered the v-shaped hollow in the woman's chest, soon became an essential part of the everyday attire of almost all women living in the Philippines, with the exception of the wives of European expatriates who were ordinarily dressed in the European style. Reworked using native woven fabrics, such as piña and jusi, the pañuelo would be used by the elite as a showcase piece. Not only did it do the honors "in displaying superior elegance and luxury," it was, fundamentally, one of the essentials of modesty.[54] Through the years, the pañuelo became more intricate and evolved to become a distinctive part of the Philippine woman's attire.

The use of the pañuelo must have been influenced by the wide variety of products from India and China, which came with the galleon trade (1565-1815).[55] Other authors claimed that the use of pañuelo was patterned from the Spanish women who were wearing their Mexican shawls when they came with the galleons during the 250 years that the Manila-Acapulco (1565-1815) trade was in operation.[56] It was more likely though that the native women took inspiration from the Spanish women who were living in the Philippines since the 1700s. Checkered fichus were already seen worn by Spanish women in Ravenet's *Señoras and Señoritas de Manila* (1792-1794, Fig. 12).

Considering that the women's baro were quite short, reaching only to the waist, and would become even shorter later on, the pañuelo demurely secured with a brooch in front

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[48] MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1846, 66.
[49] JOAQUIN and SANTIAGO, *The World of Damián Domingo*, 48.
[50] DOMINGO, *Colección de Trajes de Manila y de Las Provincias*, fig. Una India de Manila Vestida de Gala.
[51] Refajas, for example, was also used as a material for tapís. CRUZ, *The Terno*, 3; Leticia FLORES, "A Short History of the Pilipino Costume," *Fookien Times Yearbook*, 1967, 134.
[52] SONNERAT, *Voyage Aux Indes Orientales et a La Chine*, vol. 3, Chapter 10, chap. 10; MARTÍNEZ DE ZÚÑIGA y DÍAZ DE ILARRAZA, *A Historical View of the Philippine Islands*, sec. Extract.
[53] Félix LAUREANO, "Lavando La Ropa," in *Recuerdos de Filipinas: Álbum-Libro: Útil Para El Estudio y Conocimiento de Los Usos y Costumbres de Aquellas Islas Con Treinta y Siete Fototipias Tomadas y Copiadas del Natural*, ed. Felice-Noelle RODRIGUEZ and Ramon C. SUNICO, trans. Renan PRADO (Mandaluyong, Filipinas: Cacho Publishing House, 2001), 39; CASTRO, "Dissecting Dress," 56; CRUZ, *The Terno*, 3.
[54] HANNAFORD, *History and Description of the Picturesque Philippines*, 40.
[55] MARCHE, *Luzon and Palawan*, 65.
[56] FLORES, "A Short History of the Pilipino Costume," 13; CRUZ, *The Terno*, 3.

must have served as an extra layer of modesty. Each part of the camisa was actually sewn by hand and care and gracefulness in movement was required so as not to accidentally tear them apart. Additionally, the sheer material of the nipis fabrics can also be quite revealing. Without the pañuelo, the lady's décolletage and cleavage would be rather conspicuous.

The materials used for the pañuelo were varied and mainly depended on one's wealth. Wealthy women have started to be depicted wearing lighter and more delicate materials. The texture of the pañuelo depicted in Domingo's *Una India de Manila Vestida de Gala* (Fig. 6) in the 1830s, for example, resembles lace. The material used could either be imported lace or embroidered nipis.[57] Sewing, embroidery and lacemaking formed an essential part of women's education in the Philippines and as they became more adept in the different techniques, they were able to replicate various European handiworks, such as the burrato lace (*surcido*), Venetian lace (*encajes de bolillo),* and English point lace (*encaje ingles* or Richelieu), among others. They also applied open work (*calado*), raised point (*en relieve*) and shadow (*sombra*) embroideries on a wide range of textiles and garments, from the coarse guinara cotton shirts to silk tapís to piña handkerchiefs and pañuelo.[58] Occassionally, instead of using gold or silver threads, they would use human hair to personalize the clothing or accessories.

The RMV collection have three red checkered pañuelo or alampays made of mixed cotton and silk, which may have belonged to the middle class such as the mestiza shopkeeper in Damián Domingo paintings. The actual pieces, which have embroideries on all the side borders and on all four corners, appeared very similar to the pañuelo worn by the mestiza in the painting. The texture also appeared very similar to the unembellished checkered pañuelo of Espiridión de la Rosa's *mestiza* (Fig. 4). Despite the fact that the textile and the embroideries of the pañuelos in the RMV appear ordinary, there is the possibility that they were worn by the wealthy on regular days, having set aside the piña and jusi ones for special occasions.

Women from Northern Luzon and the Visayas

There were regional disparities to the native women's outfit in the early 19th century. The women from Visayas, generally wore only two key pieces --a patadyong or patadiong, instead of a saya, and a plain, square-necked, collarless baro, also long-sleeved (Fig. 14A,

[57] DOMINGO, *Colección de Trajes de Manila y de Las Provincias*, fig. Mestiza de Manila.
[58] CRUZ, *The Terno*, 2.

Fig. 14B).[59] They wore no tapís. The patadiong, a wraparound skirt made from one-piece of untailored fabric, about a meter and a half wide,[60] was also seen among women from Luzon, specifically Sorsogon and Pampanga in the *tipos del país* paintings of Ravenet (1792-1794, Fig. 13) and Damián Domingo (1820-1834, Fig. 14A, Fig. 14B). It was usually wounded gracefully and fastened by tucking it in on the side of the waist. The patadiong also refers to "a type of tube garment known in Mindanao as the *patadjung* or *malong*."[61] Spanish Captain Diego de Artieda first mentioned its construction and use in 1573, describing how a single piece of "linen is drawn together like a bag and knotted at one shoulder."[62] This single piece of cloth was also used to wrap around the body, securing it under the armpits and tying it in the chest area.

Derived from the Visayan words *pa* and *tadlong*, which translates to "to be left straight,"[63] one can get an insight into the silhouette of the patadiong as a long, straight, narrow skirt, with no pleats (Fig. 14A, Fig. 14B). The construction of the saya was said have been based on the patadyong, however, Leticia Flores, in her article, *A Short History of the Pilipino Costume* (1967), was correct in asserting that the silhouette of the saya is not straight like the patadiong. In fact, according to her, the "basic lines were European,"[64] suggesting that the saya must be inspired by the full-length, adjustable drawstring cotton skirts worn by Renaissance women on hot summer days.

From what can be surmised from the various sources is this: patadiong could mean one of two things, it could be (a) a versatile fabric, a kind of tapís sewn along the edges,[65] but larger, or it could be (b) a kind of *malong* or tube skirt, with both ends sewn together. Since there is not much construction involved, either way, the silhouette is straight and narrow and they would be secured by tucking them in one side of the waist. While there were factories that produced patadiongs in Cebu, which exported to areas like Bicol where there was a demand for them, this garment was also largely unknown in central Luzon.[66] This was a

[59] "The patadiong is more commonly worn by the Visaya than the northern woman. It is somewhat like the tapís, but is drawn round the waist from the back, the open edges meeting, more or less, at the front." FOREMAN, *The Philippine Islands*, chap. XXI, p. 357.
[60] LAUREANO, *Recuerdos de Filipinas*, 39.
[61] CASTRO, "Dissecting Dress," 50.
[62] Diego de ARTIEDA, "Relation to the Western Islands Called Filipinas, 1573," in *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, ed. Emma Helen BLAIR and James Alexander ROBERTSON, vol. 3 (Cleveland: Clark, 1903), 200.
[63] CRUZ, *The Terno*, 2.
[64] FLORES, "A Short History of the Pilipino Costume," 133–135; CRUZ, *The Terno*, 1.
[65] Foreman clarified the construction and use of patatdiong: "The patadiongis more commonly worn by the Visaya than the northern woman. It is somewhat like the tapís, but is drawn round the waist from the back, the open edges meeting, more or less, at the front." MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1983, chap. XXVII; FOREMAN, *The Philippine Islands*, chap. XXI.
[66] ÁLVAREZ GUERRA, *Viajes por Filipinas de Manila à Albay*, chap. 4, pp. 67–69.

simple garment that made use of ordinary cloth with simple stripe patters flaunted nothing except austerity. Álvarez-Guerra (1887), in fact, observed that the plainness and ordinariness of this piece made it unpopular among Ilonggo (mainly from Panay and Negros) and Tagalog (central Luzon, Manila in particular) *caciques*.[67]

From the 1840's onwards, Visayan and other provincial women have been shown to wear the same attire as the rest of the native and mestiza population. Many writers have generalized and concluded that women's dress is the same, if not similar in all the provinces.[68] The patadiong continued to be worn alongside other types of skirts. Even until the 1890s, Visayan women paired the patadiong with camisas with the airy angel sleeves *(mangas perdidas*, Fig. 15A*)* common in that period.[69] As their camisas, like the rest, were low-necked *(escotado),* their shoulders were similarly draped with the customary pañuelos.

Among the women outside Manila, distinctions between the rich and the poor laid in the use of shoes and pañuelo.[70] There were other subtle indicators of social class, for example, poorer Visayan women are depicted with unkempt hair and barefoot, while relatively wealthier women have a neat, brushed hairstyle and they usually have shoes or chinelas on. Some also had the same checkered or striped alampay Tagalog women wore around their shoulders.

1840s-1860s

From the 1840s, there were several changes in the Philippine style of dressing. These changes included, but were not limited to, changes in the baro, saya, tapís and pañuelo.

Urban and provincial styles started to merge towards the use of a common dress. Visayan women adopted the saya as skirt and wore them alternately with the patadiong. Artists who succeeded Damián Domingo no longer depicted Visayan women in patadiongs, which suggests that patadiong may have been used more for the home. Justiniano Asunción's *Country Girl* (1841, Fig. 16) and Lozano's *Two Native Women* (1867, Fig. 17), appropriately subtitled "one from the city, one from the province" were both seen in a saya and tapís. The difference laid on the type of textile and the use of pañuelo. The city girl's clothing showed finer textiles while the provincial girl made use of coarser fabrics and wore no pañuelo.

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[67] Ibid., chap. 4, pp. 68–69.
[68] In original Spanish: *el vestir de las mujeres es muy parecido en todas las provincias.* FULGOSIO, *Crónica de Las Islas Filipinas (1871)*, pt. 2, Ch. 8, p. 43, column 2.
[69] Félix LAUREANO, *Album-Libro: Recuerdos de Filipinas* (Barcelona: A. López Robert, impresor, Conde del Asalto, 63, 1895), fig. Indio Bisaya Types, pp. 38–39.
[70] Juan RAVENET y BUNEL, *Native Women from the Port of Sorsogon*, pen and ink and sepia gouache on paper, 1792 to 1794, Museo de America.

Beginning in the late 1840s, women from the upper classes set the trend of wearing the seamed Westernized, full balloon skirt**,** with five to seven layers of petticoats underneath, when going to church or when taking a stroll (Fig. 18).[71] Its close resemblance with the Western skirt was unmistakable especially when worn without the tapís (overskirt). [72] This Westernized skirt, still referred to by various authors as saya, would soon become standard wear, worn by different types of women, Spanish, mestizas to indios, from the different parts of the Philippines.

Production of larger pieces of textiles was made possible when the flying shuttle or *lanzadera volante,* an 18th century English invention, was introduced by Fr. Vicente Barreiro, a parish priest in Laoag from 1823 to 1847.[73] As larger pieces of textiles, i.e. up to 2.5 varas or 2.09 meters,[74] were made available, less number of textile panels were needed to make a skirt. From *siete cuchillos* or seven panels, the pieces were reduced to *cinco paños* or five panels (Fig. 4) to *tres paños* or three panels to *dos paños* or two panels by around 1895.[75] New cuts and styles were developed with fewer but bigger textile panels. With these bigger pieces, it is now possible to make a bias or semi-circular cut, from which a train or *cola* could easily be created. Various styles came out of this *saya de cola*, which gradually became "the correct and elegant attire for formal and special occasions."[76] As the textile panels grew larger, the trains also became longer. There was originally the short one, which resembles the dove's tail, appropriately called *la paloma* or "the dove (Fig. 18)."[77] Then there was the *media cola* or half train and a much longer one worn usually during fiestas or other special occasions. The dove's tail first appeared in artworks in the 1840s.[78] Both the *la paloma* and the *media cola* were worn and continued to be worn for afternoon promenades and for going to church for the rest of the century.[79] The longer ones were prominently seen worn by the elegant "daughters of Spaniards with Spanish women born in the country" in Lozano's Gandara Album (1867, Fig. 19).[80] The *saya de cola* (Fig. 18, Fig. 19) also appeared in

[71] LOZANO, *Nyssens-Flebus Album (1844-1846)*, fig. Mestizas in Promenade Attire; Mestizos in Churchgoing Attire; CRUZ, *The Terno*, 4; SANDOVAL, "The Filipino Terno," 100.
[72] CASTRO, "Dissecting Dress," 70.
[73] Castro based this on an unpublished translation by Policarpio Hernandez, OSA of "The Province of Ilocos Norte as Described by the Augustinian, Fr. José Nieto, in 1831." *See* Ibid., 63.
[74] Ibid.
[75] CRUZ, *The Terno*, 6.
[76] Ibid.
[77] Ibid.
[78] LOZANO, *Nyssens-Flebus Album (1844-1846)*, fig. Mestizas in Churchgoing Attire.
[79] José Honorato LOZANO, *Gándara Album: Álbum de Tipos de Filipinas Para El Excmo. Sr.Dn.José Gándara y Navarro*, Watercolor, 1867, fig. Chinese Mestiza wearing Promenade Clothes and Native Woman wearing Church Clothes, Private Collection.
[80] Ibid., fig. Daughters of Spaniards with Spanish Women born in the Country.

various formal photographs. Meanwhile, the *saya a la mascota* (Fig. 14C) was reduced to ordinary or house wear by the end of the 19th century. [81]

Beginning in the 1840s, French and British traders entered the market by supplying the local population with cheaper and more durable, machine-made cambayas from Europe.[82] Sold significantly less and with better choices of colors, French cambayas increasingly became popular. Considering that it originally took between two to seven narrow panels to make a skirt, the cambayas were also sold wholesale at 50-56 pesos or 252-280 francs for a set of 20 pieces, which means a piece may be bought for 2.50 pesos.[83] These European machine-made cambayas have overtaken the handwoven ones from Madras. The use and popularity of cambayas became more widespread as their market prices became significantly lower. Driving the price down to only 5 piastres (5 pesos) per piece,[84] which was enough for two sayas, European cambayas have become more affordable to lower-income members of society. Although it must be noted that at a time when the average wage of a female servant in Manila was 2 pesos,[85] cambayas at 5 pesos per piece still constituted more than their monthly salary. The rich, meanwhile, still favored the original madras cotton, which at 67 pesos or 336 francs for a set of 20 pieces, was only twenty percent more expensive.[86]

As the poorer classes also began to be seen with the cambayas which were once affordable only to the elite. Class distinctions became subtler and required a careful, nuanced eye. From 1840s onwards, as the skirts became fuller and the tapís were slowly being eliminated, the materials used for sayas were expanded from cambayas[87] to include both locally-made and imported silk, satin, jusi and abacá.[88]

Throughout the 19th century, dark colored tapís with horizontal stripes consistently stood in contrast with the relatively colorful checkered sayas.[89] From around the 1840s until the 1860s, it became more fashionable to wear shorter tapís. However, this trend was rather short-lived because as the tapís shortened, they began to resemble the *delantal* or apron worn by cooks and servants. As a result of these types of associations, the use of tapís gradually

[81] CRUZ, *The Terno*, 6.
[82] MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1983, 293; CASTRO, "Dissecting Dress," 65.
[83] The length of each piece was 3 vares (3 meters 48), which was enough for two sayas. MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1983, 500; CASTRO, "Dissecting Dress," 65.
[84] MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1983, 293; FULGOSIO, *Crónica de Las Islas Filipinas (1871)*, pt. 2, Ch. 8, p. 43.
[85] CAMAGAY, *Working Women of Manila*, 1, 45, 52.
[86] MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1983, 293; CASTRO, "Dissecting Dress," 65.
[87] *Cambayas*, otherwise identified also as madras cotton, was the preferred textile for *sayas. See* JOAQUIN and SANTIAGO, *The World of Damián Domingo*, 70.
[88] "By 1842, two-thirds of the cotton fabrics used in the Philippines were from the United States." Quoted from (-), *Catálogo de La Exposición General de Las Islas Filipinas 1887*, sec. Septima, Grupo 50, #154: Junta local de Argao, Cebu, p. 510; #231: Don Rufino Pido, p. 518; CASTRO, "Dissecting Dress," 65.
[89] MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1846, 65; MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1983, 293.

was intermittent, but, it was never completely eliminated. For a time, the baro't saya ensemble without the tapís became associated with the mestizas, some of who chose to do away with tapís. The baro't saya ensemble would evolve to become the *terno* of the 20th century. With the *terno*, the tapís would be resurrected and refashioned as the heavily embroidered or beaded *sobrefalda*.

Women wearing shortened tapís that reached only the knees or even above the knees were first seen in the Lozano's Nyssens-Flebus Album (1846, Fig. 20).[90] This was confirmed by the notation that accompanied Lozano's Gervasio Gironella Album (1847), indicating that shorter tapís began to be worn by the more elegant women of Manila.[91] In the Gandara Album (1867, Fig. 21), Lozano painted two women in one painting, his Chinese mestiza was in promenade clothes wearing a full skirt and a knee-length tapís while his native woman wearing church clothes was wearing an even shorter, above-the-knee tapís. Mallat (1846) mentioned that the tapís usually measured 2.5 varas or 217 cm long and 130 cm wide.[92]

Apart from the changes in the saya and the tapís, there were also some major changes in the baro or camisa. As observed in the artworks of Justiniano Asunción (BPI collection) and José Honorato Lozano (Ayala collection, 1850, Fig. 22),[93] the straight sleeves started to appear much looser and some even shorter, with lengths reaching only somewhere between the elbow and the wrists. The straight sleeves were also not tapered and some of the camisas of the wealthy were depicted with upturned cuffs and lace ruffle details. Although the details depicted in the abovementioned paintings did not completely match the actual baros in the RMV, it is likely that different types of cuffs and materials were worn during that period. Several baros in the RMV, for example, do not have upturned cuffs and instead of lace, they have embroidered cuffs. With the pañuelo covering the baro, there were also details in the actual garment, which was not evident when looking at the paintings alone. In the actual baro, one could clearly see the *tapa de pecho* and the rounded necklines. The *tapa de pecho* was a rectangular piece of cloth attached to the inner, front side of the baro, which served as a breast binder or modesty panel (Fig. 10), prior to the introduction of other types of underwear, such as the European chemise and the *corpiño* (vest-like undershirt).[94]

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[90] LOZANO, *Nyssens-Flebus Album (1844-1846)*, fig. Mestizas en traje de paseo; en traje de ir a Misa; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 68–74, 283.
[91] LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 52: India de Manila; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 214–215.
[92] Quoted as 2.50 vares (2.17 meters long and 1.30 meters wide). *See* MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1846, 65.
[93] CASTRO, "Dissecting Dress," 66–67.
[94] Ibid., 69.

While baros made of opaque materials, mainly striped sinamay and cotton, were still the material of choice for daily wear, sheer nipis fabrics were also starting to be used. Previously worn only by wealthy males in Domingo's *Un Indio de Manila vestido de Gala* (Fig. 23) and *Un Mestizo Estudiante de Manila* (Fig. 24) as well as Espiridión de la Rosa's *El Joven Majo* (Fig. 25) and *El Joven Gallardo* (1820s-1830s, Fig. 26), nipis was now seen also among well-to-do females. The arms and skin of Asunción's *Spanish Mestiza of Manila* (Fig. 27)[95] were, for instance, clearly perceptible under the thin, gauzy fabric. Turning to the actual garments, the baros dated between the 1820s and 1830s had square necklines and the lengths reached the waist (Fig. 9). On the other hand, the baros in the 1840s (Fig. 10) were shorter with lengths reaching only to the midriff. They also had rounded necklines and attached *tapas de pechos*. The nipis used also appear finer and more transparent compared to the baros of the earlier decades. This goes to show that the art of weaving the nipis has significantly improved. A variation of this baro intended for special occasions started to appear sometime in the mid-1840s. In Lozano's Nyssens-Flebus Album (1844-46), the baro of his "Mestizas in Promenade Attire (Fig. 20)" and "Mestizos in Churchgoing Attire (Fig. 18)" had wide angel sleeves, with lengths slightly going only over the elbows. With the visible short-sleeved cotton undershirt, it is clear in both paintings that nipis fabrics were used for the baro. Thus, as the baros became shorter and the nipis used became thinner and more refined, the pañuelo, which was patterned after the European *fichu*, became even more of a necessity. A lace pañuelo or an embroidered veil, which costs between five to ten pesos were among the prestige products found in the wardrobes of wealthy native and mestiza women.[96] In his book, the Philippines through European Lenses, Otto van de Muijzenberg wrote how "Tagalog women in the rather prudish Catholic lowland Philippines of the 19th century were always wearing upper garments."[97] A reading of Mallat also suggests that the *tapa de pecho* as an undergarment may not be enough. He mentioned that although the loose, shapeless fit of women's baros were constructed for the sake of propriety and comfort,[98] they were still rather short, falling squarely only to the navel or even above it. Hence, one cannot help but catch a glimpse of their breasts, especially when they lift their arms. The relative thinness of

[95] ASUNCIÓN, *Justiniano Asunción Album of Philippine Costumes*, fig. Spanish Mestiza of Manila.
[96] Guillermo MARTINEZ TABERNER, "La Región del Nanyo. El Japón Meiji y Las Colonias Asiaticas del Imperiod Español. 1858-1898" (Tesi Doctoral UPF/2011, Departament d'Humanitats-Insitut, Universitari d'Historia Jaume Vicens Vives, 2011), 423.
[97] VAN DEN MUIJZENBERG, *The Philippines through European Lenses*, 54.
[98] MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1846, 66.

the fabrics also left very little to the imagination.[99] This, therefore, called for new types of undershirts.

Under the baros with attached *tapas de pecho*, some women would wear several more layers of undershirts. The first layer would be the *camiseta* or the *camisón*,[100] a straight, and narrow undershirt supported by two narrow straps, which was sometimes embroidered. This was supposedly followed by the *corpiño,* a vest-like undershirt with visible ruffle trims or lace edgings called *puntillas.*[101] Another type of *corpiño* with high-neck also existed. However, as most baros appear to have low necklines, it was likely that this type of *corpiño* was worn for occasions like balls and other formal parties that called for European styles of dressing.

Two varieties of undershirts were seen in two separate photographs. A studio portrait of a "*Doncella India*" from the Biblioteca Nacional de España's Album de Filipinas (ca. 1870, Fig. 28)[102] shows a young native maiden supposedly in a sleeveless white shirt with piping, which matches the description of a *camisón*. The same girl appears in Meyer's *Typen Album von Philippinen-typen* (1885) and was described to be wearing a European-style undershirt.[103] A photo from Dutch diplomat Meerkamp van Embden's Album IV (ca. 1883-1885, Fig. 29) shows another young Tagal in a different type of *camisón* --a beautiful off-the-shoulder shirt with pipings and cutworks.[104] Underwear such as this were typically made of the same light materials used for handkerchiefs. Among those identified were the Iloilo-made *sana* and the *babarahin* (similar to tulle).[105] The *cañamoso* (similar to hempen cloth) imported from Switzerland was used by the elite in the 19th century as a material for underwear but by the 1930s, it began to be used for baros as well.[106]

Lining (*forro de vestidos*) made of cheap and thinner sinamay or abacá was also attached to women's saya. During the 1887 Madrid Exhibition, *forros* made of sinamay were

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[99] Ibid.
[100] JOAQUIN and SANTIAGO, *The World of Damián Domingo*, 72; CRUZ, *The Terno*, 4.
[101] Don Pablo Ponce from Bataán, Capiz exhibited a sample of a *puntilla* during the 1887 Madrid exhibition. The material was not indicated. (-), *Catálogo de La Exposición General de Las Islas Filipinas 1887*, sec. Septima, Grupo 52, #27, p. 531; CRUZ, *The Terno*, 4.
[102] *Álbum de Filipinas, Retrato y Vistas, Ca. 1870 (60 Fotografias)*, B/W photograph, 1870, fig. Doncella India, Biblioteca Nacional de España, http://www.flickr.com/photos/bibliotecabne/sets/72157630616261852/; VAN DEN MUIJZENBERG, *The Philippines through European Lenses*, 45–46, 54.
[103] A.B. MEYER, *Album von Philippinen-Typen, circa 250 Abbildungen Auf 32 Tafeln in Lichtdruck* (Dresden: Wilhelm Hoffmann, 1885); VAN DEN MUIJZENBERG, *The Philippines through European Lenses*, 45.
[104] "Tagal" was taken from Meerkamp van Embden's Album IV, p. 254. *See* VAN DEN MUIJZENBERG, *The Philippines through European Lenses*, 45, 47, 54.
[105] ROCES, "Gender, Nation and the Politics of Dress in Twentieth Century Philippines," 24; CRUZ, *The Terno*, 3; FLORES, "A Short History of the Pilipino Costume," 134.
[106] CRUZ, *The Terno*, 9.

declared to be only 0.06 to 0.25 per piece.[107] Apart from the lining, women also wore a type of underskirt called *nabuas*, which generally costs 2 reales.[108] These *nabuas* must be the same white cotton underskirt that Mallat (1846) described.[109] Then, they wore another layer of petticoats or *enagua* for the purpose of making the skirt or dress appear fuller while at the same time making the waist look smaller. These petticoats were typically made of locally manufactured silk or cotton fabrics with stripes an inch wide and in muted colors.[110] Over the petticoated saya, a tight tapís (overskirt) could be adjusted to beautifully accentuate the curves of a woman's body.[111] In Europe, petticoats were worn both for aesthetic reasons as well as for added warmth during winters. They were however, tremendously unsuitable to the tropical climate of the Philippines. Considering the opaque materials of the saya and the dark tapís, petticoats were worn less for modesty than for the frivolities of fashion. Modeled after the petticoats worn by the European elite, lace-trimmed and embroidered petticoats were also an essential component of the wardrobe of a well-to-do woman living in the Philippines.

Underneath the layers of petticoats, Nick Joaquin mentions that the wearing of stockings was a must.[112] Stockings of varying transparencies were supposedly worn to cover exposed legs, especially in connection with shorter skirts (i.e. mid-length). However, as most skirts at that time were full-length, stockings were, in fact, dispensable and were not part of the Philippine woman's core attire. For women who felt the need to wear stockings, imported and embroidered hosieries or *medias de seda bordadas* were available at *Tiendas de los Catalanes* in Escolta, Binondo, Manila.[113]

Moreover, local women at that time also used a type of slip-on footwear referred to as *chinellas* or *tsinelas* (slippers).[114] Sonnerat (1782) wrote that local women wore this small, embroidered slippers that only covered the toe.[115] Mallat (1846) described how these *chinellas* were constructed similar to the French *pantoufles* and as such, the heels were visible when walking.[116] The development and use of such dainty slippers, possibly of Chinese origins, must have been also influenced by the foot-bounded women of China, who

[107] (-), *Catálogo de La Exposición General de Las Islas Filipinas 1887*, sec. Septima, Grupo 50, #39: Don Tomád Borondia, p. 497; #265: Subcomisión provincial de Albay, p. 521.
[108] Wealthier women generally own, at a minimum, two of these underskirts. Poorer women, for example, from Lauang do not wear such underskirts. *See* JAGOR, "Jagor's Travels in the Philippines," chap. 22.
[109] MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1983, 293.
[110] FULGOSIO, *Crónica de Las Islas Filipinas (1871)*, pt. 2, Ch. 8, p. 43.
[111] Ibid.
[112] JOAQUIN and SANTIAGO, *The World of Damián Domingo*, 72.
[113] GROIZÁRD, *Manila Alegre: Periódico Festivo Ilustrado*, 1885, Deciembre 11, Num. 2, p. 4.
[114] "Les chaussure est fort singulière." *See* MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1846, 67.
[115] SONNERAT, *Voyage Aux Indes Orientales et a La Chine*, vol. 3, Chapter 10, chap. 10; MARTÍNEZ DE ZÚÑIGA y DÍAZ DE ILARRAZA, *A Historical View of the Philippine Islands*, sec. Extract.
[116] MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1846, 64, 67.

contrived to walk in small measured steps. These were velvet-covered slippers, usually in different hues of blue, embroidered in silk, gold and silver threads, often incorporating beads, pearls and gemstones.[117] Although not visible in paintings and photographs, the insoles were generally lined in red and supposedly, these slippers were worn with only four toes getting into the footwear, leaving the smallest toe sticking out to prevent them from slipping off.[118] As stockings do not encase the toes individually in the same way that gloves fitted each of the fingers, it is unlikely that the stockings were paired with this type of footwear. Another possibility would be that women have grown so accustomed to the *chinellas* that they need not leave the smallest toe out just to keep their footwear in place.[119] Many well-to-do Philippine women who were actively engaged in business and trade, skillfully learned to keep them on as they performed various activities throughout the day, from walking fast, to going up and down the stairs, running, dancing and even riding horses.[120] Without the small toe sticking out, it is possible that cotton stockings were indeed worn with these slip-ons, but most likely on special occasions. There were also some unstated rules with regards to what color of stockings should women use. The colors –white for *dalagas* (young maidens), black for matrons[121] appeared to be age-appropriate. Stockings in skin tone may be considered too risqué for the conventions of that time. Children meanwhile were exempted from some of the rules of propriety that governed adults and may be seen with or without socks and stockings, at least before the age of six.[122] After that age, parents were advised to cover the legs of their daughters with elegant tights.

1860 onwards: The Tapís on the Discourse on Race and Class

Some would like to believe that the tapís as an overskirt served as an added layer of modesty. The popular moral codes written by priests in the Philippines during the 18th and 19th centuries always addressed issues relating to dress. The Visayan moral code, *Ang Lagda*, written by a Jesuit, Fr. Pedro de Estrada (1734), counseled young ladies to layer something over her skirt "so that it would not be transparent."[123] Imperceptible in the study of

[117] LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 31: India á Caballo; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 172–173.
[118] MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1846, 67; WILKES, "Manila in 1842," sec. Cockfighting.
[119] MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1846, 67.
[120] LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 31: India á Caballo; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 172–173.
[121] JOAQUIN and SANTIAGO, *The World of Damián Domingo*, 72.
[122] Maria del Pilar SINUÉS, "Trajes de los Niños," *El Bello Sexo*, Año 1, no. 23 (June 23, 1891): para. 2, p. 356.
[123] According to Camagay, Fr. Pedro de Estrada was a Jesuit missionary assigned in Leyte. His 75-page work, first published in 1734, was later reprinted in 1746, 1850, 1865 and 1863. CAMAGAY, "Filipino Sexuality in Nineteenth Century Philippines: How to Avoid Conception," 121–122, 132.

illustrations and visual images were the thin, perhaps plain and light-colored fabrics used for the sayas, especially by Tagalog women. The thinness of the material must have necessitated the use of a rectangular cloth in dark colors as wraparound coverup.[124] The argument that in the Philippine women's attire, "modesty was concentrated below the waist"[125] and that the tapís was originally intended for modesty may be true for the poorer classes. The study of images showed that the fabrics used in the sayas of elite women were mostly printed and abundant, rendering them rather opaque. An added layer of tapís would seem unnecessary. But, working women from the poorer classes may have used thinner fabrics, which then justified the use of the tapís as an overskirt for the sake of modesty. The tapís may have also served as an apron, a piece of cloth they can use, for example, to wipe their hands.

Meanwhile, the elite women's saya became voluminous with the addition of petticoats beginning in the 1840s. As the saya underneath billowed, the purpose -- and the visual effect -- of the tapís also evolved. Its purpose became clear. It was no longer intended for modesty but more as a piece to flaunt one's wealth and status, especially as its embroideries and designs became more and more intricate.[126] At least for the wealthy, Sandra Castro's assertions that the function of the tapís evolved to become a "mere accessory to the Western skirt is correct."[127] The tapís became a controversial piece of garment that stood at the forefront of discourses on race and class. In the article *India Elegante* that appeared in *Ilustración Filipina* (1859), the author pointed out that every country has its aristocracy but Manila had two: the legitimate one was referred to as the first society and the second one was the "aristocracy of the tapís."[128] According to the author, *la aristocracia del tapís* referred to the fraction of the native rural proletarian who projected status, perceiving the changing use of the tapís as having the potential to raise themselves higher. The article, which was supplemented with a sketch by C.W. Andrews, shows an elegantly dressed young woman coquettishly looking over her shoulders (Fig. 30, 31). She was supposedly the archetype of the *aristocracia del tapís*, a trendy young woman presumably from the emerging, intermediate or common classes who, through the tapís, endeavored to distinguish herself by following the fickle whims of fashion. Through the years, the use, length and opening of the tapís were visible indicators of fashionability. Apart from the length of the tapís, where the

[124] CRUZ, *The Terno*, 2.
[125] JOAQUIN and SANTIAGO, *The World of Damián Domingo*, 72.
[126] "One can gauge a woman's wealth by how much her tapís costs." CRUZ, *The Terno*, 3; SANDOVAL, "The Filipino Terno," 98–99.
[127] CASTRO, "Dissecting Dress," 53, 70.
[128] R., "India Elegante," in *Ilustración Filipina Periódico Quincenal*, Año 1, Num. 13 (Manila: Imprenta y litografía de Ramírez y Giraudier, 1859), 102.

tapís was fastened also played a role in urbanity. While the tapís were customarily tied in the front-side, the more urbanized elite started to tie their tapís at the back beginning in the mid-19th century. This was supported by drawings and descriptions. For example, Álvarez-Guerra, writing in the 1880s, commented on how the tapís with back opening *(con la abertura atrás)* was an innovation associated with the urbanized elite.[129] Paintings by José Honorato Lozano showed how women who wore this style were mostly mestizas, who in general were more affluent (Fig. 18, 20).[130] The phrase "aristocracy of the tapís," brings to light the role of this garment in native women's projection of status -- and in coquetry. This created the impression that adapting to the changing use of tapís associated indias with the version of modernity, wealth and femininity spearheaded by the mestizas.

The purpose may or may not be for modesty, but the tapís, which clings tightly to the hips, had an adverse effect of emphasizing a woman's waist and slender figure. Mallat attributes the manner of wrapping the tapís to its construction –or its lack of construction, for that matter-- saying that "they wrap it around their body in such a way as to show off their figures, and as they have no way of fastening it, the end of this cloth is fitted at the level of the hollow of the navel."[131] Barrántes recounted how, one evening in October 1860, a Spanish traveler, was so riveted with the charms of a young dalaga (maiden) dancing the *Cundiman* with her tapís draping alluringly over her skirt.[132] Despite being all covered up with a saya, tapís and pañuelo, he found her so enticing especially with how she gracefully tightened her tapís before taking the dance floor.[133] German ethnologist, Fedor Jagor, who was in the Philippines between 1859 and 1860, also commented on the visual impact of the tapís. Describing the alluring contrast of a closely drawn tapís with a petticoated saya, he wrote how it "made the variegated folds of the saya burst forth beneath like blossoms of pomegranate."[134]

Some would also like to believe that the tapís, being an article of clothing unique to the Philippine woman's attire, was used as a tool to demarcate race and to some extent, class.[135] Vicente Barrántes, writing in the 1870s, made a bold claim that the tapís was a piece of clothing that distinguished indias from the mestiza-españolas. The tapís visually

[129] ÁLVAREZ GUERRA, *Viajes por Manila à Tayabas*, chap. 3, pp. 65–68.
[130] LOZANO, *Nyssens-Flebus Album (1844-1846)*, fig. Mestizas in Promenade Attire; fig. Mestizos in Churchgoing Attire.
[131] MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1983, 293–294.
[132] BARRÁNTES, "Spanish, Portuguese, and American Women (1876)," 47–49.
[133] Ibid.
[134] JAGOR, "Jagor's Travels in the Philippines," chap. III.
[135] CRUZ, *The Terno*, 2; FLORES, "A Short History of the Pilipino Costume," 13.

distinguished the indias from the Spanish women who typically wore European-style dresses and some mestizas-españolas who began to eliminate the tapís. As early as the 1820s, some mestizas-españolas were already wearing one-piece empire-cut, pleated dresses with short sleeves, alternately, with their long-sleeved baro't saya ensemble (Fig. 7).[136]In his words,

> the mestizas do not use the Indian's distinctive article, not even by accident or as a joke, while the latter never forgoes it, not even by accident, since a mysterious instinct makes them see it with secret vainglory as a symbol of their pure, untainted blood. No one knows what law or primitive custom transformed the tapís into the artificial border between the two races.[137]

Interestingly, both Barrántes and his literary nemesis, José Rizal, saw a link between race and the use of the tapís. In the *Noli me tangere* (1886), Rizal used the *tapís* also to distinguish not only race but also affinities. For example, he began the presentation of Doña Consolacion, an india-married-to-a-peninsular[138] by specifying that she wears a flowing skirt like the Europeans, unlike the mestiza, Maria Clara, who wears the tapís over her skirt, just like the indias. The tapís was wielded in the novel to display Doña Consolacion's perception of herself as an *Orofea* (European),[139] who therefore felt compelled present herself without the tapís. On the other hand, the character of Maria Clara, who supposedly embodied the native women, was presented with tapís, perhaps to show her affinity with the indios.

To assess this link between tapís and race, various artworks and photographs from the late 18th century to the end of the 19th century was roughly surveyed. At the time of the Malaspina expedition in 1792 to 1794, natives and mestizas dressed in the Philippine style were wearing the tapís. On the other hand, Spanish women and perhaps, some mestiza-españolas, dressed in the European style were not wearing the tapís.

By the time of Damián Domingo and Espiridión de la Rosa between the 1820s and 1830s, *mestizas* were depicted both with and without the *tapís*. This might point to differences in the two types of mestizas --the mestizas-españolas and the mestizas de sangleys. In a sample of six mestizas from the various social classes, Domingo painted four

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[136] The one-piece dress had a cut below the bustline. The upper and lower portions of the dress were made of different materials. DOMINGO, *Colección de Trajes de Manila y de Las Provincias*, fig. Mistisa Española de Manila; JOAQUIN and SANTIAGO, *The World of Damián Domingo*, 56–57; CRUZ, *The Terno*, 25.
[137] BARRÁNTES, "Las Mujeres de Filipinas," 56.
[138] Marriages between Spaniards and pure native women, according to Foreman, still took place, albeit less frequently than before. From the white man's influence and status, the marriage generally accorded indias the social elevation many of them desired. FOREMAN, *The Philippine Islands*, chap. XI.
[139] The term "orofea" that Rizal used in the novel is clearly a mockery of the term Europea as "fea" in Spanish means ugly. RIZAL, *The Social Cancer: A Complete English Version of Noli me tangere from the Spanish of José Rizal*, chap. 39: Doña Consolacion, pp. 310–312.

with the tapís, two without the tapís. One mestiza supposedly from Pampanga was in patadiong, not in European-style saya, while the other one was in a completely European-style empire cut dress. In the works of Domingo's contemporary, Espiridión de la Rosa, one out of the two mestizas he depicted was wearing the tapís. The same is also true with the sketches of mestizas depicted by Gironière (1820-1840).

Justiniano Asunción, painting in the 1840s, likewise depicted some women in tapís, some without. Majority of the mestizas, particularly six out of a sample of eight mestizas from various social classes were wearing the tapís. In the various Lozano Albums from the 1840s to the 1860s, his works in the Nyssens-Flebus Album (1844-1846), Gervasio Gironella Album (1847) and Ayala Album (1850-1851) showed wealthy-looking natives and mestizas who were out for a walk in petticoated skirts both with and without the tapís. This is to distinguish them from the relatively poorer-looking women who were wearing regular sayas, depicted both with and without the tapís as well. The artists, whose purpose must have been to show the different types of people and their varied modes of dressing, erred on the side of diversity and painted women both with and without the tapís. In showing the racial heterogeneity of the population, their drawings were intended to display the wide assortment of clothes and accessories to emphasize the subjects' occupation, social status and regional origins. However, by Lozano's Karuth Album (1858), depictions of natives with tapís and mestizas without the tapís were becoming more common. There is, in fact, one painting titled "An Indian and a Mestiza (Fig. 32)," which, as the title suggests, juxtaposed the two in one painting.[140] Probably to highlight the trend that the fashion choice of mestizas have changed, he painted side-by-side an india in a *saya a la mascota* with a tapís and a mestiza in what appears to be the attire of a beata's pupil in a plain Western skirt, sans tapís (Fig. 108D). This particular painting somehow supported what Barrántes would later say in 1874 that indias wore the tapís while mestizas do not. From the same album, Spanish artist Juan Ribelles (1858) also depicted two "Spanish Mestizas in Street Clothes and Church Veils," both wearing what appears to be silk or satin skirts without the tapís. In the satirical journal of the peninsular Pedro Groizárd, *Manila Alegre (*1886, Fig. 33), there was a parody classifying pure indias, mestizas and Europeans, as Pure Coffee (*Café Puro*), Coffee with Milk (*Café con leche*) and others (*lo otro*).[141] Except for the tapís, the india and the mestiza were dressed in almost the same way, in camisa with bell or bishop's sleeves, pañuelo and saya. Their

[140] LOZANO, *Karuth Album (1858)*, fig. An India and a Mestiza.
[141] Pedro GROIZÁRD, *Manila Alegre: Periódico Festivo Ilustrado*, Año II (Escolta 18: Imp. La Industrial, 1886), Enero 16, p. 4.

clothing contrasts with the suit and bustle skirt worn by what appears to be a European woman.

It is difficult to substantiate Barrántes' claims that the tapís was an indicator of race because the trend may have started among mestiza-españolas sometime in the 1850s, but, the indias soon caught up and would then be indistinguishable in terms of dress. Particularly, in 1870, some elite mestizas-españolas and mestizas de sangleys were formally photographed in a studio without the tapís over full, petticoated skirts.[142] Interestingly, indio women from various classes, who were depicted almost consistently with the tapís, also began to be photographed without tapís between 1865-1885. They began to sport fuller skirts as well. There was one particular photo of a poor indio mother and daughter, where they both appear with a full saya of ample textile, with neither tapís nor pañuelo.[143]

Since the silhouette of the saya changed in the 1840s with the addition of layers of petticoats, it now resembles the voluminous skirts worn by European women.[144] In a late 19th century miniature painting on ivory, the full skirt was identified as "typical of the Victorian costume."[145] In a Simon Flores painting of the Hispanized india, Miguela Henson, she was depicted wearing "French influenced clothes and diamonds" while standing beside a "Victorian-style vanity table (Fig. 34)."[146] Some authors claimed that mestizas started to do away with the tapís in order to look more European. While others claim that a change in the perception of the tapís had taken root among elite mestizas. They apparently began to view and associate the shortened, knee-length or above-the-knee tapís with the *delantal* or apron worn by the *criadas* (maidservants). Since the 1850s, the newfound prosperity of the islands produced a class of new rich. The presence of the new rich may have necessitated members of the old elite to search for new ways to distinguish themselves, beginning with the elimination of the tapís and the incorporation of new types and designs of fabrics. Without the extra layer of tapís, the elite's choice of material for the saya expanded to include richer and even more luxurious fabrics, replacing the cotton *cambayas* with imported silks and

[142] *Álbum de Filipinas, Retrato y Vistas, Ca. 1870 (60 Fotografias)*, fig. Mestiza china; fig. Mujer mestiza española; fig. Retrato de familia mestiza española; BADIA VILLASECA, *Mujeres Filipinas*, 70, 71, 96.
[143] BADIA VILLASECA, *Mujeres Filipinas*, fig. Mujer peinando a una bella joven, pp. 74, 94.
[144] Spanish women were already wearing this type of skirt since the late 18th century. *See* Juan RAVENET y BUNEL, *Dueña en La Calle de Manila*, pen and ink and colored gouache on paper, 1792 to 1794, Museo de America; Juan RAVENET y BUNEL, *Señoras de Manila (Three Women of Manila)*, pen and ink and sepia gouache on paper, 1792 to 1794, Museo Naval; Juan RAVENET y BUNEL, *Señoritas de Manila (Young Ladies of Manila)*, pen and ink and sepia gouache on paper, 1792 to 1794, Museo de America, Call #: 2.312.
[145] Simon FLORES y DE LA ROSA, *Portrait of Andrea Dayrit*, 19th century, 279, Bangko Sentral collection.
[146] Ibid., 187.

satins.[147] Patterns also became more varied with moons and stars, florals and vertical stripes. The cotton *cambayas* were now commonly seen only among the women from the poorer classes.

For a time, the wealthy mestizas sought to sartorially separate themselves from the indias of the same class by eliminating the tapís and by updating the fabrics of the saya. For a time, the wearing no tapís was considered fashionable and the elegance by which the mestizas carried their attires[148] led to the development of the term, *traje de mestizas*. The *traje de mestiza* was understood at certain point as a reworked *baro't* saya, supposedly with reduced number of visible clothing pieces, consisting only of baro, saya, pañuelo and no tapís. Its distinctive features include a voluminous skirt, with petticoats and high quality fabrics. The sleeves of baro, in becoming loose and wide, were technically referred to in the West as angel sleeves. The pañuelo would be made of expensive handwoven fabrics like piña and would be heavily embroidered.

In terms of aesthetics, the tapís may have looked better with the pleated, narrower saya *(pares),* which was fashionable in the 1820s and 1830s. Without the layers of petticoats, the purpose of the tapís as a layer for modesty may have also been justified. But between the 1840s and 1880s, when the skirt ballooned and layers of petticoats were worn underneath, the tapís became unnecessary and unfashionable, especially among the rich --and the new rich -- eager for new means of distinction. This corresponded with the time when Barrántes was making his observations in the 1870s and 1880s. Once a civil governor and an esteemed writer, even gracing the cover of the first issue of *Manila Alegre* (6 December 1886), the circle he was moving in must have exposed him to the fashions of the wealthier classes. He may have also caught sight of many of the wealthy mestizas, who were dressed beautifully for their afternoon promenades in European-style skirts, without the tapís. For those from the leisure classes, these daily strolls in the Luneta were opportunities to show off their elegant attires. Similarly, he may have observed in the streets many native working women, majority of whom were from the poorer classes, wearing the tapís. Meanwhile, indias from elite families were dressed no differently from the mestizas. His claim that the tapís was an indicator of race was not entirely incorrect but it was problematic because the tapís-less *traje*

[147] Silk was imported from China and yarns were imported from Lancashire. BOWRING, *A Visit to the Philippine Islands*, 160.

[148] *El distintivo culminante en la taga-bayan, es el orgullo con que llevan y maintenen su jerarquis.* Álvarez-Guerra's *taga-bayan* term referred to the aristocry (*aristocracia ó le sangre azul)*. ÁLVAREZ GUERRA, *Viajes por Manila à Tayabas*, chap. 3, pp. 65–68.

de mestiza was worn not only by the mestizas but also by the affluent indias, who, perhaps, he may have had limited or no interactions with.

To sort out this confusion, the questions that need to be answered are as follows: Can the ensemble be called *traje de mestiza* if it was worn with a tapís? Is the *traje de mestiza* worn without a tapís still an indicator of race and wealth?

While the tapís-less *traje de mestiza* would become popular and widespread, they were also worn with the tapís. That mestizas in general stopped using the tapís is difficult to establish, since throughout the 19th century, there were many mestizas who wore tapís and many indias who chose to go *de suelta* (loose) "to look more European."[149] The use of tapís could depend partly on the type of mestiza (mestiza de español or mestiza de sangley), their levels of Hispanization and self-identification. Ramon Zaragoza, for example, said that the mestiza-españolas generally identified themselves with Europeans while mestizas de sangleys generally identified themselves with the indios.[150] In a photo of José Rizal's family, his two sisters, Joséfa and Lucia, and his mother, Teodora Alonso or Doña Lolay, were all wearing tapís (Fig. 35) .[151] Another photo showing Rizal's teenage love, Leonor Rivera, photographed with her mother, showed both of them with full saya and tapís (Fig. 36).[152] They can be categorized as mestizas de sangley from the upper classes. Meanwhile, a studio photo of Rizal's other lady love, not a mestiza but a pure Irish lady, Joséphine Bracken, was shown in a *traje de mestiza* without tapís.[153] Joséphine's attire here, which must have been taken in the late 1880s or early 1890s, attests that formal wear had evolved (Fig. 37). Even foreign women had adopted the native dress, at least for special occasions and for formal pictorials. Having one's photo taken in a studio-salon at that time qualified as a momentous -- and for among those who became famous, a historic affair.

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[149] Nicanor G. TIONGSON, "Costumes of the Colonized," in *Kasaysayan: The Story of the Filipino People*, ed. Maria Serena I. DIOKNO and Ramon N. VILLEGAS, vol. 4: Life in the Colony (Manila: Asia Publishing Co., 1998), 292–293.

[150] ZARAGOZA, *Old Manila (Images of Asia)*, 47.

[151] Photo of Rizal's family was identified by Fr. Bonoan to have been sourced from Rizal Library Resources, Ateneo de Manila University. *See* Raul J. BONOAN, S.J., "José Rizal: Revolution of the Mind," in *The World of 1896*, ed. Lorna KALAW-TIROL (Makati: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1998), fig. 329: Joséfa, Teodora, Lucia Rizal, p. 216.

[152] Photo of Leonor Rivera and her mother was identified by Fr. Bonoan to have been sourced from Rizal Library Resources, Ateneo de Manila University. *See* Ibid., fig. 336: Leonor Rivera and mother, pp. 220–221.

[153] Photo of Joséphine Bracken was identified by Fr. Bonoan to have been sourced from Rizal Library Resources, Ateneo de Manila University. Ramon Lala meanwhile referred to Joséphine as the wife of José Rizal. She was the daughter of an Irishman who Rizal performed a successful eye operation when he was exiled in Perin, Dapitan. *See* Ibid., fig. 358: Joséphine Bracken, p. 235–236; Ramon Reyes LALA, *The Philippine Islands* (New York: Continental Publishing Company, 1899), 294–295, http://dlxs.library.cornell.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?sort=datea;c=sea;cc=sea;type=simple;rgn=full%20text;q1=pi%C3%B1a;view=reslist;subview=detail;start=1;size=25;didno=sea212.

The use of tapís has, as shown above, always been discretionary. Combinations involving voluminous, petticoated skirts paired with a baro with airy sleeves, pañuelo and the optional tapís could still qualify as *traje de mestiza*. Barrántes' claims that the tapís was an indicator of race may have been originally true but as the *traje de mestiza* would later on be emulated and arbitrarily adopted by the rest of the female population, both rich and poor, his statement would be rendered outdated, if not altogether invalid.

In the 1880s, the *traje de mestiza* featured wide, flowing bell or bishops's sleeves, which would become even wider and stiffer (starched) through the years and with it, embroideries became more and more intricate. In José Moreno's book, *Philippine Costume*, apart from the *traje de mestiza*, an ensemble called the Maria Clara dress was mentioned. Supposedly named after the heroine in Rizal's novel, *Noli me tangere* (1886), the Maria Clara dress was chronologically positioned before the *traje de mestiza*, saying that "the *traje de mestiza* was in fact the Maria Clara, trimmed into a shapely modernity."[154] It was said to have came out after the "the nation emerged from a colony, became part of a commonwealth and then moved on to become a republic…"[155] A careful scrutiny of the *Catálogo de la Exposición General de las Islas Filipinas: celebrada en Madrid ... el 30 de Junio de* 1887, however, shows that the term and the ensemble, *traje de mestiza*, predated the term Maria Clara dress. After all, Rizal only conceived the character of Maria Clara three years earlier in 1884 and the novel, *Noli me tangere*, was not published until December 1886. In September 1887, a certain Doña Pilar from Madrid already made a submission to the Madrid exhibition, an ensemble specifically labeled *traje de mestiza*, comprised of a silk skirt, *camisa* and *pañuelo de nipis bordado* (embroidered shirt and kerchief made of sheer fabric) and velvet slippers. No tapís was included in this *traje de mestiza* entry. The total cost of the entire ensemble was indicated to be 55 pesos.[156] Doña Micaela Merino de López Berges from Madrid had another set—also without tapís-- consisting of embroidered piña for skirt, frills, *cuerpo y chaleco,* valued at 600 pesos.[157] These listings demonstrate that the *traje de mestiza* certainly did not develop after the Maria Clara dress.

Here, we are confronted with the development of terms, which were distinct from the development of the dresses. It is possible that the *traje de mestiza* and the Maria Clara were essentially the same, if not similar dresses, which ultimately evolved into the *terno* of the 20th

[154] MORENO, *Philippine Costume*, 178, 228.
[155] Ibid., 228.
[156] (-), *Catálogo de La Exposición General de Las Islas Filipinas 1887*, sec. Segunda, Grupo 16, #121, p. 272.
[157] The exact listing states "*vestido de piña bordado, compuesto de falda, volante, tela para cuerpo y chal. Se vende en 600 pesos*." Ibid., sec. Septima, Grupo 51, #13, 528.

century. When the term Maria Clara dress started to be used in the vernacular is unknown and would, most likely, be impossible to trace. It is likely that the term Maria Clara dress did not really refer to the actual dresses worn by Maria Clara in Rizal's novel; rather, it could have been posthumously used to refer to the attire evocative not only of the image but also the qualities of Maria Clara. The *traje de mestiza* must have been connected to Maria Clara because her character embodied the traits of the idealized *"Filipina"*—ladylike, elegantly, well-educated, modest, proper, faithful and devoted, etc. Rizal, after all, did not place too much emphasis on the details of her dress, he merely described her attire as necessitated by the scenes in the novel. He detailed her clothing to conjure images of decency, elegance and wealth, such as her use of expensive textiles, like jusi and piña even during times of illness.

> "her head was covered with handkerchief saturated in cologne. With her body wrapped carefully in white sheets, which swathed her youthful form with many folds under curtains of jusi and piña, the girl lay on her kamagon bed. Her hair formed a frame around her oval countenance and accentuated her transparent paleness."[158]

To emphasize her affluent circumstances, he made sure to indicate the use of *kamagong* wood for her bed as well as the cologne that scented her handkerchief. Other indicators, like jewelries, were also used to complement descriptions of her appearance. For example, he described "the filmy piña pañuelo around her white and shapely neck, where there blinked, as the Tagalogs say, the bright eyes of a collar of diamonds"[159] and when she went with Tia Isabel to early mass, she was "dressed elegantly, wearing a rosary of blue beads, which serves as a bracelet."[160] He made references to her education and talent as well, of how this beautiful, charming, wealthy, polished disciple of St. Cecilia, could also play the piano elegantly, rendering the best German & Italian compositions.[161]

Irrespective of the varied terms, the evolution of the *traje de mestiza* as an ensemble, could best be observed in the sleeves of the baro/camisa. It was suggested that the widening of the sleeves went hand in hand with the development of women's needlework skills – that "as women became more proficient in the art of embroidery, the sleeves became wider to accommodate more embroideries."[162] These wide soft-flowing angel sleeves, which first started to appear in the 1850s, slowly began to take the shape of a bell (bell sleeves, similar to a type of bishop's sleeves popular in the West) beginning in the 1880s, before it developed

[158] RIZAL, *The Social Cancer: A Complete English Version of Noli me tangere from the Spanish of José Rizal*, chap. 42: The Espadañas, pp. 335–336.
[159] Ibid., chap. 5: A Star in a Dark Night, pp. 33–35.
[160] Ibid., chap. 7: An Idyl on an Azotea, pp. 50–51.
[161] Ibid., chap. 28: The Correspondence, pp. 219–220.
[162] CRUZ, *The Terno*, 2.

into the starched and puffed butterfly sleeves in the 1890s – a style which will be slimmed down or refined through the years.

The appearance and qualities of the fictional Maria Clara, with whom the dress was named after, was speculated to be based on the real life sweetheart of Rizal, Leonor Rivera, who must have been, for the author, the ideal *dalagang Filipina* – beautiful, well educated, well-spoken and most especially, from a good family.[163] Leonor was portrayed to be one who, "typical of the young women of her class and upbringing, could sing, play the harp and piano and was educated enough to read and speak Spanish."[164] In portraits of Leonor, who died in 1893 at the young age of 26, she was photographed wearing both flowing angel and puffed bell sleeves, which show the coexistence of both styles (Fig. 38).[165] Mallat confirmed that these baros with loose, airy and unrestrained sleeves worn by local women did not resemble the blouses worn by the women in Europe.[166] The relatively stiff and unyielding nature of some local cloths, particularly hemp, not to mention that starching became quite common, must have influenced the progression of the camisa sleeves into the puffed butterfly style. In the periodical, *La Moda Filipina* (1894), a fictional Spanish woman living in the Philippines defended the Philippine way of dressing, with its characteristic airy sleeves and with no corsets, as appropriate to the climate. She said that

> what may seem in the first impression as odd attires – tasteless and lacking elements of grace -- are actually pleasant and appropriate to the climate. With neither the oppressive corset armor that tortures the body nor the bodice that gives shape to the body, the Philippine dress is elegant in its flexibility, much more charming than the rigid fashion imposed upon the women in Spain or in Europe, where young people are morally

[163] The sketch depicts only Leonor's upper body. She was portrayed elegantly clad in a *pañuelo* and her hair in an elegant chignon. In contrast, his crayon drawing of Leonor when she was 18 shows her looking rather somber, with distinctly sad eyes. Perhaps, this was how he, as the artist, saw her. José RIZAL, *Pencil Sketch of Leonor Rivera* (New York: World Book Company, 1913); José RIZAL, *Crayon Drawing of Leonor Rivera at 18* (Manila: Philippine Education Co., 1909).

[164] REYES, *Love, Passion and Patriotism*, 163.

[165] There were strong parallelisms between Leonor Rivera (b. 11 April 1867; d. 28 August 1893) and the character of Maria Clara. Austin Craig writes, "strangely, like the proposed husband [Don Alfonso Linares de Espadaña] of the Maria Clara in Noli me tangere, ,in which book Rizal had prophetically pictured her, this husband [Henry C. Kipping, an engineer working on the Manila-Dagupan Railway project] was one whose 'one whose children should rule' -an English engineer whose position had been found for him to make the match more desirable." Leonor died during childbirth only two years after getting married. MORENO, *Philippine Costume*, 178, 180; BONOAN, S.J., "José Rizal: Revolution of the Mind," fig. 336, p. 220; Austin CRAIG, *Rizal's Life and Minor Writings* (Manila: Philippine Education Co., 1927).

[166] Quoting Fulgosio (1871), who based much of his writings on Mallat (1846): *Mucho se diferencia la camisa de las indias de la que usan las europeas. Es de algodon blanco ó azulado, de sinamay ó de nípis bordado ó sombreado, ó bien el tejido tiene mezcladas con las de seda hebras de las hojas del phormium, tenax, las cuales forman listas de colores muy vistosos. La camisa, aunque va holgada. Se ciñe en cierto modo y marca la cintura; tiene mangas largas que se recojen sobre el brazo, y por último, se ven sus orillas bordadas.* MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1846, 66; FULGOSIO, *Crónica de Las Islas Filipinas (1871)*, pt. 2, Ch. 8, p. 43.

obliged to be slaves of the European dress. From its cradle of fashion in Paris, the despotic fashion queen dominated every corner of a young European's life. Those wide sleeves open up the blood circulation for air and the pañuelo adds the gracefulness appropriate to a beautiful country.[167]

Clearly affected by the weather, without the superfluity of upper garments, i.e. corsets, that European women had to wear, the Philippine woman was more free, or at least, appeared more free. As Sawyer mentioned, the light and gauzy native fabrics were suitable for wearing in the Philippines or anywhere in the tropics.[168]

Among all the articles of clothing, it was in fact, the baro, which bore the imprints of female labor and diligence. It was often the most heavily embellished and personalized, not to mention its sleeves, which registered a great number of modifications in terms of shape and style. The cloth will first be bought then sewn together by hand by a sastre or costurera (seamstress). Embroideries will be painstakingly added either by the women themselves or by bordadoras (embroiderers), the best of which were from the Ermita or Malate areas.[169] "In the end, the personal choices made for the embellishment of a baro would create a status symbol, an expression of female creativity and eventually, a family heirloom."[170]

The baro of the wealthy was also the most tedious to maintain, often requiring them to be assembled and disassembled. As many were made of delicate nipis fabrics that could easily be damaged, they would have to be deconstructed each time they needed to be washed.[171] After careful laundering, individual parts of baros would be starched or pressed using the *prensa de paa* (Fig. 39),[172] a crude contraption made up of a sort of rolling pin placed in between two thick wooden boards. To create a crisp appearance, textiles, which were easily creased like sinamay and piña often had to be placed in the rolling pin and "pressed" using body weight. In one stereographic photo from the Keystone View Company, a mother and her two daughters provided pressure by standing in the *prensa de paa's* upper board and rolling from side to side.[173] After ironing, the detached pieces would once again be hand-stitched. The cycle was repeated each time the baro was worn.

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[167] (-), "Brisas del Oriente."
[168] SAWYER, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines (1900)*, chap. XVII.
[169] CASTRO, "Dissecting Dress," 66–67; CAMAGAY, *Working Women of Manila*, 1, 39.
[170] CASTRO, "Dissecting Dress," 66–67.
[171] CRUZ, *The Terno*, 8.
[172] Corazon S. ALVINA, "Technology," in *The World of 1896*, ed. Lorna KALAW-TIROL (Makati City: Ateneo de Manila University, 1998), 52–53.
[173] KEYSTONE VIEW COMPANY, *Ayundado a Mama Planchar a Ropa (Helping Mom to Iron Clothes)*, Stereographic photograph, 1906, Madrid: Museo Nacional de Antropología; ALVINA, "Technology," fig. 92, pp. 52–53.

An actual piña baro from the *Museo del Traje* collection dated sometime between 1876-1900, confirms the delicate nature of these shirts. The baro, which is small and short, -- measuring only 21 cm in length and has a circumference of 61 cm-- must have belonged to a really petite woman.[174] As the baro has a front opening, there was obviously no *tapa de pecho* attached (Fig. 149B). It has the rounded neckline and angel sleeves seen only after the 1850s. It was painstakingly embroidered with tiny flowers, leaves and branches using pink, brown and green silk threads. Its edges were also embellished with beautiful scalloped details. It is clear that this type of baro belongs to a different time period than the ones found in the RMV, the main features of which include an outdated square neckline, tapered sleeves and *tapa de pecho*.

As the upper garment of the *traje de mestiza* was usually made of *nipis* fabrics, which tend to be itchy, especially in the country's hot and humid climate, women, like the men, would wear the short-sleeved undershirts, the embroideries and trimmings of which would be visible under the filmy fabric of the baro. This type of underwear has rendered the *tapa pecho* seen attached to the earlier baros unnecessary (Fig. 10).

Subtle innovations like starched pañuelos, also allowed the back portion to stand elegantly creating a regal appearance. There were few variations in folding the pañuelos as well as in the manner of securing them. Sometimes, they were secured modestly below the throat, while other times, the openings were a bit wider, with the brooch positioned in between the breasts. Like the baro/camisas, many of these *pañuelos de piña* also became noted for their value.[175]

Less panels were also used for the saya, which were made of plain silk or printed cotton, or satin with brocade stripes.[176] Common combinations of stripes in the saya fabrics also began to have nominal and racial associations. Sayas with red and yellow stripes was referred to as *escuadra española* to distinguish from the sayas with red and blue stripes, which were called *escuadra americana.*[177] With this ensemble, the tapís was optional. But, certainly, without the tapís, they resembled more the Europeans they wished to emulate. The print ad of *Sastrería Lorenzo Gibert* in 1885 indicated that some skirts constructed with

[174] *Cuerpo (Baro)*, Actual Piña Garment, 1876 to 1900, Museo del Traje, Madrid.
[175] FULGOSIO, *Crónica de Las Islas Filipinas (1871)*, pt. 2, Ch. 8, p. 43.
[176] TIONGSON, "Costumes of the Colonized," 292–293.
[177] CRUZ, *The Terno*, 6.

elastic waistbands (*elasticotines*) were also worn, presumably as underskirts.[178] A black velvet necklace would then be worn complement this attire.

There were a few *escuadra españolas* captured in paintings, one of which was from the Spanish artist Agustín Sáez y Glanadell, who served as the Director of the Academia de Dibujo y Pintura in Manila from 1858 to 1891. His *Retrato de Una Española Filipina* (1886, Fig. 40) in oil shows a full-blooded Spanish woman born in the Philippines (insular) wearing the Philippine style of dress, with tapís, instead of European dress (*traje europeo*, Fig. 109, Fig. 109B, Fig. 110).[179] Her beautiful nipis baro and pañuelo was paired with a red saya with pale yellow stripes.[180] This particular portrait was interesting for the mixed adherences apparent in the subject's dress. A woman with European features and white skin wearing the Philippine attire of the day used the Spanish colors in her saya. Over her saya, she wears a dark brocade tapís, an article of clothing shunned by many of those who attempted to look more European. The notation that came with this portrait stated that "dress was an expression of Filipino patriotism."[181] Meanwhile, an *escuadra americana* was seen in a painting by an exceptional female painter, Granada Cabezudo.[182] *Una Mestiza* (1887) was shown wearing a voluminous blue saya with pale red stripes and a dark tapís over it.[183] With the lace mantilla (veil) covering her head and a prayer book in hand, Cabezudo's *mestiza* lady was certainly dressed elegantly for church. Eloisa Hernandez wrote that the woman in the portrait must have been well-off as well as "literate and religious, judging from her finery" and the religious objects she had with her.[184] In another oil painting appropriately titled *La Siesta* (1879, Fig. 42B), Félix Resurreccíon Hidalgo enchantingly captured a well-to-do female in what appears to be a provincial setting as she fell asleep in a *perezosa* (lazy chair), while evidently dressed for going out, perhaps to go on a promenade, which people used to dress up

[178] Jaime ESCOBAR y LOZANO, *El Indicador del Viajero en Las Islas Filipinas* (Manila: Tipo-Litografía de Chofre y C.ª, 1885), 213.
[179] R., "India Elegante."
[180] Agustín SÁEZ y GLANADELL, *Retrato de Una Española Filipina (Portrait of a Philippine-Born Spanish Lady)*, Oil on canvas, 1886, Museo del Prado on loan to Ayuntamiento de Las Palmas de Gran Canaria; *Discovering Philippine Art in Spain*, 248–250.
[181] *Discovering Philippine Art in Spain*, 249.
[182] "Granada Cabezudo (1860-1900) wass the only identified Filipina who exhibited at the 1887 Exposicion de Filipinas en Madrid." She must have been from an *Ilustrado* family, considering that she learned to paint privately in the confines of her own home under the Spanish artist, Agustín Sáez, who was also the director of the Academia de Dibujo y Pintura. Cabezudo's *Una Mestiza* (1887) was painted when the artist was only 20 years old. Eloisa May P. HERNANDEZ, *Homebound : Women Visual Artists in Nineteenth Century* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 2005), 55.
[183] Granada CABEZUDO, *Una Mestiza (A Mestizo Lady)*, Oil on canvas, 1887, Museo del Prado on loan to Ayuntamiento de Las Palmas de Gran Canaria; *Discovering Philippine Art in Spain*, 246–248.
[184] HERNANDEZ, *Homebound : Women Visual Artists in Nineteenth Century*, 55.

for.[185] Wearing a beautiful nipis baro and pañuelo as well as a lavish red silk saya with pale blue stripes, she was distinctly in *escuadra Americana*. For ordinary wear, the sayas women used had regular hemlines. *Colas* (trains) were usually worn for special occasions or for evening wear.[186] In *La Siesta*, an abundance of material was used for the lady's skirt, but since she is lying down, it is hard to determine if the *saya* had a *cola.*

By the 1890s, the *traje de mestiza* began to be referred to as the Filipino dress or *traje del país*.[187] It seems that the name *traje de mestiza* carried with it some racist undertones, which was deemed unpopular and distasteful at a time of nationalist awakening. On certain occasions, this Filipino dress became the prescribed formal dress for females living in the Philippines, regardless of one's country of origin. Specifically, in the October 10, 1894 issue of *La Moda Filipina*,[188] there was a fictional correspondence between Emilia, either a peninsular or insular woman living in the Philippines and Luisa, her friend in Spain. The former refers to an engraving of a group of people attending a party (Fig. 43). The dress code called for the guests, even if they are Spanish or English, to wear the Filipino dress.[189] The engraving shows that the men were dressed in European-style suits while the women were dressed in baro with wide, flowing angel sleeves, saya with no tapís, and pañuelo. Based on this sketch, it seems that by Filipino dress, it meant suit for men and the so-called *traje de mestiza* for women. She wrote,

> do not try to find me in the engraving because even if I tell you where I am, you will not find me because I am behind two girls. You will also not recognize me because I am wearing the dress of a '*mestizo*,' or rather, '*Filipino*,' as this mixed designation does not seem appropriate in this period.[190]

La Moda Filipina, translated as Philippine Fashion, was an illustrated bi-monthly periodical, first published in Manila on March 15, 1893. It was in circulation only for one year, between 1893-1894. Written in the Spanish language, each issue consists of about 4 pages of texts and a few sketches and engravings, which were separated from the texts upon conversion to microfilm. The articles in *La Moda Filipina* were originally thought to be uninteresting with mostly texts and a few advertisements on clothing. A careful look,

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[185] Félix RESURRECCIÓN HIDALGO y PADILLA, *La Siesta (The Afternoon Nap)*, Oil on canvas, 1879, Palacio Real de El Pardo; *Discovering Philippine Art in Spain*, 266.
[186] TIONGSON, "Costumes of the Colonized," 292–293.
[187] Quoting Fr. Schumacher: "the well-to-do donned the *trajes del país* for romantic genre portraits." SCHUMACHER, "The World of 1896," 6.
[188] (-), "Brisas del Oriente," Octubre 10, p. 2.
[189] To be precise, the terms used in the article was *traje de mestiza, ó mejor dicho filipino* (-), "Brisas del Oriente."
[190] Ibid.

however, revealed some nationalist undertones. In giving a good description of Manila customs, such as the habits of Filipinos when courting a European girl, Emilia appears to be simultaneously defending the Philippine way of life. She was also defending the Philippine way of dressing as fluid, unrestricted and overall, appropriate to the climate, unlike the attires of the corseted women of Europe.

It is possible that this fictional correspondence was written by a man, a Filipino, and most likely, a Filipino nationalist. Considering that the press was censored,[191] one way for the author to circumvent the system was to publish in non-political publications such as fashion. An attempt to verify who was holding the pens of Emilia and Luisa was made by perusing over the pseudonym list of Wenceslao Retana, "the foremost bibliographic contributor and writer on 19th-century Hispanic Philippines."[192] Unfortunately, Emilia and Luisa could not be found on Retana's list. For now, their true identities will have to remain a mystery.

Racial differences in clothing between the Spanish or creoles, the mestizas and the native women were also slowly disappearing. Meanwhile, wives European and Chinese expatriates retained their own manners of dressing, engaging only what was referred to as limited orientalism.[193] They would either integrate small local embroideries in their European dress or purchase what to them are exotic fabrics from the "east" to show people back home. Frederick Sawyer, for example, reported how the jusi dress fabrics he had bought and sent to the ladies back in England were "greatly appreciated when made up by a *bonne faiseuse* (good tailor)."[194] Some would also have themselves photographed in the studio, wearing the *traje del país*.

Religious Accessories

Women wore pearl or corral rosary beads around their necks, sometimes with a copper medallion of the Virgin Mother of Guadalupe or Mexico. These medallions were social signifiers inasmuch as they can only be purchased from members of the religious

[191] From his narrative of U.S. Exploring Expedition, Wilkes recounts how it was impossible to find any reliable information in the Philippines given the government interventions. The government censored the gazettes published in Manila and the citizens tried to remain ignorant or simply accepted whatever information the government disclosed to them. He shared how the Philippines was under the iron rule of Spain but as he already labeled this section as "Censor, Rebellions," it suggests that it would not remain that way for long. WILKES, "Manila in 1842," 459–529.
[192] Elizabeth MEDINA, "Who Was Wenceslao Emilio Retana?," *Austrian-Philippine Website by Asian/Pacific Studies & Information Service at the Institut Für Völkerkunde (Institute of Social Anthropology), University of Vienna*, 1998, http://www.univie.ac.at/Voelkerkunde/apsis/aufi/rizal/retana1.htm.
[193] HOGANSON, "The Fashionable World: Imagined Communities of Dress," 270.
[194] SAWYER, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines (1900)*, chap. XVII: Manufactures and Industries.

orders who purposely carried them from Mexico and who alone had the right to sell.[195] However, by the mid-1800s, they ceased to be exclusive and were readily available for people of all classes.

Worn together with rosaries, many Christianized Filipinos and some Europeans, of both genders, wore scapulars around their necks.[196] These devotional scapulars, consist of two small pieces of red cloth, bearing the image of the Virgin del Carmen on one side and a cross on the other, were sold along with a booklet explaining the papal indulgences connected to their use. Typically worn covertly under the shirt, scapulars were visibly shown in various *tipos del país* paintings.

Jackets and Overcoats

A survey of 19th century ads of clothing stores and bazars show that there were different types of jackets and overcoats available to elegant, well-to-do men, women and children. Perhaps intended for wear of women during cooler or rainy days, there were *capotas*,[197] a cape without a hood, *capotas de monte*,[198] or poncho, and *capotas de goma*,[199] a raincoat made of water-resistant fabric. Furthermore, children had *chaquetas de punto*[200]or cardigans while men had *chaqués* or morning coats and *levites fracs* or frock coats, which may be customized at Sastreria Lorenzo Gibert.[201]

Women from the Common Classes

During the first half of the 19th century, the mass of *tao* that made up the colonized were dressed in practical and utilitarian clothing. Nicanor G. Tiongson, in his article, "Costumes of the Colonized," points to poverty as the cause for why they were "less exposed and less inclined to follow external influences."[202] But towards the end of the 19th century, their attires began to resemble that of the elite women, but made of coarser and less expensive materials. In fact, some began to look too elegant for the kind of work they were doing.

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[195] MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1846, 68.
[196] Ibid.
[197] Ad of Tiendas de los Catalanes, located at No. 18 Escolta in 1875 and No. 9 Escolta in 1885. Ramon GONZÁLEZ FERNÁNDEZ, *Manual del Viajero en Filipinas* (Manila: Estab. Tip. de Santo Tomás, 1875), 283; GROIZÁRD, *Manila Alegre: Periódico Festivo Ilustrado*, 1885, Deciembre 6 and 11.
[198] Ad of Villa de Paris, located at No. 37 Calle Real, Intramuros, presently M.H. del Pilar Street. GONZÁLEZ FERNÁNDEZ, *Manual del Viajero en Filipinas*, 270, 629.
[199] Ad of Villa de Paris, located at 37 Calle Real, Intramuros, presently M.H. del Pilar Street. Ibid.
[200] Ad of Tiendas de los Catalanes. GROIZÁRD, *Manila Alegre: Periódico Festivo Ilustrado*, 1886, Marzo 2.
[201] ESCOBAR y LOZANO, *El Indicador del Viajero en Las Islas Filipinas*, 213; GROIZÁRD, *Manila Alegre: Periódico Festivo Ilustrado*, 1885, Deciembre 6 and 17.
[202] TIONGSON, "Costumes of the Colonized."

In the 1820s and 1830s, women from the poorer classes wore baros with square necklines (Fig. 13, Fig. 14C) and minimal embroideries, usually along the perimeters of the neckline and the sleeves. The unstated conventions of that time dictate that the sleeves of women's baro must, at least, extend beyond the elbow. While the elite had tapered sleeves, the latter had very loose, straight sleeves that can be easily rolled up for practical purposes.[203] They also used lower quality cotton, guinara and sinamay.[204] Sinamay, a coarse abacá cloth from Iloilo, was usually quite cheap at 2 reales or 0.25 pesos per vara.[205]

Although the overall silhouette resembled that of the wealthier classes, the attire of the working women were more utilitarian and practical. They were equally colorful and captivating, but certainly they were not as covered as the wealthier women. They also have less variety in their clothing.[206] No fancy laces and trims adorned the edges of their baro and instead of the delicate pañuelo that draped softly and gracefully the shoulders of wealthy women, a simple cotton kerchief or alampay hanged around their necks or shoulders, which sometimes doubled as a wipe. It appears that the use of cotton alampay and tapís were discretionary as many were seen without it.

The color of the cambaya fabrics used in the sayas also tend to be brighter. The cuts were looser and the lengths were shorter. In the sketches that accompanied Gironière's work (1820-1840, Fig. 3), the sayas worn by his Ilocos Indians and Inhabitants of Bulacan were not the same, narrow *pares* seen among the elite. They were more the *saya a la mascota*, without tapís. The same skirt was worn by Damián Domingo's *India Ollera de Pasig* (1820s-1830s, Fig. 14C), this time worn with tapís.

Except for slight variations in the baro's neckline and sleeves, there were no glaring changes in their attires from the 1840s onwards. Square necklines were replaced with rounded and boat necklines (Fig. 9, Fig. 10). The sleeves billowed into the angel sleeves (Fig. 20) that were originally seen only among wealthy women who were taking their afternoon walks in the 1850s. The typical attire of the working class or poor women can best be exemplified in a woodwork dated 1865-1880. A young *dalaga* (maiden), perhaps a sidewalk vendor, was peeling some corn comfortably dressed in a simple checkered *saya a la mascota*,

[203] MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1846, 66.
[204] Ibid.
[205] There were various grades of sinamay but the ones used for lining or *forro* were usually the cheapest at 2 reales or 0.25 vara. There were higher grade ones for use in male and female baros which costs between 0.30 to 1 peso per vara. Boyce also confirmed that sinamay is coarse and only the poor classes wore it. (-), *Catálogo de La Exposición General de Las Islas Filipinas 1887*, sec. Septima, Grupo 50, pp. 496–527; BOYCE, *The Philippine Islands*, 43.
[206] WILKES, "Manila in 1842," sec. Cockfighting.

striped tapís and a baro of some cotton, sinamay or guinara material with angel sleeves. She was not wearing any alampay or pañuelo and her skirt did not have any petticoats.[207] Lecheras (milk vendor), cigarreras (tobacco factory worker), buyeras (betel nut vendor), and criadas (maidservants), among others, also appear to be dressed like her, as evinced in various street and roadside scenes captured by Lozano in his Gervasio Gironella, Karuth and Gandara Albums.[208] Minor variations on this attire would be the addition of pañuelo, tapís and head scarf, which outdoor workers tend to don to protect them from the hot sun.[209] As some were ambulant vendors, they wore platformed slippers with wooden soles *(bakya)* to protect them from mud or puddles of water.[210] This type of slippers was clearly seen worn by the wearied but poised and statuesque working class woman in Lorenzo Rocha's *Una India Filipina* (1898, Fig. 44A).[211]

Their attires remained essentially the same until the 1860s when women from the same class began to be photographed wearing petticoated European-type skirts, similar to those worn by the elite. In one studio photograph, *Mujer Peinando a Una Bella* Joven (1865-1885, Fig. 45),[212] an older woman is shown to be fixing the younger woman's long hair. They were both wearing loose sayas of ample textile and a simple baro with boat neckline and narrow angel sleeves. Both were not wearing the pañuelo and the tapís. Judging the material of their attire and their stance and expression, they do not possess the air of the well-to-do members of society. Possibly, they were "dressed" for the studio pictorial as their skirts appeared too voluminous for everyday life. Such full skirts, worn usually by women from the leisure classes during their afternoon promenades, was grossly impractical and unsuitable for the working women's trade.

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[207] *Tipo de Mujer Trabajando El Maiz*, wood e hijos, 1865 1880, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid; BADIA VILLASECA, *Mujeres Filipinas*, 79.
[208] LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 27: Carinderia, 28: Chino Pansitero, 32: India Buyera; 61: Lechera.
[209] SCHUMACHER, "The World of 1896," fig. 7: Fruit Vendor, p. 7; Fig. 8: Flower Vendors outside of Binondo Church, p. 7.
[210] WILKES, "Manila in 1842," sec. Cockfighting.
[211] Lorenzo Rocha (1837-1898) studied at the Academia de Dibujo y Pintura in Manila when it first opened in 1850. He was the first Filipino recipient of a four year study grant at Madrid's Academia de San Fernando. He was then appointed as Painter to the Royal Chamber of Her Majesty by Infante Francisco before returning to the Philippines in 1867 to teach at the Academia de Dibujo, where he became the Director in 1893. This was his only known surviving work. Lorenzo ROCHA E YCAZA, *Una Yndia Filipina (A Native Filipina)*, Oil on canvas, 1898, Museo de Bellas Artes de Bilbao; Reproduced and captioned in *Discovering Philippine Art in Spain*, 268.
[212] *Mujer Peinando a Una Bella Joven*, B/W photograph, 1865 to 1885, Colección Particular, Madrid; Sara BADIA VILLASECA, ed., *Mujeres Filipinas: Un Camino Hacia Luz* (Madrid: Fundación Mapfre and Universidad de Alcalá, 2007), 74, 93–94.

Another studio photo featuring four weavers, taken in 1875, seems to be a more realistic portrayal of how working class women were generally dressed in everyday life (Fig. 54).[213] They wore baros similar to the first photo but paired with less voluminous sayas. They also have alampays and tapís on. In Meerkamp van Embden's Album II (ca. 1886-1900), a maidservant was wearing a similar striped, boat-necked baro with angel sleeves.[214] In two roadside photographs, women were seen in baros with the same angel sleeves but with even wider neckline – almost off-the-shoulder (Fig. 46).[215] This bare shoulder design, also worn by Meerkamp's *Tagal* (Fig. 29), must be too revealing for going out that it has been labeled as "underwear."[216] While well-to-do lowland Philippine women were always modestly clad with layers of pañuelo to cover the upper body and petticoats and tapís for the lower body, those from the lower classes were less inhibited and seems generally unconcerned in baring their shoulders. This particular design, popular among the lower classes, would never be seen among the elite, unless the latter were inside their homes.

Towards the end of the 19th century, there appeared to be some massive changes in the attire of poor Philippine women. The cigarreras, in particular, started to be photographed dressed very elegantly, almost too elegant in baro with angel sleeves, petticoated saya, pañuelo, complemented by updo hairstyles. Two photographs show them in exceptionally beautiful attires, which is surprising considering their limited incomes. One taken outdoors, by the stairwell, a group of around twenty cigarreras was resplendent in their pañuelos, angel-sleeved camisas, and petticoated sayas.[217] Another was taken in Madrid during the 1887 *Exposición General de las Islas Filipinas*, where six well-dressed cigarreras were rolling cigars outdoors, while seated on native mats. Behind them was a native nipa hut (Fig. 47).[218] This led to the idea that they were dressed in photogenic clothes for presentation. Like poster

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[213] Photo from Jonathan Best. Reproduced in John L. SILVA, "Nineteenth-Century Photography," in *The World of 1896*, ed. Lorna KALAW-TIROL (Makati: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1998), fig. 221, p. 139.
[214] VAN DEN MUIJZENBERG, *The Philippines through European Lenses*, 139.
[215] All photos from Rizal Library, Ateneo de Manila University. Reproduced in Reynaldo ILETO, "1896-1897 Rural Life in a Time of Revolution," in *The World of 1896*, ed. Lorna KALAW-TIROL (Makati: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1998), fig. 109: Carinderia, p. 68; fig. 111: Lecheras, p. 69; fig. 186: Roadside, pp. 68, 69, 119.
[216] "Tagal" in Meerkamp's Album IV, p. 254. Reproduced in VAN DEN MUIJZENBERG, *The Philippines through European Lenses*, 47, 54.
[217] Photo sourced from Meerkamp van Embden's Album VI, p. 807. Reproduced in Ibid., fig. 5, p. 82.
[218] Laurent, described in Villaseca, as one of the most prestigious photographers of Spain for the period. In original Spanish, "La imagen fue tornado por J. Laurent, una de las más prestigiosas firmas fotográficas de la España del period." Jean F. LAURENT, *Grupo de Cigarreras, Exposión General de Las Islas Filipinas en Madrid 1887*, copia en papel albuminado, 1887, Museo Nacional de Antropología, Call #: FD3125; Reproduced in Juan GUARDIOLA, *Filipiniana* (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, Casa Asia, Ayuntamiento de Madrid y Centro Cultural Conde Duque, 2006), 77; BADIA VILLASECA, *Mujeres Filipinas: Un Camino Hacia Luz*, 86–87.

girls for tobacco factories, they were selected to present a positive image of working in such industries (Fig. 48). Images of neat and chic workers were meant to veil the unfavorable aspects of factory work life. The clothes they were wearing could either be owned or borrowed for the event or pictorial. Most Filipinos, regardless of wealth, owned, at least, one attire for special occasions, which was possibly, what these women donned. For regular days, many must have worn only the baro't saya. As shown in other, more truthful portrayals of them in their natural work environments like in a 1902 photo taken inside the Maria Cristina tobacco factory,[219] they were shown rolling cigars while seated around low tables, some with only the baro't saya on (Fig. 49).[220] The *maestra* (supervisor) was captured standing by the doorway, overseeing their work. Although she was not dressed differently from some of the seated cigarreras who had pañuelos on, her authority and rank is enhanced by her attire, especially if viewed in the context of her location and orientation in the photograph. In another photograph, *Una Tabaquería Filipina*, from a bounded book simply labeled *Panorama Nacional* (no dates, no pagination and no publisher), estimated by Fr. Policarpo Hernández to have been taken around the 1880s, the cigarreras were also dressed more simply, without standing pañuelos (Fig. 49).[221] A male supervisor dressed in light-colored camisa chino and pants can be seen hovering in the background. A candid photograph inside La Hensiana Tobacco Factory (1894, Fig. 50) offers a more accurate image of the cigarreras' appearance while absorbed in the drudgeries of rolling cigars. Their clothes looked slightly rumpled, with baros askew and without all the layers of clothing.

In 1875, the highest and the second highest ranking supervisors, the *Maestra Primera* and the *Maestra Segunda* were earning 16 and 8 pesos per month respectively. Meanwhile, *cigarreras*, whose work was more tedious, were only earning between 2 to 2.5 pesos per month or 2.5 reales per day, depending on their speed and accuracy. The large wage disparity between the *maestras* and the *cigarreras* show the latter's lower purchasing capacity to invest in good clothes. French anthropologist Dr. Jules Montano, in fact, observed how at the end of a long day, the *cigarreras* do not even stop to look at the shops that lined Escolta.[222] Despite their low wages, the trade of textiles seems to have been alive in these factories, which suggest a concern for appearances. Following the 1816 strike of cigarreras, cabecillas or sections heads were exposed to have been selling different types of textiles, like cambayas

[219] A photo of the façade of Maria Cristina cigar factory, located at Plaza Goiti in downtown Manila, taken in the 1890s also appeared in Meerkamp van Embden's Album V, p. 425. Reproduced in Ibid., fig. 1, p. 79.
[220] Photo from Meerkamp van Embden's Album VI, p. 806. Ibid., fig. 4, p. 81.
[221] *Panorama Nacional*, Madrid, n.d., Estudio Teológico Agustiniano de Valladolid, Call #: SA 1554.
[222] Dr. Joséph MONTANO, *Voyage Aux Philippines et en Malaisie* (Paris: Librairie Hachette et Cie, 1886), 46–47, https://archive.org/details/voyageauxphilipp00mont; CAMAGAY, *Working Women of Manila*, 3.

and sinamays to the cigarreras at inflated prices.[223] They must have justified the high prices by allowing payment by installments. Don Álvarez Guerra in presenting the archetype of *Pepay la Sinamayera* mentioned the link between sinamayeras and cabecillas. The sinamayeras sold their fabrics by penetrating the tobacco factories through these cabecillas.[224] Since these cabecillas were responsible for dispensing the weekly wages, they assured themselves of payment by taking the liberty of deducting the due amount every week.

By 1887, to work as a cigarrera was one of the main professions pursued by the women of Manila. There were four tobacco factories in the city, one of which was adjacent to the Binondo Church.[225] The Fábrica de Arroceros, for instance, had between 1,000 to 1,500 laborers while the Fábrica de Meisic had 6,000, many of which were women.[226] They worked from six to twelve noon then from two to six pm.[227] The quantity of people working in these factories had attracted many vendors and sellers who viewed them as a captive market. Some of these factories have up to 15,000 employees, including the office workers, clerks and supervisors.[228] The roving Chinese noodle vendor (*pansitero*, Fig. 51*)*, for example, learned to set up shop in time for these women's daily breaks. Their daily exodus to and from these factories must have also been an attractive sight, especially with their colorful sayas, tapís and pañuelos.[229] Lozano, for example, has captured them in their colorful garments. However, as the medium changed from paintings to black and white photography, the colors of their attires were rendered unintelligible.

As seen in various photographs, their ages ranged between 15 and 45 years old.[230] They were dressed essentially the same regardless of their age. An article "Una Cigarrera de Malabon" from *La Ilustración del Oriente* (1878) described how the archetype of a *cigarrera*, a young, graceful *morena* (dark-skinned) may not necessarily be a model of

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[223] CAMAGAY, *Working Women of Manila*, 13.
[224] ÁLVAREZ GUERRA, *Viajes por Filipinas de Manila à Marianas*, chap. 6, p. 115.
[225] The cigar factory of Binondo was divided into two departments, with four hundred tables and around five thousand workers (mostly women) in one and one hundred fifty tables and two thousand workers (mostly men) on another. The workers were made up of cabecillas, rollers, and cutters. Women were preferred to work on the fine cigars called *menas finas*, for both local consumption and international export while men worked on the common qualities or *menas communes*, mainly for local use. MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1983, 261.
[226] Mallat asserts that the Arroceros tobacco factory, situated along the Pasig river, had around 280 tables with 2,800 men, not women, as mentioned by Camagay. The Meisic CAMAGAY, *Working Women of Manila*, 3,5,22; MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1983, 261.
[227] Wilkes mentioned that the recess is between eleven to 1 pm. WILKES, "Manila in 1842," sec. Industries, Cigar Factories.
[228] Ibid.
[229] It is interesting though that Com. Charles Wilkes (1842) specifically mentioned how nowhere in the world has he ever witnessed the ingress and egress of so many "ugly women." Ibid.
[230] Ibid.

manners, but she is certainly clean.[231] Compared to the roving vendedoras (street vendors), the nature of her indoor work allowed her to keep her newly washed and ironed clothes neat; her tapís looks hardly used, perfect even for walks in the calzada. The author "K" simulates an encounter with Tinay, one of the cigarreras working in Malabon to illustrate that such women were not exempt from vanity and self-love. Between cigarettes, Tinay was said to have rolled up her colorful saya *(saya de colores)* to expose her embroidered slippers and went on to flaunt her richly embroidered piña camisa. Among her self-indulgence and excesses were her four pesos combs, not to mention her penchant for going to first class theaters and fiestas and attending the best dances, which often cost her another real and a half.

The appearance of working class women must also be analyzed in terms of how they were presented to the world. On September 22, 1887, a colonial *exposición* of the Philippines opened at Palacio de Velázquez in Madrid's Retiro Park, for the purpose of "making known the economic and social reality of Spain's overseas province and while doing so, favor the unbalanced commercial relationship between the colony and its metropolis."[232] With the instigation of the Spanish Overseas Minister Victor Balaguer,[233] different products were gathered for Spain's largest exhibition on Philippine commercial and cultural life. The purpose was to acquaint the occidental Spaniards with life in its farthest colony and hopefully, promote trade between the colony and the motherland. Author Juan Guardiola commented that despite the organizer's efforts to "present a global view of Philippine society, the exhibit could not conceal its inevitable colonial character."[234] Traditional Philippine *nip*a houses were constructed to showcase the island's different manufactures and industries. Fifty-five Filipinos were brought to Spain to demonstrate native ploughing, weaving and cigar making techniques.[235] Groups of cigarreras and tejedoras (weavers) dressed in native attires made up of the usual three main pieces, the baro, saya, and pañuelo (with some wearing the optional tapís), were cultural spectacles, silently entertaining the crowd with both their appearance and their craft. With their distinctly transparent baro,

[231] K., "Una Cigarrera de Malabon," *La Ilustración del Oriente Revista Semanal* Año II, no. 8 (February 24, 1878): 89–90.
[232] The exhibition officially opened on September 22, 1877 and closed on October 17, 1887, but the central pavilion remained open until the 30th of October. GUARDIOLA, "The Colonial Imaginary," 223.
[233] *Retrato de Victor Balaguer (Portrait of Victor Balaguer)*, Oil on canvas, 1885, Museo del Prado on loan to Museu de Art de Jaime Morera; *Discovering Philippine Art in Spain*, 227.
[234] GUARDIOLA, "The Colonial Imaginary," 223.
[235] "All the Filipino staff who had travelled received a wage or a reward before, during and after the trip to Madrid, as well as food and health care; although 3 members of the colony died, none were ill-treated. They were housed in warehouses, were visited by Spain's Overseas Minister Victor Balaguer and were received by the Queen Regent Maria Cristina at the Royal Palace." Ibid.

billowy angel sleeves and starched pañuelos, they sat, stood and were photographed like members of traveling carnivals. In *El Globo Diario Ilustrado*(1887) and in *Panorama Nacional* (Fig. 53)*,*[236] a print and a photograph of *Tejedoras de la Exposicion* showed them in action and like costumed individuals, they were neat and beautifully dressed with their hair pulled back in a simple but elegant *chignon*.[237] The fabrics they were weaving and the dresses they were wearing were suitable for use in a country where the temperature was regularly high. Opportunely, the Madrid exhibit was held during the summer, otherwise, it would have been too cold, especially for the female members of the Philippine delegation, who were dressed in light tropical fabrics, like piña, jusí and sinamay. The timing was ideal for the exhibitors as well as for the visitors, whose activities were most likely guided by the outdoor setting of the exhibit.

The appearance of the tejedoras behind the wooden looms seem to have counted as much as their skills. They were there to showcase Philippine arts and production skills but the more traditional or "natural" they looked, the better it was for the "show" and for "arousing the curiosity of the press."[238] On the days that led to the exhibition, they paraded around the streets of Madrid, with the women in their baro't saya, some dressed as Igorrots, some as Moros, some as lowland, Christianized natives. The lowland, Christianized men, interestingly, were dressed in European frocks, which must have represented the degree by which the colonized have been acculturated.

In photographs, weavers have often been captured in stylish clothes. In Corazon Alvina's *Technology* article, there was a photo of a woman dressed in charming baro't saya and pañuelo while weaving using a loom.[239] In Jonathan Best's book, there were two photos taken in Ilocos Norte in 1905-- one woman was shown placing thread in a hand loom while the other was spinning thread. All were dressed elegantly in starched or well-pressed clothing. In fact, they were dressed far too elegantly for everyday work. The woman spinning thread, in particular, has incredibly large butterfly sleeves typical since the 1890s, which must have been too beautiful for the daily life of a weaver. These photogenic attires must have been provided or lent to them as costumes for demonstration, photographic or even

[236] *Panorama Nacional*, a book with no publisher, no date, no pagination, may be found at Estudio Teológico Agustiniano de Valladolid, Call #: SA1554. Augustinian author, Fr. Policarpo Hernández estimates this to have been published in Madrid sometime in the late 1880s. *Panorama Nacional*.
[237] *Exposición Filipina: El Globo Diaro Ilustrado* (Madrid: Establecimiento tipografico de El Globo á cargo de J. Salgado de Trigo, 1887), 175; Jean F. LAURENT, "Grupo de Tejedoras," in *Album Exposición General de Las Islas Filipinas* (Madrid, 1887).
[238] GUARDIOLA, "The Colonial Imaginary," 223.
[239] ALVINA, "Technology."

entertainment purposes. In overseeing and regulating the clothes they were to wear, in altering or in improving their appearance, the presumption was that their normal, everyday appearance was not good enough to be presented to the world. It is likely after all, that the tejedoras, who were simply weaving inside their homes, were dressed more casually and less ceremoniously than how they were depicted during the Madrid *exposición* and in these images.

While most photographs show these weavers[240] as well coiffed and well-dressed while engaged in the act of operating looms, a studio photograph taken in 1875 by Francisco van Camp shows a group of four weavers surprisingly, with their hair down (Fig. 54).[241] Pulled back hair among working women were intended for hair to be kept out of their face so as not to interfere with their work or vision. Van Camp's photo shows tejedoras without their usual tools of trade and with their hair down. Without the caption that labeled them as tejedoras, they could have just been any other, common class indio women. Their features, skin color and clothes can be articulated as appearances of the working class, not the genteel class.[242] Their relatively unkempt appearance must have been a more realistic portrayal of the common tejedoras' appearance.

It was also not surprising that the weavers were mainly represented by women. Although men were not excluded in these kinds of activities, weaving was traditionally identified as a feminine role. In industry reports, such as the *Comercio é industria en general, caminos principales* (Commerce and Industry in general, main pathways) that appeared in *Ilustración Filipina* (1860 Marzo 1), provided evidences that some commercial activities were indeed associated with women:

> Women are employed in the weaving of rayadillos (blue and white striped material or rayas de azules y blancas), silk, cotton, tapís, handkerchief, cambaya and sinamay; in Baliuag, they are dedicated to the production of fine petacas (cigarette cases) and sombreros (hats) of nito (a type of palm) and rattan[243]

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[240] Ibid., fig. 91: Weaver; BEST, *A Philippine Album: American Era Photographs, 1900-1930*.

[241] Francisco Van Camp was a Belgian photographer, who bought British photographer Albert Honiss's studio in 1875 and Spanish photographer Francisco Pertierra's studio in 1891. Francisco VAN CAMP, *Weavers, Manila*, Studio photograph, 1875; SILVA, "Nineteenth-Century Photography," fig. 221, p. 139.

[242] The difference between working class and gentle-born women were not so subtle. Juxtaposed, for example, with the oil portrait of Agueda Paterno by Justiniano Asuncion (1860) and the photograph of *Mestiza China* and *Mestiza Española*, all of which show bejeweled subjects in very fine clothing of heavily embroidered piña. Portrait of Agueda Paterno reproduced in MORENO, *Philippine Costume*, 169; *Álbum de Filipinas, Retrato y Vistas, Ca. 1870 (60 Fotografias)*.

[243] In Spanish, *Las mugeres se emplean muchas en tejer rayadillos de seda y algodon, tápises, paños, cambayas y sinamayes; en Baliuag se dedican al tejido de las finísimas y estimadas petacas y sombrero de nito y bejuco.* Here are examples of commercial activities associated with men. In original Spanish, *Los hombres fabrican en*

Native women "costumed" to look conventional or traditional and native men "costumed" to look modern were an entirely different story. The use of the word costume as a verb denotes sartorial intervention. The Western suit on an educated, cosmopolitan man contrasts with the Western suit on human mannequins sent to project the image of a modernizing colony with a tempered or disciplined population. In what was described as a "respectful group portrait," a few of the Filipino delegation for the 1887 *Exposición General de las Islas Filipinas* held in Madrid, stood proudly by the stairs that led to the main entrance of the exposition's central pavilion (Fig. 55).[244] Interestingly, the women were dressed in native attires while the men were dressed n European-style suits. Guardiola wrote that in this particular photo, "the various Philippine representatives appear appropriately dressed in a civilized setting."[245] The use of the term "appropriate" is interesting as it pointed to the meaning and understanding of propriety at that time. Full-length *saya de cola* (with train) with their chests modestly covered with camisa and pañuelo constituted sartorial propriety for women. Only their head, necks, wrist and hands were visible. Propriety for men, meanwhile, entailed in European frocks and hats, and, with leather shoes on. Like performers outfitted for particular roles, the men and women who were photographed on the stairs of the central pavilion, most likely, did not own these garments. The clothes were borrowed or given to achieve the purpose of presenting the gender-based image of modernity.

Evolution in the Context of the Changing Roles and Images of Women

To understand the changes that occurred in women's fashions, clothing must be studied in the context of several interrelated elements: education, class, evolving gender roles and relations as well as changing images and perceptions of women and the feminine character.

The Education of Women

Com. Charles Wilkes of the United States Navy (1842) recounted how he chanced upon a six-year old girl dancing ballet so gracefully and confidently, accompanying the tunes played in a guitar, at the unlikely venue of an embroidery manufactory in Manila. Supposedly

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cal, que hacen en hornos con las conchas que sacan de la bahía y de los esteros. Se emplean gran número de brazos en los trapiches del azúcar y en la elaboracion de aceites. Ilustración Filipina Periódico Quincenal, Año II (Manila: Imprenta y litografía de Ramírez y Giraudier, 1860), Marzo 1, Num. 5, p. 56.

[244] Grupo de Filipinos en la puerta del Palacio de Velázquez de Madrid con motivo de la exposicion celebrada en 1887 en el Retiro. Museo Nacional de Antropología. GUARDIOLA, "The Colonial Imaginary," 224; (-), *La Piña: El Tejido del Paraíso*, 103.

[245] GUARDIOLA, "The Colonial Imaginary," 224.

the daughter of the woman of the house, the young six-year old appears to have been educated to make the most of her feet and arms and more importantly, "to assume the expression of countenance that will enable her to play in the after scenes of life."[246] Considering how many of the embroidery houses were ran by Chinese-mestizos, she was most probably of Chinese-mestizo origins. Upon inquiry, Com. Wilkes learned that her social education was prioritized over reading and writing. This reveals the roles women were expected to play at that time. Well-off, well-bred women were, after all, expected to have highly cultivated social talents, which included being able to play the harp, dance, sing and converse well.[247] Young women who were musically inclined were highly admired and were given prominence, for example, in the women's magazine, *El Bello Sexo* (1891). Señorita Graciana Fernández, a mestiza-looking young woman, was described in the magazine as one of the talented young people who was able to channel her love for music in performances.[248] A certain *señorita,* abbreviated only as Srta. M.D. de Bacolor, Pampanga was also featured as a student learning to play the violin but who advanced so quickly that she played almost like a teacher.[249] More than just a commendation on her exceptional musical abilities and her remarkable progress, this feature can, in fact, be taken as a rare reference to giftedness.

Cultural education naturally began at home, continued under the influence of nuns in convent schools and reinforced through interaction with friends and peers.[250] Young girls were first exposed to the fundaments of dress and dressmaking – and of, decency, modesty and good taste- from their mothers before their formation was passed on to convent schools (beaterios). In receiving technical instructions in convent schools, they were exposed to different garments and how individual items were intended to be used. In learning about clothes, they learned about bodily discipline and sartorial propriety, which formed the essentials of colonial dressing. School rules of attire inculcated church values of simplicity and restraint, to which many responded -and balanced- with extravagance and high fashion

[246] WILKES, "Manila in 1842," sec. Industries.
[247] BARRÁNTES, "Spanish, Portuguese, and American Women (1876)," 47–48.
[248] The sketch-portrait of Señorita Graciana Fernández was by M. Ramírez, "the official lithographer for the magazine." Other illustrators include Estebán Lanza, T. Buerra, Rivera y Mir, R.S. Martínez and T. Buenaventura. *El Bello Sexo: Semanario Ilustrado del Literatura, Bellas Artes, Ciencias y Conocimientos Útiles, Dedicado Exclusivamente a La Mujer*, Año 1, (Manila, 1891), 7 Abril, Num. 13; DE VIANA, Lorelei D.C., "El Bello Sexo: The World of Women in Late 19th Century Philippines," *Unitas* 78, no. 1 (2005): 51. *El Bello Sexo*, 7 Abril, Num. 13; DE VIANA, Lorelei D.C., "El Bello Sexo: The World of Women in Late 19th Century Philippines," 51. *El Bello Sexo*, 7 Abril, Num. 13; DE VIANA, Lorelei D.C., "El Bello Sexo: The World of Women in Late 19th Century Philippines," 51. *El Bello Sexo*, 7 Abril, Num. 13; DE VIANA, Lorelei D.C., "El Bello Sexo: The World of Women in Late 19th Century Philippines," 51.
[249] She was also praised for the beauty of the cut and the embroidery of her clothes. *El Bello Sexo*, 1891 Septiembre 14, Num. 34.
[250] BARRÁNTES, "Spanish, Portuguese, and American Women (1876)," 47–48.

on certain occasions (i.e. feast days), especially when they were away from the *beaterios*. At home and in schools, young ladies were exposed to standardized manners of dressing and traditional female roles. The strong vestimentary influences that peers and fellow students provided, however, must not be discounted. Conservative boarding schools represented both the training and social space where fashionability could be stimulated –and challenged- among young maidens.

We all know that the beauty of native textiles was enhanced greatly by the application of embroideries, a handicraft, which may have stemmed from the basic need to join two pieces of fabrics together.[251] Needlework, a broad term for different types of textile arts that mainly uses needles for construction, was an integral part of the curriculum of Philippine convent schools and Spanish sisters would play a vital role in imparting practical skills to young women of means.[252] With the arrival of these missionary women, schoolgirls began to be "trained as seamstresses, as well as to be wives."[253] Secondary education was provided by several religious and private colleges for the purpose of teaching them "womanly duties and provide them some formation."[254] Colegio de Santa Isabel was originally established in 1594 to look after orphaned female children of the Spaniards in the colony.[255] As of the 1840s, the institution, serviced by 12 servants inside the house and 8 men outside, had 105 students with boarders paying 60 piastres (pesos) per year while others received free education.[256] "Eventually, the school became the exclusive institution for the daughters of well-to-do Spaniards."[257] Their curriculum included classes in dress cutting, needlework, drawing and music, alongside arithmetic, reading, religion and Spanish grammar.[258] The course offerings of *La Inmaculada Concepcion, Colegio de Primera Enseñanza Elemental y Superior para Ambos Sexos,* was indicated in their ad, which appeared in the 1875 *Manual del viajero en Filipinas* by Gonzáles Fernández. They offered *clases de adorno*, in which girls, were taught "*Higiene y Economía doméstica y las labores de aplicación inmediata y de adorno propias*

[251] MONTINOLA, *Piña*, chap. VI: Embroidery, p. 92.
[252] The term needlework may extend to other types of decorative or creative sewing and textile crafts, like pattern-making, lace-making, crochet, etc.. *Discovering Philippine Art in Spain*, 158.
[253] ROSS, *Clothing: A Global History*, 93.
[254] LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 55: Beata y Pupila; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 220.
[255] Most of these beaterios were "devoted to the education of poor young girls" MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1983, 434.
[256] Ibid.
[257] DIOKNO, "Chapter Six: The Making of the Filipino."
[258] FOREMAN, *The Philippine Islands*, chap. XI.

del sexo (hygiene, domestic economy and the application of adornments appropriate to their gender)," in lieu of the subjects in agriculture and industries taught to boys.[259]

Apart from an hour in the morning for grooming and another hour for church or prayer, the rest of the education of convent school girls were dedicated to learning "housework and handiwork."[260] The daily routine of the girls of the *Beaterio de Santa Rosa* usually involved waking up at six in the morning to bathe and groom themselves, afterwhich they prayed at the private chapel.[261] From eight to eleven and from half past noon until eight, they would attend reading, writing, arithmetic and embroidery classes. On some days, they would be assigned to different rooms to work on their own tapestries. Many churches were, in fact, adorned with the handiwork of these pious young ladies.

These institutions prepared well-to-do women for roles at home and in society. A woman who possessed French *modiste* skills, who could cook French cuisine, who could reproduce European style laces and embroideries embodied *urbanidad* and served to heighten family pride.[262] They patiently hand-embroidered gifts of piña and silk handkerchiefs and proudly transformed their handiworks into wearable art. Many were resplendent in camisas of their own labor and creations *(manifestación artística)*.[263] Impeccable workmanship spoke not only of the "skill of the sewer" but also the training and exposure her family was able to provide.[264] Lessons in needlework were also perceived as lessons in patience, aesthetics and refinement. Many young girls welcomed the formation, especially since such skills could be "useful in adorning oneself."[265] Most wealthy housewives were trained well to cook, clean, sew, embroider, and repair clothes even if they could afford servants and dressmakers to maintain their wardrobes. Their education equipped them with professional skills even if they never made any money out of making clothes. The image of a sewing woman immersed in needlework formed part of the idealized image of a compliant and talented colonial woman. Women's skills and talents exercised within the home were recognized as -insofar that they promoted images of good Catholic girls who would one day make good mothers – the

[259] GONZÁLEZ FERNÁNDEZ, *Manual del Viajero en Filipinas*, 532.
[260] BARRÁNTES, "Spanish, Portuguese, and American Women (1876)," 68.
[261] "Educandos de los Beaterios," in *Ilustración Filipina Periódico Quincenal*, Año 2,, Num. 18 (Manila: Imprenta y litografía de Ramírez y Giraudier, 1860), Septiembre 15, p. 206.
[262] Felice Prudente STA. MARIA, "Leisure Time in Old Manila," in *Kasaysayan: The Story of the Filipino People*, ed. Maria Serena I. DIOKNO and Ramon N. VILLEGAS, vol. 4: Life in the Colony (Manila: Asia Publishing Co., 1998), 12–13.
[263] They may also love the dress, which they spent a large portion of their time working on. In original Spanish: *podrá tener en grande estima su elegante y costoso vestido en cuya confección se ha ocupado largo tiempo* (para. 5). PICKWIK, "La Moda (Breves Consideraciones)," *El Bello Sexo* 1, no. 18 (May 15, 1891): para. 18, pp. 277–278.
[264] FINNANE, *Changing Clothes in China*, 84.
[265] ROCHE, *The Culture of Clothing: Dress and Fashion in the 'Ancien Regime*, 380.

"mistresses of the destiny of families…a precious element at the base of the intellectual and moral progress of the colony."[266] Moreover, the image of a well-dressed sewing woman was a silent but bold proclamation of education, gentility and means.

Antonio Luna, however, drew the line between sewing, perceived as a useful and practical form of applied art, and embroidery, perceived as a trivial yet proper endeavor for women of wealthy backgrounds.[267] This distinguishes between production and the mere embellishment of clothes. Male opinions regarding women's activities were interesting. Ilustrado men like Luna have categorized the mending or repair of camisas in the list of functional pursuits, alongside cooking, speaking and writing in Spanish. Embroidery, alongside beadworking, has been dismissed as impractical activities, perceived by men as "the cure for boredom and daydreams" for women of leisure.[268] As Flaudette May V. Datuin argued in her article, *Filipina Artist in the Fine arts: Disrupted Genealogies, Emerging Identities*, women's handiworks, such as weaving and needlework have, to begin with, already been marginalized as "low art," especially in comparison with other forms of art that men were able to make a living with.[269]

Cultural Representations of Talented, Upper-Class Women

In Philippine colonial society, an interesting phenomenon unfolded – that of the propagation of the images of tejedoras and bordadoras that were different from the real women who actually weaved and who actually embroidered. While embroidery (*borda*) was an important source of income for women of the lower classes who were adept in needlework, embroidery for women of the leisure classes were undertaken to keep themselves occupied or "to pass time," as author Eloisa Hernandez had suggested.[270] In the

[266] José ZARAGOZA y ARANQUIZNA, ed., "Escuela Normal de Maestras," *La Ilustración Filipina*, March 22, 1892; Manuel RODRÍGUEZ BEA, "La Ilustración de La Mujer," ed. José ZARAGOZA y ARANQUIZNA, *La Ilustración Filipina*, April 28, 1892; Manuel RODRÍGUEZ BEA, "Más Sobre La Ilustración de La Mujer," ed. José ZARAGOZA y ARANQUIZNA, *La Ilustración Filipina*, May 7, 1892; CAMACHO, "The Public Transcendence of Intimacy: The Social Value of Recogimiento in Urbana at Feliza," 309.
[267] REYES, *Love, Passion and Patriotism*, 110.
[268] ROCHE, *The Culture of Clothing: Dress and Fashion in the 'Ancien Regime*, 380.
[269] Datuin pointed out that during the colonial times, female "artists" (various arts) did not attain the same distinction, as for example, the well-known native male painters. They were also unable to make a living out of their arts. Ana LABRADOR, "Beyond the Fringe: Making It as a Contemporary Filipina Artist.," in *Asian Women Artists*, ed. Dinah DYSART and Hannah FINK (Australia: Craftsman House, 1996), 80; Flaudette May V. DATUIN, "Filipina Artist in the Fine Arts: Disrupted Genealogies, Emerging Identities," in *More Pinay than We Admit: The Social Construction of the Filipina*, ed. Maria Luisa T. CAMAGAY (Quezon City: Vibal Foundation, 2010), 150–154.
[270] HERNANDEZ, *Homebound : Women Visual Artists in Nineteenth Century*, 40.

Noli me tangere (1886), the heiress Maria Clara, for example, "consumed her impatience [of waiting for Crisostomo Ibarra to call on her at home] by working at a silk purse."[271]

Privileged young women had the support of their families to develop their skills in drawing, painting, sculpting, sewing and embroidering, "in keeping with their status as women."[272] Products of their handiwork were then displayed on the walls of their homes to demonstrate or even flaunt their skills, hoping their talent would render them "more attractive," if not "more marriageable."[273] Women's intellectual and artistic talents exercised within the home were, noticeably, celebrated. Their education and training were geared towards what Commander Charles Wilkes of the United States Navy (1842) referred to as the "after scenes of life,"[274] to prepare them not only for their future roles as mothers and wives[275] but also for their extended roles as their future husband's social partners, which would, in most cases, require them to play hostesses in social gatherings to complement his esteemed status in society. It can be surmised that their families envisioned them not only to marry but to marry well -- to someone of either equal or higher status. They were educated for the prestige their skills and talents could bring to the family.

This introduces a different type of *bordadora*, one whose labor and handiwork were not really for sale.[276] It is interesting though that it seems rather inappropriate to call an upper-class woman who embroidered a *bordadora*.[277] Embroidery was a leisure pursuit for them, a form of recreation, art, or even diversion. In short, they embroidered as an expression of their creativity, not really as a source of livelihood.

As mentioned above, needlework counted as part of the curriculum of the nineteenth century exclusive convent schools for girls and was a skill expected from almost every educated, thoroughbred woman. In *El Bello Sexo* (The Beautiful Sex 1891), a late 19th

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[271] RIZAL, *The Social Cancer: A Complete English Version of Noli me tangere from the Spanish of José Rizal*, chap. 7: An Idyl on an Azotea, pp. 50–51.
[272] HERNANDEZ, *Homebound : Women Visual Artists in Nineteenth Century*, 70.
[273] Ibid.
[274] WILKES, "Manila in 1842," sec. Industries.
[275] "their training at art an early age can also be seen as a preparation for married life…that most women stopped painting as soon as they married suggests that indeed their early preparation in the arts might well have been an unconscious strategy designed to raise their value in the marriage market and a preparation for married life." HERNANDEZ, *Homebound : Women Visual Artists in Nineteenth Century*, 71.
[276] "Women *ilustrados*, their spaces and movements, were limited by the rules and regulations of their social staus (Hernandez, p. 68)." Hernandez conjectures that they did not sell their works "perhaps because it was demeaning, given their status, or perhaps, they did not really need the income (p. 76)." Labrador and Datuin also points out the *Ilustrado* women's "inability to make a living out of their art." Ibid., 68, 76; LABRADOR, "Beyond the Fringe: Making It as a Contemporary Filipina Artist.," 80; DATUIN, "Filipina Artist in the Fine Arts: Disrupted Genealogies, Emerging Identities," 154.
[277] "It is striking that almost all women artists in the 19th century came from *ilustrado* families, families who were well known and wealthy." Judging from their last names, it is obvious they were from privileged families. HERNANDEZ, *Homebound : Women Visual Artists in Nineteenth Century*, 74.

century weekly magazine intended for educated female readers, embroidery patterns and monograms for use in pañuelos, camisas, collars and handkerchiefs were featured under the *Galería de la Moda* section.[278] Samples of decorative designs spelling out women's names, like Margarita, Gertrudis and Marcelina, filled its pages (Fig. 56).[279] Looking at the intricacy of the embroidery patterns suggested to adorn the collar *(bordado para pañuelo del cuello)* and the inverse triangular shape of the pañuelo's back portion (*preciosos dibujos para puntas de pañuelo*) indicated that this publication, which was written in Spanish, was mainly of interest to members of the genteel classes (Fig. 57).[280] The founder, Matilde Martán, a Spanish woman, also explicitly specified her target readers when she wrote, "we recommend to our rich and beautiful subscribers from the provinces this very elegant and sumptuous gown…[translation]" in the magazine's second issue.[281]

This study also pondered upon the term *bordadora*. It seems to refer to the skill more than the work that people earned money from. The word could also be viewed in the context of work, and not in the context of leisure. In local nuances, the term *bordadora* seems to have working class status attached to it, which could be perceived as rather demeaning given their elevated social situation. Having the leisure of time, money, training and "taste," the workmanship of the creations of these classically trained women were often unparalleled. However, there were only a few who sold their embroidery works or who actually embroidered clothes for people other than their families. Museum collections also confirmed that they embroidered smaller pieces like *pañolitos* and pañuelos and gave them away as presents. In London's Victoria and Albert Museum, there is a handkerchief embroidered "*Memoria de Fernanda*," with "Fernanda" embroidered using human hair.[282] A pañuelo with black embroidery of the name "Fernanda" in one of the corners can also be found in the collection of the *Museo del Traje* in Madrid.[283] These two pieces now scattered in two different cities must have been given as a present to Fernanda. With no last name indicated, who Fernanda is remains a mystery. It must be noted though that embroidered pieces usually marked the name of the person who owned or received them, and not the person who gave or

[278] In Manila, 4 issues cost 4 reales (4 reales al mes= 0.50 pesos). In other parts of the country, 16 issues cost 16 reales (2 pesos al trimestre). The drawings of the embroidery patterns were executed by a young artist named Don Esteban Lanza é Iturriaga. *El Bello Sexo*, 31 Marzo, Num. 12.
[279] Ibid., 28 Octubre 1891, Num. 40.
[280] Ibid., 23 Junio 1891, Num. 23, p. 367.
[281] DE VIANA, Lorelei D.C., "El Bello Sexo: The World of Women in Late 19th Century Philippines," 53; *El Bello Sexo*, 14 Enero 1891, Num. 2, p. 26.
[282] MONTINOLA, *Piña*, 72.
[283] *Pañuelo with Embroidery of the Name Fernanda*.

embroidered them. Clothes were, after all, linked with the personalities who wore them, not whoever made them.

There were privileged women like Pacita "Paz" Longos, Concha and Adelaida Paterno, who patiently and skillfully embroidered entries for submission to international exhibitions and competitions. In the 1887 Madrid exhibition, Doña Paz Longo from Manila sent two framed embroidery pieces that used human hair as thread -- *dos cuadros con bordados al pasado, en blanco, lausin y sedas de colores.*[284] The fact that the embroideries were framed shows they were intended for presentation and display. One year later, during the 1888 *Exposicion Universal de Barcelona*, she submitted another embroidery still using human hair, which depicted the image of Don Alfonso XII *–Retrato de D. Alfonso XII, bordado al lausin*.[285] Apart from her skills in embroidery, Paz Longos, according to Dr. Fernando Zialcita (Ateneo de Manila University), was the nineteenth century equivalent of a fashion designer, having designed clothes for his aunt, Julia Nakpil. This, thus, suggests that Paz may have had *bordadoras* in her employ, who could have benefited from training under her.[286] Another young woman, recognized for her talent in silk and gold embroidery, actually had a shop at the district of Singalong, southeast of Manila. The portrait of Doña Avelina Cabrera by M. Ramirez appeared in the cover of *El Bello Sexo's* April 21, 1891 issue.[287] The magazine commends her work and without hesitation, recommends to its literate and wealthy readers to visit her *atelier*. It is not clear what the exact nature of her shop was. Was it a shop that sold embroidered textiles? Was it a shop that made clothes or simply customized and embroidered them? Was she a fashion designer, a sinamayera, a bordadora or a combination of all three?

While the bordadoras from the lower classes were unnamed and unrecognized, the ilustrado women who embroidered were identified only because their names were recorded in the catalogues of the exhibitions they joined. It is really difficult to ascertain the identity of the embroiderer especially since it was not common to inscribe one's name in the pieces. A few did "sign" their works. Adelaida Paterno, for example, indicated her name in her embroidered landscape.[288] Adding to the incertitude, men had also, on many occasions,

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[284] (-), *Catálogo de La Exposición General de Las Islas Filipinas 1887*, sec. Septima, Grupo 51, #12, p. 528.
[285] Concha and Adelaida Paterno also used hair as thread. They must have learned this from the convent schools. HERNANDEZ, *Homebound : Women Visual Artists in Nineteenth Century*, 56.
[286] The clothes that Paz Longo designed for Julia Nakpil can now be found in the University of Hawaii. Ibid., 63.
[287] *El Bello Sexo*, 1891 April 21, Num. 15.
[288] HERNANDEZ, *Homebound : Women Visual Artists in Nineteenth Century*, 75.

submitted works on behalf of their wives, sisters and daughters.[289] Don Pedro Paterno, for example, who in 1887 was based in Madrid, submitted a *pañuelo de piña bordado* (embroidered piña kerchief), which was certainly the work of one of the female members of his family.[290] Exactly who among the ladies in his large family could not be established, unless the actual piece can be located to examine if there was anything resembling a signature.[291] It can only be deduced that he submitted the work of either of his half-sisters, specifically, Adelaida or Concha Paterno, who, during the 1895 *Exposicion Regional de Filipinas en Manila*, each submitted embroidered silks under their own names.[292]

In a photograph inside one of the pavilions during the *Exposición Regional Filipina* in 1895, seven women and *dalaguitas* (young adolescent women), presumably *bordadoras*, were seated behind what look like special stands for the *bastidores* (embroidery frames).[293] They were dressed in the same elegant way as the *tejedoras* during the Madrid *exposición* eight years earlier. Different types of embroideries and textiles were hung on the walls behind them. The way the pieces were carefully arranged show the efforts made by the organizers to "present the Philippines as an attractive market" to potential investors.[294] The presence of the

[289] The entry was listed as "Paterno, Don Pedro- Madrid." This suggests that the listings indicate the current place of residence of the exhibitor, not the place where the piece was made. Filipino exhibitors based in Madrid had their city of residence indicated beside their names. German hatter, Don Adolfo Roensch, for example, whose shop was located in No. 21 Escolta had Binondo, Manila listed beside his name. It is, therefore, unclear, whether the four European-style *sombreros de felpa, de copa alta* (top hats made of felt) he submitted were made in Manila or made in Europe. (-), *Catálogo de La Exposición General de Las Islas Filipinas 1887*, sec. Septima, Grupo 51, #16, p. 528; Grupo 53, #759, p. 539; *La Ilustración del Oriente Revista Semanal*, 1877, Noviembre 25, Num. 8.

[290] "It must also be stressed that people other than the artists themselves entered the works into competitions...submitted by close relatives and largely male supporters." HERNANDEZ, *Homebound : Women Visual Artists in Nineteenth Century*, 60.

[291] The father of Don Pedro Alejandro Paterno (b. 1857-d. 1911), Capitán Maximino "Memo" Molo Agustín Paterno married three times, to women from the same clan. His first marriage was to Valeria Pineda then to Valeria's cousin Carmen de Vera Ygnacio and lastly, to Carmen's sister Teodora de Vera Ygnacio. Pedro was one of the 13 children of Don Memo with his second wife, Doña Carmen. They were a wealthy *mestizo de sangley* family from Sta. Cruz, Manila. Among his half sisters were the "artists" Paz Paterno, Adelaida and Concha Paterno. Raissa Claire U. RIVERA, "Women Artists and Gender Issues in 19th Century Philippines," *Review of Women's Studies* 8, no. 2 (2012), http://journals.upd.edu.ph/index.php/rws/article/view/3059/2878; DATUIN, "Filipina Artist in the Fine Arts: Disrupted Genealogies, Emerging Identities," 161.

[292] Patrick FLORES, "Birthing Women Artists," *National Commission for Culture and the Arts*, May 30, 2003, http://www.ncca.gov.ph/about-culture-and-arts/articles-on-c-n-a/article.php?i=58&subcat=13; HERNANDEZ, *Homebound : Women Visual Artists in Nineteenth Century*, 58.

[293] Ma. Corazon ALEJADO-HILA, Mitzi Marie AGUILAR-REYES, and Anita FELEO, *Garment of Honor, Garment of Identity* (Manila: EN Barong Filipino, 2008), 178. Photograph of different types (and sizes) of *bastidores* may be found in this book.

[294] This particular photograph was labeled *Exposición Regional Filipina* (1895), Barcelona. There may have been a slight oversight here. The Philippines was well-represented in the World Fair which was held in Barcelona in 1888 but the *Regional Exposition of the Philippines* on January 23, 1895 was held in Ermita, Manila, not in Barcelona. From 1850s onwards, the Philippines was featured in several *Expositions Universelles*, from London in 1851, Paris in 1855 and 1867, Philadelphia in 1876, Madrid in 1887 to Barcelona in 1888. Native Philippine products were also on display during the colonial exhibition held in Amsterdam in 1883. In the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893, the Philippines were represented under the

tejedoras and *bordadoras* lend legitimacy to the exhibition, their demonstrations confirm they were capable of producing what were hung on the walls.

It is important to note though that the women who physically represented the *bordadoras* in these types of exhibitions were not members of the educated elite.[295] Almost all of the *expositores* (exhibitors) were *dons* and *doñas*, if not, friars and priests. *Dons* and *doñas*, many of which were from Albay, Antique, Batangas, Bohol, Bulacan, Camarines, Capiz, Cavite, Cebú, Ilocos Sur, Iloilo, Laguna, Manila, Paragua, Samar, Tayabas and Union, who actually submitted various types of textiles were not present. Different types of textiles were exhibited, ranging from pure cotton, silk, piña, sinamay, abacá, guinára to combination fabrics such as jusí with silk, jusí with cotton, guinara with sinamay, cotton with silk, piña with hemp, cotton or silk.[296] Textiles (tejidos) intended for use in sayas (skirt), camisas (shirt), pantalóns (pants), patadions (wrap skirt) were exhibited alongside sewn and embroidered pañuelos (kerchiefs), mantas and velos (veils), tápis (overskirt). There were also textiles specifically for linings (*forros*), underwear (*calzoncillos*) and undershirts (*camisetas*).[297]

Women representing educational institutions such as Colegio de Santa Isabel de Manila had an installation of sewn garments *(una instalación de vestidos confeccionados y otras modas*).[298] Among the clothing items that stood out in their installation was a *piña* garment, indicated to be *"por las señoritas doña Pilar Sanchéz, doña Rosario González y doña Carmen Carrión"* which specified who the pieces were especially made for.[299] Quite possibly, they were donated by the said *doñas* for exhibition and posterity. They also have other sheer clothing with embroideries and embellishments. Colegio de Santa Rosa, Manila meanwhile exhibited some framed embroidered pañuelos.[300]

While, assumedly, the *tejedoras* and *bordadoras* present in the exhibitions were equally skilled in the art of embroidery, they were, most likely, stand-ins, enlisted to represent the countless convent-educated women who were trained in the genteel arts of

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Spanish pavilion. BADIA VILLASECA, *Mujeres Filipinas*, 88–89; GUARDIOLA, "The Colonial Imaginary," 222.

[295] A survey of the catalogue of the 1887 *Exposición General de las Islas Filipinas* in Madrid shows that two out of the eight sections were particularly relevant to this study. *Grupos* 16 to 18 of *Seccion Segunda*, for example, covers furnitures, adornments and clothing while *Grupos* 49 to 54 of *Seccion Septima* covers industry, commercial activity and traffic. (-), *Catálogo de La Exposición General de Las Islas Filipinas 1887*, sec. Segunda: Grupos 16, 18, pp. 249–272; sec. Septima: Grupos 49 to 54, pp. 491–544.

[296] *jusí y seda, jusí y algodón, guinara y sinamay, sinamay y seda, sinamay with silk, algodón y seda, piña y abacá, y algodón, y sinamay, y seda.* (-), *Catálogo de La Exposición General de Las Islas Filipinas 1887*.

[297] HERNANDEZ, *Homebound : Women Visual Artists in Nineteenth Century*, 55.

[298] (-), *Catálogo de La Exposición General de Las Islas Filipinas 1887*, sec. Septima, Grupo 53, #26, p. 535.

[299] "*vestido de piña rengue liso, con transparente de raso azul*" Ibid., sec. Octava, Grupo 73, #7, p. 581.

[300] Ibid., sec. Octava, Grupo 73, #8, p. 581.

embroidery and sewing. In international exhibitions and in picture postcards, physical images of clothes workers were used to promote Philippine industries. In dressing up these cultural representatives, it gave the impression that how the worker, weaver and embroiderer looked counted as much as the process.

In Philippine colonial society, wealthy women who sewed and embroidered were looked up to with admiration and reverence but not the same could be said of poor women. Interestingly, it was the poor women who gave physical representation to the countless skilled wealthy women, whose status rendered them unavailable to be physically present in exhibitions.

La india rica: The Look and Qualities of Urbanized, Wealthy Women

The wealthy, well-educated, well-spoken indio and mestiza women of the Philippines during the 19th century were stereotyped as the rich india or *la india rica* in the January 20, 1878 issue of the periodical *La Ilustración del Oriente* (Fig. 58). In the article, the term *la india rica* was used interchangeably with *la india de clase*, which underlines the fact that they typified the 19th century women of a certain class and background. Written from a Spanish perspective, the genuine type or the *"prototipo"* of the Philippine woman was said to be the rich india from Manila, who was described as decisive and gracious – traits, which the author believed becomes more apparent when one is in a relationship with her.

The author wrote that her appearance as represented in the engraving (Fig. 58), combined with her Spanish qualities, demonstrated an elevated background. The idea that the rich india was hispanized -- or if not entirely hispanized, she tries, at least, to be Spanish - was put forward in this article. The rich, hispanized india was described as poised, elegantly dressed, confident, respectful and best of all, well-spoken, modest and religious. Contrary to the common opinion of many Europeans that the indios in general were indolent (Fig. 220B),[301] the *india rica* was described as active and hardworking. In saying that this type of india brings out the best qualities of her race, it is implied that the author traced it to the fact that she was fortunate enough to be rich, which afforded her the education -- and the exposure to European ways and imported things. She was also described as intelligent, which made her indistinguishable from the *mestiza*, an opinion, that not only insinuated the racial

[301] "The indio is naturally lazy." MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1983, 299.

background of the author but also revealed his belief in the superiority of those who shared the blood and culture of Spaniards.[302]

The writer described the beautiful tapís, camisa, and pañuelo as well as the voluminous saya with train (*saya de cola*), the well-coiffed hair, and the good jewelry that characterized the rich indias of that era.

> the rich india wears expensive overskirt *(tapís),* magnificent blouse *(camisa),* beautiful loose and full skirt with train *(saya de cola)* and luxurious shawls *(pañuelos)*…good jewelries adorned her neck and hair…she is graceful, elegant and outspoken.[303]

This description of the appearance of the *india rica* was affirmed by several paintings made by talented artists of that period. With the economic development that began in the mid-1800s, urbanized (hispanized or westernized) upper and middle class celebrated their and their family's wealth and status by immortalizing themselves in paintings or in photographs, wearing beautiful camisas and pañuelos made of elegant, embroidered native fabrics.[304] Some of their *pañuelos de piña* took several years to finish and were, therefore, of considerable value. In the Simon Flores' portrait of Miguela Henson (Fig. 34), for example, the viewer's attention is drawn to the subject's camisa and pañuelo, which were made of nipis, most likely piña. Her tapís and saya appears to be cut of imported fabric. In the caption, she was described to be "native enough to grow her hair down to the floor, but westernized enough to wear French influenced clothes and diamonds and use European toiletries."[305] The setting was in her *boudoir,* where she could be seen standing beside a Victorian style dressing table, languidly holding a tasseled Spanish fan while resting her arm on a standing Bible. The heavy layers and stiff shape of the sayas were balanced by the impeccably fine and delicate camisas. In combining native and western elements, colonial female dressing was shown to have never been completely European. Women who commissioned portraits could also be profiled to ascertain that luxury fabrics at that time were native, not imported. The silhouette of her dress, especially her skirt, may have been European but the prominence of nipis textile

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[302] Mallat describes the arrogance and superiority of the Spaniards not only to the indios and mestizos but towards their fellow Spaniards whose only difference with them is that the latter were born in the Philippines. Mallat stated that "the Spaniards, whose character is naturally haughty and suspicious, have always considered themselves very superior to the sons of the country (*hijos del pais or criollos*), although they have not absolutely refused to recognize them as born of the same blood." Ibid., 344.

[303] *la india de clase viste rico tapiz, magnífica camisa, hermosa saya de cola suelta y ámplia lujosísimos pañuelos, buenas joyas con las que adorna su cuello y su peinado y es en su andar, airosa, elegante y desenvuelta.* "La India Rica," La Ilustración del Oriente, 1878 Enero 20, pp. 28,30.

[304] FULGOSIO, *Crónica de Las Islas Filipinas (1871)*, pt. 2, Ch. 8, p. 43.

[305] Ramon N. VILLEGAS, "Chapter Eight: Language, Literature and Liberation," in *Kasaysayan: The Story of the Filipino People*, ed. Maria Serena I. DIOKNO and Ramon N. VILLEGAS, vol. 4: Life in the Colony (Manila: Asia Publishing Co., 1998), 187.

and the airy sleeves of her upper garments gave them a distinctly native character, which contrasted it to the Western dress. The clothes she wore, clearly non-utilitarian, also showed adherence to Catholic conceptions of modesty and propriety and satisfied the conventions expected from women of a certain social and economic class.[306]

In an 1870 studio photograph from the *Album de Filipinas, retrato y vistas,* a mestiza española is also shown posing with her elbow on a pile of books. The books not only emphasized that the subject was literate but that literacy was pertinent to her class. Similarly, in a rare full figure oil painting, *Una mestiza* (1887, Fig. 41), by Granada Cabezudo, the "only identified Filipina who exhibited at the *1887 Exposición de Filipinas* in Madrid," a mestizo lady is shown beautifully dressed in baro't saya, pañuelo and tapís*,* the typical outdoor dress of that time.[307] The black veil over her head, the Bible in her hand as well as the rosary in her neck reveals not only that she was on her way to church but that she was a devout and educated Catholic woman. What is also interesting is that the artist, painting in the *miniaturismo*[308] style, also gave viewers a rare peek of the layers underneath the *saya* (skirt). These petticoats represented garments associated with private dressing and glimpses of this would always appear slightly risqué.

In capturing the minute details of the embroideries of the men's baros and women's camisas and pañuelos, the beauty of local fineries was likewise artistically documented. In masterfully rendering the sheerness of the fabric –skin veiled in exquisite native textiles – the beauty of the nipis was immortalized. Such was the seductive world of translucent fabrics. These diaphanous fabrics drew a veil, not a blanket, over women's skin and like clouds of smoke, they served to provoke the imagination.

Apart from the clothes, which combined native and European elements, glimpses of other measures of stylishness and *urbanidad* may also be seen. Books and rosaries denote that *urbanidad* was not based solely on dress, but also on how women embodied the Catholic and hispanized virtues of piety, modesty and literacy. *Urbanidad* for men, however, called for different measures. To be considered modern and educated, men had to wear Western

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[306] ROCHE, *The Culture of Clothing: Dress and Fashion in the 'Ancien Regime*, 107.

[307] Since women were not admitted to the Academia de Dibujo y Pintura, the artist Granada Cabezudo (1860-1900) was said to have been privately trained under Agustín Saéz, the director of the Academia. She painted this particular artwork when she was around 26 years old. CABEZUDO, *Una Mestiza (A Mestizo Lady)*; HERNANDEZ, *Homebound : Women Visual Artists in Nineteenth Century*, 55; *Discovering Philippine Art in Spain*, 247.

[308] *Miniaturismo* is a style of painting that involves attention to minute details. The art of *miniaturismo* developed alongside portraiture in the 19th century. Artists like Simon Flores, Justiniano Asunción and Antonio Malantic carefully illustrated the minute details of the face, hands, clothes, embroideries, jewelries and even furnitures. Maria Serena I. DIOKNO and Ramon N. VILLEGAS, eds., *Kasaysayan: The Story of the Filipino People*, vol. 4: Life in the Colony (Manila: Asia Publishing Co., 1998), 155.

suits. Among those of the same social class, both men and women were compelled to sartorially show symbols of their success or status.

Notions of what constituted *urbanidad,* sophistication and elegance may be derived from how women were depicted in periodicals, as well as paintings and photographs, many of which were commissioned.

Periodicals. In periodicals, attempts have been made to use clothes to document social history when the *Directora* of *El Bello Sexo* (1891) called for submissions of "pictures or models of the gowns their readers have used for festivities in their towns."[309] The objective was for the magazine to be a compendium of Philippine fashion (*modas filipinas*).

Within the same publication, real women who supposedly personified the "india rica" described above, were featured. Women, who, not only conformed to the "mold impressed by the Spanish colonial and 19th century Catholic society" [310] but who were empowered in different ways, either as housewives, mothers or businesswomen were seen as archetypes of the ideal Philippine woman. The magazine featured, for example, Doña Tomasa Chiong y Rosales, the daughter of one of the leading capitalists of the province of Cebu, who was distinguished for her intelligence, beauty and exceptional humility.[311] Combining wealth, education and good breeding, she was lauded for being a woman of substance within fashionable society. Based on the short description of her, the young *dalaga* embodied modesty, charm and the intangible quality of chic that the publisher, Matilde Martín, sought to display in her magazine. These were the qualities that supposedly made her "shine in society" (*excelentes cualidades que le adornan hacen que esta señorita brille en la Sociedad como un astro de primera magnitude*). What is particularly interesting was the fact that the "S" in *Sociedad* was capitalized, which evoked the idea of a high society -a society within a society- forming a disparate group of wealthy, influential and stylish individuals.[312]

An elegant and virtuous young Binondeña was also featured, however, modesty prevented the editors from providing its readers with her name.[313] Based on the sketch portrait that featured her upper body decked in jewelries and an elegant pañuelo, she certainly personified the well-provided-for wives and daughters of the Binondo elite. In the magazine's

[309] *El Bello Sexo*, 1891 January 14, p. 26; DE VIANA, Lorelei D.C., "El Bello Sexo: The World of Women in Late 19th Century Philippines," 53–54.
[310] DE VIANA, Lorelei D.C., "El Bello Sexo: The World of Women in Late 19th Century Philippines," 49–50.
[311] *El Bello Sexo*, 1891 Junio 23, Num. 23.
[312] This was the same "society" that American Mary Helen Fee felt was not welcoming towards schoolteachers like her during the latter American period. FEE, *A Woman's Impression of the Philippines*, chap. VI, pp. 60–72.
[313] *El Bello Sexo*, 1891 Febrero 28, Num. 8.

second issue, another unnamed mestiza, praised for her lavishly beautiful gown, represented the fashionable daughters of the wealthy families of the *arrabal* of Sta. Cruz, Manila.[314]

French scientist Alfred Marche, who stayed in the Philippines from 1879 to 1883, came across one of these worldly and cultured native women. During his trip to Lucban, he was hosted by a certain Señora Vicenta, whose "specialty was receiving foreigners and selling orchids" and whose lofty interests included natural history.[315] Well-versed, self-assured and well at ease socializing with people from different backgrounds, her conduct and style were illustrative of the wealthy and well-educated provincial indias or mestizas at that time.

The role of periodicals in propagating images of women, who were alluring yet conservative, wealthy and talented yet modest could not be denied. Encanto went so far as to say that 19th century periodicals and advertisements "peddled the notion that women had to conform to the Iberian standards of beauty, by which was meant they had to have fair and flawless skin, be sweet smelling, clean and skilled homemakers…periodicals also defined the ideal woman as one who was mestizo."[316] In the late 19th century though, racial factors, in the sense of being indio or mestizo, became less of an issue as different groups were showing obvious signs of shared culture. Other signifiers, like talent and accomplishments, seem to be even more important than race in recognizing *urbanidad* among women. Dress was only one aspect of what made women fashionable.

The features also showed the shifts in societal expectations of women. While in the early part of the 19th century, women's education prepared them for roles as mothers or as nuns (even if fathers did not necessarily wished for their daughters to become nuns).[317] By the 1890s, several normal schools, like the *Escuela Normal Superior* were established to train women to work outside their homes as teachers, for instance.[318] As such, there were features of women who appeared to be dressed for work. A portrait of Señorita Doña Rosa Sanchez, a *colegiala* student from Concordia, appeared in the women's journal *El Bello Sexo* (1891, Fig. 59) after having obtained, with honors, the title of a teacher.[319] Even if only her upper body was shown, it could be surmised that she was dressed seriously, in this case, in the European

[314] Ibid., 1891 January 14, p. 26.
[315] Marche was also given one of the rooms in the home of the gobernadorcillo during his trip to Sariaya in Quezon Province. MARCHE, *Luzon and Palawan*, 69,71,73.
[316] Georgina Reyes ENCANTO, *Constructing the Filipina: A History of Women's Magazines (1891-2002)* (Diliman, Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 2004), 22.
[317] "La India Rica"; DIOKNO, "Chapter Six: The Making of the Filipino," 123.
[318] DIOKNO, "Chapter Six: The Making of the Filipino," 129.
[319] Portrait of Srta. Doña Rosa Sanchez by M. Ramirez. *El Bello Sexo*, 1891 Febrero 28, Num. 8.

style, without the usual pañuelo and jewelries typically seen among native women of her class. In contrast, a full body illustration of a young woman from Batangas *(Una Joven de Batangas*, Fig. 60*)* dressed in the Philippine style, complete with saya, pañuelo, bell-sleeved camisa and a fan, appeared in a latter issue of the same publication. Although unnamed, she must have stood for a real young woman from Batangas who according to the description, obtained, with distinction, at the young age of sixteen, also the title of a teacher.[320]

Fashion Advertisements. Fashion advertisements have been dealt with in different chapters throughout this study. Some were purely textual. Itemizing the clothing items demonstrate how print ads also functioned as catalogues. Others, in using illustrations and humor, employed more nuanced types of marketing, which touched on human aspirations and yearnings. They appealed to, for example, women who were secretly –or unashamedly- wishing to get married. In one ad, a salesman was showing a dress to two seated women, all the while saying "all wearing dresses of this fabric marry immediately," to which one lady replied, "Really? If so? Then give us that piece…and everything else (Fig. 61)!"[321] Such ads provided insights to couple relationships and the expectations of women therein -- that in Philippine colonial society, husbands were reckoned to finance their wives hats and wardrobes. It also insinuated that clothes have the power to attract a husband. These ads, some of which used irony to convey contempt, may also be viewed as informal records of what may possibly have been common conversations overheard inside the shops or common lines delivered by salesmen to generate a sale.

Portraits. Sketches, watercolors, oil portraits and photographs captured the energy, influences and inspirations of society at that time. Many paintings mirrored not only the mastery of the artists but also the sitters' vision, impressions and perhaps, aspirations for themselves. Upper and middle class men and women commissioned paintings that conveyed power, wealth and influence through their stance, clothing and countenance (Fig. 62, Fig. 63). Men posed for artists or for the cameras either in hybrid ensembles, in elegant embroidered baros or in well-cut, tailored Western attires, complete with cravats and leather shoes. For women, it entailed camisas and pañuelos in embroidered native luxury fabrics and sayas in equally sumptuous imported fabrics (Fig. 64, Fig. 65). Looking at how women of various

[320] Ibid., 1891 Marzo 31, Num. 12.
[321] GROIZÁRD, *Manila Alegre: Periódico Festivo Ilustrado*, 1886, Agosto 16, Año II, Num. 31, Sec. Anuncios de Moda, p.8.

ages chose to dress in commissioned portraits provided insights into the relevance of clothing in, using words borrowed from Lemire, the "construction of socially appropriate figures."[322]

Fashion and the Feminine Character

Fundamental also to colonial discourses on propriety were the ephemeral and superfluous nature of fashion and the perceived differences between gender, as both men and women participated in the frivolity –and/or the charade of appearances. A look at fashion discourses in 19th century periodicals would show that clothing consumption habits were viewed as outward manifestations (*labas*) of the feminine character (*loob*). The article "La Moda (Breves Consideraciones)" in *El Bello Sexo* (1891 May 15), discussed how, while it may be innate for both men and women to adorn their physical selves, women manifested those desires more and in greater proportions. Women were believed to have a greater predilection to follow the various fashions trends, dress their growing children imprudently in costly and elaborate garments and were known to be fickle and inconstant (*veleidosa é inconstante*) in their tastes. The author argued against the detractors of women (*los detractores de la mujer*), who declared that women loved their ribbons, bows and the other fine things they have in their *boudoir* inasmuch as they loved their families. They may love the dress, which they had spent a lot of time working on[323] but it was absurd, not to mention, unfair to equate love for clothes and jewelries with love for one's husband, one's parents or one's children.[324] The author asked how we could even believe that those clothes and adornments held that which were most dear?[325] The article continued by saying that the sudden changes, which occurred in the attires of women showed the true value of the feminine character.[326]

> Women renders fervent worship to the thousand frivolities of fashion and her whims must be prohibited. What was elegant, fashionable and appropriate to gala dressing

[322] Beverly LEMIRE, "Fashioning Global Trade: Indian Textiles, Gender Meanings and European Consumers, 1500-1800," in *How India Clothed the World: The World of South Asian Textiles, 1500-1850* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 376.
[323] In original Spanish, *podrá tener en grande estima su elegante y costoso vestido en cuya confección se ha ocupado largo tiempo.* The production of clothes had also been roles traditionally associated to the women in the family. PICKWIK, "La Moda (Breves Consideraciones)," para. 5, p. 277.
[324] *la mujer ama más à sus padres, à sus hijos, à su esposo, que à sus vestidos y joya.* Ibid., para. 12, pp. 277–278.
[325] In original Spanish, *Cómo hemos de creer que consagre á sus adornos, su mayor cariño?* Ibid., para. 16, pp. 277–278.
[326] *estos cambios repentinos que se verifican en el atavio de la mujer nos dán verdadera medida, el justo valor de carácter femenil.* Ibid., para. 2, p. 277.

yesterday, would be by tomorrow, considered absurd and appalling [translation mine].[327]

A study of the evolution of 19th century women's fashions, however, showed that except for the dramatic ballooning of the sleeves and skirt, many of the changes were quite subtle and even, far between. This article, in trying to argue on the frivolity or foolishness of women, also brings to mind that changes in fashions were driven in part by the transformations, which first developed in people's minds and which were, then, inadvertently imparted socially. This distinguishes between the actual changes in the cut, silhouette, color, styles or materials of clothes and the changes in the mentalities and ideologies of people. This puts forward the idea that clothing culture was influenced by the evolving meanings of the words elegant, fashionable, and appropriate. This looks at fashion as an ongoing process of change -- and in terms of the continuing dialogue between tastes and opinions and between self-expressions and receptions.

This further inquires into the role that clothes played in the interactions between men and women in Spanish Philippines. Apparently, appearances were approached with an awareness of its deceitful and misleading qualities (*las apariencias engañan*).

> Women could use clothes to make herself appear more beautiful and distinguished before men, who along with his capacity to flatter and by extension, uplift or elevate her, could also devalue her depending on the quality of her attire. The enthusiasm for cloths and ribbons was essentially rooted on the fact that clothes could be wielded to sufficiently present a remarkable appearance, which could win the admiration of men and the envy of her peers [translation mine] [328]

Approaching it in this way acknowledged, and even played up, men's influence in women's fashions during the colonial period. This demonstrates the value of male opinion, of how the satisfaction of men often indicated the potency of fashion and how it helped shape the tastes, desires and acquisitions of women at that time. This approach, although problematic in the sense that it presupposes that men and women have the same tastes in fashion, revealed what seems to be the predominant function of clothes at that time -- and that

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[327] *La mujer rinde culto fervoroso á las mil frivolidades de la moda y á su antojo la impone ó lo proscribe. y si hoy se nos presenta ataviada caprichosa y elegantemente, mañana la veremos trocar por completo las adecuadas y oportunas galas con que se viste por las más inverosímiles y grotezcas.* Ibid., para. 1, p. 277.

[328] *en efecto, la mujer sabe, que los múltiples caprichos de la moda la realzan y la hacen aparecer bella y distinguida ante el hombre que la adula ó la deprecia según las exelencias de su toilette: sabe que las apariencias engañan, y por lo mismo no desperdicia occasión en hacer porque esas apariencias sean lo bastante aceptables para que sirvan á conquistarle la admiración de los hombres y la envidia de sus iguales, y de ahí su entusiasmo á los trapos y los moños*. Ibid., 7, p. 277.

was, to attract the opposite sex and to incite envy from the same sex. This expressed the motivations behind dress and appearances -- to find validation from men was just as important as to find validation from women and vice versa. Alluding to what Fee discussed about the defined class system in the Philippines, wherein between the classes, "the feelings were not bitter, but within the each class, jealousy was rampant," what this also exposed was the sartorial rivalry, which existed between those of the same gender, especially from the same social class.[329]

Clothes in the Context of Evolving Gender Roles and Relations

In Juan Luna's *Tampuhan* (Lover's Quarrel, 1895, Fig. 66), a man in white baro and white trousers looks out the window in a pensive pose while a woman dressed in luxurious camisa with bell sleeves, pañuelo, silk saya and dark tapís looks into the interior of the house. Their stance artistically conveyed feelings of vexation and hostility familiar to almost every couple, who has ever engaged in lover's quarrel. The setting was the balcony of a typically large colonial home in the Philippines. The bright and spacious surroundings, the polished wooden floors and the large, airy capiz-paneled windows, which looked out into the street, reflected the style, splendor and charm of many of the elegant homes of affluent families. Luna, in depicting the stylish couple at the prime of their lives, acquaints viewers with significant developments in late 19th century fashions. They were both dressed in fineries typical of that period's party wear. Looking closely at the man's shirt, the translucency associated with native piña, jusi or sinamay is unmistakable. This type of men's baro has been in common use since the 1820s for church, promenade and the occasional fiestas. However, these were not typically used, for formal black-tie affairs, occasionally organized, for example, by the Spanish governor-general in Malacañang, which usually called for the donning of stately, Western-style dinner jackets in either white or black, with or without tailcoats. In the last quarter of the century, as more evening balls or *saya bailes*[330] were increasingly being organized not by the foreign colonial officials but by the thriving indios and mestizos, the period saw an appreciable use of the native-style baro, usually made of fine local fabrics. As the Western suit became the favored professional attire for men, the baro was given importance as the fashionable party attire. Moreover, since many social events

[329] Quoting Fee, on Filipina feminine pride: "The feminine pride, outside of its adherence to what is chaste and womanly, consists of pride in self, a kind of self-estimate, based frequently upon social position, sometimes on a consciousness of self-importance, which comes through the admiration of men…such is Filipino pride." FEE, *A Woman's Impression of the Philippines*, chap. VIII.
[330] HANNAFORD, *History and Description of the Picturesque Philippines*, 49.

were hosted in the palatial homes of natives and mestizos,[331] it can be said that the baro, in fact, was ideal to the climate, context and setting of these tropical celebrations.

On the other hand, particularly central to late 19th century transformations in colonial female fashions were the dramatic ballooning of their sleeves. The straight, narrow sleeves of the 1820s (Fig. 6, Fig. 27) were replaced by the flowing angel sleeves (Fig. 19, Fig. 20, Fig. 71, Fig. 148), which has been in continued use among women of the various classes since the 1840s. The 1880s first saw the use of the bell or bishop's sleeves (Fig. 36, Fig. 37, Fig. 63) among the more elegant women. The late 1890s saw its shortening from elbow to above-elbow length and its taking on the crisp, puffed-up or rounded shape of the butterfly sleeves. Bear in mind that the appearance of a new type of sleeve did not necessarily displace earlier styles; the various models were, in fact, in continued use among the different classes, either for use at home or in public. The time interval between the propagation of styles by the upper and middle classes and its reception by the lower classes must also be taken into account. Manifestations of delayed fashions may be found among regular recipients of secondhand clothing and also, among the laboring classes-- those whose clothing requirements rested more on necessity and protection rather than on fashionability. By virtue of incomes, occupations and social roles, expressions of fashionability between elite housewives, the likes of Teodora Ignacio Devera (the mother of the Ilustrado, Pedro Paterno, Fig. 62, Fig. 65)[332] for example, were certainly different from the nameless women simply stereotyped as Quica the young sastre (Fig. 219), Ñora the Buyera or simply as *india vendedora*.[333] While elite women have been painted and photographed in embroidered angel sleeves since the 1840s, Félix Resurrección Hidalgo's *La Vendedora de Lanzones* (1875, Fig. 67), for instance, was still wearing a baro with straight sleeves. Delayed fashions were indications of the economic and social realities that impeded pursuit of the latest trends.

In addition to the enlarging sleeves, the floral silk or satin saya of the lady in *Tampuhan* (1895, Fig. 66) was consistent with developments in the elite's choice of saya material. Since around 1850, sayas were no longer limited to the usual checked patterns of cotton cambayas. Silks and satin of varied floral, striped and celestial patterns imported from England and the US became popular and widespread among those who wished to be seen in novel, fresh and unique designs. The train in her saya provides also clues to her social itinerary. The *saya de cola*, which constituted as an integral part of the "correct attire for

[331] Ibid.
[332] Justiniano ASUNCIÓN, *Portrait of Teodora de Vera Ignacio*, Oil on canvas, 1880, Bangko Sentral ng Pilipinas collection.
[333] CORENE, "La Buyera."

formal and special occasions,"[334] announced that she would be attending what may have been a *saya bailé*. As mentioned in an earlier chapter, after the invention of new types of looms (i.e. flying shuttle or *lanzadera volante*) in the 18th century, production of larger textile panels made it possible in the 1840s to make bias or semi-circular cut, from which a train *(cola)* could be created.[335]

After dissecting their clothes, information on their identities would help confirm the status of the clothed characters depicted in this painting. Ambeth Ocampo reported that the present owner of this piece, Rosalinda Orosa, is a descendant of the woman in the painting.[336] Identified as Emiliana Trinidad, she was purported to be the *Una Bulaqueña* in another Juan Luna painting (*Una Bulaqueña*, 1895, Fig. 63).[337] The man, meanwhile, was identified by Orosa as Ariston Bautista Lin, a friend of the artist as well as the subject and recipient of his *Parisian Life* (1892, Fig. 68) painting.[338] In *Parisian Life*, Ariston Bautista, a medical student in Europe, was assumed to be the man sitting in a Parisian café with Luna and José Rizal. His friendship with both Luna and Rizal is indicative of his status as an Ilustrado.

Furthermore, while it may also be expected that some semblance of disarray would signal the lover's quarrel in *Tampuhan* (Fig. 66), the couple's calmness or passive hostility seem to convey the civilization and gentility characteristic of those who belonged to polite society. The preserved primness of their attires during a quarrel also stood in contrast to the ripped camisas, which signaled the physical violence that took place between the fictional characters of the ex-*lavandera* (washerwoman), Doña Consolacion and her husband, the *Alferez,* in Rizal's *Noli me tangere* (1886).[339] In a rare depiction of altercation between women, clearly from a lower social group, Ciriaco Molina's artwork aptly titled *Pleitos de Perro* (Dogfight, signed and dated 1851, Fig. 69) showed a group of five women in the act of slapping, scratching, hair-pulling and ripping one another's clothing. The savagery and relative destitution conveyed by the torn clothes, exposed skin, thinning unhealthy hair and

[334] CRUZ, *The Terno*, 6.
[335] CASTRO, "Dissecting Dress," 63; CRUZ, *The Terno*, 6.
[336] Ambeth OCAMPO, "Who Was Juan Luna's La Bulaqueña?," *National Commission for Culture and the Arts*, December 27, 2004, http://www.ncca.gov.ph/about-culture-and-arts/articles-on-c-n-a/article.php?i=282&subcat=13.
[337] MORENO, *Philippine Costume*, 191.
[338] Reyes obtained the information that this painting was presented by Luna to Bautista as a memento of their time in Paris from an interview with Santiago Albano Pilar. Santiago Albano PILAR, *Juan Luna: The Filipino as Painter* (Manila: Eugenio Lopez Foundation, 1980); REYES, *Love, Passion and Patriotism*, fig. 11: Parisian Life, p. 57.
[339] RIZAL, *The Social Cancer: A Complete English Version of Noli me tangere from the Spanish of José Rizal*, chap. 39: Doña Consolacion, pp. 305–306.

grimy appearance exposed the primitive and uncouth manner in which some of the uneducated poor resolved or handled conflicts.

It is self-evident that clothing variables in Philippine colonial society included age, income, race and gender. In the second half of the 19th century, clothes demarcated the sexes, in the manner of male/female, trousers/skirts, practical/impractical and somber/colorful. The colorful jackets combined with printed checked or striped pants, which were rather common among local men before 1850, were replaced with streamlined, well-tailored Western suits in subdued colors like white, natural or black. This coincided with the worldwide trend in styles and color.

The male suit, which emerged during the nineteenth century, was "an adaptation of eighteenth-century sporting wear and became the uniform of the new (European) citizen. The black suit had, within the limits of the existing class divisions, a strong egalitarian impact and made the men into mobile participants in the modern nation-state."[340] Henk Schulte Nordholt, in his article, *The state on the skin: clothes, shoes and neatness in (colonial) Indonesia*, tried to establish the link between male dressing in Europe and male dressing in the colonies:

> The rise of the nation-state in nineteenth-century Europe was paralleled by the formation colonial empires, and consequently, European suits arrived in an emerging colonial state. But once arrived, the meaning of the suit changed profoundly. In the Netherlands Indies, it was not a sign of citizenship, but a uniform in which authoritarian rule appeared. While the black dress signaled the seriousness and solidity of the colonial authorities, the appearance of the immaculate white uniform-dress emphasized the unbridgeable distance between ruler and subject.[341]

Developments similar to the changes in male dressing that occurred in the Netherlands Indies transpired in Spanish Philippines. As Western men residing in the Philippines appeared in black suits and in white drill suits, the local elite, who yearned to cross the borders that demarcated colonizer from colonized, began to adopt similar attires. Furthermore, as inherently part of the colonized, they donned Western clothes, appeared with objects which associated them with colonial power (i.e. *bastón* or cane) and acquired or possessed objects in their homes that had references to European lifestyles (i.e. piano, harp), to distinguish themselves from the mass of *tao* that made up the colonized. The local elite

[340] E. HOBSBAWM, "Mass-Producing Traditions: Europe, 1870-1914," in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. T. RANGER and E. HOBSBAWM (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 263–307; E. WILSON, *Adorned in Dreams: Fashion and Modernity* (London: Virago Press, 1985), 14, 180; Cited in Henk SCHULTE NORDHOLT, "The State on the Skin: Clothes, Shoes and Neatness in (Colonial) Indonesia," *Asian Studies Review* 21, no. 1 (July 1997): 22.

[341] SCHULTE NORDHOLT, "The State on the Skin: Clothes, Shoes and Neatness in (Colonial) Indonesia," 22.

used their Western clothes and possessions to bridge the gap between colonizer and colonized while at the same time separating themselves from the majority of the colonized. In short, through their clothing and jewelries, they sought to "wear" their wealth as a means of overcoming the existing racial gap while simultaneously increasing the social or class gap.

Meanwhile, the color black, particularly in twilled cotton or wool, has "since the 1840s become universal, even in the hottest weather."[342] This shows a general shift in fashion norms and outlooks. The use of muted tones (natural, white and black) in contrast to the colors of the earlier decades, in a way, began to present the sagacity and standing of local men in a quiet and subtle way (Fig. 82, Fig. 83).[343] Men's unobtrusive garments allowed for fine distinctions. Women's fashions, on the other hand, saw their sleeves, camisas and skirts increasingly becoming more dramatic and exceptional for them to be meaningful and expressive. While sartorial subtlety became vital to the demonstration of men's status, wealth and social influence, elaboration and amplification became vital to women's. Succinctly, it seemed that the key to sartorial eloquence and prominence in the second half of the 19th century was understatement for men and overstatement for women. The use of overstatement, though, must be clarified. It was possible for camisas and pañuelos to be heavily embroidered and for the petticoated sayas to appear too voluminous and still be tasteful and refined, especially through the careful choice and combinations of textiles, textures, colors and designs.

Disparities based on gender occurred as early as infancy and carried on to adulthood, shaped and influenced by their professional and socio-cultural lives. A dichotomy between the "masculine world of commerce and the feminine world of ritual and display" clearly existed.[344] As Hoganson mentioned, while "men might lead in politics and business, social life revolved around women."[345] Women were acknowledged, for example, in the article "La Mujer Catolica" as the source of social life and the heart of society.[346] As such, professional attires (Western suits) that would be separate and distinct from their festive attires (baro)

[342] ROSS, *Clothing: A Global History*, 74.
[343] These following images show how the color of the baro and the pants evolved, from colorful to monochromatic. With natural color as the base, the baros in the 1840s featured stripes in blue, red, purple or black. By the late 1850s, the colors increasingly became muted. The baros, usually in natural color, with black stripes, were paired with plain black pants. LOZANO, *Nyssens-Flebus Album (1844-1846)*, fig. Mestizos en traje de fiesta; LOZANO, *Karuth Album (1858)*, fig. Mestizos in Fiesta Attire; Simon FLORES y DE LA ROSA, *Retrato de Cirilo y Severina Quiason y Sus Dos Hijos*, 1874, Filipinas Heritage Library, http://www.retrato.com.ph/photodtl.asp?id=AC01358; MARTÍNEZ y LORENZO, *Mestizo Español*.
[344] HOGANSON, "The Fashionable World: Imagined Communities of Dress," 266–267.
[345] Ibid.
[346] *La mujer es la fuente de la vida social es el Corazon de la sociedad.* "La mujer católica," *El Bello Sexo* 1, no. 12 (March 31, 1891): 182–83.

would develop among men. Meanwhile, the native dress, worked using different fabrics and designs, would constitute both the professional and festive attires of women.

An important difference between gender emerged when the image of professionalism and modernity became associated with the Western suit, while encapsulated in the baro't saya, pañuelo and tapís of women were looks that paradoxically, were traditional and at the same, modern (meaning contemporary and up-to-date). Modernity was articulated, for example, using women's enlarging sleeves as one of the indexes. The shortened butterfly sleeves current in the 1890s marked a significant departure from the bell or bishop sleeves of the 1880s, the angel sleeves of the 1840s and the straight narrow long-sleeves of the 1820s. The cover of *Manililla* (1893 Agosto 5, Fig. 70) showed, for example, a woman dressed in baro't saya and pañuelo (no tapís), speaking to a man dress in a suit over a shirt with waistcoat and a tie, trousers and closed shoes.[347] The woman, demurely holding a fan over her chest, was asking him about a *rigodón*, which was possibly, what they were planning to get dressed for. More important than what their clothes suggested about their social lives is the visual contrast between the woman's native style and the man's Western style. He was dressed like the countless other criollos, indios and mestizos, especially of the wealthy, educated classes, who were dressed as modern professionals. Her wide, slightly rounded sleeves reflect dressing that was, as articulated above, both traditional and modern.

Family portraits were also used as sources to illustrate the sartorial contrasts between men and women, but this time within the same family. The only male in a photo of a mestizo-español family *(Retrato de Familia Mestiza Española, Álbum de Filipinas,* circa 1870, Fig. 71) was dressed in a dark suit, white pants, white shirt, with a little ribbon as bowtie and black leather shoes. The rest of the ladies were in baro with angel sleeves, pañuelo, voluminous saya.[348] The young man's attire, reminiscent of the Westernized ensembles first seen in the painting, *Estudiantes de las diferentes universidades* (Nyssens-Flebus Album, between 1844 to 1846, Fig. 72) by José Honorato Lozano, accentuates his youth and education. Sara Badia Villaseca writes that "although probably intended as a portrait of a gentry family, this image has come to represent the whole of the Philippine mestizo elite of the 19th century."[349] The book held by the two well-dressed young ladies contribute to an oversimplified image of educated women. More than the contrast between sexes, this image

[347] *Manililla Periódico Semanal: Ilustrado, Cómico y Humorístico*, Año VII (Manila: Se Publica Los Sábados, 1893), Agosto 5, Num. 276.
[348] *Retrato de Familia Mestiza Española, Álbum de Filipinas, Retrato y Vistas, Ca. 1870 (60 Fotografias)*, B/W photograph, 1870, Biblioteca Nacional de España, http://www.flickr.com/photos/bibliotecabne/sets/72157630616261852/.
[349] BADIA VILLASECA, *Mujeres Filipinas*, 96–97.

also shows the contrasting appearance of educated men and women within the same family. Similarly, a photo of Justiniano Asunción surrounded by his daughter Benita and his two sons, Zacarias and Jacobo (circa 1894, Fig. 73) by his nephew Hilarion Asunción shows the younger son Zacarias in dark Western suit and his daughter in baro with bell or bishop's sleeves, pañuelo and saya with tapís.[350] His attire in particular, when viewed in terms of his youth, clearly signified educated status.

In the same photo, Justiniano and his elder son Jacobo were in an all-white ensemble with their shirts worn outside their trousers, typical of the male baro. The social meaning of the baro in late 19th century portraiture would be articulated in light of the textiles used. The baro worn by Justiniano as the head of the family and his elder son, Jacobo is juxtaposed with the baro of Cirilo Quiason in a family portrait made by Simon Flores. Painted in *miniaturismo* style, the portrait of Cirilo and Severina Quiason with their two children (ca. 1880, Fig. 64) shows the father in sheer, embroidered baro with black trousers and the mother in embroidered sheer baro and pañuelo paired with dark-colored saya.[351] Justiniano and his son's baros were similar in style, albeit unadorned-- and thicker.

The choice of using the baro to immortalize themselves in paintings and photographs reflected late 19th century social milieu, in the sense that the baro progressively figured as leisure or festive attire. The tailored Western ensemble, which entailed tucking their shirts into their trousers and layering shirts, waistcoats and suits or jackets, seem to project power and professionalism according to Western models. In contrast, the loose-fit of the baro, the lighter materials, the design and embroideries allowed them to display relaxed confidence while at the same time looking distinguished.

Increased documentation during the ensuing American period would show the widening visual gap between men in Western suits next to women in native attires. Characteristic groups of students as well as high- and middle-class families were captured, with the males dressed in Western suits and the ladies in baro't saya and pañuelo. A photo of a graduating class of Filipino teachers at the Normal School, for example, shows women wearing the native attire while men were in suits and ties (Fig. 74).[352] A Filipino father surrounded by his family was in a white drill suit and bowler's hat, while his wife and

[350] Hilarion ASUNCIÓN, *Justiniano Asuncion (center) with Children Benita, Zacarias and Jacobo*, B/W photograph, 1894, Quintos-Guerzon Family Collection.
[351] FLORES y DE LA ROSA, *Retrato de Cirilo y Severina Quiason y Sus Dos Hijos*.
[352] BEST, *Philippine Picture Postcards, 1900-1920*; FEE, *A Woman's Impression of the Philippines*, chap. VII.

daughters were in a native baro't saya (Fig. 75).[353] In another photo, a father sits proudly in a dark suit, surrounded by the women in his family (Fig. 76).[354] The more elaborate versions of the native dress worn by the women in the picture attest to this provincial family's higher status. The sartorial contrasts actually advanced Finnane's idea that women's bodies were garbed to be the "bearers of cultural tradition."[355]

Women's impractical attires symbolized their exclusion from the usual avenues of power --careers in law, ecclesiastics, politics and military, which Ilustrado men could strive to achieve distinctions for were avenues simply not available to Ilustrado women. Clothes, jewelry and displays of talent in needlework and art were their insignias of status. Between these equal, educated, well-trained women, exquisitely hand-embroidered piña camisas were showpieces meant to distinguish them for their competence, virtuosity and more importantly, their artistry.

The professions and leisure activities that elite women could pursue at that time were, for the most part, limited by their status --as extensions of the social positions of their fathers or husbands. Accordingly, their clothing needs were influenced by the kind of occupations -- and preoccupations-- expected from women of their class. Wealthy and middle class women's involvement in trade, especially the trade of textiles and clothing, often called for the "exhibition and display in the publicity of appearances."[356] This suggests some form of professional dressing, for example, among sinamayeras and among upper class entrepreneurs. But, this professional dress was nonetheless built on the same native style, which indicates that progression in women's fashions did not correspond with the men's adoption of the Western suit. Developments similar to the separation between the baro as men's leisure or festive wear and the Western suit as their professional wear, did not, essentially, take root in women's fashions. In the various representations of wealthy and middle class men in the second half of the 19th century, it can be observed that the baro was used generally for church, paseo, fiestas, and and occasionally, for portraits and photographs. Majority of the women, meanwhile, did not adopt the European dress. They were garbed in the Philippine style made up of four basic pieces, regardless of whether it was for professional or social purposes. With the exception of some formal balls that called for the completely Western evening gowns, they wore the baro't saya, the optional pañuelo and tapís, for work, for

[353] FEE, *A Woman's Impression of the Philippines*, chap. X; fig. A Filipino Mother and Family. All the children except the baby attended the public school.
[354] Ibid., fig. A High Class Provincial Family, Capiz; Ch. XI: Social and Industrial Conditions of the Filipinos, pp. 130–149.
[355] FINNANE, *Changing Clothes in China*, 97.
[356] ROCHE, *The Culture of Clothing: Dress and Fashion in the 'Ancien Regime*, 319.

parties and for everyday life. Of course, distinctions in the type and quality of the fabrics, the volume and proportion of the skirts[357] as well as on the amount and workmanship of the embroideries varied depending on the event but the style remained essentially the same. Regarding the construction and basic silhouette of the native baro't saya and pañuelo, they were clearly influenced and inspired by European fashions and by Catholic notions of modesty and propriety, but they have been reworked and localized using native fabrics, creating a fanciful combination of textures. While layering and the use of long-sleeves, corsets, coats and heavy European fabrics (i.e. wool) may have been incorporated in local women's fashions at different points in time, they proved, in the long run, to be unsuitable -- and therefore, unsustainable -- to the hot and humid climate of the Philippines.[358] The use of corsets and overcoats were simply incompatible with the design aesthetics of the native baro't saya. Women also favored the vitality, in terms of color and feel of silk and cotton over the density of wool, especially for daily wear. The camisa's long-sleeves were also gradually replaced by the shorter, airier angel then bell sleeves before ultimately, evolving into the iconic butterfly sleeves. Nicanor G. Tiongson, in his article, *Costumes of the Colonized*, concluded that "the influence of Europe on the native costumes of the islands was indigenized for local use – by force of climate, economy and common sense."[359]

Women's clothing must be studied in context of their leisure and professional pursuits. It was mentioned above that the pursuits of upper class women were, in a way, limited by their status. As such, they learned to make money and pay for their caprice very differently from poorer women. They probably realized that they did not have to sweat and toil to make adequate income. Many, in fact, incorporated business with their social lives. An articulation of this would begin with a feature on the ways of life of rich mestizas.

The rich mestiza, whether of Chinese or Spanish descent, was most likely the wife or daughter of a rich landowning planter or merchant who runs sugar mills, coffee, coconut or hemp plantations. By virtue of the fortunes of their fathers or husbands, it was really not necessary for them to work but many did work. Some even worked that earned them some

[357] Blending native and Western fashions, the woman on the left of José Taviel de Andrade's *Study of the Terno* was shown pairing a bustle skirt with a baro and pañuelo, which is suggestive of an evening social agenda, perhaps a bailé. Other types of skirts intended for semi-formal (church, paseo, fiesta) and formal occasions included petticoated sayas and petticoated sayas de cola (with train). TAVIEL DE ANDRADE, *Filipinas, 1887-1888 (32 Sheets)*, fig. Studies of the Terno; CARIÑO and NER, *Álbum: Islas Filipinas, 1663-1888*, 265.
[358] TIONGSON, "Costumes of the Colonized," 292–293.
[359] Tiongson also claims that "European textiles were not always available or affordable, requiring substitutes for material and design." This may have been true for the most part of the 19th century but as Manila was integrated into the world economy after the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, many of the essentials of European dressing (i.e. lace, corsets, wool, velvet) became readily available at shops along Escolta. Ibid., 293.

money. Work, however, did not mean doing the actual labor themselves; rather, they would have in their employ, weavers, embroiderers, shopkeepers, and servants, whom they supervised while they managed their daily household affairs. Paramount to them was finding reliable, loyal servants willing to devote their lives to the service of the family.[360] Servants, who in exchange for the security of having a patron, would readily take care of their kids for them, cook, embroider, mend clothes or fix things, sometimes without being told to do so. Many times, their workers' obedience, care, concern and commitment *(malasakit)* far surpassed the pay they were getting.

For the rich, labor was cheap and easily acquired, which negates the need for them to do the actual work themselves. Hiring people to labor for them enabled them to fulfill their roles as wives or housewives and as mothers. They would keep accounts of the budget, food, clothes, as well as the wages of the staff on their payroll. On the ground floor of their homes, they would set up small tiendas (shops) to sell a variety of novelties, from vino, cigars, homemade rice cakes, candies, textiles and accessories. They would convert some of their bedrooms into workshops, some for weaving, others for embroidering.[361] The enterprising ones among them would see opportunities where they may. When they went on vacations abroad, they would see profit in laces, combs, and fans (abanicos). When they cooked or baked, they would make more to sell in the *tienda* downstairs.[362]

They were unique for they were members of the leisure classes who, given the knack and business talent of some, refused to be idle and incapacitated. They learned to supplement their family's income with savvy deals of their own. Case in point would be the Spanish mestizas, whom Barrántes described to be generally disdainful towards physical labor, perceiving it as degrading and even humiliating. They therefore generated income in the most unlikely circumstances. Much had to do with the keen observance of the women of their class and social group. For example, some mestizas with names like Pipan would wear an eye-catching piece of jewelry that she knew an española acquaintance of hers would like. When that friend remarked on how much she loves the piece, Pipan would nonchalantly reply how much it cost her. She would say, "*chichirico* (beautiful) stuff, isn't it? 200 pesos, it cost me," an amount double than what she actually paid for.[363] Within the next few days, the Spanish woman would receive a delivery of the same, if not the actual earrings the young mestiza wore, with a gracious note that would even incite gratitude. She would write that she knew

[360] FEE, *A Woman's Impression of the Philippines*, chap. XVII: An Unpleasant Vacation.
[361] Ibid.
[362] Ibid.
[363] BARRÁNTES, "Spanish, Portuguese, and American Women (1876)," 60–61.

how much her dear friend loved the piece, so she took the liberty of finding another pair for her. She would end her short note with something like, "just pay me when you can," leaving the Spanish woman bewildered, even flattered but with no other choice than to buy the earrings she did not know was, most likely, already worn.

As illustrated above, the proud mestizas conducted business without appearing to do so. They would quietly observe what the people around them needed. Who requires what? Do they require a certain imported fabric? A dress? A piece of jewelry? Perhaps a horse or even a carriage? They got to wear new things and be fashionable while at the same time, making money.[364] She would wear a camisa to one party and sell it at another party. She observed trends while simultaneously initiating demand. For instance, she would buy all of the seller's existing merchandise of piña cloth at of course, discounted prices. Following the laws of supply and demand, increased demand could provoke increase in prices. When it came to her attention that an acquaintance was looking for a piña cloth for the two much awaited annual events, Lent and Christmas,[365] she would 'bestow the favor' of selling one piece supposedly from her own armoire.

These examples showed how the leisure and professional activities of wealthy women were often blurred; hence, their clothing requirements developed differently from that of men. Basically, the same native styles but cut with different fabrics and adorned with varied embellishments distinguished women's ordinary attires from their festive ones. Men of the various occupations, on the other hand, had separate work and leisure activities, which likewise, entailed distinctions between work and leisure attires. Among working males, clothes that were appropriate to their careers were, expectedly, used more regularly. Before long, Westernized suits, in either black or white, became not only the "proper" professional attire but also, the everyday street wear of the elite as well as the educated and talented middle classes in the colony. Its use soon extended to the poorer members of society, especially, the ones working for foreign employers, i.e. as houseboys, foremen, overseers, etc. Concomitantly, modified forms of the native male baro, in varying grades of fabrics and materials, have been, since the 1820s, used as festive wear. Except for exclusive black-tie affairs that called for the donning of Western dinner jackets, the male baro was equally recognized – and accepted --as stylish party attire.

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[364] Ibid.

[365] ZARAGOZA, *Old Manila (Images of Asia)*, 42; Mina ROA, J.R. JAYME-FERNANDEZ, and Bert HERNANDEZ, *The Evolution of the Elegant Philippine Costume. Pamphlet.* (Manila: M. Colcol and Co., 1947), 8–9; CRUZ, *The Terno*, 2.

There was also indication that some celebrations, especially the ones held during the day had invitations that supplicated only the ladies, not the men, to dress in *traje del país*. Once again, women in native attires stood in visual contrast with men in Western attires. In the October 10, 1894 issue of *La Moda Filipina*, there was a fictional correspondence between Emilia, either a peninsular or insular woman living in the Philippines and Luisa, her friend in Spain. Emilia refers to a reproduction of a photograph made by the distinguished aficionado, Don G. Reyes during their excursion at Matangtubig, Bulacan. The photograph, taken at around two or three in the afternoon, shows the men dressed in European style suits while the ladies were dressed in baro with wide, flowing angel sleeves, saya (no tapís overskirt), and pañuelo. Ladies, whether European, Spanish or English, were urged to come in their Philippine dress:

> If a celebration is intended for dancing, invitations distributed supplicate the ladies and all European women, as with Spanish and English, to dress in *traje del país* [translation mine] [366]

Accordingly, their beautiful and capricious attires were described to be perfectly suitable to the time, outdoor setting and program of the festivity. In saying that without the oppressive corset that forces a shape while torturing the body, the breathing space and the comfort that the *traje del país* (with its airy wide sleeves) provides, was deemed more suitable for wear during social gatherings that included dancing in the program. The *traje del país*, also referred to as *traje de mestiza, toilette Filipina, ó mejor dicho Filipino*, used here in contrast to *traje europeo,*[367] indicated an awareness or recognition of a native sartorial identity (Fig. 43). Except for Europeans and some natives married to Europeans, the fact that the Western dress (Fig. 109A, Fig. 115D) did not really take root among the women in the Philippines, represented the dichotomy between sartorial control --a kind of enslavement of the women of their country (Spain), as Emilia would put it-- and by virtue of climate and practicality, the relative sartorial liberty experienced by the women in the colony.

Emilia continued to write in her letter how like a formal country banquet, the sumptuous lunch --the work of French good taste-- was served in tables tastefully set with flowers and fine silverware. Little cards bearing each of the guests' names were used to mark everyone's place at the dining table. Accounts of the lively and *"galante"* conversations that

[366] In original Spanish, *pero siempre que se pretende celebrar una reunión para bailar, si se quiere que sea notable, se reparten las invitaciones suplicando á las señoras y señoritas el traje del país, y todas las europeas, lo mismo españolas que inglesas, acuden con su toilette filipina formando un conjunto de lo más caprichoso y bonito.* (-), "Brisas del Oriente."
[367] Ibid.

continued throughout the afternoon, the presence of hired musicians who played the waltz much to the delight of the indefatigable guests as well as the Victoria carriages in the background all served to demonstrate the lifestyle of an aggregate set of fashionable and glamorous people, presumably unified by education and wealth. Their clothing could signify different things depending on who was wearing them. Western suit during a daytime party did not really conform to the typical festive wear (baro) of wealthy indios and mestizos. The men, shown here in western clothes could, therefore, be either purely European or Westernized indios or mestizos. It is quite perplexing that invitations would only specify the dress code for women, but not for men. The baro't saya and pañuelo were the conventional everyday and festive attires of the indias and mestizas. While it would not be surprising to see them in this type of clothes for these occasions, the same style on Spanish women, the likes of Emilia, is however, intriguing. Buttoned, closed neck, long-sleeved jackets with puffed sleeves and full-length skirts, in either light or dark colors, were the everyday dress of most European women in the Philippines.[368] They would most likely choose not to wear the *traje del país* on the streets but perhaps, by force of dress codes, they would wear them for pictorials, in the same way they would wear costumes for particular events or occasions. Since the precise racial makeup of the guests could not be ascertained, a proper reading of what their clothes conveyed would be a challenge. But, what can be said is this: In occasionally dressing like natives and mestizas, European women retained their European-ness[369] while participating in trends current to that period. The *traje del país* or *traje de mestiza* also enabled them to live through the experience and feeling of sartorial liberty and grace of colonized women.

Going back to the Luna's *Tampuhan* (1895, Fig. 66), the man, in looking out the window and the woman, in looking into the interior of the house, could very well represent the expansive character of men's lives in relation to the delimited nature of women's lives in colonial Philippines. While the construction of futures and fortunes in general were understood to be the role of men, women were the guardians of stability – "the strong and steady keeper of faith, of religion, of the home, and the homeland."[370] Quoting Henk Schulte Nordholt, "whereas men moved fast in their Western business suits, women in traditional

[368] *Pardo de Taveras with José Rizal and Félix Resurrección Hidalgo*, B/W photograph, n.d., Pardo de Tavera Collection; VAN DEN MUIJZENBERG, *The Philippines through European Lenses*, fig. 35, p. 123.
[369] Hoganson put forward the idea that "American women could dress Asian and still be fundamentally European." HOGANSON, "The Fashionable World: Imagined Communities of Dress," 270.
[370] "La India Rica."

dress stood for immobility and female subordination."[371] The window in the painting may also delineate between "the home as an intrinsically a female space,"[372] and the world at large as intrinsically the realm of men. As carefully argued above, even as a divide between leisure and professional attires occurred in men's fashions, the basic silhouette of women's attires remained essentially the same. Clothed in the baro't saya, pañuelo and tapís, women were shown to have modeled stability, dependability and "nationality." [373] This validates Hoganson's idea that it was, in fact, women's bodies, which "delineated national difference."[374]

Evolution of Lowland, Christianized Men's clothing

Referring to the earliest source depicting Philippine types and costumes, the 16th century *Boxer Codex* showed that regional distinctions existed particularly between the Tagalogs of Luzon, the Pintados of the Visayan islands and the Cagayanes in Mindanao. Variance in the clothing of each regional group signaled differences in wealth, class and status.

The illustrations suggest that status was signified by three things related to clothing: coverage, color and jewelry. Across the different groups, full or partial coverage separated the upper from the lower classes. While there were men who only wore loincloths (*bahague,* Fig. 1I) and nothing else, the modestly clothed Tagalogs wore short, waist-length shirts that were round-necked, collarless and long-sleeved. These shirts of simple construction, referred to by the Spaniards as *chamarreta,*[375] were paired with short, loose and wide trousers called *salaual.* Red and gold jewelries designated the chiefs and celebrated warriors from the ordinary citizens.[376] Visayan men, meanwhile, fashioned either the same baro and salaual

[371] Idea from Jean Gelman TAYLOR, "Costume and Gender in Colonial Java, 1800-1940," in *Outward Appearances: Dressing State and Society in Indonesia*, ed. Henk SCHULTE NORDHOLT (Leiden: KITLV Press, forthcoming); Cited in SCHULTE NORDHOLT, "The State on the Skin: Clothes, Shoes and Neatness in (Colonial) Indonesia," 23.
[372] Normal BRYSON, *Looking at the Overlooked: Four Essays on Still-Life Painting* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1990), 158; DATUIN, "Filipina Artist in the Fine Arts: Disrupted Genealogies, Emerging Identities," 153.
[373] HOGANSON, "The Fashionable World: Imagined Communities of Dress," 261.
[374] Ibid.
[375] Visitacion de la Torre specified the *chamarreta* to be a jacket and contrary to the images in the *Boxer Codex*, he specified short instead of long sleeves. Possibly, the *chamarreta* was referred to as a jacket because it was long-sleeved, which was presumably the more acceptable form of outer wear. Some men also rolled their sleeves, which could explain why they were described as short sleeved. CRUZ, *The Barong Tagalog*, fig. 6, p. 21; Visitacion R. de la TORRE, *The Barong Tagalog: Then & Now* (Makati City: Windsor Tower Book House, 2000), 2.
[376] Boxer Codex has three illustrations of fully-clothed *Naturales-Tagalogs* and one illustration of three *Naturales-Tagalog* men wearing only loincloths. TORRE, *The Barong Tagalog: Then & Now*, 2; *Boxer Codex [manuscript]*, fig. Naturales.

ensemble like the Tagalogs or they wore the *marlota* or *baquero* -- long-sleeved, v-neck, full-length robes, which were loose and long like the Indian *kurta*. Their baro though had noticeably shorter sleeves[377] and their *marlotas* were worn with or without belts.

Between the 16th and 19th centuries, visual and written records about the clothing of the colonial population were rare. There were limited 17th and 18th century records, which showed the diversity of clothing –and how clothes varied according to occasions. Most narratives detailed the clothing of the general population, with little reference to class distinctions. It could only be assumed that native textiles had varied uses among the elite.

In the early 18th century, historical accounts and illustrations demonstrated that regional variations existed but were becoming less emphasized. What became more obvious was the growing homogeneity in the attires of the various racial groups, at least of the same social class. As depicted in Velarde's 1734 map of the Philippines, the early 18th century españoles, mestizos and indios, presumably from the upper classes, were dressed completely in European styles. Long overcoats with floral embroideries were layered over jackets, knee-length breeches, stockings, and heeled shoes. Luxury was played up by the amount of material used in the overcoat, the length of which often reached the ground. A wide cravat draped around their necks while felt hats covered their heads.

In the late 18th century, European ensembles were replaced by what appeared to be hybrid attires made up of shortened, tailored jackets with straight, long sleeves layered over shirts that covered their necks. As exemplified by the male in Ravenet's *Mestizos de Manila* (Fig. 1H), shirts were worn characteristically over loose, knee-length, Chinese-style embroidered silk pants.[378] The color, cut, fabric and embroideries of these trousers conformed to the "large and wide pair of drawers" described by Pierre Sonnerat who documented his travels around Asia between 1774 and 1781. They were later on identified as *sayasaya* by

[377] *Boxer Codex [manuscript]*, fig. Bisayas; fig. Pintados.

[378] Marilyn Canta suggests that Bengal silk were used as a material for these *sayasayas.* Although the origins of such trousers point to China, there was no evidence to show that they were worn by the Chinese in China. It must be mentioned though that similar wide trousers (plain with no embroideries along the borders) were worn by the more prosperous Chinese merchants residing in the Philippines. Florina-Capistrano Baker presented several possibilities: *sayasayas* were either sewn and embroidered in China exclusively for the Philippine market OR silk was imported from China or Bengal, then sewn and embroidered in the Philippines by local artisans or by Chinese immigrants. The embroideries, although featuring Chinese or Southeast Asian motifs, seem to reflect the more ornate tastes that developed among the indio and native elites. LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. Chino Comerciante; fig. Capitán Pasado con traje antiguo; CANTA, "Of Cambayas, Custas and Calicos: The Indo-Philippine Textile Connection," 127–128; CAPISTRANO-BAKER, "Embroidered Multiples: Nineteenth-Century Philippine Costumes and Images," 20.

Jean Mallat (1846), and in the texts accompanying the Gervasio Gironella Album (1847) of watercolors made by José Honorato Lozano.[379]

In art, *sayasayas* may be encountered in an unsigned watercolor titled *Indumentaría Filipina* (artist unknown, 1814, Fig. 180)[380] and in the *tipos del país* paintings of Damián Domingo and Espiridión de la Rosa in the 1820s and 1830s. These trousers, observed only among upper class indios and mestizos as well as aguacils (bailiffs) and gobernadorcillos (town mayors),[381] appears to be exclusive to certain ethnicities, class and professions (Fig. 23). There were no records to suggest that the Chinese and the Europeans wore this particular type of wide-legged trousers in embroidered silk. It can, therefore, be surmised that, the sayasaya, when combined with European jackets and tucked out shirts, reflected more the tastes of the native and mestizo elites for hybrid attires—and for embroideries, for that matter. More than race, what the *sayasaya* seem to convey was wealth and access to prestige goods.[382] As fashions changed through the decades, the wearing of the sayasaya became associated with the older generation, which implies that it became unfashionable among the younger ones, especially after 1840.[383]

Seen only in a few late 18th and early 19th century artworks and mentioned in a few historical texts, no actual garments were found until the *Bréjard Collection of Philippine Costumes* was rediscovered in 1991 at the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde (RMV) in

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[379] In the work of Gironière, he only specified trousers of colored silk the term *sayasaya* -- and its distinctive embroideries along the borders-- were not mentioned. GIRONIÈRE, *Adventures in the Philippine Islands*, 36–37; MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1846, 61; LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. Chino Comerciante; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 194.

[380] In *Indumentaría Filipina* (1814), it is assumed that the male wearing this type of trousers, paired with a tucked out shirt and tailored jacket was a *gobernadorcillo*. *Indumentaría Filipina (Philippine Apparel)*.

[381] In the works of Damian Domingo, sayasayas were "worn by elite men of different ethnic and political groups –including the indio, mestizo, alguacil and gobernadorcillo." CAPISTRANO-BAKER, "Embroidered Multiples: Nineteenth-Century Philippine Costumes and Images," 20; Damián DOMINGO, *Colección de Trajes de Manila Tanto Antiguos Como Modernos, de Toda Clase de Indias [art Original] / Dispuesta por D. Rafael Daniel Babon y Dibujado por D. Damián Domingo, Director de La Academia de Dibujo de La Real Sociedad de Manila*, Watercolor, 1827 to 1832, fig. Indio Alguacil del Pueblo de Manila; fig. Indio Principal del pueblo de Manila; fig. Indio de Manila, Edward E. Ayer Art Collection; Special Collections 4th Floor, Newberry Library, https://i-share.carli.illinois.edu/nby/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?v1=1&hd=1,1&CallBrowse=1&SEQ=20140516080131&PID=cUeMeR0_drx5yD2WSqT0v&SID=2; Espiridión DE LA ROSA, *El Gobernadorcillo de Mestizos*, Watercolor on paper, between 1820 to 1840, Private Collection-Spain; LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. Retired Gobernadorcillo in Official Clothes; LOZANO, *Ayala Album*, Sugarcane and Two Old Councilors (Caña Dulce y dos viejos principales antiguos); LOZANO, *Karuth Album (1858)*, fig. A Native Town Official.

[382] Marilyn R. CANTA, "Of Cambayas, Custas and Calicos: The Indo-Philippine Textile Connection," in *Manila: Selected Papers of the 17th Annual Manila Studies Conference, August 13-14, 2008*, ed. Bernardita CHURCHILL (Quezon City: Manila Studies Association, Inc., 2009), 127–128; CAPISTRANO-BAKER, "Embroidered Multiples: Nineteenth-Century Philippine Costumes and Images," 20.

[383] LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 39: Capitán Pasado con traje antiguo; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 188–189.

Leiden.[384] The collection determined to be "culturally Tagalog or mestizo"[385] provided tangible material evidence that such trousers indeed existed and that they were embroidered and made of lightweight silk.

Apart from cloth and clothes, handkerchiefs represented yet another luxury indulged in by the local elites. The high quality ones with red border designs were usually of English manufacture, produced and imported from Madras. Interestingly, it was customary to carry not only one but three handkerchiefs. They wore one on their heads (as alternative to hats), then another around their necks and the third one, they held in their hands.[386]

1820-1840

Between 1820 and 1840, there were changes in the attires of the local and mestizo elites. The sketches found in Gironière and Mallat's books, which were strikingly similar, showed what may be the dressy, promenade attires of indios (Tagalogs) and mestizos. They were wearing long baros, otherwise called *barong mahaba*,[387] in sheer textiles, paired with straight-cut pants in striped patterns. The *barong mahaba* was fashioned with either high standing collars[388] or folded collars[389] and either folded, [390]ruffled or embroidered cuffs (Fig. 2A, 2B).[391] The use of these Elizabethan-style ruffled collars[392] must have been short-lived because they began to appear less and less through the years. The baro's length reached

[384] Not much is known about Bréjard apart from the fact that he was, according to Pieter Ter Keurs, Chancelier du Consulat de France in Manila between 1881 to 1886. Through a series of letters between Bréjard and the Director of the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Dr. L. Serrurier, it was discovered that he sold the collection consisting of 290 items for a total of 5,000 francs in July 1886. Apart from being mentioned in the 1928 catalogue compiled by H.H. Junyboll, the collection seem to have vanished from the museum's inventory. Mr. Dorus Kop Jansen of the RMV's registration department figured out shortly before 2007 that the "disappearance" stemmed from the fact that Bréjard was, in fact, mislabeled and recorded as Brégald. *Bréjard Collection of Philippine Costumes*, Actual Garments, 19th century, plates 3, 6, 21, 22, Rijkmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden, http://volkenkunde.nl/sites/default/files/attachements/Collectieprofielen.pdf; H.H. JUNYBOLL, *Philippijnen: Catalogus Van's Rijks Ethnographisch Museum*, vol. 20 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1928); TER KEURS, "Cultural Hybridity in Museum Collections," 39–43.
[385] TER KEURS, "Cultural Hybridity in Museum Collections," 39.
[386] SONNERAT, *Voyage Aux Indes Orientales et a La Chine*; MARTÍNEZ DE ZÚÑIGA y DÍAZ DE ILARRAZA, *A Historical View of the Philippine Islands*, sec. Extract.
[387] TORRE, *The Barong Tagalog: Then & Now*, 3; CRUZ, *The Barong Tagalog*, 3.
[388] GIRONIÈRE, *Adventures in the Philippine Islands*, fig. Spanish Metis, or Half–Breeds; MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1846, sec. Atlas.
[389] DOMINGO, *Colección de Trajes de Manila Tanto Antiguos Como Modernos, de Toda Clase de Indias [art Original] / Dispuesta por D. Rafael Daniel Babon y Dibujado por D. Damián Domingo, Director de La Academia de Dibujo de La Real Sociedad de Manila*, fig. Mestizo de Manila.
[390] GIRONIÈRE, *Adventures in the Philippine Islands*, fig. Spanish Metis; fig. Chinese Metis; MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1846, sec. Atlas, fig. Mestizo–Españoles.
[391] DOMINGO, *Colección de Trajes de Manila Tanto Antiguos Como Modernos, de Toda Clase de Indias [art Original] / Dispuesta por D. Rafael Daniel Babon y Dibujado por D. Damián Domingo, Director de La Academia de Dibujo de La Real Sociedad de Manila*, fig. Mestizo de Manila.
[392] TORRE, *The Barong Tagalog: Then & Now*, 4; CASTRO, "Dissecting Dress," 57; CRUZ, *The Barong Tagalog*, fig. 38, p. 60.

slightly above the knees. Interestingly, although usually worn loose, these shirts would be accessorized with waistbands either under[393] or over the sheer baros.[394]

Although the watercolor works of Damián Domingo[395] validated the use of the *barong mahaba* found in the images of Gironière, Espiridión de la Rosa's *El Joven Majo* and *El Joven Gallardo*[396] attests to the coexistence of shorter baros whose lengths ranged only between the hip and upper-thighs (Fig. 25, Fig. 26). In Eric Cruz's work, he specified that the familiar or "classic" style of the present-day barong tagalog, characterized by "slimmer silhouette and ordered patterns of embroidery" appeared only in the late 1800s.[397] His simplified definition needs to be clarified, foremost because what constitutes a "classic" barong tagalog rests on so many other elements – particularly, textile, length, collar, sleeves, cuffs, silhouette or cut and patterns. What is particularly interesting is that the style of the present-day Barong Tagalog was already spotted in Espiridión de la Rosa's *El Joven Gallardo* and *El Joven Majo* as early as the 1820s and 1830s.[398] Their baros already exhibited the distinct imprints of a modern-day barong tagalog, particularly, the sheer, nipis textile, folded collars, long sleeves, loose silhouette with side vents, and *sabog*[399]or all-over patterns or embroideries (Fig. 25).

European top hats and slip-on shoes referred to as *corchos*[400] were seen among the men in Damián Domingo and later, in Justiniano Asunción and José Honorato Lozano's paintings. Actual 19th century *corchos,* labeled *chinelas masculinas* found in the collection of Museo Nacional de Antropología in Madrid (Fig. 77, Fig. 78),[401] featured elaborate embroideries worked on velvet, which explains why their use were limited to galas or evening parties – events which typically did not require much walking. There were also versions with wooden soles and leather uppers[402] as well as *corcho* covers made of

[393] DOMINGO, *Colección de Trajes de Manila Tanto Antiguos Como Modernos, de Toda Clase de Indias [art Original] / Dispuesta por D. Rafael Daniel Babon y Dibujado por D. Damián Domingo, Director de La Academia de Dibujo de La Real Sociedad de Manila*, fig. Mestizo de Manila.
[394] Paul Proust de la GIRONIÈRE, *Twenty Years in the Philippines* (Harper & Brothers, 1854), fig. Chinese Metis.
[395] DOMINGO, *Colección de Trajes de Manila Tanto Antiguos Como Modernos, de Toda Clase de Indias [art Original] / Dispuesta por D. Rafael Daniel Babon y Dibujado por D. Damián Domingo, Director de La Academia de Dibujo de La Real Sociedad de Manila*, fig. Mestizo de Manila.
[396] Espiridión DE LA ROSA, *El Joven Majo (The Dandy)*, Watercolor on paper, signed Espiridión de la Rosa, 1820 to 1840, Private Collection-Manila; Espiridión DE LA ROSA, *El Joven Gallardo (Elegant Young Man)*, Watercolor on paper, signed Rosa, 1820 to 1840, Private Collection-Spain.
[397] CRUZ, *The Barong Tagalog*, fig. 47, p. 69.
[398] DE LA ROSA, *El Joven Majo (The Dandy)*; DE LA ROSA, *El Joven Gallardo (Elegant Young Man)*.
[399] CRUZ, *The Barong Tagalog*, fig. 59, p. 81.
[400] VILLEGAS, "Chapter Eleven: Costumes and Adornments," 295.
[401] Reproduced and captioned in (-), *La Piña: El Tejido del Paraíso*, 73.
[402] Ibid., 117.

hammered silver,[403] meant to protect them from the elements, especially rain. For ordinary days, there were records to suggest that their feet were covered with European shoes, but no socks or stockings.[404] Men, like the women, also wore jewelry in the form of broochs and necklaces, like for example, rosaries of coral beads.[405]

In terms of fabrics, the common material for the baro of ordinary men before the 19th century were described to resemble linen, woven from the fibers of a species of palm called abacá.[406] The use of distinctly sheer textiles by elite men began to appear in the watercolors of Damián Domingo and Espiridión de la Rosa between 1820 and 1840. These artworks were consistent with written works from the same period. These sheer fabrics inaccurately identified by Gironière as "pine, and vegetable silk" could only refer to piña and jusi.[407] Considering the aesthetics as well as the basic cut and shape of the native baro, the new generation of elites appeared to favor the use of new types of native luxury fabrics. Piña, in particular, only began to appear in 19th century records, which reveals that this fabric was a product innovation of that period. Since shirts were worn tucked out by the locals, the translucency of the baro's material was rendered by showing the color and patterns of the trousers underneath. This kind of translucency, clearly illustrated and conveyed in Damián Domingo's *Un Mestizo Estudiante de Manila*, *Un Indio de Manila Vestido de Gala* and in Espiridión de la Rosa's *El Joven Gallardo* and *El Joven Majo* (Fig. 23, Fig. 24, Fig. 25, Fig. 26), was not perceptible in sources before the 1820s.[408] Interestingly, only the men's baros seem to be made of these sheer nipis fabrics. Women's baros during the same time period, depicted by the same artists appeared thicker and less transparent.

Attention is also placed on the growing popularity of pants with stripes and plaid or checkered prints, presumably made of both local and imported *cambaya* fabrics (Fig. 217). Textiles like rayadillo and guingón (local version of the dungaree) were used as well.[409] This

[403] VILLEGAS, "Chapter Eleven: Costumes and Adornments," 295.
[404] GIRONIÈRE, *Twenty Years in the Philippines*, chap. 2.
[405] Ibid.
[406] SONNERAT, *Voyage Aux Indes Orientales et a La Chine*; MARTÍNEZ DE ZÚÑIGA y DÍAZ DE ILARRAZA, *A Historical View of the Philippine Islands*, sec. Extract.
[407] GIRONIÈRE, *Twenty Years in the Philippines*, chap. 2.
[408] DOMINGO, *Colección de Trajes de Manila y de Las Provincias*, fig. An Indio of Manila in Gala Garb; fig. A Mestizo Student of Manila; DE LA ROSA, *El Joven Majo (The Dandy)*; DE LA ROSA, *El Joven Gallardo (Elegant Young Man)*.
[409] Guingón were mainly produced in Ilocos Norte and Ilocos Sur. Rayadillos were commonly used by the Spanish military troops in the tropics. The color of the stripes was rather faint and indistinct. Industry reports, like the one that appeared in *Ilustración Filipina*, validates that rayadillos were among the fabrics woven by local women. SAWYER, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines (1900)*, chap. XIX; LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. Mercaderes Ilocano; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 234–235; *Ilustración Filipina Periódico Quincenal*, 1860, Marzo 1, Num. 5, sec. Comercio é industria en general, caminos

coincided with the increase in imports of cheaper fabrics, particularly from Britain between 1844 and 1894.[410] Lower prices also contributed to their mass appeal, thereby increasing demand for imported textiles. Meanwhile, the decreasing exports of locally made luxury fabrics like jusí, piña and sinamay showed the narrowing market for sheer textiles. Through the years, the use of high-quality, sheer textiles would be reduced to local women's wear and men's festive attires.[411]

1840 onwards

The main developments in men's clothing beginning in the 1840s were visible in the shortened length of their baros,[412] the increasing use of folded collars and the loosened "baggy" fit of their trousers. Although the *barong mahaba* became out of fashion, it must be noted that the emergence of new styles did not mean the obliteration of earlier styles. In fact, standing collars could still be seen among the upper classes[413] and waistbands of varying widths could still be seen peering under sheer baros.[414]

Men's attires diverged according to their activities or professions. Beginning in the 1840s, the proper attire for students became the Western suit with waiscoats and straight-cut trousers. Those who occupied government positions wore the baro with jackets (*chaqueta*) over them. As Álvarez Guerra pointed out, the *chaqueta* was associated with those who belonged to *corporations, municipios, archicofradias ó instituto real*.[415] However, after awhile, these jackets were also seen even among those outside these institutions, like for instance, *cocheros* and houseboys, who were costumed in European liveries imposed on them by their employers (Fig. 79A, Fig. 79B, Fig. 79C, Fig.155).[416]

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principales, p. 56; RIZAL, *The Social Cancer: A Complete English Version of Noli me tangere from the Spanish of José Rizal*, sec. Glossary.

[410] Figures derived from Table 8 of LEGARDA, *After the Galleons*, 150.

[411] European women reportedly disliked the yellowish tone of native jusí, piña and sinamay. For them, they looked rather dated, not to mention, inappropriate to colder climates. Villegas determined that the main market for luxury, sheer textiles were the indio and mestizo elites living in the colony. JAGOR, "Jagor's Travels in the Philippines," chap. 24; VILLEGAS, "Chapter Eleven: Costumes and Adornments," 277.

[412] TORRE, *The Barong Tagalog: Then & Now*, 4.

[413] Justiniano ASUNCIÓN, *Mestizo with Embroidered Shirt*, 1840s, Private Collection; CARIÑO and NER, *Álbum: Islas Filipinas, 1663-1888*, 142.

[414] ASUNCIÓN, *Justiniano Asunción Album of Philippine Costumes*, fig. Rich mestizo; fig. Un Mestizo Chino.

[415] ÁLVAREZ GUERRA, *Viajes por Filipinas de Manila à Marianas*, 11; DOMINGO, *Colección de Trajes de Manila y de Las Provincias*, fig. Customs Officer of the Mayor of Manila; fig. Alguacil del Pueblo; fig. Un Capitán Pasado or Gobernadorcillo del Pueblo de Manila; DOMINGO, *Colección de Trajes de Manila Tanto Antiguos Como Modernos, de Toda Clase de Indias [art Original] / Dispuesta por D. Rafael Daniel Babon y Dibujado por D. Damián Domingo, Director de La Academia de Dibujo de La Real Sociedad de Manila*, fig. Indio Principal del Pueblo de Manila; DE LA ROSA, *El Gobernadorcillo de Mestizos*.

[416] ÁLVAREZ GUERRA, *Viajes por Filipinas de Manila à Marianas*, 10–11.

In succeeding depictions, the use of the baro fashioned out of sheer local fabrics seem to have been limited to church,[417] promenade[418] and the occasional fiestas or parties (Fig. 80A, Fig. 80B, Fig. 81).[419] This attests to the growing popularity of the Western suit as the favored professional form among men of a certain class and education. For weekends, it was possible that they wore variations of the baro in different fabrics and with less embroideries. It must also be noted that there were upper class men whose daily attires were never recorded. Then there were those whose informal occupations never really required them to dress professionally.

While in the 18th century, elite men, whether indio, mestizo or europeo, wore European style clothes, the appreciable use of the baro for certain occasions in the 19th century marked a cultural divide between the races. The Europeans retained their own dress styles while the wardrobes of mestizos and indios integrated both European and native elements, resulting to hybrid ensembles. The baro, with its more relaxed fit, became associated with leisure or festive wear while suit became representative of their occupations and socio-cultural positions in the colonial hierarchy.

Following worldwide trends in color, men's colorful ensembles, as seen for example, in Lozano's depiction of an *Election of a Town Judge by the Mayor, Priest and Scribe* (Ayala Album, 1850-1851, Fig. 82) were gradually replaced by more subdued colors. This was validated when Visitacion de la Torre said that "from the mid-19th century, there were more uniformity and restraint in men's wear."[420] Both their European professional attires and their native fiesta ensembles became increasingly monochromatic. Baros and pants in natural color with stripes of royal blue, red or green[421] were replaced with blue- or black-and-white or all-white ensembles.[422] Clothing colors documented in the images of 19th century painters, like Lozano, Simon Flores and Félix Mártinez were confirmed by Fulgosio (1871), who mentioned that native men preferred dark colors, especially brown or blue. They also wore

[417] LOZANO, *Nyssens-Flebus Album (1844-1846)*, fig. Mestizos in Churchgoing Attire (en traje de ir a Misa).
[418] José Honorato LOZANO, *Ayala Album*, Watercolor, 1850 to 1851, fig. 13: Mestizos and Pampanga Cranes; fig. 12: Indios en traje de paseo or Natives in Promenade Attire; fig.16: Indio de Gala or Native Man in Party Clothes, Ayala Museum; Reproduced in José Maria A. CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847* (Manila: Ars Mundi, 2002).
[419] LOZANO, *Nyssens-Flebus Album (1844-1846)*, Mestizos en traje de fiesta.
[420] TORRE, *The Barong Tagalog: Then & Now*, 9.
[421] Cruz identified that the geometric patterns were created using of *tirik* or *bitik,* modified herringbone stitches. CRUZ, *The Barong Tagalog*, 7.
[422] LOZANO, *Nyssens-Flebus Album (1844-1846)*, fig. Mestizos in Fiesta Attire; LOZANO, *Karuth Album (1858)*, Mestizos in Fiesta Attire; fig. Chinese mestizos in gala clothes; MARTÍNEZ y LORENZO, *Mestizo Español*; FLORES y DE LA ROSA, *Retrato de Cirilo y Severina Quiason y Sus Dos Hijos*.

white pants made of silk.[423] As displayed in Félix Laureano's photograph of *Principalía de Leganes de Iloilo* (ca. 1880, Fig. 83), even the colorful combinations once worn by the native *principalía* were replaced by black and whites.[424] Most of the actual garments found in museum collections were also made of undyed piña.[425] While subdued colors were once associated only with the refined tastes of Europeans and Spanish mestizos, shifts in the use of color by natives and mestizos de sangley made clothing ineffective as racial markers.

Men, like the women, were also described to be fond of embroidered fabrics. The collars, chest and cuffs of their shirts usually had tasteful embroideries.[426] Embroideries in the baro were commonly placed in the chest area (*pechera*)[427] and/or all-over (*sabog)*.[428] The men's baro in Marian Pastor-Roces's *Sheer Realities* exhibit, which featured the *sabog* embroideries in *suksuk* or weft patterns worked on piña textile were identified to be a mid-19th century piece belonging to the "elite or emergent bourgeoisie of urban, lowland Christian Philippines (Fig. 84)."[429] Some of the actual garments in the collection of *Museo Nacional de Antropología* in Madrid featured different types of intricate embroideries in one shirt (Fig. 85). The combination of *calado* (open-work), *encajes de bolilio* (venetian lace), and *sombra* (shadow embroidery) embroideries, all applied in a single color, must have conveyed the status of its owner in a subtle way.[430]

Variations in the men's baro included closed-necked collars. This was distinctive of the style called *baro cerrada,*[431] more popularly known as *Americana cerrada* (Fig. 122). Although Nick Joaquin and José Moreno dated this as a style at the turn of the century, this

[423] FULGOSIO, *Crónica de Las Islas Filipinas (1871)*, pt. 2, ch. 8, p. 43, column 1.
[424] Félix LAUREANO, *Principalía de Leganes de Iloilo*, B/W photograph, 1880, Sala Goya [Call #: BA/43653 V.1], Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid; LAUREANO, *Album-Libro: Recuerdos de Filipinas*; GUARDIOLA, *Filipiniana*, 80.
[425] *Camisa Barong Tagalog, Una Autentica Joya del Siglo XIX*, Actual Piña Garment, 19th century, Museo Nacional de Antropología, Madrid; Call Number: 6.655; (-), *La Piña: El Tejido del Paraíso*, 76.
[426] John WHITE, "Manila in 1819 by An American Naval Officer," in *The Former Philippines Thru Foreign Eyes*, ed. Austin CRAIG (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1917), 530–35; FULGOSIO, *Crónica de Las Islas Filipinas (1871)*, pt. 2, ch. 8, p. 43, column 1.
[427] The material simply labeled under the general term nipis, must be made of sinamay, which is more rough and stiff compared to piña or jusi. The construction and design of the barò reflects the styles of the first half of the 19th century. *Barò (Men's Formal Shirt)*, Actual Nipis Garment, 19th century, Bréjard Collection of Philippine Costumes, Rijksmueum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden, Netherlands; Reproduced in Florina H. CAPISTRANO-BAKER, Pieter TER KEURS, and Sandra B. CASTRO, *Embroidered Multiples: 18th-19th Century Philippine Costumes from the National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden, the Netherlands* (Makati, Metro Manila: Royal Netherlands Embassy and Ayala Foundation, Inc., 2007), plate # 5, pp. 86–87.
[428] CRUZ, *The Barong Tagalog*, fig. 59, p. 7, 81.
[429] *Barò (Men's), Piña with Suksuk*, Piña garment, Mid-19th century, Luis Antonio and Cecile Gutierrez Collection; PASTOR-ROCES, *Sheer Realities: Clothing and Power in Nineteenth Century Philippines*.
[430] *Camisa Barong Tagalog, Una Autentica Joya del Siglo XIX*.
[431] TORRE, *The Barong Tagalog: Then & Now*, 9.

type of collar was already seen in Lozano's Gandara Album (1867-1868, Fig. 86).[432] The *tributante* or taxpayer in the image labeled *Cabeza de Barangay cobrando fallas a un tributante*, who was wearing a striped, embroidered, closed-neck baro and a bowler's hat (*sombrero hongo)*, fashioned the trends at that time. Wearing a similar shirt, the *cabeza de barangay* was recognizable by his short jacket. This image also attests that the massive top hats of the earlier decades became outdated and were replaced by different types of smaller hats, both in native and European styles.

Beginning in the 1890s, the *baro cerrada* (Fig. 122) were fashioned, like the British expatriates, with white pants and were reworked using opaque materials. This style was seen not only among the elites or the educated but also among those working for foreigners. A stereographic photo shows first Revolutionary President of the Philippines, Emilio Aguinaldo, wearing this all-white ensemble in what appears to be a private moment with his son.[433] Another photo shows him in a black *baro cerrada* and white pants.[434] In contrast, a formal upper body shot of him taken in Hong Kong in August 1898, shows him dressed, like Rizal, in a black suit with white shirt and tie underneath.[435] An outdoor group photo of around thirty men, including Aguinaldo, Maximo Viola and Pedro Paterno, shows all of them in Western suits (Fig. 87).[436] Based on this sample, it can be inferred that the *Americana cerrada* was used more as less formal everyday wear while the dark suit was more for professional or formal wear.

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[432] JOAQUIN and SANTIAGO, *The World of Damián Domingo*, 30; MORENO, *Philippine Costume*, 173; LOZANO, *Gandára Album (1867)*, fig. Barangay captain collecting the debt of a taxpayer; CARIÑO and NER, *Álbum: Islas Filipinas, 1663-1888*, 190.

[433] Emilio Aguinaldo (b. March 22, 1869-d. February 6, 1964; age 94), a Chinese mestizo whose father Carlos Aguinaldo was a *gobernadorcillo*, married his first wife, Hilaria del Rosario (1896-1921) on January 1, 1896. They had five children: Carmen Aguinaldo Melencio, Emilio Aguinaldo, Jr, Maria Aguinaldo Poblete, Cristina Aguinaldo Suntay and Miguel Aguinaldo. Which of his two sons was this was not indicated. KEYSTONE VIEW COMPANY, *Aguinaldo and His Son, Manila, 1906*, Stereographic photograph, 1906, University of Wisconsin Digital Collections: Wisconsin Philippines Image Collection, http://digicoll.library.wisc.edu/WebZ/FETCH?sessionid=01-49760-1356314929&recno=1&resultset=1&format=F&next=html/nffull.html&bad=error/badfetch.html&entitytoprecno=1&entitycurrecno=1.

[434] *Portrait of Emilio Aguinaldo, First President of the Philippines*, 1896 to 1900, PHLC002, University of Michigan, Philippine Photographs Digital Archive, Special Collections Library, http://quod.lib.umich.edu/s/sclphilimg/x-891/phlc002.

[435] Photo by Mee Cheung, taken in Hong Kong, signed "Emilio Aguinaldo, Agosto 1898," was reproduced in Hannaford. A similar photo may be found in the archives of the Cultural Center of the Philippines. In the *World of 1896*, Aguinaldo was identified as among the "heroes of the Revolution and as the first president of the Philippines." KALAW-TIROL, *The World of 1896*, fig. 20, pp. 28–19; HANNAFORD, *History and Description of the Picturesque Philippines*, 107.

[436] "Aguinaldo and His Advisers, 1899," in *The Pageant of America Collection (Published Photographs)*, vol. 7- In Defense of Liberty (Philadelphia: Rau Studios, Inc., 1899), http://digitalgallery.nypl.org/nypldigital/id?437566.

Between the 18th and the 19th centuries, the fashion of elite natives shifted from purely Western to hybrid attires. Between the first and the second half of the 19th century, colors increasingly became more subdued and men's attires diverged according to activities and professions. While Western suits became the professional and proper school attires, baros made of native textiles increasingly became the favored leisure or fiesta wear. The emergence of streamlined Western garments in muted tones also required less accessories and embellishments. Its relative simplicity and minimalism was compensated by heavily embroidered baros which men continued to wear with jewelry, albeit in moderation, on certain occasions.

The appreciable use of baro by the colonized population marked a cultural divide not only between races but between classes as well. Europeans, in general, retained their own dress styles. Among natives, the quality of the fabric and workmanship signaled the status of the wearer and the formality of the occasion. Opaque materials like sinamay and cotton were typically used for daily wear and fine, sheer textiles for festive wear. Many natives possessed both local and European styles of clothing in their wardrobes but the intricacy of the embroideries in their baros often declared wealth and status.

What is striking is that while European attires functioned as symbols or expressions of status for the brown-skinned indios, interestingly, not the same could be said for the Spanish and by extension, some Spanish mestizos. Western clothes were, for both the rich and poor Europeans, simply regular wear.

There were several factors that contributed to the changes in Philippine men's fashion especially in the late 19th century. More encounters with Europeans and European material culture and thoughts were consequences of the gradual opening of Manila to foreign trade and settlement. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 which shortened travel time to and from Europe led to increased traffic of goods and people as well as the increase in the foreign population of the colony. By force of agricultural wealth, many indios and mestizos were also able to travel and acquire education in Europe, resulting to an elite group of Ilustrados with the money and panache to rival their full-blooded colonial superiors.

Tucked out

From the richest to the poorest, the natives were known for wearing their baros untucked.[437] The distinctive manner of wearing their shirts untucked -- as opposed to the

[437] In the Spanish texts accompanying the *Gervasio Gironella Album*, untucked shirts were said to have distinguished the European from the native priests. The manner of wearing their shirts outside their trousers

tucked shirts called for in Western dressing -- has been widely observed and pondered upon by 19th century writers and some fashion historians.[438] Since baros were usually loose and long, with side slits, their construction establishes that they were meant to be worn tucked out. As Visitacion de la Torre argued in his book, *The Barong Tagalog: Then and Now*, the word baro means dress, not shirt, because if it were a shirt, then it had to be tucked inside the trousers.[439] The shirt itself, which bears a close resemblance to the *guayavera* or *guayaberra* shirt in Mexico, was either influenced by the Spaniards or as Floro L. Mercene proposed in *Manila Men in the New World: Filipino Migration to the Americas from the Sixteenth Century* (2007), what came to be the national shirt of Mexican men – the *guayaberra*-- was modeled after the *barong tagalog*.[440] The barong brought to the New World was supposedly made of piña but since piña weaving was not practiced in Mexico, the *guayavera* was instead fashioned from cotton. According to the historian Dr. Jaime B. Veneracion, the *guayaberra*, which emerged either in the late 18th or early 19th centuries, is referred to in Southern Mexico as *Filipinas*.[441] Developments in the *guayaberra's* construction included the addition of two front pockets.

The origins of the barong tagalog could not be established with precision. The primary sources are insufficient and the secondary sources are riddled with incoherences. It was often speculated that the shirt style of the barong tagalog predated the arrival of the Spaniards, however, there is no evidence to support this. As exemplified above, the crude or simple construction of the shirts worn by the *Naturales* or Tagalogs in the 16th century *Boxer Codex*, nowhere resembled this buttoned shirt with folded collars. Apart from being worn untucked, the barong was – and continues to be-- distinguished by several unique features: buttoned, collared, long-sleeved, embroidered and pocketless. In addition, the shirt was made out of sheer, nipis textile and had a loose silhouette with slits on both sides. Barongs ran rather long; they typically reached over the hip area.

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supposedly counted as one of the defects the natives had. LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 40: Cura Indio; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 190–191.

[438] Álvarez Guerra and Fulgosio described this by saying, in Spanish, *camisa por fuera* or *llevan la camisa de sinamay sobre los pantalones*. ÁLVAREZ GUERRA, *Viajes por Manila à Tayabas*, chap. XIII: Sariaya; ÁLVAREZ GUERRA, *Viajes por Filipinas de Manila à Marianas*, chap. 6, p. 99; FULGOSIO, *Crónica de Las Islas Filipinas (1871)*, pt. 2, Ch. 8, p. 43, column 1.

[439] TORRE, *The Barong Tagalog: Then & Now*, 2.

[440] Floro L. MERCENE, *Manila Men in the New World: Filipino Migration to Mexico and the Americas from the Sixteenth Century* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 2007), 126, http://books.google.fr/books?id=OSqhZphG_gQC&pg=PA126&dq=barong+tagalog&hl=en&sa=X&ei=jbiNU4eYBsPIPN_hgZgB&ved=0CCcQ6AEwADgK#v=onepage&q=barong%20tagalog&f=false.

[441] Ibid.

It was also speculated that the loose fit of baros was due to the disparities in the size of Spanish employers who had the habit of passing down garments to their native househelp.[442] Although hand-me-downs were common, the style of wearing the baro loose and tucked out reflected more the cultural links of the Philippines with India and the rest of Southeast Asia. The untucked baro bears a striking resemblance to the way Indian *kurtas* were worn. This demonstrates that the Philippine past shared with its "oriental" neighbors sartorial influences, which were markedly Indian in origins.[443] The use of the same words in Indian and Philippine contexts to refer to specific dress styles, like salawal or salaual (loose men's trousers) and sayasaya (loose silk trousers with embroidered borders), provide evidence of a strong Indo-Philippine textile trade.[444]

The distinctive features of the barong, which included the use of sheer native textiles could not be traced to one particular cultural influence. Most likely, it emerged in the 19th century as the result of a mixture of Spanish and Indian styles. Meanwhile, the origins of the term *barong tagalog*, which de la Torre claimed came about "after the Filipino nationalists had won their fight for independence," is difficult to ascertain.[445] It is common knowledge that the word barong tagalog was derived from *baro ng tagalog*, which literally means "dress of the Tagalog."[446] De la Torre contends it refers to the style "first seen among the people of Luzon who were called *Tagalogs*, as differentiated from the *Bisaya* or Visayans;" however, the term should not be taken literally. It appears to represent not so much the sartorial gap between regional groups (i.e. Tagalogs, Visayas) but rather, between racial (Tagalogs or indios as opposed to Europeans and Chinese) as well as urban and rural contexts. Among urbanized elite indios and mestizos, there was a shift from completely European styles of clothing in the 18th century to the use of hybrid baros in the 19th century. The loose baros, fashioned out of finer, sheer (nipis) textiles, integrated European elements (i.e. ruffled collars, embroidered or upturned cuffs, etc.), construction techniques as well as new concepts of quality. These new styles may have first been observed among the Tagalogs, particularly in Manila, being the administrative and cultural capital of the colony and the heart of fashionable society. It must be considered though that any clothing changes that occurred away from the prominent centers of civilization and modernity may have been less notable. The ordinary provincials, the farmers for instance, were described to have cared less about

[442] TORRE, *The Barong Tagalog: Then & Now*, 6.
[443] Ibid.
[444] CANTA, "Of Cambayas, Custas and Calicos: The Indo-Philippine Textile Connection," 123.
[445] TORRE, *The Barong Tagalog: Then & Now*, 9.
[446] Ibid., 2; CRUZ, *The Barong Tagalog*, 7.

following the trends taking shape in the cities. In simple, comfortable clothes, these natural and "genuine" types stood in contrast with their urbanized and westernized peers.[447]

Many of these theories are popularly regarded as historical but they have remained largely unauthenticated. De la Torre presented vaguely that, as a result of a prohibition by colonial authorities, natives were neither allowed to tuck their shirts nor to have any shirt pockets.[448] He presented what appears to be a form of sumptuary law intended to sartorially segregate the population. In his words,

> It is said that this prohibition was meant to humiliate the indios as a constant reminder that despite the trappings of wealth or power, they remained natives, or simply to make them easily identifiable to their Spanish rulers.[449]

There were suggestions in the book, *Star-entangled Banner: One Hundred Years of America in the Philippines* by Sharon Delmendo (2005) that Spanish sumptuary decrees existed, but there were no other sources presented other than the novel, *Si Tandang Bacio Macunat*, by Spanish Franciscan Friar Miguel Lucio y Bustamante (1885).[450]

> Friar Lucio y Bustamante's comment about Indios' attempts to humanize themselves through clothing had specific relevance to the Philippine natives, who were required to publicize their inferior status by wearing their shirts outside their pants (i.e. untucked). Of course, the Spanish sumptuary decree, which required indios to visibly identify themselves through dress, reveals the anxiety Friar Lucio y Bustamante's felt. His virulent statement manifests: the Indios were required to wear their shirts long precisely because, dressed in "shirt and trousers," indios might be mistaken for peninsulares or insular "Filipinos." The barong tagalog, a shirt worn long and untucked at the waist, evolved out of the Spanish colonial sumptuary laws. To this day, Filipino men often wear the barong tagalog for business or social occasions. Formal barong tagalogs, made of piña cloth woven from pineapple and exquisitely embroidered, can cost thousands of pesos.[451]

Further study of colonial laws, written in Spanish may shed light into whether there were really sumptuary decrees. Clothing prescriptions, not impositions, found its way in the moral novels written by Spanish priests, the likes of Fr. Modesto de Castro (1864) and Fr.

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[447] FOREMAN, *The Philippine Islands*, chap. XXI: Manila Under Spanish Rule, sec. Funeral.
[448] TORRE, *The Barong Tagalog: Then & Now*, 6.
[449] Ibid.
[450] Sharon DELMENDO, *The Star-Entangled Banner: One Hundred Years of America in the Philippines* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 2005), n. 7, p. 201; LUCIO y BUSTAMANTE, *Si Tandang Bacio Macunat*.
[451] DELMENDO, *The Star-Entangled Banner: One Hundred Years of America in the Philippines*, n. 7, p. 201.

Miguel Lucio y Bustamante (1885); however, it is unlikely that there were any legal consequences for wearing tucked shirts and clothes that crossed racial boundaries.[452] Besides, an indio and mestizo population, which was increasingly becoming affluent --and influential-- traversed these boundaries, contributing to shifts in hierarchies previously based on race to hierarchies based on a combination of factors, including class, education, race, talents, social networks, etc.

Another important element that that could not be ignored is the texture of local fabrics. No matter how fine the piña, jusi, sinamay or pinukpok is, they tend to be somewhat prickly, often causing rashes or skin irritations. This, combined with the tropical heat, could be regarded as one of the main reasons why shirts of these kinds of material were worn tucked out. It must also not be forgotten that baros were worn with tucked cotton shirts underneath. Wearing these diaphanous baros without any undershirts would have been scandalous, not to mention, uncomfortable.

Common Men

> The Spaniard is a Spaniard and the indio is an indio. The *ongo* (a supernatural specter), even if dressed in baro and salaual, is nonetheless an *ongo,* and not human, answered Tandang Bacio [translation mine] [453]

This statement in the novel of Friar Lucio y Bustamante (1885) reveals that the mass of ordinary men was identified by the cotton or baro and salaual, and not by the buttoned and collared baro made of the illustrious piña, jusi or high-grade sinamay, which was usually paired with straight, full-length trousers and accessorized with expensive jewelry.

Evolution of the Attires of Common Men

Based on the 16th century *Boxer Codex*, the level of bodily coverage and ornamentation distinguished the elite from the common classes. Barefoot men in bahague (loincloths) with little or no jewelry, in a way, represented a class of less social dignity.

By the early 18th century, they were no longer scantily clad in loincloths. Their basic attires became baro and salaual. Baros with simple, round-necked, collarless shirts made of coarse guinara cloth, paired with short and loose knee-length trousers, represented their

[452] "Since 1741, the population had been legally separated into races: indio, Chinese, Chinese mestizo, Spanish and Spanish mestizo. VAN DEN MUIJZENBERG, *The Philippines through European Lenses*, 66.
[453] In Tagalog, *ang castila ay castila, at ang indio ay indio. Ang ongo, isuotan man ninyo nang baro at salaual ay ongo pa rin, at hindi tao, sagot ni Tandang Bacio*. LUCIO y BUSTAMANTE, *Si Tandang Bacio Macunat*, chap. 2, p. 16.

everyday dress.[454] They usually carried with them a type of handkerchief called putong or potong, which they either flung over their shoulders or used as a head covering to protect them from the sun.

Men wore the potong or pudong as early as the 16th century. Its use was confirmed based on the 1663 accounts of the missionary Francisco Colin, S.J.[455] This head wrap, about one foot wide and three or four feet long, was a popular headdress for men. The style speaks more of Muslim Malayan rather than of Spanish colonial influences.[456] Supposedly used to symbolize courage especially in battle, a red *potong* indicated that the wearer had killed seven men while an embroidered *potong* indicated that he had killed more than seven.[457] By the 19th century, the use, design and social meaning of the *potong* had evolved. Checked patterned versions, sometimes worn under salakots,[458] became the practical headscarf-cum-handkerchief of the outdoor laboring class, both male and female. The male inhabitant of Bulacan featured in Gironiere's book (1820-1840, Fig. 3) showed him in loose shirt and knee-length trousers and a *potong* covering his head.[459] Worn stereotypically by the the indio fishwives of Manila,[460] the ambulant mat vendors,[461] the indio potters from Visayas,[462] the *potong*, from being a symbol of valor, assumed more utilitarian functions especially in the first half of the 19th century.

Beginning in the 1820s, their baros began to feature v-necks with collars and long sleeves, which they typically rolled up (Fig. 91, Fig. 92, Fig. 94). Through the years, their pants would become straight and narrow. Unlike the elite who were all-buttoned up, the

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[454] The cloth de la Torre identified as *quimara* must have referred to *guinara*, a type of stiff, coarse cloth made from abacá or manila hemp fibers, which Jagor mentioned as the textile commonly used by the poorer classes, in contrast with the piña, jusi and high-grade sinamay worn by the better classes. *Guinara* was typically woven and dyed in indigo or maroon in the provinces of Camarines and Caraga. TORRE, *The Barong Tagalog: Then & Now*, 9; JAGOR, "Jagor's Travels in the Philippines," chap. 3; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 226.

[455] COLIN, S.J., "Native Races and Their Customs. Madrid, 1663. [From His Labor Evangelica]," 62; CASTRO, "Dissecting Dress," 48.

[456] CRUZ, *The Barong Tagalog*, 24.

[457] Teodoro A. and Milagros Guerrero AGONCILLO, *History of the Filipino People* (Manila: R. P. Garcia, 1974), 39, http://books.google.fr/books?id=z3PiAAAAMAAJ; CRUZ, *The Barong Tagalog*, 3.

[458] DOMINGO, *Colección de Trajes de Manila y de Las Provincias*, fig. Una India Ollera de Pasig; JOAQUIN and SANTIAGO, *The World of Damián Domingo*, fig. 26, pp. 76–77.

[459] GIRONIÈRE, *Twenty Years in the Philippines*, 138.

[460] DOMINGO, *Colección de Trajes de Manila y de Las Provincias*, fig. Una India Pescadora de Manila.

[461] Signed Justiniano Asumpcion lo p.to. According to José Cariño, this belongs to a private collector in the Philippines. CARIÑO and NER, *Álbum: Islas Filipinas, 1663-1888*.

[462] DOMINGO, *Colección de Trajes de Manila y de Las Provincias*, fig. Un Natural de la Provincia de Bisaya; JOAQUIN and SANTIAGO, *The World of Damián Domingo*, fig. 30, pp. 84–85.

ordinary folks wore baros, which were slightly open to the chest and had wider, more comfortable sleeves.[463]

Dyes made of indigo and *achuete*[464] (*roucou* in French) were generally used to add color in their guinara, sinamay and cotton clothes. Against a white or natural background, their pants sometimes featured stripes of different colors.[465]

During rainy season, lower-class natives wore a cape-like raincoat or *esclavinas* made of *anajao* or palm (Fig. 88).[466] This species of palm, the leaves of which grows shaped like an open fan, is a natural water repellant. This explains why *anajao* was also used for roofing their homes. The silhouette and bulk of raincoats made of this type of material were, however, deemed as embarrassing by the upper classes. As such, anajao raincoats could only be seen among men who had outdoor jobs, i.e fishermen.[467] Seen also among Ilocano textile traders, this was likewise used as a *traje de viaje* (travel clothes) for journeymen traveling on horseback.[468] The image of a man labeled *El de la basura* appeared as one of the *tipos del país* featured in *Manililla* (1893, Fig. 89).[469] Presumed to be a garbage collector of some sort, this demonstrates the anajao raincoat was typically associated with those in the margins of poverty.

The prevalence of images and articles featuring cocheros warrants a more detailed study of the evolution of their clothing and appearance. Cocheros were the drivers of the horse-drawn carriages most common in Manila and its environs at that time. Carriages abound in Manila so there was certainly a high demand for them.[470] Finding a good cochero, however, was not easy, considering how most of them were inexperienced in caring for

[463] LAUREANO, *Recuerdos de Filipinas*, fig. Mas Tipos Filipinos, pp. 51–52.
[464] SONNERAT, *Voyage Aux Indes Orientales et a La Chine*.
[465] FULGOSIO, *Crónica de Las Islas Filipinas (1871)*, pt. 2, Ch. 8, p. 43.
[466] *Anajao* refers to the leaves of the *nipa,* a species of palm. LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. Indio vestido de anajao; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 206.
[467] Unlike fishermen, the appearance of *cocheros* was often subject to their employer's place in society. Images of people wearing these raincoats, include Pedro MURILLO VELARDE, *Map of the Philippines*, 1734, fig. pescador con chancuy y salacot, Edward E. Ayer Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago; LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. Indio vestido de anajao; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 206; LOZANO, *Gandára Album (1867)*, fig. Cogedores de pescados en los rios bajos y fangosos.
[468] GIRONIÈRE, *Twenty Years in the Philippines*, fig. Ilocos Indians; DOMINGO, *Colección de Trajes de Manila y de Las Provincias*, fig. Un Indio Natural de la Provincia de Pangasinan; LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. Mercaderes Ilocanos; ÁLVAREZ GUERRA, *Viajes por Manila à Tayabas*, chap. 1, p. 22.
[469] *Manililla Periódico Semanal: Ilustrado, Cómico y Humorístico*, 1893, Septiembre 23, fig, Tipos del País, p. 301.
[470] LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 25: Carruage de Alquiler; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 160.

horses and were described to have been quite ill at ease around these animals. Many owners, in fact, complained about their cocheros' carelessness, clumsiness, and aggressiveness.[471]

There were many different types of carriages at that time. Many of the European-style, locally-assembled *carruaje de lujo* and *carruaje de primera clase* were privately owned by the rich.[472] Their canopied passenger seats usually had luxurious interiors, leather hoods, velvet linings, lamps, and imported ironwork.[473] There were also the gilded victorias and landaus that the rich used to drive around the Luneta on Sunday afternoons.[474] The collapsible hoods of these stately carriages were perfect for the elite to appear in their beautiful silk Sunday wear. In contrast, the middle class and the poorer ones used the native *calesa*, which could be paid for per trip or per hour. These would sometimes be overcrowded with people, some standing or even hanging by the footrest or at the back. In Lozano's Ayala Album (1851), for instance, there was one titled *Carruage de Alquiler* (Carriage for rent, Fig. 79C), where the *calesa*, despite being roomy, was overcrowded with nine passengers - six adults were seated and three more children were on their laps.[475] The well-coiffed and elegant among the passengers, with their delicate pañuelos and hair accessories, distinguished the *amos* (employers) from their servants, who, in contrast, were draped in austere pañuelos. Considering how they maximized their carriage-for-hire, they were most probably middle-class out-of-towners on an assumed visit to Manila.

As seen in the Gervasio Gironella (1847), Ayala (1851) and Karuth Albums (1858), some cocheros were mounted directly on the left drawing horse, while others had a built-in seating compartment, depending on the type of carriage.[476] In all these cases, they would be driving the horses with no protection and exposed to all types of weather conditions. They were illustrated wearing European-style jackets and hats, in either dull or bold colors, or a combination of both, like green with red accents or black with yellow, some light-colored breeches, and riding boots.

In a lithograph by C.W. Andrews in *Ilustración Filipina* (1859, Fig. 79A, Fig. 79B), *El Cochero* was shown in similar attire; however, his unkempt clothing and unruly hairstyle contributed to his gaunt and tired appearance. His jacket, seemingly too large for his frame,

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[471] "El Cochero," in *Ilustración Filipina Periódico Quincenal*, Año 1, Num. 11 (Manila: Imprenta y litografía de Ramírez y Giraudier, 1859), 85–87.
[472] Corazon S. ALVINA, "Transportation," in *The World of 1896*, ed. Lorna KALAW-TIROL (Makati City: Ateneo de Manila University, 1998), 42.
[473] SAWYER, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines (1900)*, chap. XVII: Manufactures and Industries.
[474] MARCHE, *Luzon and Palawan*, 33–34.
[475] LOZANO, *Ayala Album*.
[476] LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*; LOZANO, *Ayala Album*; LOZANO, *Karuth Album (1858)*.

could be a hand-me-down. The wide v-opening of his shirt, unbuttoned all the way down to the abdomen, shows how he wore his shirt during breaks.[477] The days of most cocheros were, after all, characterized by moments of boundless activity alternating with periods of inactivity spent waiting. Since almost everyone in the Philippines knew how to sew, some of those in private employ passed their time in between driving engagements by transforming the carriages they drove into their to their own private sastrerías (tailoring shops), where they took the time to repair their old pantalones (pants) and camisas (shirts).[478] While some sew, others would unfasten the horses from the carriages and take them out for a walk.[479]

The unsuitability of the cocheros' layered ensemble to the warm climate of the country shows that they were not just dressed in clothes, they were outfitted in costumes. What were described above were not clothes they would typically wear for themselves or on times spent on leisure with their families. Rather, they donned them as they performed their roles in society. Off duty, they dressed just like any other ordinary indio, with salakot, shirts untucked and perhaps, barefoot.[480] On the job, they were compelled to dress in liveries according to the preferences of their masters.[481] In general, those who were employed by Europeans were better dressed, perhaps because they were envisaged to represent the status of their employers. Likened to mannequins and well dressed scarecrows-on-carriages, [482]their appearance was their master's creation. In the same way cocheros who drove rental carriages were dressed to entertain passengers and bystanders, those driving for the Governor-General were dressed to make an impression. His gilded, velvet- and leather-lined carriage, prominently drawn by six white horses, necessitated the presence of these costumed cocheros in order to complete his public image as the colony's most influential person. The calesa, the dapper cochero, the mounted escorts, were necessary insofar as they contributed in setting the scene for the grand entrance of these colonial bureaucrats. Even without a grand entrance, the carriages of the governor-general and the archbishop were the only ones authorized to counterflow traffic. In full display of authority and privilege, their cocheros, with no qualms

[477] "El Cochero," 85–87.
[478] Ibid.
[479] LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 30: Indio á Caballo; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 170.
[480] Many cocheros preferred to ride barefoot, with their feet directly on the stirrups. LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 25: Carruage de Alquiler; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 160.
[481] A text accompanied each of the paintings in the Gervasio Gironella album and in Cariño's translation, it was written that "there is no costume that the coach drivers will not wear and it is always amusing to examine their appearance and their manner of riding horses, which is generally not as correct as the one shown in the drawing." LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 25: Carruage de Alquiler; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 160.
[482] "El Cochero."

or misgivings, could drive counterclockwise while everyone else drove clockwise.[483] As paid participants in the imaging of colonial personnel, these brown-skinned indios sweat and sweltered under their flamboyant European-style long-sleeved jackets and patiently endured appearing as colonial parodies.

By the late 1880s, most cocheros were costumed in less flamboyant attires. Cocheros driving the carriages for foreigners began to wear all white outfits, from shirts, pants and hats.[484] If one thing can be said about their appearance, it is that they looked neat, even "resplendent in their fresh-laundered white muslim shirt, worn outside his drill trousers."[485]

Frederick Sawyer, an Englishman who lived in the Philippines in the 1890s reported to have paid his cochero (coachman) 12 pesos per month to care for a pair of horses and his carriage. Under Sawyer's household, cocheros earned twice more than sastres and gardeners.[486] The duties of cocheros, as a rule, included feeding the horses, bathing them by the sea or nearby river, cleaning the stables, and maintaining the carriages. It was also part of their job to take the horses out for a walk or for a ride before bringing them back to the stables.

Many cocheros and manservants were not embarrassed to be seen in work uniforms because of what those clothes conveyed. They were proud of the social connections and adherences those clothes communicated. Some cocheros were even thought of as the dandies among the poor for they took pride in their attire and in being seen riding their master's horses.[487] Dressed for their extended role of demonstrating the social status of their employers, some delighted in appearing as if they were the owners of the horses or carriages they were paid to take out for a ride.[488] Their costumed appearance, even when doing mundane tasks, served to give the impression of elite affiliation (Fig. 79B, Fig. 79C, Fig. 90A). To quote Mary Helen Fee,

> The more intelligent of the laboring class attach themselves as 'cliente' to the rich, landholding families. They are by no means slaves in law, but they are in fact and they like it… the lower class man is proud of his connection with great families. He

[483] Doreen G. FERNANDEZ, "Paseo and Tertulia, Zarzuela and Fiesta: Social Life in Old Manila," in *The World of 1896*, ed. Lorna KALAW-TIROL (Makati: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1998), 76–81.
[484] Photo #76 from the Rizal Library Resources, Ateneo de Manila University. ALVINA, "Technology," 43.
[485] FEE, *A Woman's Impression of the Philippines*, chap. V: Our Frist Few Days in Manila, pp. 45–59.
[486] SAWYER, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines (1900)*, 180; CAMAGAY, *Working Women of Manila*, 53.
[487] LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 30: Indio á Caballo; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 170.
[488] LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 30: Indio á Caballo; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 170.

guard its secrets and is loyal to it. He will fight for it, if ordered and desist when ordered.[489]

Caught on camera many times were houseboys dressed neatly in white shirt styles not too different from the one described worn by the cocheros in the latter part of the 19th century, paired with either white or black trousers. Their attires demonstrate that they were clothed in styles chosen by their employers. The boys who worked in the homes of foreigners, for example, were outfitted depending on their employers' concept of what was neat and presentable. A manservant identified as Luis, who was working for Dutch Honorary Consul, Meerkamp van Embden,[490] was photographed pouring drinks to his employer's guests dressed in all-white Westernized attires, specifically, made up of a short (waist-length), long-sleeved, closed-neck shirt or suit, white trousers and black shoes (Fig. 90A).[491]

It was Jagor (1875) who, upon seeing the male servants serving him during one dinner, acknowledged them as "Manila dandies." Although he did not give any detailed description apart from the fact that they were wearing white starched shirt and trousers, he did remark on how amused he was, saying "I never realized the full ludicruousness of European male costume till my eye fell upon its caricature, exemplified in the person of a "Manila dandy."[492]

While the elite dandies, as will be articulated in the next chapter, were free to wear whatever they felt like, often combining masculine and feminine elements in their attires, the dandies among the lower classes sometimes appeared constrained by the fashion choices imposed on them by their masters. While the former appeared carefree and wordly, the latter appeared as costumed figures, garbed as caricatures. But one thing must be pointed out -- it was the manner in which they carried those clothes that characterized them as dandies. Like costumed actors in a theater, it was the airs and graces they put on when they began to wear those clothes. It was what those clothes did for them and what those clothes represented. This refers to the concept of *dating* in the modern Filipino vernacular. Literally translated as effect or impact, *dating* is a characteristic similar to swagger, which, for Filipinos, transcends class and social borders. To say "*ang lakas ng dating*," is to describe the impact or the confident swagger of the low-paid but well-garbed houseboy or cochero. It was their strut and the way

[489] FEE, *A Woman's Impression of the Philippines*, chap. XVII.
[490] Meerkamp van Embden first arrived in Manila on 8 October 1883, as a guest of Belgian tobacco trader and manufacturer Jean Philippe Hens, then the honorary consul of Netherlands. Van Embden worked for 40 years in the Philippines as a tobacco manufacturer and as import-export trader. He became Dutch honorary consul from 1889 to 1927. VAN DEN MUIJZENBERG, *The Philippines through European Lenses*, 2, 20, 76, 77.
[491] Ibid., chap. 3, fig. # 56, p. 144.
[492] JAGOR, "Jagor's Travels in the Philippines," chap. 3.

they carried themselves, which generally raised people's eyebrows, often eliciting quizzical impressions from others.

Oftentimes, Westernized attires on servants provided clues to the racial origins and background of their employers. They were most likely white and Western. Another photo (1880s or 1890s) shows Luis squatting, surrounded by four seated and standing men, identified as German merchant Enrique Sternenfels, Dutch tobacco appraiser Adriaan van der Valk, Dutch Vice Consul A.C. Crebas and Meerkamp van Embden himself.[493] This time, Luis was in native attire, of what looks like a striped sinamay camisa chino with rolled up sleeves. This native attire, made up of a light-colored, long-sleeved shirt, the silhouette of which was similar to the present-day barong, worn outside black or white trousers, paired with black shoes and the occasional bowler's hat, appeared to be more common[494] and could be indicative of employment under any elite or middle class families. Well-off foreign, native or mestizo families, especially those who entertained, cared for the appearance and hygiene of their workers. When it came to the fabrics used in the clothes of servants, it can be surmised, even without actual touch, that they were not luxury fabrics (Fig. 90D). What matters in clothing provisions, after all, was how the clothes looked, not how they felt on the skin. In a photo, which shows the Filipino household workers of Meerkamp van Embden at his beach house in Cavite, some of the houseboys were more distinguished in all-white ensembles with bowler's hats, others were just dressed simply in camisa chinos and rolled trousers.[495] Their varied attires, in fact, demonstrate not only specialization of labor (i.e. gardeners, cooks, personal assistants, etc..) but hierarchy among servants as well.[496]

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[493] A. C. Crebas arrived in the Philippines on March 18, 1890 after Meerkamp van Embden recruited him to assist in his Meerkamp & Nyssens tobacco company. Meerkamp's business partner, George Nyssens, who became Belgian Consul in 1889, died of fever four years later in 1893. A.C. Crebas, meanwhile, would become Dutch vice consul when Meerkamp was Honorary Consul. VAN DEN MUIJZENBERG, *The Philippines through European Lenses*, chap. 3, p. 77, fig. #56, p. 144; Ch.3, fn # 39, p. 338.

[494] Ebenezer HANNAFORD, "Tagal Servants and Children, Manila," in *History and Description of the Picturesque Philippines, with Entertaining Accounts of the People and Their Modes of Living, Customs, Industries, Climate and Present Conditions* (Springfield, Ohio: The Crowell & Kirkpatrick Co, 1900), 21, http://dlxs.library.cornell.edu/cgi/t/text/pageviewer-idx?c=sea&cc=sea&idno=sea192&q1=Philippines&node=sea192%3A1.2&view=image&seq=25&size=50; *Servants*, 1900, Smithsonian Institution Libraries, http://collections.si.edu/search/results.htm?q=philippines&dsort=title&view=grid&date.slider=&fq=online_media_type%3A%22Images%22&fq=object_type%3A%22Photographs%22&fq=-name%3A%22Underwood+%26+Underwood%22&start=880; VAN DEN MUIJZENBERG, *The Philippines through European Lenses*, chap. 3, fig. # 55, p. 143; fig. # 58, p. 146.

[495] A. SCHADENBERG, *De Filippijnse Huishouding van de Familie Meerkamp van Embden Bij Het Strandhuis Op Het Restinga Strand (The Filipino Household at Restinga Beach House, Cavite)*, 1893, KITLV Digital Media Library, http://kitlv.pictura-dp.nl/all-images/indeling/detail/form/advanced/start/32?q_searchfield=philippines.

[496] In the texts accompanying the Gervasio Gironella Album, it was mentioned that it was common among the natives, like cuadrilleros (government armed guards) for example, to consider themselves superior to others.

Western garments worn even by ordinary, non-elite natives supports the idea that the Western suit was gaining popularity as the favored professional wear. Westernized attires worn by these common *tao* (from houseboys, coachmen, to supervisors at tobacco factories) announced professional affiliations and/or employment in foreign households and trading houses. A photo of a young Filipino agent of a foreign trading house based in Surigao, Mindanao (1894, Fig. 90B) was dressed in all white closed-neck, long-sleeved drill suit (*Americana cerrada*) once only seen among the British expatriates and among the better classes.[497] A group photo the staff of *La Maria Cristina* cigar factory in 1902 (Fig. 90C) acquaints us with three things: the variations to this all-white ensemble, the clothing homogeneity between foreign and native workers and lastly, the continued use of this type of attire even until the early American period. Showing no disparities in their professional clothes, this particular photo is an example of how the all-white ensemble could serve to equalize issues relating to race and status, especially in the workplace.

The Relationship between Labor and Clothes

The ordinary attires of the average working men showed the precedence of practicality over fashionability. The functionality of their clothes, in a way, served to heighten the socio-economic inequalities that pervaded colonial society. On a personal level, the clothing of the poor did not necessarily imply indifference nor did it speak of the level of cultural integration; rather, their appearance were more of a composite of their jobs, incomes and lifestyles. Iconography shows that the attires of the laboring men and women varied according to the nature of their work and work environments, in the sense that the attires of outdoor workers like street vendors, farmers, farmhands, fishermen were slightly different from those of indoor or domestic workers, like tailors, cooks, houseboys, factory workers and shopkeepers. This also calls to mind the reality of a divided lower class, wherein incomes that may be allocated to various necessities, including clothing, were stabilized by wage employments. In the case of firewood vendors (indio vendiendo leña), grass vendors (zacateros), milkmen (lecheros), and water carriers (aguadores), attempts to ensure earnings were made by having regular customers to make daily deliveries to.[498]

These feelings of superiority were also noticed among servants. LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, 41: Cuadrillero; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 192–193.

[497] James Earle STEVENS, *Local Agent of a Trading House, Surigao, Mindanao*, B/W photograph, 1894, KITLV Digital Media Library, Image Code: 506188; VAN DEN MUIJZENBERG, *The Philippines through European Lenses*, 261.

[498] Horses for the numerous carriages in Manila were fed twice a day with *zacates* (grass), which *zacateros* delivered to houses daily. Each horse was fed with 30 bundles a day, at a total monthly cost of 2 pesos per

Better attires among domestics usually point to provisions by the employers, sometimes in the form of secondhand clothing. The relative sophistication of their attires contrast with the rags and tatters worn by small-time hawkers with uncertain incomes.[499] Meanwhile, partial nudity (*hubad* above the waist)[500] among men within the integrated population could not be immediately misconstrued as extreme poverty or lack of civilization. Fishermen, farmers, hamaqueros (hammock carriers), porters and stevedores (cargadores), boatmen (banqueros), some aguadores usually took off their shirts and tied them around their head or waists when they had to do hard manual labor especially under the tropical heat (Fig. 92, Fig. 93, Fig. 94).[501]

Iconography that showed street scenes was quite abundant in the Philippines. The average man walking on the streets, playing *panguingue* (native card game, Fig. 96C),[502]billiards (Fig. 95) and *sipa* (a type of football)[503]by the roadside, and selling cloth and clothes[504] on the sidewalks of Manila were a big part of the social landscape of colonial society. The image of an indio or mestizo in a comfortable indigo ensemble, holding a fighting cock in his hands, in fact became the stereotype of an average *Manila Man*.[505] The loose shirt, which opened to the chest, worn by the *Manila Man* in Justiniano Asunción's watercolor (Fig. 97), perhaps, offered the most telling of signs: his everyday, ordinary appearance lacked the care and attention exhibited by men of the upper classes. Apart from the degree of coverage and cleanliness, nuanced indicators were discernible within the context of race, place and stance. In relation to their company and environments, their clothes

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horse. Firewood vendors delivered wood in bunches of 100 sticks for the cooking needs of households. As Manila and its suburbs had no sources of drinking water, *aguadores* delivered water sourced from Marikina, and San Juan del Monte to wealthy households. They charged one real for each *tinaja* (clay jar). *Lecheras* and *lecheros*, mostly residents of Caloocan or Makati, made daily deliveries in any kind of weather, as early as 4 or 5 in the morning. They charged 18 cents peso for a *chupa* (equivalent to 40 centiliters) of carabao milk. They accepted monthly and advanced payments. "La Lechera," *Ilustración Filipina Periódico Quincenal*, Año 2, no. 15 (August 1, 1860): 178–79; Felice Prudente STA. MARIA, *The Governor-General's Kitchen: Philippine Culinary Vignettes and Period Recipes, 1521-1935* (Manila: Anvil Publishing, 2006), chap. 16, pp. 166–167; LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 44: Indio Zacatero; fig. 47: Indio Vendiendo Leña; fig. 49: Aguador de Mariquina; fig. 61: lechera y panadero; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 198, 204, 208–209, 232; CAMAGAY, *Working Women of Manila*, 33, 38.

[499] LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 45: Indio Mananguetero (Tuba–Gatherer).

[500] VILLEGAS, "Chapter Eleven: Costumes and Adornments," 273.

[501] LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 34: Indios Llevando Hamacas; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, fig. Firewood Vendor (Indio Vendiendo Leña), p. 204; HANNAFORD, *History and Description of the Picturesque Philippines*, fig. Men transporting furnitures, p. 83; Félix MARTÍNEZ y LORENZO, *Indio Banquero (Boatman)*, Watercolor, 1886, Museo Nacional de Antropología, Call #: CE2385.

[502] LOZANO, *Nyssens-Flebus Album (1844-1846)*, fig. jugando al panguingui; LOZANO, *Gandára Album (1867)*, fig. Juegos de Villar y panguingue de los indios; TAVIEL DE ANDRADE, *Panguingue*.

[503] LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 33: indios jugando sipa.

[504] LOZANO, *Karuth Album (1858)*, fig. Male Native Trying on Ready–Made Trousers; fig. Street Vendors of Clothing Materials; CARIÑO and NER, *Álbum: Islas Filipinas, 1663-1888*.

[505] ASUNCIÓN, *Justiniano Asunción Album of Philippine Costumes*, fig. IX: A Manila Man; CAPISTRANO-BAKER, "Justiniano Asunción's Album of Watercolors Mirrors 19th Century Philippine Life."

often conveyed a kind of coarseness and crudeness. Seen in the images of a young *Vendedor de periodico* (ca. 1900, Fig. 91) by Telesforo Sucgang, a panadero in the *letras y figuras* of James Sloan (ca. 1880), a *zacatero* (ca. 1886, Fig. 94) and an *aguador* (water carrier, 1886) by Félix Martínez,[506] baros that left chests exposed manifested a life of labor, if not hardship. These were validated by photographs of *aguadores* by Francisco Van Camp and other *tipos del país* sketches that appeared in periodicals like *Ilustración Filipina* (1860) and *La Ilustración del Oriente* (1878).[507] Throughout the centuries, they would be represented as barefooted or with slippers on, with little or no ornamentation, except for religious scapulars and rosaries around their necks.

In using clothes to categorize the laboring classes, it is essential to take into account some of the realities unique to Philippine colonial society. There was class fluidity arising from marriages, changes in fortunes, etc. Then, on the strength of patron-client relationships, close contact with employers, both native and foreign, could give rise to "new" wardrobes.[508] Caucasians living in the Philippines, in general, found ordinary clothing inexpensive or even cheap;[509] but formal and special wear could, relative to one's income, be considered quite expensive. Food and clothing, both of which counted as cheap commodities, had been wielded by native plantation owners to further their interests in patron-client relationships. As employers and benefactors, patrons often supplied their workers with provisions of these two items -- be they fresh and brand new or handed-down. In ingratiating themselves to those who labored for them, they fostered a cycle of dependency. While provisions of beautiful hand-me-downs for their workers to wear and show off during town fiestas could elicit gratitude, they could also evoke feelings of indebtedness or *utang-na-loob,* in local terms. However, completely new textiles and clothing, albeit the cheapest kinds were a different case; they were not usually for nothing.[510] Costs were often deducted to their wages when crops have been harvested. Accordingly, inability to pay resulted to debts that tend to accumulate through the years.

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[506] Telesforo SUCGANG y ALAYON, *Vendedor de Periodicos*, 1900, National Museum of the Philippines Collection, Manila; C. LAFORTEZA, *James Sloan*, Letras y Figuras, Watercolor on paper, 1880, UNILAB Collection; Félix MARTÍNEZ y LORENZO, *Zacatero*, Watercolor, 1886, Museo Nacional de Antropología, Call #: CE2384; Félix MARTÍNEZ y LORENZO, *Aguador*, Watercolor, 1886, Museo Nacional de Antropología, Call #: CE2390.

[507] Francisco VAN CAMP, *Criada and Aguador*, B/W photograph, Manila 1875, John L. Silva; *Ilustración Filipina Periódico Quincenal*, 1860, Octobre 15, 1860, Año II, Num. 20, fig. Indio Filipino; *La Ilustración del Oriente Revista Semanal*, 1878, Pebrero 17, Num. 7, fig. El Aguador de Mariquina, p. 78.

[508] STA. MARIA, *The Governor-General's Kitchen*, 28.

[509] According to Sawyer, "dress is not an expensive item in Manila." SAWYER, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines (1900)*, chap. XIX: Life in Manila (A Chapter for the Ladies).

[510] HANNAFORD, *History and Description of the Picturesque Philippines*, 137.

In this regard, cloth and clothes were made available, even when there was no real need on the part of workers. But, they were somehow programmed to think that town festivities, like the church-related fiestas, called for special, if not, new outfits. Hence, every man, woman and child, no matter how poor, had at least, one festive attire. In addition to the three staple items that made up a common man's wardrobe – the baros made of rough guinara, which he owned four of (one to two reals or 12.5 to 25 cents peso each), the pants, which he had three to four pairs of (one to two and a half reals or 12.5 to 31 cents peso each pair), and the headscarf, which he had two of (one and a half real or 19 cents peso each) -- he owned, at a minimum, one fine shirt, which cost at least one to two pesos, a pair of fancy trousers, which at four reals (50 cents peso) is twice as much as his ordinary, everyday pair, and as one would expect, shoes, a pair of which cost around 7 reals or 87.5 cents peso.[511]

There were also accounts that spoke of the tendencies of the common class to splurge on clothes.[512] Driven in part by the Filipinos' unique relationship with labor and clothes, the term *tao* was, for instance, understood by the natives not just as a man but as a poor working man –often engaged in manual, physical labor and typically unskilled and uneducated. They were the cocheros (coachmen or stablehand), labradors (farmers), carpinteros (carpenters), zacateros (grass vendor), aguadores (water carrier), lecheros (milkman), panaderos (breadman), pescadores (fishermen), lavanderos and lavanderas (laundryman, laundress) mentioned above-- those whose work took them outdoors under the sun and rain. In their worldview, they associated work or labor with toiling under the sun and soiling their clothes. But, more than labor, what they were particularly averse to was the "visible tokens of toil in their persons."[513] Labor became degrading if they were seen in unclean and sweaty clothes. For the span of time they were working, their clothes were susceptible to dirt, dust and worse, sweat; and they were defenseless against instructions, injunctions and silent appraisals from their superiors. They were, assumedly, reminded of their status in life.

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[511] Ordinary women's wardrobes customarily included four to six camisas (1 real or 12.5 cents peso each), different types of sayas -- two to three of rough guinara textile (three to four reals or 37.5 to 50 cents peso each) and in some cases, one or two of European printed cotton (five reals or 62.5 cents peso each) -- two headscarves (one and a half real or 19 cents peso each), and two pairs of tsinelas (slippers) for use to go to church (at least 2 reals or 25 cents peso per pair). For special occasions, they had additional clothing items like mantilla to cover their heads for church (6 reals or 75 cents peso, estimated to last them four years), a fancier camisa, which at 6 reals or 75 cents peso, is six times as much as their ordinary shirts and two underskirts or nabuas, which at 2 reals each (25 cents peso) cost half of their guinara sayas.[511] They also made one-time purchases of brass earrings and a rosary. JAGOR, "Jagor's Travels in the Philippines," chap. 22.

[512] LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 49: Aguador de Mariquina; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 208–209.

[513] FEE, *A Woman's Impression of the Philippines*, chap. XI, pp. 130–149.

They began to make distinctions between themselves who worked exposed to the elements, and those who worked in private homes as servants and cooks[514] as well as those who worked, literally, seated. For them, even if weavers, embroiderers, dressmakers, tailors, and buyeras do menial tasks and were generally low-income, at least they had the advantage of being involved in more "genteel" work.[515] American schoolteacher Mary Helen Fee, for example, encountered a male servant, who, refused to be seen with the bundle of dirty clothes she asked him to deliver across the street to her lavandera. "I would rather die," he said, before walking out.[516] This goes to show the cultural shame attached to being seen by others as poor or low class. These attitudes must be juxtaposed with, for example, the average American laborer, who according to Fee, "does not mind going to and from work in laboring clothes and he makes no attempt to seem anything but a laboring man."[517] The difference with the Philippine case was that, the poor did not want to look poor. What they lacked in monetary wealth, they wanted to make up in their appearance.

Travail, both the French and English word for labor is suggestive of the travesties of labor. Those whose bodies and clothing bore the travesties of labor were often candidates and even friends of pretension. The poor and the pretentious abound, especially in the streets of Manila that it became quite difficult to distinguish, at least on face value, the *cochero* with a salary of 12 pesos a month, a maidservant with her 2-3 pesos a month who could both be dressed in their employer's hand-me-downs with a government employee who earned sixty pesos per month.[518] Their propensities to indulge in thoughtless, unnecessary spending have, in fact, been recorded in most foreign accounts. Some of them would spend 4 or more pesos on a single piece of clothing.[519] For the cochero employed by a Manila-based foreign businessman, that shirt cost him one-third of his month's salary.[520] For the maidsevant, that is thirty percent more than her monthly wage.[521] Spending four pesos on a single piece was disproportionate to their meager incomes.

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[514] Women are generally unwilling to work in the kitchen because of the heat and the work. As such most of the cooks were Chinese. *La Ilustración del Oriente Revista Semanal*, 1877, Octobre 7, Num. 1, Sec. Tienda en un Barrio, p. 4–6. F. DE LERENA, "El Cocinero," in *Ilustración Filipina Periódico Quincenal*, Año 2, Num. 24 (Manila: Imprenta y litografía de Ramírez y Giraudier, 1860), pp. 287.
[515] FEE, *A Woman's Impression of the Philippines*, chap. XI, pp. 130–149.
[516] Ibid., chap. VIII, pp. 86–106.
[517] Ibid., chap. VIII: An Analysis of Filipino Character, pp. 86–106.
[518] Ibid., chap. VIII.
[519] LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 49: Aguador de Mariquina; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 209.
[520] SAWYER, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines (1900)*, 180.
[521] CAMAGAY, *Working Women of Manila*, 51.

To give the impression of wealth, many native women reportedly also wore fake diamond rings while ungraciously dragging their silk dresses. It would not be surprising to hear them pay 3 pesos, equivalent to a criada's monthly wage, just to have their hair coifed for a single occasion.[522] Lace or embroidered piña pañuelo or veil, which cost between to 5 to 10 pesos were among the prestige products that constituted some of the wardrobes of both elite natives and mestizas that many poor women aspire to acquire.[523] These luxury items, being either imported or locally handwoven and hand-embroidered, were clearly aspirational. As author Daniel Roche said, "everyone should appear what he was but might also appear what he aspired to be."[524] 19th century marketers banked on the psychological need for some to be viewed as genuine *caballeros* (gentlemen). The tailor Giber, for example ran this short ad in *La Moda Filipina* (1894):

> Those who want to pretend to be elegant gentlemen, go to the Giber, the best of all tailors[525]

The *Bazar del Cisne* in No. 5, Goiti in Sta. Cruz had this ad:

> Whoever wants his feet covered in gallantry, check out the *Bazar del Cisne* to see the shoes[526]

With advertisements such as these, which offered not so much products as narratives (of elegance and gallantry as attributes of success or glamour)—to identify with, splurging for clothes and things that were beyond their means was an example of what consumer culture demanded from people of different social categories at that time. Many actually spent much of what they earned on clothes, occasionally at least.[527] The cochero would be seen wearing his new clothes just to bathe the horses or clean the stables. The houseboy would be inappropriately dressed in trendy garments while sweeping the floor or carrying water for the bath of his master.[528] Their predilection for style and fashion, no matter how impractical fine clothes were to their jobs show how they too, like the rich, knew the value of form over

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[522] MARTINEZ TABERNER, "La Región del Nanyo. El Japón Meiji y Las Colonias Asiaticas del Imperiod Español. 1858-1898," 423.
[523] Ibid.
[524] ROCHE, *The Culture of Clothing: Dress and Fashion in the 'Ancien Regime*, 55.
[525] *El que quiera pretender de elegante caballero, que vaya al sastre Giber, que es como sastre, el primero*. *La Moda Filipina Periódico Quincenal Ilustrado*, Año II (Quiapo: Redaccion y Administracion, 1894), Febrero 28, Num. 24.
[526] *Quien quiera tener el pié calzado con gallardia, que pase al Bazar del Cisne á ver la Zapateria* – (Goiti, 5). Ibid.
[527] *"De ello se desprende que la mayoria de lo que los nativos ganan, lo gastan en ropa."* MARTINEZ TABERNER, "La Región del Nanyo. El Japón Meiji y Las Colonias Asiaticas del Imperiod Español. 1858-1898," 423.
[528] LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 49: Aguador de Mariquina; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 209.

function. In trying to show that their tastes were equally elegant, they, adversely, displayed their lack of good sense. In their narrow worldview, nice clothes associated them with colonial society's image of gentility or even, success.[529] This desire and intention to imitate the elite reveals obvious tendencies towards excess –and foolishness.

In almost all travel accounts during the colonial period, the poor were described to be as keen on keeping up with appearances as the wealthiest of the indio colonized, who, in a colonial society, likewise struggled to assert his place in the social spectrum. The low-born *tao* was aware that he was different from the high-born or well-off *caballeros* (gentlemen), *señors* and *señoras*, *dons* and *doñas*, *doctors* and *doctoras,* who, regardless of how they made their fortunes, were favored not to have their hands and clothes sullied by manual labor and sweat.[530]

There were a few Spanish idiomatic expressions founded on cloth, clothing and its related items, which represented class and labor. For example, the phrase *creado entre algodones* (literally, created in cotton) was representative of the pampered class. To say *se crio entre algodones* (he grew up in cotton) was to say that someone was always pampered. Meanwhile, the phrase *sudar la camiseta* (sweat in the shirt), means to sweat or to exert effort. In the Philippines, the camiseta, a type of sleeveless or sleeved cotton undershirt continued to be used with the baro, to absorb perspiration. The term *hecho y derecho*, which generally referred to made or completed garment, could also be used as an adjective to refer to people. For example, *un hombre hecho y derecho* could represent a real man, which could be inferred as someone strong, manly or powerful.

Late 19th century Clothing Changes: Signs of Progress or Unrest?

While the first half of the 19th century was marked by sartorial divergence, the second half saw the process of sartorial convergence, which in principle, challenged the colonial apartheid system, which once institutionalized racial segregation in the Philippines. As Muijzenberg pointed out, since 1741, the diversity of peoples that inhabited the Philippines were legally separated into distinct racial groups—Spanish (including Spanish mestizo), Indio, Chinese, Chinese mestizo.[531] These classifications were "subject to different rules with regard to taxation, assigned place of residence, possibilities of movement, dress, permitted

[529] ROCHE, *The Culture of Clothing: Dress and Fashion in the 'Ancien Regime*, 105.
[530] FEE, *A Woman's Impression of the Philippines*, chap. VI.
[531] VAN DEN MUIJZENBERG, *The Philippines through European Lenses*, 66.

occupations, and access to legal institutions."[532] As discussed above, from the last decades of the 18th century to the first half of the 19th century, native indios and mestizos developed hybrid styles, which were distinct from the Europeans (and of course, the Chinese). In the early 19th century, native men from the same social class dressed essentially the same in mixed ensembles of tailored Western suits with sheer baros over Chinese *sayasaya* pants. They were also seen in sheer *barong mahaba* with Western-style cravats and silken waistbands. These were essentially styles that defied "pure" categories. The upper class indios and mestizos were in these hybrid ensembles while the lower classes were in baro at salaual. From the 1850s onwards, there were trends toward racial convergence in clothing. Upper class native men started to dress like Europeans. Towards the end of the colonial period, some men from the lower classes, especially the urbanized ones, would likewise follow suit.

As one can see, it would not be possible to classify the diversity of races in the islands according to clothes. Clothes were visual markers of class and socio-cultural positions in Philippine colonial society, but not necessarily of race. They could be used to distinguish the well-to-do from the laboring classes but they could not be used as indefinite markers of race. Clothes could be used to gain insight into the wearer's status, and could be used, for example, to distinguish the rich Spaniard from the poor Spaniard, the rich indio from the poor indio, the rich mestizo from the poor mestizo; but, they could not be used alone to distinguish the Spaniard from the indio, especially if they were of the same social class.

It can be said that occidentalism and the growing uniformity in men's clothing, disturbed the colonial order, wherein society was once neatly organized according to race. The adoption of completely Westernized clothing even by lower class men in the late colonial society further blurred the lines that demarcated colonizer and colonized.

There were indications that the Spaniards viewed the use of the frocked coats by the common man as encroachment on their sartorial territory – and by extension, usurpations of their status. Insights into their ways of thinking may, for example, be found in the novel, *Si Tandang Bacio Macunat* (1885) by the Spanish Franciscan friar Miguel Lucio y Bustamante.

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[532] The establishment of separate administrative divisions *(gremios)* in many of the Philippines towns in the 18th century facilitated governance and tax collection. The *gremio de mestizos* (literally, guilds of mestizos) – distinct from the *gremio de chinos cristianos* and *gremio de naturales*—which was set up in 1741 was a worthwhile venture for the colonial government, especially since mestizos were taxed twice as much as the natives. There is a *Gremio de Naturales* document (in Spanish), which contained a register of names, ages, and amount of tribute paid for the year 1872, kept by Joaquin Cambronero in an official capacity for the town of Leon. Joaquin Cambronero served as Juez de Policia de Leon, a municipality in Iloilo Province between 1867 and 1869. Ibid.; CLARKE, *Civil Society in the Philippines*, 136; CAMBRONERO, "Gremio de Naturales (Document, Signed: Leon, Philippines, 1872)."

The novel, which began with an unidentified narrator talking to an indio farmer named Tandang Bacio, would develop into a persuasive commentary discouraging indios from becoming educated – and from assuming the appearance of the native *capitánes* and the *castilas*.

> Newly emerged now are those who are as dark as me, or even darker than me, wearing the *levita* (frock coats) or whatever you call the clothes they wear to put themselves on the same level as the native elite and priests (perhaps referring to Spaniards or Spanish officials in general), as if they were rich people.[533]

Tandang Bacio presented his arguments by narrating the tragedy that befell a wealthy family who sent their son to study in Manila. The son, who was said to have learned nothing in the capital except mischief and bad behavior, merely squandered his family's money and died in prison, shaming the entire family in the process. The moral of the story is to be content with the simplicity of life in the countryside and to be aware that going to larger cities to be educated also entailed exposure to cosmopolitan vices and virtues.[534] This warns readers of the seduction of city life and the "dangers of urban immorality."[535] In this novel, one could get a clear sense that the "unlettered agriculturist"[536] in simple clothes was extolled over the literate –modified beings in European attires -- who vivaciously sought to place themselves at the same level as their colonial and socio-cultural superiors.

Tandang Bacio personified this "unlettered agriculturist" who in Spanish views was the "ideal" indio. He was one whose mentality conformed to the discriminating attitudes of the colonial authorities. This controversial work written in Tagalog, presumably for the mass of *tao*, was meant to manage the growing political, socio-cultural and economic unrest brewing among the local populace, especially in the last quarter of the 19th century. As exemplified throughout the novel, this "unrest" allegedly found expressions in clothing. The coat, which was once seen only among the elite and the members of colonial institutions were, as mentioned earlier in the chapter, beginning to be seen also among ordinary men, i.e. *cocheros,*[537] houseboys, tobacco factory workers, etc. Father Lucio y Bustamante's use of the word *nakikipantay* or to be equal with*,* exposes the Spanish hostile perception that natives

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[533] In original Tagalo, *mga maestrong bagong litaw ngayon na kasing-itim ko, ó maitim pa sa akin ay nagsusuot ng levita ó kung ano kayang tawag doon sa isinusuot nilang damit, at nakikipantay sila sa mga Cápitan, at sa mga Cura pa, na tila i, kung sino silang mahal na tao.*LUCIO y BUSTAMANTE, *Si Tandang Bacio Macunat*, chap. II, p. 8.
[534] FOREMAN, *The Philippine Islands*, chap. XI: Domesticated Natives, pp. 163–194.
[535] ROCHE, *The Culture of Clothing: Dress and Fashion in the 'Ancien Regime*, 413.
[536] SAWYER, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines (1900)*, chap. XXIV.
[537] *Manililla Periódico Semanal: Ilustrado, Cómico y Humorístico*, 1893, September 23, 1893, fig. Tipos del País, p. 301.

who wore the *levitas* or frock coats were bringing themselves to the same level as those who represented the interest of the colonial regime. While the availability and use of Western goods were perceived as material signs of progress,[538] the appropriation of key pieces of European attire, at least by the average man on the streets, were also thought to represent unrest, if not, instability.

Convergence Explained

If the clothing practices of the early 19th century were marked by divergence, the second half saw trends moving towards convergence. Visual and written records show that the attires of of both men and women were very similar from one province to another. There were slight differences in the garment pieces, like for women, the use of patadiong, instead of saya. While there were factories that produced patadiongs in Cebu, which exported to areas like Bicol where there was a demand for them, this garment was also largely unknown in central Luzon.[539] This was a simple garment that made use of ordinary cloth with simple stripe patterns flaunted nothing except austerity. Álvarez-Guerra (1887), in fact, observed that the plainness and ordinariness of this piece made it unpopular among Ilonggo (mainly from Panay and Negros) and Tagalog (central Luzon, Manila in particular) *caciques*.[540]

Perusal of rural[541] and urban scenes showed how men of the same social categories were dressed essentially alike throughout the archipelago.[542] Variations were usually consequences of their wealth, professions or socio-cultural activities. Observations of the appearances of people in markets, roadside eateries and shops, *pansiterías*, and indoor billiard halls showed that lower class men in shirts with deep v-opening in the chest dominated certain locales (Fig. 95, 98, 99).[543]

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[538] ÁLVAREZ GUERRA, *Viajes por Filipinas de Manila à Marianas*, 10.
[539] ÁLVAREZ GUERRA, *Viajes por Filipinas de Manila à Albay*, chap. 4, pp. 67–69.
[540] Ibid., chap. 4, pp. 68–69.
[541] The man on top of the carabao was dressed not too differently from the stereotyped appearance of the Manila Man, as portrayed for example by Justiniano Asunción, which may now be found in the New York Public Library (NYPL). Miguel ZARAGOZA y ARANQUIZNA, *La Familia*, 1876, Pacifico Gonzales Private Collection; ASUNCIÓN, *Justiniano Asunción Album of Philippine Costumes*, fig. A Manila Man.
[542] *Visten los hombres, con corta diferencia, el mismo traje en todo el archipelago.* FULGOSIO, *Crónica de Las Islas Filipinas (1871)*, pt. 2, Ch. 8, p. 42; LOZANO, *Karuth Album (1858)*, fig. Natives from a Manila suburb by Juan Ribelles; fig. calendaria; fig. pansitería; fig. juegos de villar.
[543] *La Ilustración del Oriente Revista Semanal*, 1877, fig. tienda en un barrio, 7 October 1877, Año 1, Num. 1, p. 4; *Ilustración Filipina Periódico Quincenal*, 1860, fig. pantalan, 15 Enero 1860, Num. 2; fig. billar publico, 15 Mayo 1860, Año II, Num. 10; *Manililla Periódico Semanal: Ilustrado, Cómico y Humorístico*, 1893, fig. Una tienda de "Sari–Sari," 8 Abril 1893, p. 101; fig. en el pantalan, 27 Mayo 1893, p. 157; *Marriage Procession in Manila*, Wood engravings, November 28, 1857, Mid-Manhattan Library / Picture Collection, New York Public Library, http://digitalgallery.nypl.org/nypldigital/id?835526; TAVIEL DE ANDRADE, *Panguingue*.

In terms of color, it was observed that residents of the northern provinces, like Pangasinan, preferred darker colors, like brown and indigo while color choices were more varied in central Luzon. In terms of climate, inhabitants of colder provinces like Ilocos and Cagayan, wore more layers.

There was also a rapid migration of people from the provinces and other peripheries to the capital city of Manila, which resulted to local and regional variations becoming less and less significant. Between 1876 to 1886, there was a ninety percent increase in the population of Manila.[544] Connections between Manila and some provinces also improved after the completion of the Manila-Dagupan railroad in 1892.[545] This facilitated the travel of trendy indios and mestizos returning from Europe to selected local regions either to visit family or friends. Edgar Wickberg underlined the role of these returning students who "traveled back and forth between Manila and Spain and between Manila and their home provinces" in the transmission of culture and styles.[546]

The opening of Manila to foreign trade and settlement resulted to the growth and diversification of its population, which would influence developments in fashion. Diffusion of imported fashion magazines allowed expatriates– and the native elite-- to be connected with global trends in fashion.

The colonial urbanization that emanated from Manila also began to have impacts in the appearances of the different classes in places like Iloilo and Cebu. By the 2nd half of the 19th century, some provincial cities had the same shops as Manila, which mirrors the growing homogeneity in tastes and styles. Many imported cloths and clothing were still transported to the provinces by way of Manila distributors and retailers. For example, in a survey of ads, there were two shops, *La Madrileña Modista* in Santa Cruz and *Camiseria Española de Manuel Sequera* in Carriedo, which accepted orders for shipment to the provinces.[547] *La Madrileña* advertised its prompt and inexpensive service, with this line: our cargo service to Manila is prompt and economical (*los encargos para provincias se sirven con prontitud esmero y economia,* Fig. 100*).*[548]

Aldolfo Roensch was an example of a Manila sombrería opened a branch in Iloilo. In his 1875 ad, it was stated that "*los mismos articulos encontrara el publico en su sucursal de*

[544] SCHUMACHER, "The World of 1896," 2.
[545] Ibid., 9.
[546] WICKBERG, *The Chinese in Philippine Life, 1850-1898*, 2000, 130–133; DEL PAN, *Las Islas Filipinas: Progresos en 70 Años.*, 347.
[547] Ad for *Camiseria Española* may be found in ESCOBAR y LOZANO, *El Indicador del Viajero en Las Islas Filipinas*, 260.
[548] *La Madrileña* was located in Isla del Romero, Num. 46 in Sta. Cruz. *See* Ibid., p. 248.

Iloilo," which meant that the same items would be available at his branch in Iloilo.[549] The fact that *Bazar La Puerta del Sol* opened also in Iloilo shows that one, there was an increased market demand for imported goods presumably among the well-heeled Iloilo residents.[550] Second, although lifestyles in the provinces were supposedly simpler and standard of living was lower, prosperity in Panay must have incited improvements in the fashion and appearances among well-to-do provincials. Hatter Adolfo Richter, with shop in No. 15 Escolta, also advertised in *La Liga Comercial* that opened a second branch in Cebu.[551]

Mestizos

The idea that *urbanidad* was localized Spanish/Western culture or hybridized mestizo culture was rooted on the fact that the mestizos, who were generally perceived as a group wealthier and better-looking than the indios, displayed sophisticated cultural forms to distinguish themselves. Their clothing was analyzed to trace the influences that helped shape the culture --including dress culture-- that developed among them.

Although urbanized mestizo culture emerged out of the racial and by extension, cultural hybridity of the mestizos, their pervasive presence in colonial street and church productions in Manila and in the provinces, along with 19th century developments in print media and advertising, brought *urbanidad* to the different sectors of society.

Álvarez Guerra argued on two things to show that dress styles were influenced by race: (1) women appropriated the dress styles of their European husband's culture; and, (2) children of mixed parentage, the mestizos, affected the chosen form and culture of their mother.

The mestizos and mestizas with a Chinese father and an india mother (*la mestizo de india y sangley*) should not be confused with the mestizos with a Spanish father and an india mother (*la mestizo de india y europeo*). In many historical accounts[552] and illustrations,[553] the

[549] GONZÁLEZ FERNÁNDEZ, *Manual del Viajero en Filipinas*; ESCOBAR y LOZANO, *El Indicador del Viajero en Las Islas Filipinas*, 239.
[550] ESCOBAR y LOZANO, *El Indicador del Viajero en Las Islas Filipinas*, 238.
[551] *La Liga Comercial de Manila Revista Mensual*, Año 1, Num. 2 (Carriedo: Imprenta de Santa Cruz, 1899), Julio 1899, Año 1, Num. II.
[552] LAUREANO, *Recuerdos de Filipinas*, fig. The Mestiza, pp. 157–160; "La Mestiza de Malate," *La Ilustración del Oriente Revista Semanal* Año II, no. 12 (March 21, 1878).
[553] RAVENET y BUNEL, *Mestizos de Manila, Yslas Filipinas*; DOMINGO, *Colección de Trajes de Manila y de Las Provincias*, fig. A Mestiza of Manila in Gala raiment; fig. Mestiza de Manila; fig. A Mestiza of Pampanga; A Mestiza Shopkeeper (Mercadera) of Manila; DOMINGO, *Colección de Trajes de Manila Tanto Antiguos Como Modernos, de Toda Clase de Indias [art Original] / Dispuesta por D. Rafael Daniel Babon y Dibujado por D. Damián Domingo, Director de La Academia de Dibujo de La Real Sociedad de Manila*, fig. Mestiza de Manila; Mestizo de Manila; ASUNCIÓN, *Justiniano Asunción Album of Philippine Costumes*, fig. Rich Mestizo; Una Joven Mestiza; Mestiza; LOZANO, *Nyssens-Flebus Album (1844-1846)*, fig. Mestizas in

term mestizo was used loosely to refer to either the fair-skinned Spanish mestizos or to any biracial children, with no particular reference to bloodlines.[554] The use of mestizo as a general term, evidently, made it difficult to articulate the interactions between race and culture that shaped dress styles in the colony.

Within the same texts and albums, however, one may also come across precise terms like *hijos de mestizo europeo, mestizo-español* or *mestizo de la raza europea con la raza india,* which distinguished the Spanish mestizos from the Chinese mestizos.[555] Other terms by which the latter came to be known were *mestizos de sangre china*, *mestizos-sangleys, mestizo del Celeste Imperio* or simply *mestizo china*.[556]

Pictorial and written sources have confirmed that pure-blooded india women *(indias* de *pura)* who were married to Chinese fashioned the native style of baro't saya. In turn, their Chinese mestizo children were shown to have worn native styles until they reached a point when they themselves had to make their own decisions. The text that came with the Gervasio Gironella Album (1847) by José Honorato Lozano, for example, stated that:

> The mestizas de sangley cannot be distinguished from the rest as far as their way of dressing is concerned, as these are very much alike. The one depicted in this plate is on her way to church, which is why she is carrying a veil on her head very much like what all women wear when entering the temple [translation][557]

Promenade Attire; Mestizos in Churchgoing Attire; LOZANO, *Karuth Album (1858)*, Mestizos in Fiesta Attire; CABEZUDO, *Una Mestiza (A Mestizo Lady)*.

[554] The use of the term mestiza by Laureano to refer to Spanish mestizas ran counter to Maria Serena Diokno's statement that "in Spanish records, the term mestizos always referred to mestizos de sangley." LAUREANO, *Recuerdos de Filipinas*, fig. The Mestiza, pp. 157–160; DIOKNO, "Chapter Six: The Making of the Filipino," 112.

[555] Juan ÁLVAREZ GUERRA, *Viajes por Filipinas de Manila à Albay*, First (Madrid: Imprenta de Fortanet, 1887), chap. 1, p. 20, http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/12275; R. DE PUGA, "La Mestiza Española," in *Ilustración Filipina Periodico Quincenal*, vol. 1, Año 1, Num. (Manila: Imprenta y litographia de Ramirez y Giraudier, 1859), 159; DOMINGO, *Colección de Trages de Manila Tanto Antiguos Como Modernos, de Toda Clase de Yndias [art Original] / Dispuesta por D. Rafael Daniel Babon y Dibujado por D. Damián Domingo, Director de La Academia de Dibujo de La Real Sociedad de Manila*, fig. Mestiza Española de Manila; Espiridión DE LA ROSA, *Una Mestiza Sangley Con su Venta*, Watercolor on paper, 1820 to 1840, Private Collection; Paul Proust de la GIRONIÈRE, *Twenty Years in the Philippines* (Harper & Brothers, 1854), fig. Spanish Métis, of the Superior Class; ASUNCIÓN, *Justiniano Asuncion Album of Philippine Costumes*, fig. A Spanish Mestiza of Manila; LOZANO, *Karuth Album (1858)*, fig. Spanish Mestizas in Street Clothes and Church Veils, signed Juan Ribelles.

[556] ÁLVAREZ GUERRA, *Viajes por Manila à Tayabas*, chap. 3, p. 68; ÁLVAREZ GUERRA, *Viajes por Filipinas de Manila à Albay*, chap. 1, p. 21; GIRONIÈRE, *Twenty Years in the Philippines*, Chinese Métis; ASUNCIÓN, *Justiniano Asunción Album of Philippine Costumes*, fig. Un Mestizo Chino; LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, Mestiza de Sangley; LOZANO, *Gandára Album (1867)*, fig. Chinese Mestiza Wearing Promenade Clothes and Native Woman wearing Church Clothes; LOZANO, *Karuth Album (1858)*, Chinese Mestizos in Gala Clothes.

[557] Translation from CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 218; LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 54: Mestiza de Sangley.

On the other hand, following the idea put forward by Álvarez Guerra that indias or mestizas, who married Europeans adopted European dress and culture, and that these Westernized women influenced the dress styles of their mestizos-españoles children, had to be tested against pictorial and written sources on the subject.

Among mestizos, divergence occurred between genders. While the female or mestizas for often than not fashioned the typical styles associated with native women, the male mestizos had expanded wardrobes that included both native and European styles, depending on their positions in the social hierarchy. Mestizos who occupied colonial positions were also shown in hybrid ensembles, combining sinamay shirts worn over pants (*llevan la camisa de sinamay sobre los pantalones*)[558] with Western-style jackets (*chaqueta*) and hats. The evolution of mestizo male dressing will be elaborated later on in this chapter.

Mestizo Women's Fashions: Reconciling Clothes, Class and Race

As depicted in Velarde's 1734 map of the Philippines, the 18th century mestiza was dressed in a loose-fitting, long-sleeved, collarless shirt trimmed with lace or embroideries around the neck, throat, shoulder and cuffs and a voluminous, wrap-around skirt secured on one side. She was elegant with her hair up in a thick chignon, with large loops adorning her ears, a long chain with a cross pendant that hangs around her neck.

In the last decade of the 18th century, Juan Ravenet of the Malaspina Expedition (1792-1794, Fig. 1H) illustrated the mestizas dressed not in loose clothing but rather, in straight and narrow plaid skirts *(pares),* striped tapís, baros with long and straight sleeves and checkered pañuelos. Watches worn over the sleeves served to highlight its slim and narrow fit. Through the years, the skirt became increasingly voluminous and the sleeves gradually widened. By the mid-19th century, their attires were dissected as follows:

> Her shirt were made of pineapple or jusi, embellished or embroidered, and in more or less strong colors..following [accepted] fashion conventions, the sleeves are loose and long, almost covering the hands. The skirts, long and full, came in diverse colors, in beautiful and varied hues or combinations…for the textile, it is impossible to determine which material was distinctive of this attire, because they were all used interchangeably [translation mine][559]

[558] As described by Álvarez Guerra: *los muñidores de alla (capitan pasado) y los camisa por fuera de por acá.* FULGOSIO, *Crónica de Las Islas Filipinas (1871)*, pt. 2, Ch. 8, p. 43, col. 1; ÁLVAREZ GUERRA, *Viajes por Manila à Tayabas*, chap. XIII: Sariaya.

[559] *su camisa de piña o jusi labrado o bordado, y de colores mas o menos Fuertes, segun las prescripciones de la moda, es siempre de mangas perdidas que bajan hasta casi cubrir sus manos. en las sayas, de mucho vuelo,*

Their clothes and accessories varied, more or less, according to fortunes. The Westernized india and mestiza elite were known to wear native attires paired with ankle boots (*botitos)* on grand occasions and stockings (*medias*) under their embroidered slippers (*chinelas*) on events of lesser importance.[560] They used tasteful materials (*materias de buen gusto*) and completed their attires were pañuelo of finely embroidered piña (*pañuelo de piña prolijamente bordado*) covering part of their camisas. They secured their pañuelos in the front with either gold or bejeweled pins.

Historical accounts were consistent with pictorial sources in showing how mestizas, regardless of mix, contrasted with the Europeans, newly arrived Spanish women (not creoles or Spanish born and raised in the Philippines), and some indias or mestizas married to Europeans, who may have chosen to dress in full European style garments – i.e., full skirts and buttoned up (*abotonado*)[561] suits with closed, rounded necklines, similar to those worn by Paz Pardo de Tavera while living in Europe (Fig. 101, Fig. 102). The donning of full European style garments by india or mestiza women born and raised in the Philippines was a deliberate and determined attempt to demonstrate their affiliation with the superior class in the colony.

Various sources confirmed that both the mestizas-española and the mestizas de sangley, in fact, fashioned the same styles as indias. This goes to show that while racial background could influence culture, taste and style, dress could not be used to effectively demarcate race. The illustrations in Gironière's book (1820-1840) as well as the watercolor works of the various notable artists from Damián Domingo, Justiniano Asunción, to José Honorato Lozano, all depicted well-dressed mestizas (irrespective of racial mixture) in almost exactly the same attires.

> The Spanish mestiza often dressed in the same way as the indias, with loose skirt, similar to the one represented in the drawing. Sometimes, they dressed in the European style *(á la europea)*, but between the two extremes is the middle ground. The sketch chosen for presentation shows what is known among the Spanish as the attire of the mestiza (or the *traje de mestiza*) [translation mine][562]

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advertimos tal diversidad de colores, tan bellos y variados matices que es material imposible fijar cuales sean las mas peculiares al traje, porque todas se usan indistintamente. DE PUGA, "La Mestiza Española."

[560] Ibid., 150.

[561] SRES. DE CARLOS y C.A, ed., *La Moda Elegante: Periódico de Las Familias. Contiene Los Dibujos Mas Elegantes de Las Modas de Paris, Modelos de Toda Clase de Trabajos de Aguja, Inclusos Los de Tapiceria en Colores, Crochets, Canevas, Etc.*, Año I, Num. 9 (Cadíz, 1861), Febrero 28, 1861, p. 2, http://hemerotecadigital.bne.es/issue.vm?id=0004782884&search=&lang=es.

[562] *La mestiza española suele vestir lo mismo que las indias, ó con saya suelta segun representa la lamina, y á veces á la europea; mas entre los dos estremos se ha elegido el termino medio para presentarla en la*

This account also revealed that marriage to Europeans did not mean complete abandonment of the baro't saya ensemble. In fact, indias and mestizas married to Europeans had, more often that not, both styles *á la europea* (Fig. 115A, Fig. 115B)[563] and *á la Philippine* (Fig. 96B) in their wardrobes. There were indications that they combined both styles in one attire or they alternated between the two. Mallat never failed to note that the indio or mestiza wives of Spanish men were distinguished especially by their clothing, their use of saya in particular.[564] The same goes for their Spanish mestizo children.

What must also be emphasized is that the style *á la Philippine* developed as hybrid in nature. As mentioned earlier, the construction, silhouette and style were European-inspired, but reworked using local fabrics and patterns. It must also be considered that, more than to signify the race of the wearer, the *traje de mestiza* stood for the elegance with which the relatively good-looking and wealthier class of mestizas carried their attires. Particularly distinctive was how they seem to have established their distance and propagated the social hierarchy with the manner they carried their clothing with pride and elegance.[565] After all, the mestizo of the 19th century, as a class, were known to have possessed much wealth and influence. Many of the colonial enterprises, from plantations to pawnshops, belonged to the principal mestizo families.[566] Having education and capital, many were poised to prosper in their businesses and professions as well as to display their status through clothing, jewelry and lifestyles.

The Two Mestizas

It must be noted though that despite similarities in attires, there were varying degrees of fashionability between the two mestizas (Spanish-Indio, or Chinese-Indio). While both types were shown in paintings and described in texts to be identical in dress, there were nuanced indicators to distinguish the Chinese from the European mestizas. Assuming they belonged to the same social class and had, more or less, equal spending capacities, the diverse conditions in which they lived played a role in the development of their tastes.

The two mestizas differed greatly in facial features, character, upbringing and social backgrounds. French naval surgeon Paul de la Gironière mentioned how the facial features

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ilustracion, que es el traje conocido entre los españoles por de mestiza. DE PUGA, "La Mestiza Española," 150, with accompanying sketch.

[563] ÁLVAREZ GUERRA, *Viajes por Filipinas de Manila à Albay*, chap. 1, p. 18.

[564] MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1983, 335.

[565] In the words of Álvarez Guerra: *El distintivo culminante es el orgullo con que llevan y mantienen su jerarquia.* ÁLVAREZ GUERRA, *Viajes por Manila à Tayabas*, chap. 3, pp. 65–68.

[566] SAWYER, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines (1900)*, 31.

and expressions of the two mestizas were clearly indicative of their ethnic origins.[567] Between the two, the Spanish mestiza was perceived as more aristocratic in upbringing and bearing. She could be the daughter of a Spanish military or civil bureaucrat or even a priest with a native woman. In any case, she was born privileged, but even if she was not, her bloodline allowed her to lay claim to the superior race in the colony. After all, the ivory complexion and European features very much admired in the colony could serve as her passport to society. As Félix Laureano pointed out, "since she is beautiful, she lives in an environment of flattery and adulation [translation]."[568] Many also married Europeans, in which case, they were described to have taken to wearing both shoes and stockings to emphasize their European-ness.[569] Spanish mestizas were regarded as naturally elegant, more refined and simply more aristocratic. With such strong foundation to work with, beautifully made dresses merely punctuated an already sublime appearance.

Regardless of the circumstance of their births, Spanish mestizas were described to despise physical work, often perceiving it as degrading, even humiliating.[570] By avoiding getting sweaty, dirty and soiled, they were poised to maintain immaculate appearances. They have been told they were beautiful, and such soft, delicate hands should not be tarnished with hard labor.

The days of a Spanish mestiza of a certain class were, in general, spent partly in idleness, partly in the refinement of her craft, like sewing and embroidery, and partly in being present at church in the morning and during the afternoon promenades. She would go to church to pray but more than praying, she was allegedly there "to see and be seen."[571] More than enjoying nature and the late afternoon breeze, she was described to go for walks to display her newly acquired baro or camisa, petticoated sayas and pañuelos, expecting perhaps some form of admiration. Jagor (1875) noted how the object of their daily promenade was to display their toilettes and not the enjoyment of nature."[572] They were dressed most elegantly for church and for promenades, of course, with the exception, of formal *bailés* (dances and galas, which called for more exalted evening gowns. Depending on the dictates of the host, their gowns were either fashioned in the European-style, complete with the Victorian bustle skirts (*polisón*)[573] or Philippine-style with the baro't saya, pañuelo and the optional tapís.

[567] GIRONIÈRE, *Adventures in the Philippine Islands*, chap. 2, p. 35.
[568] LAUREANO, *Recuerdos de Filipinas*, 159.
[569] BARRÁNTES, "Spanish, Portuguese, and American Women (1876)," chap. 3.
[570] Ibid., 61.
[571] Ibid., 56.
[572] JAGOR, "Jagor's Travels in the Philippines," chap. 3.
[573] ÁLVAREZ GUERRA, *Viajes por Filipinas de Manila à Marianas*, 12.

On the other hand, the mestizas de Sangley were noted for being raised by diligent hardworking parents and were therefore, inclined to engage in business or trade herself. But their tastes, speech, behavior were described to be in need of some polishing and refinement. They were also less prone to idleness and were involved in all sorts of wholesale and retail businesses financed by their fathers or husbands. The Chinese mestiza was also supposedly not afraid to get dirty, often seen in the port areas supervising the loading and unloading of merchandise.[574]

The main differences between the tastes of the Spanish and Chinese mestizas could be due in part to their upbringing and lifestyles. Certainly, in the colony, Spanish mestizas were deemed more beautiful and fascinating compared to the latter, who "inherited one of the distinct characteristics of the Chinese, that of having no folds on the eyelids."[575] Additionally, the beauty of the Spanish mestiza's countenance and their svelte figures were often complemented by the subtle elegance arising from her kind's use of subdued, solid colors and fine embroideries. The subtlety of their multicolored combinations were deemed as more sophisticated compared to the ornate ones fashioned by their *chinoise* counterpart.[576] Barrántes said that it had much to do with the "refinement of instincts."[577] Meanwhile, colorful baro't sayas with rich embroideries and loud accessories were associated with the less refined tastes of the mestizas de sangley, many of who were born from the Chinese laborers who came to the Philippines as poor bachelors and intermarried with the native women. According to some travel accounts, they tend to look gaudy and tacky, especially next to their European or Spanish equivalent. Many of their fathers were once plying the streets of Manila with baskets of charcoal or bundles of canvas, unlike many of the European mestizas whose fathers came to the Philippines as representatives of Spain.

The invention of the daguerreotype in 1839 and the increasing use of black and white photography in the Philippines made it impossible to observe the differences in the colors of worn by the two mestizas. The black and white photographs compiled in the *Álbum de Filipinas* (1870), for example, could not confirm the alleged gaudy taste (especially in color and design) of the mestizas de sangley. With just black and white colors, their attires

[574] BARRÁNTES, "Spanish, Portuguese, and American Women (1876)," 60–61.
[575] LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 54: Mestiza de Sangley; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 218–219.
[576] BARRÁNTES, "Spanish, Portuguese, and American Women (1876)," 55.
[577] Ibid.

appeared indistinguishable,[578] which explains why paintings and other artworks remained relevant to this study.

Mestizo Men

The borders of the 1734 map of the Philippines done by the well-known Jesuit cartographer, Fr. Pedro Murillo Velarde (b. 1686- d. 1793), in collaboration with a local engraver by the name of Nicolas de la Cruz Bagay were etched with scenes from daily life, including representations of the various racial types that inhabited the islands. Although not primarily intended to document the clothing norms of the day, it nonetheless used clothes to suggest distinctions – or the lack thereof-- among the varied racial and social groups (i.e. Spanish, creoles, mestizos, indios and Chinese as well as rich, poor, intermediate classes).

Interestingly, in one vignette, the Spaniard, the creole (*criollo de la terra*), and the indios were all dressed in European clothes. The man labeled *"Español con payo alto"* had, along with stockings and heeled shoes, a wig, cane, knee-length breeches and suit reminiscent of the French King, Louis XV (Fig. 103).[579] This attests to the trajectory fashion took in the 18th century –of how French court styles influenced Spanish styles and how Spanish styles influenced Philippine colonial fashions. A well-dressed servant holding an umbrella over his head followed the *español*. Although the attire was European-style, the servant's more modest garments, bare feet and activity revealed his place in the social hierarchy and possibly, his racial origins --perhaps as an indio, if not some less-fortunate mestizo, one who was either born of a white man or woman with an indio man or woman. The canopied *español* was speaking with a man designated as *"negro atezado criollo de la terra,"* which Gabriel Marcel (1898) identified as either a dark Spaniard born in the country (creole) or a mestizo.[580] Additionally, two well-heeled individuals, labeled *"indios peleando gall* (indios with their fighting cocks)*,"* also dressed in similar European frocks were squatting while engaging their roosters in a cockfight. Except for the shoes and the adornments, the lack of sartorial distinctions between the Spaniard, the creole and the indio or mestizo servant and the two indios playing with their fighting cocks served to highlight the imitative and class (not racial) character of colonial fashions. In a way, this resonates what

[578] (-), *Álbum de Filipinas*, 1870, javascript:open_win('http://bibliotecadigitalhispanica.bne.es:80/webclient/DeliveryManager?pid=3085973&custom_att_2=simple_viewer').
[579] Gabriel MARCEL, *La Carte Des Philippines du Père Murillo Velarde* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1898), sec. 15, https://archive.org/details/aja6374.0001.001.umich.edu.
[580] Gabriel Marcel (1843-1909), Membre du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques. Ibid.

Hoganson's claims that "the paramountcy of class helps explain why fashion subordinated nationality" -- or in this case, race.[581]

As creoles, mestizos and indios imitated the styles embodied by the Europeans in the colony, the use of European clothing blurred racial distinctions, for example, between colonizer and colonized. The lack of certain elements, i.e. shoes, however, displayed class distinctions – especially when viewed in relation to other factors, like labor and leisure. To further explain, the assumedly mestizo servant was clearly in a position of labor while the two indios engaged in a cockfight were shown engaged in leisure activities. The attire of the servant also supports the idea that those who worked for Europeans were often "costumed" or outfitted according to the preferences of their employers. Meanwhile, the clothes and pursuits of the two indios conveyed their fondness for imitating the Europeans and their capacity (i.e. wealth) to live active but dissipated lives—of days spent freely on gambling and cockfighting because they could afford to do so. The clothing and activities of stereotyped rich indios or mestizos substantiate the idea of "upper-class internationalism."[582]

By the late 18th century, mestizos were no longer dressed in completely European attires. As discussed in the earlier chapter on the evolution of lowland, Christianized men's fashions, they began to wear layered and hybrid ensembles, which combined Chinese *sayasaya* pants, European tailored jackets and ruffled shirts (Fig. 1H). Between the 1820s and 1840s, their attires evolved to the use of untucked long shirts-- the lengths of which reached slightly above the knees-- called *barong mahaba* (Fig. 2A). This *barong mahaba*, which resembled the Indian tunic, *kurta*, were fashioned out of sheer textiles. They incorporated both oriental and occidental elements, such as long sleeves, ruffled collars and cuffs and silk waistbands, which were clearly inappropriate to the tropical climate, not to mention to a life of constant labor. Such impractical details could only point to no less than a conscious participation in the colonial status game.

From the 1840s onwards, the attires of mestizo men, regardless of whether they were mestizos de español or mestizos de sangley, varied depending on their activities and professions. Unlike women, there was no glaring difference between the two types of mestizos. There may be subtle differences especially in the choice of colors and prints but sources hardly dwelled on them. In short, race was less of a factor in mestizo men's clothing. What was more conspicuous were the differences in the clothing of the upper and lower

[581] HOGANSON, "The Fashionable World: Imagined Communities of Dress," 266.
[582] Ibid.

classes. Sources, from Mallat, Sawyer, Bowring, have consistently discussed the embroidered clothing made of expensive piña and jusi textiles worn by the wealthy indios and mestizos.

Students and professionals began to wear streamlined attires consisting of tailored jackets, straight and narrow pants and leather shoes (Fig. 72, 105). Colors and prints became increasingly subdued. There was a visible expansion in the wardrobes of upper-class mestizos. Baros and other hybrid ensembles were limited to church, promenade, and the occasional fiestas or parties, while Western suits increasingly became the favored professional form for official functions. The use of sheer, embroidered baros for selected occasions would reinforce the cultural divide between the native indios and mestizos, and the Europeans (excluding creoles), who regardless of occasions, continued to wear Western clothing. The sheer baros, made of fine piña and jusi, which could accommodate incredible amounts of high-quality needlework, became symbols of status and wealth.

Between the 18th and 19th centuries, there was essentially a shift between completely European to hybrid attires. Between the early and the late 19th century, hybrid attires gave way to different styles that signaled the separation between men's socio-cultural and professional lives. Among men of a certain class, there was a separation between the use of baro as leisure or party wear and the Western suit as professional wear. This shift may have become increasingly visible as the population base of mestizos expanded. As a class, they also became more prominent in society.

Racial, Cultural and Sartorial Hybridity

Spanish mestizos were particularly interesting for they were literal examples of those caught in between colonizer and colonized or between superior and inferior races. Described to have been perenially struggling to achieve the respect accorded to the superior class of Spaniards, they strived to dissociate themselves from the inferior class of indios and Chinese mestizos.[583] Relative to their true-born European friends, this discontentment or "insecurity," manifested itself in different ways, particularly in their fondness for ostentation and display.

The racial hybridity of mestizos were intertwined with their clothing culture. In the words of Pieter ter Keurs, "biological hybridity led to cultural hybridity."[584] As a heterogeneous group drawn from the different social classes, they have shown diversity in clothing, appearance and tastes. Clothing variances were influenced by several factors, including family culture, fortunes, education, professions, as well as occasions and social

[583] FOREMAN, *The Philippine Islands*, chap. XI.
[584] TER KEURS, "Cultural Hybridity in Museum Collections," 38.

networks. It must also be considered that beauty and skin color played a role in the colonial world of appearances.

In the book *Colonial Desire* (1995), author Robert Young pointed out that the mestizos' social position in the colonial hierarchy was often ambiguous,[585] stemming in part, from disparities in the ethnic, economic and social backgrounds of their parents. In the Philippine colonial context, this ambiguity had obviously led to the development of hybrid attires, which has defied existing frameworks. Museum garment collections that were "culturally identified as Tagalog or mestizo" have historically posed a challenge to curators and researchers in terms of classification. Ensembles --the sum of the different articles of clothing— that belonged to a population of mixed blood were neither purely European nor purely native. The attires of upper class indios or mestizos and colonial officials that combined Western jackets, with native baros (shirts) and Chinese-style silk pants were among those considered indeterminate. Even the "parts" were ambivalent; their shirts were, at times, European in style and construction but reworked using distinctly native materials. The challenge was how to classify and analyze the attires of mestizos in light of the evolution of Philippine fashion.

Hybridity in the clothing of mestizos may be explained as a cultural consequence of mixed marriages. Hybridity in the clothing of the indio elite, meanwhile, may be a result of political, economic or socio-cultural advancements, which paved the way for sartorial imitation. The ambiguity, which manifested itself in hybrid attires may, likewise, be traced to the fact that wearers were treading between two races, two cultures, and two classes. Vacillating between Europeans and natives, Spanish mestizos may have, for example, turned to hybridity in attempts to fuse the two. Vacillating between superior and inferior races or between colonizer and colonized, the wider class of mestizos --and by extension indios-- gaining influence and wealth, channeled ostentation in clothing and lifestyles. Discontented with their vague status, they displayed --and wore-- their wealth, to associate themselves with the superior-colonizer and dissociate themselves from the inferior-colonized.[586]

Clothes, especially when viewed in connection with physical features, skin color, and later, with speech, level of education and skills provided clues to the ethnic and economic background of the wearer. While mestiza women, regardless of mix, were ordinarily dressed in the typical attires of the indias, the attires of mestizo men were influenced by their

[585] Foreman raises the complexity of whether to regard the Spanish demi-sang as a native or European. Ibid., 35; FOREMAN, *The Philippine Islands*, chap. XI.
[586] Mestizos were described as discontented in their jealousy of true-born Europeans and their disdain towards who they considered as part of the inferior races. were FOREMAN, *The Philippine Islands*, chap. XI.

upbringing, education, as well as their professional and leisure activities. According to Sawyer (1900),

> The Spanish Mestizos vary much in appearance, character and education, according to whether they have come under the influence of their father or their mother. Many of them are people of considerable property, and have been educated in Spain, Germany or England, or at the university in Manila. Others have relapsed into the ordinary native life. As a class they are possessed of much influence.[587]

"Half-white" children of, for example, Spanish fathers and indio mothers, could at times, pass as white amid a largely brown milieu. As Mallat (1846) observed, the Spanish mestizos are "as white, and sometimes, whiter than the Spaniards."[588] For this reason, they often stood out as fairer and were therefore perceived as more handsome or more beautiful, compared to the brown-skinned, of pure race.[589] Many also grew up in the context of indio mothers trying to fit into the more superior Spanish community.

For the most part, the attires of Spanish mestizos have originally shown greater European influence compared to their Chinese counterparts. Many Spanish mestizos were dressed and influenced by mothers, who upon marriage to Europeans, adopted Western culture and clothing. While it was considered that they often carried the habits and customs of their youths to adulthood,[590] their dress styles have evolved following the tangents fashion had taken at different periods in time. Additionally, their clothing requirements may have also been influenced by the directions their lives have taken. For this reason, diversity in wardrobes could be regarded as material records of the wearer's professional and socio-cultural activities.

Meanwhile, "half-yellow" children of Chinese fathers and Philippine mothers, with their characteristic eyes,[591] were stereotyped by nineteenth century observers like Barrántes

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[587] SAWYER, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines (1900)*, chap. XXXI.
[588] MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1983, 335.
[589] Interestingly, Barrántes commented on how "for men, there is a very large and transcendental difference in having a woman from one race or another. He cannot return to Spain with an India, because she would embarrass him and his children would only look decent in the Retiro." Furthermore, those who visited Spain quickly realized that their Castilian faces and fair skin were completely useless in a white milieu. They did not provide any distinction. BARRÁNTES, "Spanish, Portuguese, and American Women (1876)," 40–41, 67.
[590] *Las costumbres de la mestiza por regla general, son las mismas de su madre. La impresiones, hábitos y costumbres de la infancia no se borran con facilidad*. ÁLVAREZ GUERRA, *Viajes por Filipinas de Manila à Albay*, chap. 1, pp. 22–23.
[591] "The mixture results in a skin that is generally clearer than that of the natives, although the mestizos of this kind do not have the beautiful eyes common to the native as they inherit one of the distinctive characteristics of the Chinese race, that of having no folds in their eyelids." LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 54: Mestiza de Sangley.

as, in terms of looks, somewhat diminished by this drop of Chinese blood.[592] Foreman, in fact, mentioned that many hid the fact that their fathers were Chinese.[593] When it came to dress, it is assumed that in youth, their clothing reflected the culture of their india mothers. As adults, their clothes were indistinguishable from other groups of similar wealth and status.

Through the generations, the two mestizos became indistinct in term of dress. As Eric V. Cruz articulated in his work *The Barong Tagalog: Its Development and Identity as the Filipino Men's National Costume*, "when the Chinese mestizos became rich landowners and merchants, they, too, intermarried with wealth-seeking Spaniards, Spanish mestizos and with the children of principales."[594] Intermarriages, increased wealth, access to education and expansion of social networks all contributed to the increasing uniformity in men's clothing. The intermixing of blood and culture had, over the generations, essentially diffused clothing and cultural distinctions arising from race.[595]

[592] According to Foreman, the mestizos de sangley constituted about one-sixth of the Manila population by the end of Spanish rule. BARRÁNTES, "Spanish, Portuguese, and American Women (1876)," 41; John FOREMAN, *The Philippine Islands: A Political, Geographical, Ethnographical, Social and Commercial History of the Philippine Archipelago, Third, Revised and Enlarged with Maps and Illustrations* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1906), chap. XI, http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/22815.
[593] FOREMAN, *The Philippine Islands*, chap. XI.
[594] CRUZ, *The Barong Tagalog*, 7.
[595] Ter Keurs quotes Bruno Latour, in *We Have Never Been Modern* (1991) who said that there are now only hybrids. TER KEURS, "Cultural Hybridity in Museum Collections," 41.

Chapter 3 Clothing Practices of the Foreigners in the Philippines

Europeans

In the letter T of Lozano's *letras y figuras* of Edward A. Westley (1858, Fig. 105B, Fig. 105C), a man in black frock coat over tucked white shirt and top hat was standing between two men, both in light, straight-cut trousers, untucked shirts, short jackets and similar top hats.[1] Similarly, in another *letras y figuras*, this time of José Manuel Aparici by Don Marcos Ortega y del Rosario (1865, Fig. 106),[2] a man in frock coat was shaking hands with a man in untucked barong with a cane. Both images represent the divergence in the clothing norms of foreign and native men. Their attires -- and the company of women-- provide clues to the possible setting or time of day during which such meetings may have occurred. Both reflect a kind of sociability characteristic of afternoon promenades. Since the 1840s, the untucked barong was already common among indios and mestizos as churchgoing, promenade and fiesta attires. Meanwhile, colonial illustrations and photographs have consistently portrayed the Caucasian population of the Philippines -- especially the males-- dressed in Western suits or frocked coats. For white expatriates, clothing could be a mark of major life transition: a milestone migration from Europe to Asia, from occidental to oriental culture, from cold to tropical climate --all of which played a role in everyday clothing choices. Using iconographic sources and travel accounts, this delves into what the white population wanted to convey with their clothing. What insights may be gained from a study of how they dressed in the colony? What did their being white in Western clothes represent?

Their retention of their own clothing practices calls to mind the cultural and sartorial context they found themselves in. In 19th century Manila, the newly arrived were confronted with a variety of people, cultures and costumes: the rich mestizos in hybrid or European attires, the unassimilated migrants like the Chinese with their distinct queues, the barefoot indio peddlers, the gentlemen farmers, the well-dressed provinciano students, the pretty mestizas dressed in short baros with airy sleeves, etc. This chapter basically looks into how the Europeans figured in the local society, how they dressed in relation to their professions,

[1] The T in Westley was not supposed to exist. Lozano spelled Wesley incorrectly. Edward A. Wesley was a British nobleman; Cariño, in fact, described this particular Lozano work to be "the only letras y figuras subject to belong to nobility." José Honorato LOZANO, *Edward A. Westley*, Letras y Figuras, Watercolor on paper, 1858, Private Collection; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 26–28.

[2] Marcos Ortega was an artist from Binondo, who was married to a mestiza-española named Arcadia Torres y Torres. Marcos ORTEGA y DEL ROSARIO, *José Manuel Aparici*, Letras y Figuras, Watercolor on paper, March 4, 1865, UNILAB Collection.

how clothes functioned for them and how they used clothes to reconcile their being white in a predominantly brown milieu.

While they came to the Philippines already dressed in Western clothes, what cannot be ignored is that a cosmopolitan colonial city like Manila was also a terrain favorable to self-reinvention, especially for those who left Spain hungry and poor. Being the main port city, Manila emerged as the country's cultural and economic capital. The liveliness and prosperity of this capital city made it the best place to observe not only socio-cultural changes arising from the economic developments that took place in the 19th century but also the influences that shaped local consumption habits. Among the various Philippine cities, Manila also had the highest concentration of white population and in the context of this urbanized colonial city, Caucasians in Western clothes were a cut above the rest. Regardless of their conditions back in Europe, in the colony, they were in favored positions to maintain and assert their own clothing practices. Apart from estimating their roles in the propagation of styles and trends common and standard for Europeans, this study also considered individual stories to try to understand the role clothes played as they made a living, as they conducted their research or as they performed their duties in the colony.

A chapter on clothing practices of the Caucasian population in the Philippines must, however, begin with a discussion on how a class of Spaniards- those born and raised in the Philippines (creoles)-- sought to establish their place in the colonial hierarchy through clothing and appearance. Despite being full-blooded Spaniards, their place of birth became a cause for discrimination in the colony. Their clothing choices would serve to reflect their integration with the local community of indios and mestizos, as well as the major socio-cultural changes that took place in that century.

Clothing of Creole Men

The low number of creoles in the islands could be attributed to the irregularity with which Spaniards arrived from the motherland.[3] Travelers and immigrants from Spain were few and far between. The islands were viewed as a remote colony, with little or no prospect for enrichment, especially from traditional sources, like gold, silver or spices.[4]

Newcomers increased with the onset of the Galleon Trade (1565-1815) when Manila became a temporary entrepot for goods arriving from China, which will then be shipped to

[3] NOLASCO, "The Creoles in Spanish Philippines," 8.
[4] John Leddy PHELAN, *The Hispanization of the Philippines* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1959), 105; William Lytle SCHURZ, *The Manila Galleon: Illustrated with Maps* (E. P. Dutton & company, inc., 1939), 23, 46–47.

Acapulco. Many from Spain, Mexico and Peru came to Manila to make money as merchants.[5] The figures of Domingo de Salazar indicated eighty Spanish residents in 1586.[6] The numbers quadrupled to three hundred in five years. By around 1620, the Archbishop of Manila reported a little over two thousand Spaniards inside and outside the walled city of Manila.[7]

The original creoles were the children of the early *conquistadores*, many of who died in the various war campaigns necessary to pacify the islands. Wars, along with epidemics and other types of illnesses, left many children orphaned. The charitable institutions, which would evolve into the convent schools of the 19th century were, in fact, established to take care of these orphaned Spanish children, some of who were found begging in the streets.[8] Placing value on her marriageability, Spanish girls were not only educated in sewing and needlework but they were also furnished with dowry.[9]

Barrántes, who was of the opinion that, although the origins of the Spaniards born in the Philippines were varied, they were almost always a "disgrace,"[10] was mistaken. There were in fact, many creoles, who grew up with proper families and became *encomenderos*, clerics, colonial officers, military and businessmen.[11] There were some who had the relatively good fortune of inheriting a few mortgaged houses or *hacienda*, which, according to Barrántes, were acquired by their parents illicitly, often with no documents to show for.[12] Whatever the conditions of their birth may have been, what is glaring in his account was his attempt to demonstrate the "reduced origins" of some creoles.[13]

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[5] Nolasco pointed out that there were two types of creoles in the Philippines. There were those born in the Philippines and those born in Spanish Americas who came to the Philippines. NOLASCO, "The Creoles in Spanish Philippines," 18.

[6] Domingo de SALAZAR, "Relation of the Philippine Islands," in *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898*, ed. Emma H. BLAIR and James A. ROBERTSON, vol. 8 (Cleveland: Clark, 1903), 32.

[7] Bagumbayan was outside the walled city of Manila. Nolasco raised the point that the Spanish soldiers were not included in these figures, because they were viewed only as temporary residents. Miguel GARCIA SERRANO, "Letters of the Archbishop of Manila to the King," in *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898*, ed. Emma H. BLAIR and James A. ROBERTSON, vol. 20 (Cleveland: Clark, 1903), 227–228; NOLASCO, "The Creoles in Spanish Philippines," 18.

[8] NOLASCO, "The Creoles in Spanish Philippines," 18.

[9] For girls, the C*olegio de Santa Potenciana* was established in 1591, followed by the *Colegio de Santa Isabel* in 1632. For boys, there was the *Colegio de San Juan de Letran* in 1620. Guillaume Joséph Hyacinth Jean Baptiste LE GENTIL DE LA GALAISIERE, *A Voyage to the Indian Seas*, trans. Frederick C. FISCHER (Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, 1964), 133.

[10] BARRÁNTES, "Spanish, Portuguese, and American Women (1876)," chap. 3, p. 65.

[11] NOLASCO, "The Creoles in Spanish Philippines," 20.

[12] BARRÁNTES, "Spanish, Portuguese, and American Women (1876)," 36.

[13] Ibid., 65.

The creoles in the Philippines were, in fact, made up of those who were either born in the Philippines or in Spanish America.[14] Many of the political exiles that settled in the Philippines after Mexico won its independence in 1823 were relatively well-off. Many of them fostered the creole and Spanish mestizo community of Manila by becoming parents to creole and mestizo children. If the figures were accurate, by 1890, the Spanish community was numbered at14,000 peninsulares and 8,000 creoles, against a population of eight million indios.[15]

In being white, the creole could, imaginably, "easily gain prestige in the colony."[16] Those who acquired some fortune in the galleons and in the *encomiendas,* found themselves in good social positions within the Spanish community of Manila.[17] They would be recipients of countless invitations, which allowed them to display their status through elegant clothes.[18] With colour and wealth, they could afford to live lives of luxury, with their morning spent conducting various businesses and their afternoons spent on *siesta* (nap). At around five in the afternoon, they either went on an afternoon drive or walked in the *Calzada* or along Manila Bay. In the evenings, there were the occasional *tertulias* (social gatherings), balls and dance parties.

One may generally find the few creoles in Manila, where many of the Europeans settled. These creoles, who have been known for their unprecedented hospitality and grace, were the main points of contact of the Spaniards arriving in the Philippines. In Fulgosio's *Crónica* (1871), it was detailed how they assisted their newly arrived compatriots like brothers, welcoming and accommodating them in their homes, placing at their disposal carriages and horses, lending them money, even to the point of offering to them their own clothes.[19]

Born and living in the Philippines, many of these creoles were noted as Spanish in physical appearance, nationality, and language but native in instincts and customs. The peninsular Spaniards claimed that morality and strength in character formed the difference between them and their *español-filipino* counterparts, who were rendered inferior after

[14] NOLASCO, "The Creoles in Spanish Philippines," 11.
[15] SAWYER, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines (1900)*, 415; VAN DEN MUIJZENBERG, *The Philippines through European Lenses*, 69.
[16] NOLASCO, "The Creoles in Spanish Philippines," 26.
[17] LE GENTIL DE LA GALAISIERE, *A Voyage to the Indian Seas*, 36–37.
[18] NOLASCO, "The Creoles in Spanish Philippines," 26.
[19] FULGOSIO, *Crónica de Las Islas Filipinas (1871)*, para. 3, Ch. 3, p. 53.

having been reared under the care and influence of indio women.[20] Creole women, especially, have been acculturated to the degree that led Barrántes to say that they have retained nothing "except the privileges and pretensions of Spanish women."[21]

In the late 19th century, the creole community would evolve in different ways. Its designation and composition would not remain exclusively white but would come to include distinguished families of mixed race (mestizo) origins. Being partly Spanish, many Spanish mestizos, as Clarita T. Nolasco pointed out in her seminal study on the "Creoles in Spanish Philippines." could pass as white.[22] On the other hand, despite their color, the Chinese mestizos and indios were accepted into the white or Spanish circles of Manila by virtue of their wealth, education, cultural standing and social networks. In time, marriages and unions between peninsular, creoles and indios or mestizos also destroyed the community's racial exclusivity. Hence, based on the responses of Don Benito Legarda y Tuason who shared his definition of the term *Español-Filipino* (creole) with the *Philippine Commission* (1900), the word had evolved to include the next generations of creoles and mestizos.[23] Increased wealth and education likewise neutralized the racial divisions, resulting to intermingling that was predominantly based on class and other emerging indicators.

What ensued in the colony were clothing developments that were (1) distinct between creole men and women; (2) among the higher social classes, there was some semblance of homogeneity in dress styles between the various racial groups in the second half of the 19th century, wherein men's professional wear were linked sartorially with their European cultural superiors; for party or festive wear, there was the appreciable use of the native baro, using local textiles (3) among the poor, their clothing habits were analogous to that of the common classes, irrespective of racial differences (excluding the Chinese and some Chinese mestizos, who wore Manchu styles).

In various depictions of the creole or insulares, they were portrayed as having "affected the European style," as José Moreno noted in *Philippine Costume* (1995), "in a way that hoped to blur the distinctions between themselves and the peninsulares."[24] Throughout

[20] Henry PIDDINGTON, "Remarks on the Philippine Islands and on Their Capital Manila, 1819 to 1822," in *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898*, ed. Emma H. BLAIR and James A. ROBERTSON, vol. 51 (Cleveland: Clark, 1903), 174.
[21] BARRÁNTES, "Spanish, Portuguese, and American Women (1876)," chap. 3, p. 65–66.
[22] NOLASCO, "The Creoles in Spanish Philippines," 9–10.
[23] According to Barrántes, "the original Filipinos were the sons and daughters of the country, the true creoles." *Report of the Philippine Commission to the President* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1900), 179; NOLASCO, "The Creoles in Spanish Philippines," 10; BARRÁNTES, "Spanish, Portuguese, and American Women (1876)," 65–71.
[24] MORENO, *Philippine Costume*, 132.

the 19th century, they were believed to have fashioned European styles even as the indios and mestizos adopted hybrid attires alongside European attires. Whether they were dressed consistently in European clothing is difficult to ascertain, especially since there were limited sources, both iconographic and textual, that dealt with this group. In the depictions of various artists of the different Philippine types, creoles specifically labeled as creoles were neglected, if not altogether ignored. This could stem from the fact that the term creole expanded to mestizos, some of who were indistinguishable from them in terms of physical appearance. Although there was no sufficient iconographic evidence to show that the male creoles were dressed in ensembles that combined oriental and occidental elements like the rest of the native indio and mestizo population, the possibility must nonetheless be entertained. If in appearance, the creoles were indistinguishable from the mestizos and if the two terms became interchangeable, then there was in fact, a huge probability that in the second half of the 19th century, they, too, wore the baros, at least, for certain festive occasions.

Clothing of Creole Women

Spanish women of the late 18th century retained their own European attire, with three key pieces consisting of a sheered, seamed, full skirt, a long sleeved shirt and a checkered fichu (triangular shawl), completely covering the neck, as seen on Juan Ravenet's sketches of the *Señoras* and *Señoritas of Manila* (Fig. 12), in contrast to his *Mestizos of Manila* (1792-1794, Fig. 12, Fig. 1H).[25] The long sleeves of the shirt were straight and tapered towards the bottom, allowing women to wear their watches and bracelets over it. Distinctive details of the shirt include embroideries along the cuffs. The voluminous silhouette of their sheered skirts, being different from the narrow skirts *(pares)* worn by the natives and mestizas from the late 18th century to the 1830s, could signify that Ravenet's *Señoras and Señoritas* were, most likely, Spanish or creole women.

Since military and government officials rarely brought their wives and children with them on colonial assignments, there were not many peninsular and creole women. Those who did bring their families merely resided in the Philippines for the duration of their tours of duty. Between 1820 to 1840, Manila and its suburbs, for example, was the home of only about 150,000 people, for which Spaniards (both peninsular and insular) hardly constituted

[25] RAVENET y BUNEL, *Señoras de Manila (Three Women of Manila)*; RAVENET y BUNEL, *Señoritas de Manila (Young Ladies of Manila)*.

one percent of the population.[26] They would consistently remain as a very small but influential minority. Wives of colonial bureaucrats lived lives of leisure in the colony. Most of them were described to have spent their days walking around the streets of Binondo dressed in light muslins from China and India, which were quite transparent as well.[27]

Barrántes suggested that the daughters of either wealthy Spanish capitalists or retired high-ranking military officials, who chose to live in the colonies to enjoy pampered but inexpensive lives, represented the stylish Spanish women in the colony. They could also be the daughters of some old families who emigrated from Mexico. Their bloodline allowed them to develop close connections with the Spanish authorities, which placed them in a favored position in the colony. Many creole women became part of the privileged leisure class, whose lives alternated between sewing, window shopping, socializing and gossiping about people. The affluence of some afforded them the education and social graces, which made them highly admired by the natives. The combination of bloodline and wealth gave some of them enviable positions in the colonial hierarchy.

Having been born in the colony, they were known to have developed a kind of fondness or affection to the country they were born to.[28] Some of them were raised under the care of loving india nannies. They grew up and were schooled with india and mestiza friends. They spoke Spanish alongside local dialects. They married, started families and built futures with either creoles or mestizos in the islands. According to Nolasco, the 19th century creole referred to the Philippines, not Spain, as their homeland.[29] The influx of Spaniards from the mainland in the second half of the century led to their being discriminated as natives.[30]

The dress of the 19th century creole women was a function of their circumstance of being born in the colony to a superior race. If they were from a family of means, they had access to trends in Europe and they had the capacity to travel and purchase "imported" items direct from their source. It was, in fact, quite rare for creole women, even the middle class ones, not to have had the chance to visit Spain.[31] There they indulged in the purchase of boots, velvet coats, gloves and sleeves lined and trimmed with ermine fur-- pieces totally

[26] GIRONIÈRE, *Adventures in the Philippine Islands*, chap. 2; DIOKNO, "Chapter Six: The Making of the Filipino," 120.
[27] GIRONIÈRE, *Adventures in the Philippine Islands*, chap. 2, p. 34–35.
[28] BARRÁNTES, "Spanish, Portuguese, and American Women (1876)," 41.
[29] NOLASCO, "The Creoles in Spanish Philippines," chap. XI: Conclusions and Recommendation, p. 187.
[30] Ibid., chap. XI: Conclusions and Recommendation, pp. 186–187.
[31] Upon getting out of *Beaterio de Sta. Isabel*, for example, the orphaned creoles, who had the good fortune of marrying a 1,500-2,000 peso colonial employee, most likely had the opportunity to visit Spain. BARRÁNTES, "Spanish, Portuguese, and American Women (1876)," 41.

unsuitable for wear back at the place of their birth.[32] Those who were bilingual were exposed to the trends in Europe through periodicals and illustrated women's magazines, many of which written in Spanish.

As white women with Castilian face, they, too, were adulated in a land where majority were of darker skin. The pretty, stylish and well-off would get invited to important social events or they organized the events themselves. They were described as honorable wives who were even better as hostesses. Their imported biscuits, furnitures and clothes were carefully observed by those privileged enough to be invited by them. In terms of dress, creole women of the better classes, especially those married to Europeans and some Spanish mestizos, were generally dressed in Western attires, at least before the mid-19th century.

The succeeding generations of creoles were represented by the full-blooded Spanish children of insular and peninsular Spaniards, who, would combine being Castilian in appearance with being native in upbringing. Around the last quarter of the 19th century, the term creole*s* expanded to mestizos, which applied to children of European fathers and Spanish mestizo mothers (*la hija de mestiza europea y de padre europeo*) or to European fathers and *pura india* mothers.[33] On the outset, they were assumed to be predominantly European in culture and dress. There were evidences to suggest that they kept up with trends in Europe through subscriptions, to for example, the Spanish illustrated women's magazine, *La Moda Elegante* (Fig. 115A), which despite the publication of four versions to cater to the different classes of readers, was still too costly for the common people.[34] Although they said they neither spoke Tagalog (they addressed their servants in Castilian), nor did they eat *lechón* (roasted pig, Fig. 140) and *morisqueta* (boiled rice), it was common knowledge especially among their servants that they occasionally indulged in native habits, like chewing *buyos* (betel) and smoking cigarettes (*cigarillos*)-- traces of which they concealed by

[32] Ibid.

[33] This was about the same time that the term *Español-Filipino*, which originally referred to creoles or full-blooded Spaniards born in the Philippines, came to include Spanish mestizos. ÁLVAREZ GUERRA, *Viajes por Filipinas de Manila à Albay*, chap. 1, pp. 21, 22–23; *Report of the Philippine Commission to the President*, sec. II. Testimony and Exhibits, p. 179; NOLASCO, "The Creoles in Spanish Philippines," 10.

[34] According to Charnon-Deutsch, the women's illustrate magazine *La Moda* (Fashion), published in Cádiz between 1842 and 1927, was succeeded by *La Moda Elegante,* which was published in Madrid between 1876 to maybe 1882. There may be some error because Hemeroteca Municipal in Madrid has digital copies of *La Moda Elegante* (Cádiz), for the year1861, the first year of its publication. ÁLVAREZ GUERRA, *Viajes por Filipinas de Manila à Albay*, chap. 2, pp. 22–23; SRES. DE CARLOS y C.A, ed., *La Moda Elegante: Periódico de Las Familias. Contiene Los Dibujos Mas Elegantes de Las Modas de Paris, Modelos de Toda Clase de Trabajos de Aguja, Inclusos Los de Tapiceria en Colores, Crochets, Canevas, Etc.*, Año I, Num. 1 (Cádiz, 1861), http://hemerotecadigital.bne.es/results.vm?q=parent%3A0004782809&s=0&lang=es; Lou CHARNON-DEUTSCH, "What They Saw: Women's Exposure to and in Visual Culture in Nineteenth-Century Spain," in *A Companion to Spanish Women's Studies*, ed. Xon de Ros and Geraldine Hazbun (United Kingdom: Tamesis Books, 2011), 193, fn #4.

brushing their teeth and applying perfume. Gathering from this, it is likely creole women, like the men, possessed both native and Western-style garments, which they wore alternately depending on the occasion. While there were evidences to suggest that they wore corsets instead of the airy baros typical among natives -- even at home,[35] there were also accounts that indicated they combined native attires with Western accessories and vice versa.[36] Among creole women, it was, in fact, common to find types that wore native attires paired with *botitos* (ankle booties) instead of the usual *chinelas* (slippers). Among the few illustrated references to creole women was a painting in Lozano's Gandara Album (1867), which showed two *Españolas de Filipinas o sea hijas de Español con nacidas en el país*[37] dressed not in European styles as might be expected, but in Philippine styles. They had on a striped baro with embroidered angel sleeves, filmy pañuelo and silk *saya de cola (*saya with train, Fig. 19). This type of attire on creoles could point to a variety of circumstances.

The *traje del país* on a white woman could disclose the dress code of a certain event. The saya's train denotes that this was a form of special attire, perhaps worn to enhance their beauty or show off their wealth during afternoon promenades. It is likely that creole women, like the mestizas, possessed both the *traje del país* and *traje europeo*. If and when they did wear the baro't saya ensemble as *traje de diario* (everyday dress), it could suggest marriage to either a native or a mestizo de sangley.

In reference to an oil painting of a Philippine-Born Spanish Lady (*Retrato de Una Española Filipina*, 1886, Fig. 40*)* by Agustín Sáez y Glanadell, art historian Santiago Albano Pilar put forward the idea that "dress was an expression of Filipino patriotism" and that the creoles, "particularly the ladies, usually wore fashionable clothing that evolved locally, instead of the European dress."[38] Dressed in an exquisite baro with soft-flowing angel sleeves with pañuelo, striped red and cream saya and long, dark tapís, one could almost feel the fineness and quality of the fabrics used in this creole lady's attire. In a black and white studio photograph, *Retrato de Española nacida en Filipinas, siglo XIX*, a young Spanish lady was shown dressed in a baro't saya, pañuelo and tapís (Fig. 107). In spite of the fact that no specific date was indicated, the shortened elbow-length bell sleeves of her baro reflect styles,

[35] ÁLVAREZ GUERRA, *Viajes por Filipinas de Manila à Albay*, chap. 1, p. 22–23.
[36] Hoganson referred to this phenomenon as limited orientalism. HOGANSON, "The Fashionable World: Imagined Communities of Dress," 269–270.
[37] Translated by Cariño and Pinto Ner as Spanish women from the Philippines (meaning daughters of Spaniards) with Spanish women born in the country. LOZANO, *Gandára Album (1867)*, fig. Españolas de Filipinas o sea hijas de Español con nacidas en el pais; CARIÑO and NER, *Álbum: Islas Filipinas, 1663-1888*, 189.
[38] SÁEZ y GLANADELL, *Retrato de Una Española Filipina (Portrait of a Philippine-Born Spanish Lady)*; *Discovering Philippine Art in Spain*, 249.

which emerged only in the last decade of the 19th century. The circumstances when they wore the *traje del país* must be taken into consideration. In this case, their use of the *traje del país* for paintings or pictorials could stand as mementos of their life in the country where they were born.

Integration of European elements and accessories can be seen as attempts to emphasize Spanish-ness through clothing. Spanish (whether born in Spain or in the Philippines) and mestiza-español women were noted, for example, for their use of black sayas and black veils, especially for church. The austere combination of a black skirt and a white shirt underneath the *lambóng*, typically worn by the convent girls when going out of the *beaterios* to attend mass indicated education at one of these convent schools (Fig. 108A, Fig. 108B, Fig. 108C). The black and white ensemble, in a way, also indicated cultural influence and to a certain extent, race. The use of austere colors, like black, was supposed to be an embodiment of styles common in Spain.[39] The baro't saya, pañuelo and tapís in vibrant colors were more representative of the tastes of convent girls, who were indias or mestizas de sangley (Fig. 32).[40]

Peninsular and Other European Women

Various representations of peninsular and European women would show them in their everyday dress-- buttoned, closed neck, long-sleeved jackets with puffed sleeves and full-length skirts, in both light or dark colors.[41] Illustrations of this could be seen in the cover of *Manililla* (1893 Junio 3, Fig. 109), where a mother was dressed in a short, long-sleeved black morning jacket, white high-necked shirt and a light-colored full skirt. She appeared to be speaking to a boy in knee-length breeches and sailor suit, with its distinctive wide, white collar.[42] Mrs. Marianne Meerkamp van Embden-Laverge, the wife of Dutch Honorary Consul, Meerkamp van Embden, was captured in several photographs in 1894 dressed in all-white – white closed-neck suit with folded collar and puffed long-sleeves paired with a white full skirt (Fi. 110).[43] There were suggestions that they wore this type of attires during leisure

[39] LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 54: Mestiza de Sangley; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 218.
[40] LOZANO, *Karuth Album (1858)*, fig. An India and a Mestiza; CARIÑO and NER, *Álbum: Islas Filipinas, 1663-1888*.
[41] *Pardo de Taveras with José Rizal and Félix Resurrección Hidalgo*; VAN DEN MUIJZENBERG, *The Philippines through European Lenses*, fig. 35, p. 123.
[42] *Manililla Periódico Semanal: Ilustrado, Cómico y Humorístico*, 1893, 1893 Junio 3, Año VII, Num. 267, cover.
[43] VAN DEN MUIJZENBERG, *The Philippines through European Lenses*, fig. 35, p. 123.

days spent at home with families and close friends. A photo of her next to her husband in printed loose pants, her toddler Carlos and her infant daughter Nena, showed her wearing this ensemble with an additional vest.[44] Also shown in an identical outfit was Mrs. Emil Sprüngli, the wife of the Consul of Switzerland, who was a frequent visitor at their house.[45] Elaborated versions intended presumably for special occasions were also seen among two expatriate women. Standing next to an elegant closed carriage was a white woman wearing an additional black lace cape, feathered hat and petticoated skirt (Fig. 111).[46] The infant she was holding was wearing a sumptuous long gown, typically worn during baptism. This attire was fashioned in different colors and fabrics, with the addition of hats, both wide and thin belts, and other embellishments, like beads and sequins.[47] Some outfits worn by the fashionable Paz Pardo de Tavera while living in Paris in the 1880s could provide insights into the varied types of European clothing for women. She was seen always modestly clad in buttoned up (*abotonado*), closed neck dresses,[48] incorporating different elements into standard attires, e.g. ruffled standing collars,[49] lacework on her front panel,[50] not to mention, the hats of disparate shapes, sizes and adornments she accessorized them with (Fig. 101, Fig. 102, Fig. 112).[51]

To imagine how true-born European women were dressed, it is also essential to look at its colonial parodies, the native women (indias, mestizas and creole) who were, for example, married to European residents. Doña Victorina was the most entertaining and the

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[44] Photo credited to Paul Hube, a buddy of Meerkamp van Embden, who worked with the Swiss firm of Kuenzle and Streiff. Ibid., fig. 34, fig. 36, p. 123; Ch. 3, fig. 44, p. 130.
[45] Ibid., fig. 33, p. 122.
[46] DIOKNO, "Chapter Six: The Making of the Filipino," 124–125.
[47] Varied example of attires popular in Spain may be found in the Women's Magazine, *La Moda Elegante*. The sketches came with descriptions. For instance, dress no. 3 shows the delantado (front), while no. 4 shows the espalda (back) of a dress. The description in Spanish: *cuerpo liso, subido, abotonado; mangas con vuelta orlada, lo mismo que la costura, con un volante. Este vestido de barés ingles va guarnecido de siete volantes* which translates to: smooth body, fine, buttoned; sleeves with upturned cuffs, embellished with frills. This plain English dress was trimmed with frills or ruffles. SRES. DE CARLOS y C.A, *La Moda Elegante: Periódico de Las Familias. Contiene Los Dibujos Mas Elegantes de Las Modas de Paris, Modelos de Toda Clase de Trabajos de Aguja, Inclusos Los de Tapiceria en Colores, Crochets, Canevas, Etc.*, Febrero 28, 1861, p. 2.
[48] In a group photo of the Pardo de Taveras with Rizal, Félix Resurreccíon Hidalgo and Nelly Boustead in Paris, Paz and her mother Doña Juliana Gorricho were wearing closed-neck suits with successive buttons in the front panel. As specified by Reyes, Nelly Boustead was the Filipina raised in Europe, who Rizal and Antonio Luna fought over in a duel. Photo from the Pardo de Tavera Collection, Ateneo de Manila University, Rizal Library. Reproduced in VILLEGAS, "Chapter Eight: Language, Literature and Liberation," fig. 132, p. 83; REYES, *Love, Passion and Patriotism*, 108–109.
[49] Portrait of Paz Pardo de Tavera, Pardo de Tavera Collection, Ateneo de Manila University, Rizal Library. Reproduced in REYES, *Love, Passion and Patriotism*, fig. 16, p. 64.
[50] During her wedding day, she was wearing a black dress with beadwork along the front panel. Photo: Matrimonio Luna, 8 December 1886, Pardo de Tavera Collection, Ateneo de Manila University. Reproduced in Ibid., fig. 12, p. 62.
[51] Reyes, who, on December 1999, interviewed Mita and Mara Pardo de Tavera, the granddaughter and great granddaughter of Paz's brother, Trinidad Pardo de Tavera, disclosed that these hats were most likely the wearer's own designs. Ibid., fig. 15, p. 64.

most "patriotic" of all the fictional women Rizal had created (Fig. 113).[52] She personified the corrupted colonized, who haughtily looks down on indios, just like herself.[53] She was a satire on class, a spirited and strong-willed woman with money but doomed for being born an indio. Her source of wealth is unclear, but certainly, through her clothing and appearance, fashioned in the European-style, she was posturing and climbing the social ladder. Clearly uncomfortable on her own skin and tongue, she regularly used rice powder either to appear whiter or to cover her brown skin while consciously 'andalusizing' her speech, not knowing that her poor grammar gave her away, like in the way she said peñinsula, instead of peninsula.[54] In a comedy of errors, she spoke and wrote with an awful lot of z's, beginning her letters with "Deer cozin" and saying, "*I told you zo, when I zaw him, I knew he was a filibuzter."*[55] The ludicrous result was she "appeared" more Spanish than the Spanish.

If there was one specific thing that made Doña Victorina relevant to this study, it was her passion for her appearance. It can be observed, with no claims of exhaustivity, that there were four phases in the evolution of her appearance, the Doña Victorina before her marriage, after her marriage, during her assumed pregnancy, and after her husband became a "doctor in all kinds of diseases."[56]

She was once beautiful in her youth, the typical vision of a native beauty with lush dark hair arranged in a chignon and dressed in the "native costume of that time."[57] Although it was not indicated exactly what type of native costume she was wearing, it can only be assumed that she was dressed in the costume common in last quarter of the 19th century. By "native costume of that time," Rizal must have meant a tapís over a saya, a native camisa with either angel or the more contemporary bell or bishop's sleeves, a pañuelo of either imported or some expensive locally-made fabric. Considering her wealth, her tapís must be silk made in Baliuag, Bulacan or imported from China, her saya must be imported from England and her camisa/baro and pañuelo must be piña, as commonly used by the women with means at that time. She shunned many of her Indio suitors, in hopes of marrying a Spaniard or a European, believing that they belonged to a higher grade of society than the rest

[52] Rizal studied philosophy in the University of Santo Tomas in 1879, "he startled the learned doctors by a reference in a prize poem to the Philippines as his *patria* or fatherland. This political heresy on the part of a native of the islands was given no serious attention at that time." In the case of Doña Victorina, the use of the word 'patriotic' to describe her refers to her extremely high esteem for Spain and the Spaniards. *See*

[53] RIZAL, *The Social Cancer: A Complete English Version of Noli me tangere from the Spanish of José Rizal*, chap. 42: The Espadañas, pp. 325–326.

[54] Many of the natives who were not well-exposed to the Spanish language apparently replaces their n's with ñ's. Ibid., chap. 60: Maria Clara Weds, pp. 461–462.

[55] Ibid., chap. 51: The Exchanges, pp. 395–396; 60: Maria Clara Weds, pp. 461–462.

[56] Ibid., chap. 42: The Espadañas, p. 334.

[57] Ibid., chap. 42: The Espadañas, pp. 326–332.

of the population. It has been suggested that she practically tried to bribe several foreign and Spanish adventurers by giving them jewelry and precious gems to marry her.[58] For her, marriage to a European would give her the right to act, dress and speak like a European.

In her middle age, she met an impoverished, stuttering Peninsular, Tiburcio de Espadaña, who, among his other imperfections, was also lame and prematurely bald. Theirs was a match made in colonial heaven, the perfect marriage of convenience between a wealthy indio woman who always dreamed of being a European and an impoverished peninsular seeking financial security. By virtue of his bloodline, he offered affiliation to the superior race and associations to Europe and she offered money, carriages, the best tailors as well as the best dentists.

After her marriage, she was now formally and publicly affiliated with the Spaniards, the masters of the colony. She cast off her native attire and started dressing as a European, such as the one depicted by Juan Luna in 1923 (Fig. 113). For her, the transition from being single to married necessitated not only a change in appearance but a total transformation. She understood her farce of a marriage was an opportunity to abandon her clothing, her language, her accent, and even her skin color. It seems that she had a remedy for all the defects she saw in herself. To remedy her thinning hair, which her maid gossiped to be now only "a knot the size of onion," she abandoned the simple native coiffeur and now dons only a wig coiled in the European-style. To remedy her teeth, which were falling loose, she must have had false teeth made in the same way she had some made for her husband. To remedy her lack of a verifiable background, she spoke only about her associations with men of "quality," and unceasingly name-dropped to impress others. To remedy her accent, she replaced her "s" with z's, to remedy her skin color, she put on rice powder, which did not only look "false and unnatural" as her husband pointed out, but they also emphasized her wrinkles. Despite all these telltale signs of aging, she maintained, in true Doña Victorina fashion, that she was 32 years old, not 45.[59]

When she was under the illusion that she was pregnant, she started behaving quirkily and outlandish, replacing clothes in muted tones with colorful ones[60] and multiplied the number of flowers, ribbons and laces, as though they were the measure of "European-ness." The switch in the color palette must have been the author's deliberate attempt to inject humor

[58] Ibid., chap. 42: The Espadañas, pp. 325–326.
[59] Ibid.
[60] Back in the 15th century, Desiderius Erasmus pronounced in his educational treatise "On Good Manners and On Dress" that embroidered and multicolored garments are for idiots and for apes. *See* Desiderius ERASMUS, *The Erasmus Reader*, ed. Erika RUMMEL (Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press, 1990), chap. 3.2: On Dress, p. 108.

through irony. True-born Europeans were, after all, known to have favored understated color. In fact, color played a role in setting apart the real Europeans and the Spanish mestizos from the indias and Chinese mestizas.

Doña Victorina was described to have walked around the fashionable district of Escolta, "dressed in a wrapper," which means her appearance, with all the decorations and the burst of colors resemble that of a gift-wrapped present. Given her wealth and her high-esteem for all things European, much of her personal effects were, in all likelihood, imported from Europe. As Spanish women of means were said to have subscribed to the popular women's magazine, *La Moda Elegante*, Doña Victorina must have taken inspiration from the beribboned dresses like the one featured in their February 28, 1861 issue, particularly dress no. 9 (Fig. 115A).[61]

Her clothing and makeup completed and punctuated her vision of herself as part of the dominant class. Her donning of European attire symbolized the shedding of her indio self and the donning of a European persona, which entailed the renunciation of her countrymen and her native culture. Doña Victorina may have felt that through her attire, appearance and human accessory - in the form of her full-blooded Castilian husband - she could be less of an indio and more of a European. Unfortunately, she was viewed as nothing more than a parody of a wannabe *Europea*.

The next phase in the evolution of her appearance was prompted by her desire to modify her name. She modified the Spanish naming custom of adding "de," which means possessive of, to the surname of a married woman's husband.[62] Dissatisfied with just Doña Victorina de los Reyes de Espadaña, she wanted to add another de to de Espadaña, after all, she says, adding another "de does not cost anything and it adds quality to the name." Still discontented with Doña Victorina de los Reyes de de Espadaña, she decided she wanted to be called Doctora, so, on a whim, her husband became a Doctor overnight-- without going through the rigors of medical studies. With a single order of a marble nameplate from Rodoreda that says Doctor Don Tiburcio de Espadaña, "Specialist in all kinds of diseases," she raised her status with her new designation as Doctora Doña Victorina de De Espadaña. More layers of rice powder, more curls, more ribbons, more laces followed the assumption of their new titles. From then on, her appearance became more and more eccentric, even wearing a hat described to be embellished with "a huge parrot half-crushed between blue and

[61] SRES. DE CARLOS y C.A, *La Moda Elegante: Periódico de Las Familias. Contiene Los Dibujos Mas Elegantes de Las Modas de Paris, Modelos de Toda Clase de Trabajos de Aguja, Inclusos Los de Tapiceria en Colores, Crochets, Canevas, Etc.*, 1861.
[62] FOREMAN, *The Philippine Islands*, chap. XI, sec. Marriages.

red ribbons" to go with her loose-fitting silk gown with floral embroideries. Silk dress with a towering, heavily ornamented hat just to accompany her husband in making a house call to a sick Maria Clara was a testament to her obsession in declaring her status through her appearance.[63]

On other days, she would wear a "gown with a train," even just to walk around town. Since her marriage, she was always dressed in European attire made of silk. Her wearing of silk even on ordinary days demonstrated the absurdity of her behavior and exaggerated her appearance. Rich women in the Philippines at that time wore silk but usually during special occasions only, like fiestas or processions (Fig. 42A). If they do incorporate silk in their daily attire, they tend to wear only one, at most two pieces at a time, like a silk tapís or silk saya, but certainly they would not be dressed entirely in silk. Furthermore, her wearing of a train, once classified by Desiderius Erasmus under things that served no function as an article of clothing, is therefore, considered unnecessary, foolish and of poor taste. Since many roads in Manila were unpaved, her gown's train, which trailed along the ground tend to be covered with dust, gave it a grimy appearance.[64] To add insult to injury, people would accidentally step on it, to her increasing indignation.[65] The use of a dress with a train, impractical and unsuitable to daily life, sits in the heart of aesthetics, style and taste—of what is fashionable and not, what is tasteful and what is not. Traditionally, trains formed the back part of a formal dress, not an ordinary dress.

This excerpt sums up Doña Victorina's sartorial purpose and character:

> taking a walk through the town to observe how the indolent Indians kept their houses and fields. She was dressed as elegantly as possible with all her ribbons and flowers over her silk gown, in order to impress the provincials and make them realize what a distance intervened between them and her sacred person. Giving her arm to her lame husband, she strutted along the streets amid the wonder and stupefaction of the natives.[66]

How the Spaniards and Europeans of her class perceived her clothing choices is another interesting aspect in the analysis of colonial dressing. Doña Victorina obviously dressed to impress but influential peninsulars like the *alferez* have kept silent, although their stares spoke volumes. Reading the *Noli* and *Fili,* one can sense that those above her looked

[63] RIZAL, *The Social Cancer: A Complete English Version of Noli me tangere from the Spanish of José Rizal*, chap. 42: The Espadañas, pp. 325–326.
[64] Ibid., chap. 47: The Two Señoras, pp. 366–367.
[65] Ibid., chap. 44: The Examination of Conscience, pp. 341–342.
[66] Ibid., chap. 47: The Two Señoras, pp. 366–367.

down on her and her "rich costume" of silk gowns and fake curls with silent mockery. Interestingly, those beneath her did not see any cause for envy either. The women in the streets, whom she thought would admire and covet her expensive and imported attire, simply kept their stares on the ground and avoided her. With all the trains, silk gowns, embroideries, ribbons, laces, false teeth, false curls, false skin color, she looked more European than the Europeans. Overall, her exaggerated and phony appearance repelled more than it attracted. Unsuspecting, she took offense that no one was complimenting her on her appearance. If she managed to attract a husband, it was certainly because of her wealth, not the appeal of her clothing and appearance. As Don Tiburcio remarked to himself when they first met, "she was not passable, she was passée."

By the novel's epilogue, she started wearing eyeglasses most likely because of her deteriorating vision, a fact, which a self-proclaimed 32-year old would doubtlessly deny. To "andalusize" herself, she added even more curls to her existing false hair. Possibly to increase people's impression of her worldliness, she also started driving the carriage horses herself, after all many sophisticated women of that era were skilled horse riders.

The thing with the corrupted colonized is that their actions and reactions were predictable. Their efforts in self-promotion are commendable. Doña Victorina had practically elevated social climbing and name-dropping into an art -- an art, which, in her view, every corrupted colonized must perfect.

The antithesis of the fictional Doña Victorina was the real-life Señora Maria del Rosario Gil y Montes de Sanchiz, the lover of the liberal Governor-General Carlos María de la Torre (term of office: 1869-1871), who stirred Philippine colonial society with her sartorial show of support for the cause of the "Filipinos."[67] On September 21, 1869, during a banquet held at Malacañang Palace to celebrate the promulgation of the new Constitution of Spain, acting as official hostess, she appeared bedecked with ribbons in the revolutionary color red.[68] She flamboyantly decorated her hair and neck were ribbons displaying the words "*Viva la Libertad!* (Long live Liberty)," and "*Viva el Pueblo Soberano* (Long live the Sovereign Nation)!"[69] The controversy stirred by her attire, her selection of color and words during this

[67] NOLASCO, "The Creoles in Spanish Philippines," 115.
[68] According to Nolasco, the new constitution was enforced by a constituent Cortés, upon the instructions of the Provisional Government. Ibid.; REYES, *Love, Passion and Patriotism*, 2.
[69] Nolasco identified some of the members who formed the *comisión*. To name a few, they were Joaquin Pardo de Tavera, law professor and counselor of Governor-General de la Torre's administration; Maximo Paterno and Manuel Genato, businessmen; Jacobo Zobel, regidor of the Ayuntamiento; Lorenzo Rocha, artist; Angel Garchitorena, carriage manufacturer; Father José Burgos, curate of the Manila Cathedral, etc. José MONTERO y VIDAL, *Historia General de Filipinas Desde El Descubrimiento de Dichas Islas Hasta Nuestras Días* (Madrid: Tello, 1895), vols. 3, pp. 503, 511; Nicolas ZAFRA, *Readings in Philippine History* (Manila:

occasion were all in keeping with her equally outrageous life choices. Señora de Sanchiz's involvement with the bachelor Governor-General while married to an artillery colonel was no less scandalous. Her attire reflected a rare pronouncement of political support to the causes of the *Comisión de Filipinos*, a liberal group made up of *Españoles Filipinos* or creoles, Chinese, mestizos, native clergy from the municipal suburbs of Santa Cruz, Quiapo and Sampaloc.[70] Her clothing choices, at least on this one documented occasion, irrevocably attached her to the *Comisión*, which led many of her own kind to nickname her as *"La Madre de Filipinos."*[71] Through her actions and apparel, she appeared as the opposite of a synecdoche for the Spanish women in the Philippines --immoral? unconventional? suspicious? traitorous? dangerous perhaps?

There were also evidence to suggest that peninsular women wore the *traje del país* for certain occasions. Alluding to the reproduction of the photo taken by Don G. Reyes at Matangtubig, Bulacan, which appeared in the October 10, 1894 issue of *La Moda Filipina* (Fig. 43), European, Spanish or English women were shown dressed in baro with wide, flowing angel sleeves, saya (no tapís overskirt), and pañuelo. The *traje del país* on peninsular women conveyed its use as formal wear, for specific events that called for native attires in their dress codes, as well as for use during paintings or pictorials to immortalize their sojourn in the Philippines. The *traje del país* as the everyday dress of a peninsular woman, although rare, could point to circumstances similar to Gironière, where Europeans embodied the native customs as they lived in isolation with and among natives. They could also stand for lifestyles adopted if married to natives or mestizos.

Spanish Governor-Generals

The Spanish Governor-Generals of the Philippines have been greatly divided in terms of dress, which for the most part, varied depending on the kind of events that required their presence. Representing Mother Spain, the office of the Governor-General or Captain-General was the most important position held exclusively by a peninsular, who, more often than not, was also a military general.[72] Juan José Delgado, in his *Historia* wrote, "In no kingdom or province of the Spanish crown do the governors enjoy greater privileges, superiority and

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University of the Philippines, 1953), 473; Ambeth OCAMPO, *Looking Back* (Manila: Anvil Publishing, 1990), 8–10.

[70] MONTERO y VIDAL, *Historia General*, vol. 3, p. 503; NOLASCO, "The Creoles in Spanish Philippines," 115; REYES, *Love, Passion and Patriotism*, n. 1, p. 31.

[71] REYES, *Love, Passion and Patriotism*, chap. 1, p. 1.

[72] Antoine-Alfred MARCHE, *Luzon and Palawan*, trans. Carmen OJEDA and Jovita CASTRO (Manila: The Filipiniana Book Guild, 1970), p. 35.

grandeur than in Filipinas."[73] A Governor- or Captain-General was the supreme authority in the Philippines and has control over civil, military and at times, even ecclesiastical matters.[74] They reportedly had an annual salary of 40,000 pesos and were exempted from taxes. An anecdotal approach is necessary to throw light into the plurality of tastes, backgrounds, and motives.

In his book, *Manila in 1842*, Commander Charles Wilkes of the United States Navy wrote about his observation on the appearance of Governor-General Marcelino de Oraá Lecumberri, whom he paid a visit to sometime during the latter's term of office (February 1841 to June 17, 1843).[75] He wrote how "the governor has much more the appearance of an Irishman than of a Spaniard, being tall, portly, of a florid complexion. He is apparently more than sixty years of age."[76] Considering there many elite families with Irish and Catholic backgrounds that moved to Spain, Wilkes comment sounded rather naïve, revealing some typecast image of Spaniards as little brown Mexicans, or even Arabs. When he paid His Excellency an official visit, the latter "was dressed in a full suit of black, with a star on his breast."[77] Since this position carried much power and authority, it was necessary that the representative of the Spanish monarchy, the chief executive of the colony must be dressed with dignity at all times.[78] Since most Governor-Generals were also military officers, their daily professional attires were naturally, characteristic of their military backgrounds and more importantly, exclusive to their ranks. With suits typically adorned with ribbons, stars, buttons and other military effects *(efectos militares),* they stood in contrast to the dignity displayed in civilian dressing (Fig. 116A). What this clearly emphasizes is that for the position of the Governor-General, the *traje de militar* was not – and is not--interchangeable with *traje de paisano* (civilian clothing).[79]

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[73] Juan José DELGADO, *Biblioteca Histórica Filipina: Historia general sacro-profana, política y natural de las islas del poniente llamadas Filipinas*, 1892, 212–215; BLAIR and ROBERTSON, *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898*, 1903, 17:315.
[74] MONTERO y VIDAL, *Archipiélago Filipino*, 162–168; BLAIR and ROBERTSON, *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898*, 1903, 17:335–336.
[75] His Excellency was originally from Navarra. He was a Lieutenant-General before he became the Governor-General of the Philippines. His term of office began upon his arrival in Manila on February 1841 and ended on June 17, 1843. BLAIR and ROBERTSON, *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898*, 1903, 17:305.
[76] WILKES, "Manila in 1842," 459–529.
[77] Ibid.
[78] NOLASCO, "The Creoles in Spanish Philippines," 117.
[79] *Gran Bazar Ropa Hecha y Sastrería de Lorenzo Gibert,* located at No. 27, Escolta, was an establishment that made to measure all kinds of garments, including military attires. Yañez of *Sastrería del Palacio de Malacañang* (located at Calle de la Solana at the corner of a beaterio= Bajos de las Fonda Catalana, Manila) advertised himself as a *sastre de military y de paisano*. GROIZÁRD, *Manila Alegre: Periódico Festivo Ilustrado*, 1885, Deciembre 6, Num. 1, p. 4; ESCOBAR y LOZANO, *El Indicador del Viajero en Las Islas Filipinas*, 209.

To further illustrate the importance not only of clothes but of appearance to the life of Governor-Generals, an anecdote takes us back to one particularly warm evening in Malacañang when a ball was held in honor of Prince Oscar of Sweden.[80] Governor-General Joaquin Jovellar (term of office: 1883 to 1885) who, barely recovering from illness, appeared tired but resplendent in the full dress uniform of his rank as Field Marshall.[81] More than the attire he came dressed in, what was remarkable was the strength and will he showed to even suit up in order to make an appearance, despite the upsetting news that his daughter Doña Rosita, the wife of Colonel Arsenio Linares, had some problems with her eyesight and may likely go blind. Jovellar graciously greeted and conversed with his guests and when one expressed his admiration for his pushing through the strain of illness and duty, he politely answered, "Yes, but make no mistake, a public man is like a public woman, and must smile to everyone."[82]

Whenever the Governor-General drove out, the people on the streets would render him a respectful salute by raising their hats. When he entered the Cathedral, the priest would meet him by the door, usher him inside and offer him the seat of honor.[83] The pomp and glamour accorded to this figure all served to impress the colonized with his importance. Attracting spectators from all classes, the bi-annual horse races of Manila were another popular event, when one may expect to see a glimpse of the Governor-general. Business would usually be at a standstill for the duration of these races (around three days). Drawing huge crowds and thousands of carriages, people came to see and be seen. Entering the arena to the tune of *Marcha Real*, the Governor-Generals typically opened the ceremonies and presented awards, dressed according to the dignity of their office, usually "a black frock coat and silk hat, white trousers and waistcoat, with the crimson silk sash of a general, just peeping from under his waistcoat."[84] An 1896 painting presenting the generic gala appearance of the peninsular Governor and Captain-General of the Philippines illustrated their full military uniform with the blue and white sash and this crimson cloth tied around their waist. On their chest were medals and badges and hanging from their waists were two

[80] SAWYER, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines (1900)*, chap. 3: Six Governor–Generals, pp. 14–23.
[81] Foreman indicates that Joaquin Jovellar was a Captain-General and ex-War Minister in Spain. Sawyer made a mistake with the spelling, he wrote Joaquim instead of Joaquin. Ibid., chap. 3, pp. 14–23; FOREMAN, *The Philippine Islands*, sec. Spanish Insular Government; David P. BARROWS, *A History of the Philippines* (New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: American Book Company, 1903), sec. Appendix: Spanish Governors of the Philippines, http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/38269.
[82] SAWYER, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines (1900)*, chap. 3, pp. 14–23.
[83] Ibid., chap. II.
[84] Ibid., chap. XX: Sport (A Chapter for Men).

swords.[85] In the absence of the Governor-General and the Segundo Cabo, the Archbishop of Manila often presided over such races. In particular, Archbishop Pedro Payo, an eager follower of the sport, took his place on an exclusive box at the grand stand, dressed in archiepiscopal robes.[86]

Diverging from the norm, Eulogio Despujol y Dusay, the first Conde de Caspe (b. March 11, 1834; d. October 18, 1907), who served as Governor-General from 1891 to 1893, would ride the postilions with his countess to attend daytime races, with him dressed in native jusi shirts and gilded salakots.[87] More remarkable than the reception of the natives in seeing their Governor-General dressed like one of them was the sheer power of sheer dress. His clothes, combined with the merits of his egalitarian policies,[88] represented what came across as a new era in the history of the colony—that the land's highest official was accessible, literally and sartorially, to the people. Sawyer narrated how he was present in one of the occasions when Despujol appeared in native attire and was particularly "struck with the unwonted warmth of the governor-general's reception from the usually phlegmatic natives. Despujol became popular to an extent never before reached. He could do anything with the natives. Whenever his splendid equipages appeared in public he received an ovation."[89] In colonial contexts, this was in line with what Ross put forward as the "strategy of some persons of authority to wear the local clothing, as a sign of favor towards his subjects or in order to gain respect."[90] Coming from one of the noble families of Catalonia, Despujol inherited fortune, lineage, and charisma. Throwing lavish parties unlike anything Manila had seen contributed in giving his office a touch of glamour and excitement. Whatever native style he embodied though would be overshadowed by his historic act of banishing Rizal to Dapitan.[91]

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[85] FLORES y DE LA ROSA, *Portrait of Andrea Dayrit*, 116.
[86] SAWYER, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines (1900)*, chap. XX: Sport (A Chapter for Men).
[87] Instead of Eulogio Despujol, Sawyer wrote Emilio while Cariño and Pinto Ner wrote Eugenio. Ibid., chap. 3: Six Governor–Generals, pp. 14–23; Stanley KARNOW, *In Our Image: America's Empire in the Philippines* (New York: Random House, Inc., 1989), http://books.google.fr/books?id=VbwogbQ3l8UC&printsec=frontcover&dq=stanley+karnow&hl=en&sa=X&ei=rfo2U9zNHMaZ0QXv5YGwBw&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=despujol&f=false; CARIÑO and PINTO NER, *Álbum: Islas Filipinas, 1663-1888*, 247.
[88] "Despujols rendered justice to all. Several Spaniards whose lives were an open scandal, were by his order put on board ship and sent back to Spain. Another was a doctor who openly plundered the natives. Like a Mahometan Sultan of the old times, Despujols was accessible to the poorest who had a tale of injustice and oppression to relate." SAWYER, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines (1900)*, chap. 3: Six Governor–Generals, pp. 14–23.
[89] Ibid., chap. 3.
[90] ROSS, *Clothing: A Global History*, 14.
[91] GUERRERO, *The First FIlipino: A Biography of José Rizal*, 439.

Another Governor-General with a penchant for the native straw hat was Carlos María de la Torre y Nava Cerrada (term of office: 1869-1871). His donning of the native hat and his congenial attitude towards the natives, even walking around with them unescorted, was used by Racquel Reyes as an example of how the liberal-minded *Gobernador-General* "eschewed the formality and protocol of his office."[92]

Peninsular and Other European Male Professionals

Following the 1869 opening of the Suez Canal, which cut travel time to and from Europe to one month instead of four to five months, there was an increase in the number of Spaniards and Europeans who arrived in the colony. While in 1810, there was only a Caucasian population (including creoles) of about 3,500 to 4,000, the numbers increased to between 13,500 and 15,000 by 1870.[93] The figures varied which shows that counts were far from accurate. According to Father Everisto Fernández Arias (1883), despite the increase, the number of Spaniards and those of Spanish descent were in fact, negligible at 0.29% of the total population.[94] The proportion was estimated to be three to four peninsulares to every one thousand natives. Hannaford (1891) cited church claims that there were around 6 million more or less, Christianized indios (excluding the wild and pagan tribes and the Moslems in the south), for which 90% resided in the six islands of Luzon, Cebu, Panay, Negros, Bohol and Leyte.[95] He further reported that the Europeans in the Philippines did not exceed 10,000, majority of whom lived in Manila. Meanwhile, Americans in the army figured less than 500 and 60% of the estimated 100,000 Chinese in the islands were based in the capital city.[96] Sawyer, meanwhile, quoted the figures that appeared in the pamphlet called *Filipinas' Fundamental Problem* published in Madrid in 1891 by the Spaniard Don Luis Aguado, a long-time resident of the Philippines. The peninsulares, including friars, officials and private individuals, which was roughly estimated at 14,000 out of the eight million population made up only 0.17 percent of the population. The Philippine-born Spaniards (creoles) numbered only at 8,000 while "foreigners of white races" at 2,000. Collectively, mixed race births

[92] Antonio M. MOLINA, *The Philippines Through the Centuries* (Manila: University of Santo Tomas Cooperative, 1960), vol. 1, p. 313; REYES, *Love, Passion and Patriotism*, chap. 1, p. 1.
[93] Tomas DE COMYN, "State of the Philippines in 1810," in *The Former Philippines Thru Foreign Eyes*, ed. Austin CRAIG (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1917), 357–458; DIOKNO, "Chapter Six: The Making of the Filipino," 112–114.
[94] DIOKNO, "Chapter Six: The Making of the Filipino," 115.
[95] HANNAFORD, *History and Description of the Picturesque Philippines*, 21.
[96] Ibid.

arising from this white population numbered roughly at around 5-6 mestizos, of which 3-4 survived.[97]

Table 4: Estimated Population of the Philippines, 1890[98]

Peninsular (Spaniards born in Spain)	14,000
Insular (Spaniards born in the Philippines)	8,000
Spanish Mestizos	75,000
Foreigners of White Races	2,000
Foreign Mestizos	7,000
Chinese	125,000
Chinese Mestizos	500,000
Moros of Mindanao, Jolo, Tawi-Tawi, Basilan, Balbac and other islands	600,000
Heathen in all the archipelago: Igorots, Manobos, Aetas, Ifugaos	800,000
Indios: Christian Natives	5,869,000
	8,000,000

Many foreign writers, from Frenchmen Pierre Sonnerat (1782) and Jean Mallat (1846) to German ethnologist Andreas Fedor Jagor (1859) to the Spanish Secretary-General Vicente Barrántes (1874),[99] pointed out the increasing number of destitute Spaniards who came to the Philippines to seek their fortunes or succinctly, to get rich quickly. Barrántes detailed how many unworldly Spaniards – true Castilians, no less-- traveled to the Philippines in search of an old maid an elderly mestiza who could provide them with introductions to potential mates, preferably well-off.[100] On the strength of the purity of their blood and the fact that they were born in Europe, they thought of themselves as more superior to the natives and even creoles in the country, who in turn, sneered at them for coming to the colony to "save themselves from starvation."[101] As Salvador de Madariaga pointed out, rarely did the elite leave Spain to make their fortunes elsewhere. As a matter of fact, many left Spain hungry and impoverished, ironically similar to how they condescendingly described many of the natives in Manila.[102] Upon their deployment to the colonies, some obtained positions that accorded them lives of

[97] Roughly 25% of the children died due to poor hygiene and nutrition. JAGOR, "Jagor's Travels in the Philippines," chap. 14; FOREMAN, *The Philippine Islands*, chap. XI.
[98] SAWYER, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines (1900)*, 415; VAN DEN MUIJZENBERG, *The Philippines through European Lenses*, 69.
[99] Position, as mentioned by Jagor. Barrántes also appeared on the cover of the 1st issue of *Manila Alegre*, 1886 Deciembre 6 (Año I, Num. 1), with the caption, *Nuestros Escritores* (Our Writers), when he was honored for his writings. JAGOR, "Jagor's Travels in the Philippines," chap. 1.
[100] BARRÁNTES, "Spanish, Portuguese, and American Women (1876)," 61, 65.
[101] JAGOR, "Jagor's Travels in the Philippines," chap. 3; MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1846, 147–148; NOLASCO, "The Creoles in Spanish Philippines," 7.
[102] Salvador de MADARIAGA, *The Fall of the Spanish American Empire* (New York: Collier Books, 1963), 46–47.

luxury. Some of those who were sent to Europe to obtain additional training came back to higher positions than before. They went from being paid a monthly salary of 250 francs (50 pesos) as First or Second Lieutenant to 1500-2000 pesos as *Alcalde* upon their return.[103] On the Provincial level, the local chiefs, from Spanish alcaldes to native gobernadorcillos, were observed to have lived like royalty in their mansions.[104]

Looking at their lifestyles and customs, many were deemed as slothful and indolent opportunists, who loved to lived large.[105] They showed up in public in horse-drawn carriages and lived with large number of servants at home. Few were traders, most were engineers, soldiers or bureaucrats and a few were servants.[106] In the words of Guillermo Martinez Taberner, "their clothes and belongings sparkle with gems and precious metals, but in reality they have no money for anything. They tend to flaunt themselves, leading to unfortunate results. In short, no capital, honor, courage and experience, from which it can be assumed that foreign trade is difficult for him."[107]

An archetype of an impoverished Spaniard was painstakingly elaborated by Rizal in *Noli me tangere* (1886), through the character of Don Tiburcio de Espandaña, the husband of the most pretentious of all indio women, Doña Victorina (Fig. 113). As mentioned above, she was an india who convinced herself that she was European in manners, in speech and in appearance. In fact, she was described to be "more Spanish than Augustina of Saragossa."[108] The poor peninsular's marriage to Doña Victorina was motivated by a desire to escape hunger and poverty. He justified that

> Doña Victorina's face may have wrinkles but his coat was torn and patched; she was a pretentious old woman, mannish and domineering, but hunger was more terrible, more domineering and pretentious.[109]

His options to acquire wealth were limited especially since Spanish pride and prestige deterred him from being part of the laboring class of the colony. After he was dismissed from his post as a minor Customs Official, he was reduced to begging from among his friends,

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[103] From the highest to the second-lieutenant, they are paid 250 francs per month and travels everywhere by car MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1846, 158.
[104] Ibid.
[105] SONNERAT, *Voyage Aux Indes Orientales et a La Chine*, vol. 3, Chapter 10, chap. 10; MARTÍNEZ DE ZÚÑIGA y DÍAZ DE ILARRAZA, *A Historical View of the Philippine Islands*, sec. Extract.
[106] None of the immense haciendas belonged to the Spaniards. Most belonged to the indio and mestizo planter class. MARTINEZ TABERNER, "La Región del Nanyo. El Japón Meiji y Las Colonias Asiaticas del Imperiod Español. 1858-1898," 425; MARCHE, *Luzon and Palawan*, 136.
[107] MARTINEZ TABERNER, "La Región del Nanyo. El Japón Meiji y Las Colonias Asiaticas del Imperiod Español. 1858-1898," 425–426.
[108] RIZAL, *The Social Cancer: A Complete English Version of Noli me tangere from the Spanish of José Rizal*, chap. 42: The Espadañas, pp. 326–327.
[109] Ibid., chap. 42: The Espadañas, pp. 330–331.

who in turn, suggested for him to relocate to the provinces and pass himself off as a doctor. After being caught by the authorities, he turned his attention to marriage as a means of vertical mobility. He fantasized of "an arrogant mestiza or a beautiful India with big black eyes, gowned in silks and transparent draperies, loaded down with gold and diamonds, offering him her love, her carriages, her all, including her small dowry," but got himself an *Orofea* (a derision for Europeans) trapped in the body of an aging india.[110] A peninsular, wearing clothes that were torn and patched, symbolized an unrealized dream or a life gone awry in the colonies where many Spaniards before him have ventured and have made their fortunes. Through Doña Victorina purposeful efforts, his transformation into a true *peninsular* nobleman began with a new set of dentures. If they were real-life characters, the best foreign tailors, perhaps someone like Ernesto Meyer or Frasquita Borri who had *taller de modas* (tailoring shop) in Nos. 18 and No. 12 Escolta, respectively, would be called in to create an upgraded new wardrobe for him. She outfitted him with ponies and carriages not so much for his comfort and convenience but so his lameness would be concealed from public jeers. For her, the purchase of insignias was imperative to demonstrate his social progress. This "metamorfósis," a term used in one of the comic strips in *Manila Alegre*, was just the beginning of his enslavement.[111] The day he gainfully acquired the titles and degrees of a doctor through improved clothing and a single order of a nameplate carved out of a slab of marble from the *Marmoleria Rodoreda*, his subjugation was complete.[112] Since then, "he was converted into a kind of lapdog of hers. If she was displeased with him, she would not let him go out, and when she was really angry with him, she tore out his false teeth, thus leaving him a horrible sight for several days."[113] With Rizal's precise use of the word conversion, the stress was clearly on his modification and refinement – but the price was his indignity and humiliation.

There were also foreigners who came to the colony as engineers and professionals. In which case, they were were dressed in completely Western attires, mostly frock coats. In an 1850 *letras y figuras* of Diego Viña y Balbin, a Spanish engineer from Asturias who, in 1851, married a local chinese mestiza from Binondo by the name of Damiana de la Rosa.[114]

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[110] Ibid.
[111] The "metamórfosis" of a caterpillar to a chinaman is illustrated in the same manner as man's evolution from apes. GROIZÁRD, *Manila Alegre: Periódico Festivo Ilustrado*, 1886, September 24.
[112] Rodoreda Marmoleria Muebles de Lujo, located in No. 24 Escolta ran an ad in *Manililla Periódico Semanal: Ilustrado, Cómico y Humorístico*, 1893, Enero 7, p. 7.
[113] RIZAL, *The Social Cancer: A Complete English Version of Noli me tangere from the Spanish of José Rizal*, chap. 42: The Espadañas, p. 333.
[114] José Honorato LOZANO, *Diego Viña y Balbin*, Letras y Figuras, Watercolor on paper, 1850, UNILAB Collection; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 37–38.

Following Lozano's practice of including a portrait of his patron within the artwork, Diego could be the man in all-black frock coat and trousers with top hat, talking to a seated woman wearing a baro't saya, pañuelo and tapís. Variations to the attire worn by European professionals included waistcoats, checkered instead of plain trousers and light-colored instead of black stovepipe or top hats.[115] In an 1845 Lozano *letras y figuras*, American ship captain from Salem, Captain Charles D. Mugford (1809-1868, Fig. 116B) was depicted wearing a long frock coat and black top hat, standing in either the letter D of his name or peering through a telescope talking to a man in sailor's uniform.[116] Figuring prominently in the *letras y figuras* were images of ships, in reference to Mugford's long career at sea, which had brought him to the East, particularly, Calcutta, China and the Philippines.

Insights into the professional wear of foreign men were provided by Mallat (1846), who described that most male Spaniards, whether office employees or businessmen, donned white shirts and jackets in grass cloth or British calico fabric.[117] American Admiral Wilkes of the United States Navy, meanwhile, gave a perplexing description of the attires and conduct of lower-ranking Spanish employees. After having been granted the great honor to meet Governor-General Marcelina Oraá Lecumberri in 1842 in his private suite, Wilkes saw other government employees in their offices wearing loose morning-gowns while smoking cigars.[118] It was apparently a common habit for most government employees all across the ranks to smoke cigars in their offices. Although his use of the word loose to describe their morning gowns was confusing, he was most likely, referring to the conventional formal daywear of Western men at that time, consisting mainly of single-breasted coat (as an alternative to frock coats), waistcoat and trousers. In many cases, all the three main pieces were usually of the same color and material. Such attires made sense when viewed in relation

[115] Foreign professionals were recognizable by distinct tools of their trade, objects like rulers, compass and other carpentry or construction tools were often included in the artwork. CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 37–38.

[116] José Honorato LOZANO, *Charles D. Mugford*, Letras y Figuras, Watercolor on paper, 1845, Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Massachussetts; At the height of the East Asia Pepper Trade, Mugford sailed from Salem to Calcutta on August 20, 1830. *See* George Granville PUTNAM, "Salem Vessels and Their Voyages (Quarterly)," in *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, vol. LIX (Salem, Massachussetts: Newcomb and Gauss Printers, 1923), 160 pages with Index, 42 full–page illustrations, comprising 75 separate pictures, http://www.archive.org/stream/essexinstitutehi59esse/essexinstitutehi59esse_djvu.txt; 1845 *Letras y figuras* of Mugford reproduced in José Maria A. CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847* (Manila: Ars Mundi, 2002), 31–33.

[117] *en veste de toile de chine* (grass cloth), *calico anglais* (type of white or unbleached cotton cloth imported from Britain). MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1846, chap. 23.

[118] Government employees and foreign traders usually worked from 9 am until 2 pm, when they would go home for lunch. They usually had breakfast in their offices. Based on Fulgosio's *Crónica,* after lunch, they generally took naps until 5 pm, after which, they would go for a walk along the *Calzada* or by the seaside (*paseo de la Calzada ó orillas del mar)*. WILKES, "Manila in 1842," sec. Government Officials; STA. MARIA, *The Governor-General's Kitchen*, 223; FULGOSIO, *Crónica de Las Islas Filipinas (1871)*, pt. 3, Ch. 3, p. 53.

their race, occupation and place in the colonial hierarchy. They were comparable to those worn by diplomats like Meerkamp van Embden for ordinary working days. He was photographed in a white shirts with black bow tie and a shorter, black suit (no coat-tails),[119] which was, in fact, similar to those worn by a man in the letter U of Juan in Fr. Juan Tombo's *letras y figuras* (dated between 1850 to 1860, Fig. 116C) by an anonymous artist.

Other Europeans

Within a few days after the cholera broke out in Manila on September of 1820, the indios started attacking foreigners after some rumors circulated that the latter poisoned the rivers and waters in order to be rid of the native population and obtain possession of the Philippines. After a few foreigners had already been attacked and killed, French physician and oculist, Paul P. de la Gironière[120] decided to escape with nothing except the clothes on his back- a white jacket, trousers and striped shirt. Further reports of skirmishes involving a few of his countrymen had, however, led him to come to the rescue of one Captain Drouant from Marseilles. Tired, hungry and left with no other possessions except the clothes he had on, some old things which he said he could only wear on board the ship, perhaps underwear, and the thirty-two pesos in his pocket, he pondered on how he lost everything in the last two days. He shared how soon after, an indio offered he join him in his home in Cavite, near the mountains of Marigondon. He spent the next three weeks there in quiet respite until he received a letter from Manila. The first mate of *Cultivateur* had, on the death of their French captain, a Captain Dibard, taken over the command of the ship and summoned Gironière to go on board immediately if he wished to leave the islands. The letter was already several days old, hence, the ship had already sailed by the time he arrived in Manila from Cavite. Homeless, he walked aimlessly in Manila until he met a young surgeon, who in the process of satisfying his inquiries about how to establish a home and business in the Philippines, encouraged him to practice his profession as a physician. Gironière, however, lamented that it would be impossible to pay visits, or make connections, in the clothes he was garbed in --

[119] VAN DEN MUIJZENBERG, *The Philippines through European Lenses*, fig. 7, p. 84.
[120] Paul Proust de la Gironière (1797-1862) was a naval surgeon, originally from Brittany, France. He met and married a young Spanish widow in the Philippines and went on to live in the islands for the next twenty years, between 1820 and 1840. His hacienda in Jala-Jala, Morong (present-day Rizal) was the first to receive 8000 pesos in 1828 from the Economic Society to produce coffee. He was also recognized for his piggery, which has been dubbed either as "Gironier" or as "Jala-Jala pigs." He then went back to France and published his book in 1855. According to the German ethnologist, Fedor Jagor, he met Gironière when the latter returned to the Philippines in the late 1850s to establish a sugar manufactory. GIRONIÈRE, *Adventures in the Philippine Islands*; W.A. BURKE-MIAILHE, "Introduction," in *Luzon and Palawan*, by Antoine-Alfred MARCHE, trans. Carmen OJEDA and Jovita CASTRO (Manila: The Filipiniana Book Guild, 1970), xiii–xviii; JAGOR, "Jagor's Travels in the Philippines," chap. 7.

which he described was worse than plain. “I have a coat almost new, which I can sell to you for their cost in France,” the surgeon, whose family obligations beckoned him to return to Europe, offered. They then proceeded to the man’s hotel to pick up the garment, which despite of it being too large and too long for Monsieur de la Gironière, rendered him well-clad --at only a dollar (1 peso)![121] He tucked away his poor little white doctor’s jacket in his hat and strutted from the hotel more proud than Artaban[122] himself. What was particularly interesting was how his new acquisition made him feel.

Gironière, being down on his luck, thought to seek and offer his services to Don Juan Porras, an Andalusian captain living in Cavite, who disappeared from society for over a year after his eyesight was fatally affected by an accident.[123] Deploring against the ignorance of the native doctors of Manila, the cheerful Spaniard, whom he found with a Madras wrap around his head, promptly offered the French physician employment. “I have a nice room and a good bed all ready for you; there is nothing to do but to send for your baggage. I will call my servant,” Don Porras said. For Gironière, whose *portmanteau* (suitcase) was nothing more than the crown of his hat and whose wardrobe consisted solely of the white jacket, an item which would likewise allow him to present himself as a physician, the word baggage resonated with so many meanings and emotions. A doctor, a man of education and training with no baggage packed with considerable wardrobe and possessions could very well be a runaway sailor trying to deceive and take advantage of a half-blind Spaniard. Here we encounter one who was confronted with the conundrum of what having no other clothes and belongings mean-- and how this lack would be perceived by others. With all honestly, he shared the misfortune of his position, to which Don Porras listened to with amusement and kindness. “Poverty would allow you to devote more time to my malady,” he replied.

In his account, Gironière also casually mentioned how he would automatically put on his white coat every time he examined Don Porras’s eye. If clothes and personal effects could provide clues to status, he was well aware that his claim of being a doctor came with expectations, if not stereotypes about how doctors looked and what doctors usually have in their possession. One could tell that Gironière felt vulnerable in the face of the seeming inconsistency of his appearance and lack with his claimed profession, hence, for the chance to demonstrate his abilities to cure and restore his host’s vision, he cloaked himself with the one jacket he felt associated him with his profession.

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[121] One dollar was the price of the coat and 6 lancets. GIRONIÈRE, *Adventures in the Philippine Islands*, chap. 2.
[122] Artaban was the brother of Darius I or Darius the Great of Persia (550-486 AD). Ibid.
[123] Ibid.

With his new employment, he gradually settled into his new life as a foreign physician living in the Philippines. During one of their afternoon walks in Manila, one of his American friends pointed out a young lady dressed in mourning clothes, which in the context of the 1820s must have consisted mainly of a *lambóng*, a heavy cloak, in black, dark blue or crimson, worn over regular clothes (Fig. 117). "One of the prettiest señoras in town," the American would say. The eighteen or nineteen year old, known as the Marquesa de las Salinas, was the widow of an army colonel. She came from a family, which, according to Don Juan Porras, was highly respected in the colony. Much of her family fortune, in fact, reportedly laid in Mexico, presumably in the Galleon Trade.[124] The besotted French doctor scoured the saloons of Binondo hoping to catch a glimpse of her elsewhere other than during the afternoon promenades. The shopping street of Binondo was where one may find the ladies of leisure. The Spanish colonial elite, in their transparent muslins of India and silks from China, would casually visit one store after another, requesting the Chinese salesmen to unfold pieces, "simply for their amusement and not half a yard purchased."[125] Gironière did not find his ladylove in the streets of Binondo, better yet, opportunity literally knocked on his door when one morning, an indio servant fetched him in a carriage, requesting him to examine his master. At one of the finest houses at the suburb of Santa Cruz lay his patient, no less than the nephew of the lovely Madame de las Salinas. With his back to the door, he was unaware of her presence until the rustling of a silk dress –the sound of which was decidedly feminine-- made him turn around. Dropping his pen, he stood in awe at the good fortune that would continue to fall on him in the next six months when Anna consented to become his wife. He thought about how, far from his motherland, he found love, happiness and wealth in the Philippines. He enjoyed his popularity as his home became the meeting place of foreigners, particularly the French, who were reportedly already rather numerous in Manila.[126] His successful practice was recognized when the Spanish government appointed him as Surgeon-Major.[127] His plan to return to France with his new wife was, however, foiled when the money she was expecting with the Acapulco-Manila galleons never came. She later on fell ill with a disorder of the brain[128] so he decided to relocate from Manila to a property in Jala-Jala, Morong (present-day Rizal).[129] He wrote how they were the "only whites and

[124] She was expecting 700,000 francs (140,000 pesos) to come with Acapulco-Manila galleons. Ibid.
[125] Ibid., chap. 2, p. 35.
[126] Ibid., chap. 2, p. 46.
[127] of the First Light Regiment and of the first battalion of the militia of Panjanga. Ibid., chap. 3.
[128] Ibid., chap. 3, p. 55.
[129] Ibid., chap. 4, p. 77.

civilized persons in the midst of a bronzed and almost savage population."[130] It is interesting how white was associated to civilized and bronzed to savagery. "As historian Domingo Abella (1971) observes, the juxtaposition of white versus indio, or indigenous, gave the latter term the added connotation of primitive and therefore inferior"[131] Living amongst natives, whom he regarded as untrained and unsophisticated yet receptive to positive foreign influences,[132] he lived according to their customs, including dress.[133] While he enjoyed a good reputation among locals,[134] his peers and acquaintances back in Manila regarded him as a "madman" for abandoning city life to live in isolation in the countryside.[135] Gironière's adoption of the native dress was a consequence of his life with and amongst natives—of sometimes going for over a year at Jala-Jala without even seeing a single European (Fig. 118).[136] When the German traveler Fedor Jagor met him in 1859, he described him as

> a lively old gentleman, whose eccentricity led him to adopt the dress and frugal habits of the natives.. his house was neither clean or well-kept, has a couple of friends to assist him in the business – a Scotchman, and a young Frenchman, who had lived in the most refined Parisian society[137]

Although Jagor did not offer any specifics as to exactly how native did Gironière went in terms of dress, it can be surmised that he was dressed in the style appropriate to his current environment and circumstance. Frock coats were the norm for Europeans but as a white planter in a predominantly brown milieu, in the tropics no less, the baro and salakot were ideal. The sartorial shift from Western coats to assumedly, native baro also represented shifts in his career and physical location. His movement from medicine to agriculture, from city to country life entailed changes in lifestyles and clothing requirements. In his case, the peeling of layers (e.g., coats and waistcoats) and the substitution of, for example, silk top hats for native straw hats became a necessity. His choices, which were decidedly, personal, manifested in a way that, among foreigners, he became the exception rather than the rule -- the "madman" as his peers referred to him.

While his wife was dressed in silk dresses before their move to Jala-Jala, there was no mention that she underwent sartorial transformations similar to that of her husband's. While

[130] Ibid., chap. 4, p. 79.
[131] DIOKNO, "Chapter Six: The Making of the Filipino," 112.
[132] GIRONIÈRE, *Adventures in the Philippine Islands*, chap. 4, p. 89.
[133] Ibid., chap. 4, p. 79.
[134] Ibid., chap. VIII, p. 172.
[135] Ibid., chap. V, p. 105.
[136] Ibid., chap. V, p. 104.
[137] JAGOR, "Jagor's Travels in the Philippines," chap. 7.

he represented a few of the eccentrics who in living amongst natives, imbibed the practicalities of local dressing habits, not much could be said about her. He must have thought that dressing in Western clothes could prove to be detrimental, in the sense that it could be misconstrued as a white man's demonstration of superiority.

The adoptions of native garments and accessories by foreigners were done in varying degrees and for varied reasons. German Traveler Fedor Jagor, during his 18 months stay in the Philippines from 1859 to 1860, was using a salakot so novel and unique that its construction fascinated several of the native and mestizo elite from the region. It was supposed to be the usual mushroom-shaped salakot used by ordinary locals, like fishermen, boatmen and farmers, but what made Jagor's distinct and peculiar was the oil lamp with a tight lid (similar to a lantern) resting on top, the purpose of which was similar to modern-day headlamps. The lamp on his salakot made of *nito*[138] was detachable and possibly small enough that it easily fitted into his pocket. He recounted how people from neighboring towns curiously came to see him just to inspect his hat, which meant that the design must have been unlike anything the locals had ever seen. Although Jagor did not mention where he got it, it was most probably custom-made as hats, baskets and cigar cases made of *nito* were usually made to order at that time. It is safe to assume that the addition of a lamp was this German's personal innovation, probably to address his need to have his hands-free while traveling by horse at night.[139] Apart from Jagor's account and description, salakots of this type of construction could not be found in any of the major museum collections. This could mean that Jagor's state-of-the-art hat design never became widespread and must have remained experimental – and personal, for that matter.

A visiting foreigner's use of the native salakot between 1859 and 1860 coincided with the expansion of the native hat's appeal to other social groups. Beginning in the 1840s, gilded and embellished versions of the salakot were seen among the elite, particularly, the gobernadorcillos. Around the same time that Jagor was in the Philippines, C.W. Andrews' illustration depicting a seated *El Gobernadorcillo* with a gilded salakot on appeared in *Ilustración Filipina* (1859 Deciembre 15, Fig. 119).[140] The elaborate depiction of a hunting scene achieved by the application of repousséd silver to a woven bamboo salakot was an

[138] Nito was a type of fern whose stems and vines have been used to make various articles of hats, cigar cases, baskets for individual use, not necessarily for commerce. Jagor also mentioned that they usually made to order and to obtain a dozen, a would-be purchaser must apply to as many individuals, who at the shortest, will condescend to finish one in a few months." *See* Ibid., chap. X.
[139] Ibid.
[140] "El Gobernadorcillo," in *Ilustración Filipina Periódico Quincenal*, Año 1, Num. 20 (Manila: Imprenta y litografía de Ramírez y Giraudier, 1859), Deciembre 15.

actual representation of the kind of customized ornamentation fashioned by lowland elite males.[141]

In visual representations of foreign men, small native touches may be difficult to recognize. For this reason, particular attention will be placed on foreign men who wore full ensembles, replicating the hybrid combinations of the native and mestizos. There were some images to suggest that some transient diplomats occasionally combined native and Western styles. They wore apparel similar to the top hats, canes, short jackets and the untucked shirts over trousers worn characteristically by the native principalía, possibly, as an element of diplomacy and solidarity, or simply for comfort or even for a touch of the exotic. Following Lozano's habit of including a portrait of his patron in their *letras y figuras*, American Consul William P. Peirce (term of office: November 24, 1854 to March 29, 1855, Fig. 120), was, assumedly depicted (between 1854-1855) wearing the towering top hat, jacket over a native baro and those loose, wide-legged embroidered trousers (sayasaya) fashionable among older principalías (*los antiguos maguinones ó señores de los pueblo*, Fig. 121*)*.[142] His outfit, however, reflected-- if not exposed-- his elderliness and his lack of nuanced knowledge in local fashions.[143] The wide trousers were out of fashion among younger men, who since the 1840s, have taken to wearing narrower versions in printed checked or striped fabrics.[144] During this time, many of the wealthier youths were already wearing straight-cut trousers to match their dark Western suits.

At variance with most European males who were dressed typically in dark colors were the British living in the Philippines who were dressed in all white ensembles, from their high collared jacket to their trousers (Fig 122).[145] Their outfit was similar to the uniform

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[141] *Salakot (Bamboo and Silver)*, Woven bamboo in repousséd silver, 19th century, Paulino and Hetty Que Collection; Marian PASTOR-ROCES, "Sheer Realities: Clothing and Power in 19th Century Philippines" (Exhibition organized by The Asia Society with the New York University Grey Art Gallery on February 23 to April 22, 2000, at Grey Art Gallery, New York University, New York City, 2000); PASTOR-ROCES, *Sheer Realities: Clothing and Power in Nineteenth Century Philippines*.

[142] Peirce was identified by Cariño to be, "most likely, the tall and fair-complexioned gentleman depicted on the right hand side of the uppermost level of the painting flanked by the letters A and M." Retired gobernadorcillos were referred to in some texts, like Barrántes, as *capitanes pasados*. CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 32; FULGOSIO, *Crónica de Las Islas Filipinas (1871)*, pt. 2, Ch. 8, p. 43; BARRÁNTES, "Spanish, Portuguese, and American Women (1876)," 41.

[143] José Honorato LOZANO, *William P. Peirce*, Letras y Figuras, Watercolor on paper, 1854 to 1855, Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Massachussetts.

[144] José Honorato LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album: Album Vistas de Las Yslas Filipinas y Trages de Sus Abitantes 1847 (View of the Philippine Islands and Costumes of Its Inhabitants)*, Watercolor, 1847, fig. Capitán pasado con traje antiguo, BNE Sala Goya Bellas Artes; Reproduced in CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 188–189.

[145] Based on the description of their attires in relation to the attires of the other guests during Capitán Tiago's party in the *Noli me tangere*, JOAQUIN and SANTIAGO, *The World of Damián Domingo*, 46; RIZAL, *The*

made of white cotton drill (twilled) or duck (untwilled) cloth used by the British troops for hot-weather assignments during their occupation of India. The jacket has a narrow standing collar and would, characteristically, be buttoned all the way to the top. In a *letras y figuras* of Augustinian priest, Fr. Juan Tombo (between 1850 to 1860, Fig. 116C, Fig. 123) by an anonymous artist, a man in an all-white ensemble, including white bowler's hat, white shoes, white trousers and coat buttoned up to the neck, referred to in the Philippines as *Americana Cerrada*,[146] appears in between the letters J and U (Fig. 123).[147] Interestingly, in the letter T of Tombo, two men in similar all-white attire appears to be wearing salakots. These two men could either be natives/mestizos dressing like the British or British using native hats. Either way, they adapted the dress and ornamentation of other cultures in limited forms. This type of attire was confirmed in the *letras y figuras* of another artist. In the letter L of José Manuel Aparici by artist Marcos Ortega y del Rosario, dated 4 Marzo 1865, a man in all-white appears to be escorting a girl, during, assumedly, their afternoon promenade (Fig. 106).[148]

For anyone who intended to visit or set up residence in the Philippines, the tropical climate was always a consideration. They were reminded in so many ways to dress according to the weather.[149] González Fernández (1875) advised Spaniards to avoid using undergarments like wool, and to choose instead more comfortable fabrics like cotton.[150] During the hottest time of the day, he recommended them to limit doing any strenuous activities and to limit going out on foot, on horseback, or by carriage to early mornings or early evenings.[151] British engineer Frederic Sawyer, who lived in the Philippines for fourteen years (1879-1892), advised his fellow foreigners to "wear as little and as light as possible," given the humidity in the Philippines.[152] He added:

> Men who are young and robust should wear white duck jackets, and trousers without waistcoats. Elderly men, or those subject to rheumatism, would do well to wear thin flannel suits. The material for these can be got in Hong Kong. For travelling and shooting, unbleached linen, guingón, or rayadillo is the best material, made into Norfolk jackets and pantaloons. I have always found white or brown leather shoes the

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Social Cancer: A Complete English Version of Noli me tangere from the Spanish of José Rizal, chap. 1: A Social Gathering.

[146] JOAQUIN and SANTIAGO, *The World of Damián Domingo*, 30.

[147] Fr. Juan Tombo was identified to have been an Augustinian priest assigned to Bulacan. ANÓNIMO, *Fr. Juan Tombo*, Letras y Figuras, Watercolor on paper, 1850 to 1860, Museo Oriental de Valladolid, Spain.

[148] ORTEGA y DEL ROSARIO, *José Manuel Aparici*; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 44–45.

[149] HANNAFORD, *History and Description of the Picturesque Philippines*, 17.

[150] GONZÁLEZ FERNÁNDEZ, *Manual del Viajero en Filipinas*, 145.

[151] Ibid.

[152] SAWYER, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines (1900)*, chap. XIX: Life in Manila (A Chapter for the Ladies).

best wear, and canvas shooting-boots capped and strapped with leather. A Panama hat, or a solar topee, is the best headwear. If one has to be much in the sun, a white umbrella, lined with green should be carried.[153]

Private Dressing

A rare account of the sleepwear worn by male and female Europeans living in the Philippines was provided by Mallat (1846). He described them in loose trousers with a shirt worn over it, an attire he indicated to be no different from what the indios wore to go to bed. After waking up at around 7 or 8 in the morning, they would still be in the same outfit when they smoke or drink their hot chocolates *(chicara de chocolate)* for breakfast.[154] This must be similar to the printed loose pants worn by other foreigners, the likes of Wilhelm Bargmann and Paul van Embden (nephew of Dutch Consul Meerkamp van Embden) as they spent their days leisurely at home (Fig. 90A).[155]

Spanish and Westernized native women, meanwhile, reportedly wore sayas to sleep and although, there was no mention as to what they wore as upper garment, it can be surmised that they wore some *camiseta* (sleeveless or sleeved shirt) or *camisa sin mangas* (sleevless shirt) similar to the one seen in Juan Luna's *La mestiza en su tocador* (The Mestiza in her Boudoir, 1887, Fig. 125) painting.[156] Upon waking up, they would don ruffled dressing gowns (*batas encañonadas*) – long, loose robes with square necklines (*escote cuadrado*)—styles, which defied strict categories.[157] The wide variety of *batas* (morning robes), *peinadores* (dressing robes), *chambras* (white blouse), *lencerías* (linen) being offered by shops, like *Bazar de la Bota Oro* and *Bazar la Puerta del Sol*, along Escolta, however, demonstrated that their wardrobes for sleeping and for home were more varied than this (Fig. 126, Fig. 127).

They have also been described to have developed the habit of putting on the tapís to go to the bath, either in the river or at home.[158] To show the comfort and versatility of the

[153] Ibid., chap. XIX: Life in Manila (A Chapter for the ladies).
[154] MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1846, 149; MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1983, chap. XXIII: Mores of the Whites in Manila, p. 345.
[155] VAN DEN MUIJZENBERG, *The Philippines through European Lenses*, chap. 3, fig. # 69, p. 155; fig. # 56, p. 144.
[156] Juan LUNA y NOVICIO, *La Mestiza en su Tocador (The Mestiza in Her Boudoir)*, Oil on canvas, 1887, Biblioteca Museu Victor Balaguer, Vilanova i la Geltrú.
[157] ÁLVAREZ GUERRA, *Viajes por Filipinas de Manila à Albay*, chap. 1, p. 22–23.
[158] MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1983, 345.

tapís, Sawyer reported that before receiving guests at home, mistresses of well-to-do households were clad in *sarong*, which most likely corresponded to the native tapís.[159]

Section Conclusion

This section essentially looked into how clothing factored into the life and culture of creoles, Spanish and European bureaucrats and professionals, travellers, scientists, etc. After the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, the Philippines became accessible to Europeans eager to experience new cultures and for some, eager to enrich themselves. Western clothes and Caucasian features distinguished them as part of a more superior class that many natives wanted to be associated with. In the colony, they were perceived as coming from more advanced clothing cultures and tastes and were thus, highly adulated and emulated. The degree of sartorial imitation that they perceived among the colonized population helps explain why there was never any real need for them to transform the way they dressed to adapt to Philippine colonial society. As shown above, many of the newly arrived Europeans who lived in Manila in the 19th century retained their own styles of clothing. After all, majority of them saw the Philippines as a "place where people came to make money and left as soon as this has been accomplished."[160] They were sojourners, who saw the islands as a "tavern, rather than as a permanent home."[161] Even those who were married to natives hardly adopted their customs and ways of life.[162] Except for a few exceptions, the white minority's retention of their own clothing habits in a predominantly brown milieu like the Philippines throughout the 19th century manifests notions of cultural superiority. This attests to the sartorial gap between a dominant white minority and an inferior brown majority – a rift, which was blurred by the emergence since the 1850s of a prosperous and educated class of indios, biracial mestizos and creoles, who had the capacity to dress, accessorize and present themselves as persons of status.

With the exception of creoles, photographs of white men and women dressed in Western fashions in the Philippines served to display that "they were not that far removed

[159] SAWYER, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines (1900)*, chap. XIX; SCHULTE NORDHOLT, "The State on the Skin: Clothes, Shoes and Neatness in (Colonial) Indonesia," 22–23.
[160] There were also very few peninsulars who stayed in the Philippines after retirement. Those who stayed were the Philippine-born Spaniards (insular or criollos). DIOKNO, "Chapter Six: The Making of the Filipino," 116.
[161] Jagor quotes Fr. Pedro Murillo Velarde, a Jesuit cartographer, whose map of the Philippines (1734) was done in collaboration with a native engraver, Nicolas de la Cruz Bagay. JAGOR, "Jagor's Travels in the Philippines," chap. 3; MURILLO VELARDE, *Map of the Philippines*.
[162] Quoting Maria Serena I. Diokno, "in general, only those from the lower strata of Spanish society married natives." MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1846, 147; MORENO, *Philippine Costume*, 132; DIOKNO, "Chapter Six: The Making of the Filipino," 116.

from their own European civilization."[163] This corresponds to a phenomenon that occurred in Dutch Indonesia, which Henk Schulte-Nordholt referred to as "tropical Holland."

> Family pictures of the white elite were to a large extent intended to inform the family back home in the Netherlands how successful their relatives in the Indies were, something that was underlined by the emphasis on private leisure and luxury, which confirmed at the same time, a public image of the white ruling elite that expressed self-confidence.

The notion of "tropical Holland" was likewise reflected in the Philippines, through photographs of European men in all white ensembles seated casually with the familiar *capiz* shell panel windows behind them. Their dress, food and social relationships in the colony contributed to the illusion that their way of life remained essentially the same, except for changes in setting, especially in their place of residence. Maintenance of European clothing conventions showed not only the displacement of culture from one place to another but also revealed the undercurrent of racial and cultural superiority that ran through ordinary life. Fashion and food, as elements of long-distance-culture, were "markers of white identity," the exclusivity of which was increasingly usurped and challenged by natives progressively eager to demonstrate their status. This contributed to the growing complexity of the 19th century colonial world of appearances.

There were some who adopted native elements in limited forms – for use at home or in private, for pictorials, or for certain special occasions. Those who did adopt the hybrid ensembles of the natives were motivated by various personal reasons: diplomacy, solidarity, comfort or even exoticism. The Spanish Governor-Generals, for example, vacillated between displaying power and solidarity through clothing and accessories. As shown above, the donning of embroidered piña or jusi and salakots by the highest official in the land were, in fact, tools that improved their popularity among the natives.

Meanwhile, the creoles, in being Spaniards born in the colony, represented a group within a group. Unlike previous assertions that they affected the European-style in hopes of bridging the gap between themselves and their counterparts born in Spain, this study, in fact, shows, that as the creole community evolved --and the term creole expanded in the second half of the 19th century to include mestizos—they identified, and were identified, not so much with the newly arrived Europeans than with the natives of the class they belonged to. Creole men were likely to have been driven by the major shifts in native men's fashions. Creole

[163] SCHULTE NORDHOLT, "The State on the Skin: Clothes, Shoes and Neatness in (Colonial) Indonesia," 26–27.

women, on the other, hand, were in touch with trends in Europe through magazines imported from abroad; however, they too, were shown to have embodied styles, which were fashionable among the women in the colony. In terms of clothing and appearance, they were rather indistinguishable from some mestizas and indias of their own class. Granted the creoles lived out most of their lives in the Philippines, they already exhibited particularities of the economic and social environments they were born and raised in.

Chinese in the Philippines

Historical writers were united in their observation that the Chinese in the Philippines preserved the customs and costumes of their land.[164] The Chinese, having managed to preserve their own peculiar dress and hairstyles, were regarded as outsiders in Spanish Philippines.[165] They were so different from the general population in terms of dress, hygiene, food, business practices and overall culture.

Sartorially, the average Chinese were recognizable even from afar, by their distinct blouses called *bisia*, and wide, loose, drawstring pants called *jareta*, thick-soled Manchu shoes and, of course, by their *queue* or pig-tail coiled into a chignon (Fig. 129C, Fig. 138B, Fig. 138C, Fig. 139). Their heads were typically shaved, with the rest of the hair worn long and braided (Fig. 128). They also wore a small cap with a red knot.[166] In terms of personal habits, they also differed from the general population. While bathing was a daily preoccupation for most of the locals, hemp trader Joséph Stevens[167] shared how "one almond-eyed multi-millionaire told him that he had not taken a bath in thirty years."[168] The article on "Los Chinos," which appeared in the periodical *La Oceania Español* (1886), also mentioned how they shunned all that was "ornate and in good taste, courtesy, public and private hygiene."[169]

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[164] *Chinos de manila- conservan las costumbres y trajes de su terra.* FULGOSIO, *Crónica de Las Islas Filipinas (1871)*, pt. 3, Ch. 3, p. 52; BARRÁNTES, "Spanish, Portuguese, and American Women (1876)," chap. 26; FEE, *A Woman's Impression of the Philippines*, chap. V.

[165] JOAQUIN and SANTIAGO, *The World of Damián Domingo*, 30; ABINALES and AMOROSO, *State and Society*, 98.

[166] MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1983, 337; FULGOSIO, *Crónica de Las Islas Filipinas (1871)*, pt. 3, Ch. 3, p. 52.

[167] Joséph Earle STEVENS, *Yesterdays in the Philippines, circa 1900* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899), http://dlxs.library.cornell.edu/cgi/t/text/pageviewer-idx?c=sea;cc=sea;q1=joseph%20earle%20stevens;rgn=full%20text;idno=sea256;didno=sea256;view=image;seq=8; VAN DEN MUIJZENBERG, *The Philippines through European Lenses*, 4.

[168] Cited in HANNAFORD, *History and Description of the Picturesque Philippines*, sec. John Chinaman, Millionaire and Pariah, p. 68.

[169] "Los Chinos en Filipinas males que se experimentan actualmente y peligros de esa creciente inmigracion observaciones, hechos y cifras que se encuentran en articulos que La Oceania Español periódico de Manila ha dedicada al studio de este problema social (The Chinese in the Philippines: Their evil practices and the dangers

Socially, they typically lived with and among their fellow Chinese. All their employees, shopkeepers, cooks and servants came from China.[170] They had their own enclaves, guilds, courts, newspapers, schools, cemeteries, hospitals and even secret societies.[171] They saved on living expenses by sharing apartments and food, and by characteristically, living above the commercial spaces they rented.[172]

Economically, they remained tied to their homeland. Their clothing, footwear and even food all reportedly came from China.[173] Brandished as "necessary evils,"[174] they were nonetheless recognized for their persevering industry, thrift, and business acumen. Both the Spanish and native communities vacillated between hatred, envy and respect.[175] On the one hand, they were respected for their hard work, customer service and integrity; on the other, they were despised for their clannishness, shrewdness and unscrupulous cunning.[176] In many accounts, they have been accused of manipulating weights and measures, often giving customers less than what they paid for and for withholding commodities until prices went up.[177] At the same time, they were also praised for their honesty, for good service and for not overcharging their clients.[178] They were also thought of as civilizing and even inspiring. Civilizing for their role in the transfer of knowledge, especially in relation to the sugar and iron industries and inspiring for their unwavering patience and "meekness," in the face of injustices, extortion, and systematic social, if not official, expulsions and persecutions.[179]

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of their increasing immigration)." Manila: Establecimiento tipográfico de *La Oceania Española*, 39-Real-39, 1886, pp. 30-31. Cited in CHU, *Chinese and Chinese Mestizos of Manila: Family, Identity and Culture, 1860s-1930s*, 75–76.

[170] MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1983, 339.

[171] Cooks and retailers had their own guilds. They would make collective purchases and decisions, especially relating to minimum prices. DE LERENA, "El Cocinero"; HANNAFORD, *History and Description of the Picturesque Philippines*, sec. John Chinaman, Millionaire and Pariah, p. 67; SAWYER, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines (1900)*, 186; Francisco Javier de MOYA y JIMENEZ, *Las Islas Filipinas en 1882: Estudios Históricos, Geográficos, Estadísticos y Descriptivos* (Madrid: El Correo, 1883), 188; ABINALES and AMOROSO, *State and Society*, 98.

[172] FULGOSIO, *Crónica de Las Islas Filipinas (1871)*, pt. 3, Ch. 3, p. 52.

[173] "Los Chinos en Filipinas." Manila: Establecimiento tipográfico de *La Oceania Española*, 39-Real-39, 1886, pp. 30-31. Cited in CHU, *Chinese and Chinese Mestizos of Manila: Family, Identity and Culture, 1860s-1930s*, 78; MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1983, 337.

[174] Andrew R. WILSON, *Ambition and Identity: Chinese Merchant Elites in Colonial Manila, 1880-1916* (University of Hawaii Press, 2004), chap. 1, p. 38.

[175] BARRÁNTES, "Spanish, Portuguese, and American Women (1876)," chap. 26.

[176] HANNAFORD, *History and Description of the Picturesque Philippines*, sec. John Chinaman: Millionaire and Pariah, pp. 66–68.

[177] They have been accused of swindling the poor indios into paying more for something worthless or for selling selling fabrics and giving them less number of yards than what they paid for. MARTÍNEZ DE ZÚÑIGA y DÍAZ DE ILARRAZA, *A Historical View of the Philippine Islands*, chap. 6; LAUREANO, *Recuerdos de Filipinas*, sec. Tiangui or a Fair, p. 45; CHU, *Chinese and Chinese Mestizos of Manila: Family, Identity and Culture, 1860s-1930s*, 76.

[178] LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 12: chino comerciante.

[179] In 1709, they were accused of rebellion. A new decree banishing them, which was issued in Madrid in 1757, took effect in 1759. Having been accused of poisoning the waters that caused the outbreak of cholera, they were

The Manchu Style: In Brief

The Manchus were a nomadic group from the north who conquered and ruled China between 1644-1911. Much of what we saw among the Chinese in the Philippines during the 19th century was derived from the styles the Manchus imposed on its conquered subjects. Some age-old styles worn by the government bureaucrats or scholars (*mandarins*, Fig. 129B) of imperial China throughout the different dynasties were appropriate and integrated as part of the traditional garment of the Manchus.

The nomadic Manchu culture, with its strong military traditions also gave rise to clothing and hairstyles, which were distinct from the majority of the Han Chinese they ruled. The *changshan* for men, along with *qipao* or *cheongsam*, exclusively for women were one-piece long gowns or surcoats (outer garment) introduced by the Manchu rulers during the Qing dynasty, China's last imperial dynasty. Only the court and government officials were originally required to wear the *changshan*, while the commoners were allowed to retain the *hanfu* styles of the Han Chinese. With time, along with the forced imposition of the queue hairstyle, the commoners, too, adopted the *changshan* and the *cheongsam*.

There was a sharp difference between the Han and Qing styles: the practicality of the one-piece *changshan* of the Qing contrasted with the layered and more complicated *hanfu* styles. The elaborated sleeves of the *hanfu* styles would, however, soon prove unsuitable to the daily life of these seasoned horsemen.

Some of the attires worn by the wealthier Chinese men in the Philippines for special occasions had a large embroidered square badge sewn in the chest of their surcoats. The surcoats they wore in pictures were typically in blue or black colors, just like the court robes the *mandarins* worn in China (Fig. 129A, Fig. 129B). In Qing China, these square badges formed part of the nobility's official garments. They were reworked versions of the mandarin square used during the earlier Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) to indicate rank and position. The mandarin squares adapted and modified by the Manchus were smaller and had distinct, color-coded borders. There was also a difference in the type of garment these squares were attached

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ordered to be hanged in 1819. Barrántes also mentioned that the colonial government feared them "on account of the strong bond or union existing between them, and as being subjects of so powerful a nation, whose close geographical proximity made the small body of Spaniards vulnerable to destruction." The location of the Philippines, southeast of the two major Chinese provinces, contributed to their long history of trade and interaction. A glance at the map would also make one understand why many Chinese, 90% of whom were from the southern province of Fujian. After all, s Lynn Pan pointed out, "with a good wind, it was just three days sail by junk from the Fukien port to the Philippines." BARRÁNTES, "Spanish, Portuguese, and American Women (1876)," chap. 26; SAWYER, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines (1900)*, chap. 31; HANNAFORD, *History and Description of the Picturesque Philippines*, 66–68; Lynn PAN, *Sons of the Yellow Emperor: The Story of the Overseas Chinese* (Great Britain: Martin Secker and Warburg Ltd., 1990), 17.

to. While they were attached to the actual court robe during the Ming, they were attached to the outer garment or surcoat during the Qing. Despite the hot tropical climate in the Philippines, the robes the Chinese used for pictorials, festivals and other celebrations must have been, nonetheless, a surcoat -- a garment meant to be worn over their garments.

Another recognizable feature of the Chinaman's appearance in the Philippines was the *queue* (Fig. 138B, Fig. 138C, Fig. 139). The *queue* was based on a mandate made by the ruling Manchu minority under the *Queu Order of 1645*. Otherwise known as the *Haircutting Edict*, this hairstyle was made compulsory to all Han Chinese men. Noncompliance to this hairstyle was considered as treason and was therefore punishable by death. In *Pigtail*, author Kesan Tejapira presented that more than Chinese-ness, what this hairstyle represented was, in fact, Qing-ness.[180] The queue came to signify forced submission to the ruling Manchu regime. The Manchu intervention on the existing dress and hairstyles of the Chinese became a long and bloody nationalistic struggle, which only ended with the fall of China's last dynasty in 1911. Throughout the course of their crackdown, the Manchu mantra was "keep your hair and lose your head or keep your head and cut your hair."[181] Perceiving the adoption of this hairstyle as humiliating, dishonorable and a betrayal to their proud cultural heritage, many Chinese used false queues in public. Based on the Confucian values of filial piety, it was dishonorable to damage a person's hair and body, which are essentially "gifts" from one's parents. A "pigtrade," which arose in the 18th and 19th centuries, represented the export of these pigtailed Chinese workers in response to the demand for cheap coolie labor in various European colonies all over the world.[182]

Aside from regulations on hairstyles, dress codes were also imposed by the Manchus to differentiate between the imperial family, the ruling and governing elite from the general population of China.[183] Head wear was also used to signify the wearer's rank and position.[184]

The Clothing and Appearance of the Chinese Men in the Philippines

The clothing of the Chinese in the Philippines developed not so much in conformity with the status-based hierarchical traditions back in the mainland; rather, they varied mainly

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[180] Kasian TEJAPIRA, "Pigtail: A PreHistory of Chineseness in Siam," in *Alternate Identities: The Chinese of Contemporary Thailand*, ed. Chee Kiong TONG and Kwok B. CHAN (Singapore: Brill Academic Publishers and Times Academic Press, 2001), 44.
[181] Ibid.
[182] Ibid., 47; V.G. KIERNAN, *The Lords of Human Kind; Black Man, Yellow Man, and White Man in the Age of Empire* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), 163.
[183] "Chinese Dress in the Qing Dynasty," accessed May 5, 2013, http://www.powerhousemuseum.com/hsc/evrev/chinese_dress.htm.
[184] Ibid.

according to circumstances, fortunes and the nature of their work in the colony. The photographs of successful Chinese businessmen in the country, like Carlos Palanca Tan Quien-sien (b. 1844-d. 1901, Fig. 129), often showed them in traditional blue or black silk robes with mandarin squares, typical of court officials or nobility.[185] The members of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce in Manila (1904) was also shown wearing the exact same style.[186] What this conveyed is relative sartorial liberty in foreign shores. They seem to have had the freedom to reinvent themselves, through their clothes, based on the status they perceived they have attained. Seen only in a few notable Chinese, what this particular dress style seem to connote is achievement, if not social prestige.

In most historical accounts, they were depicted as a homogeneous minority group sartorially disconnected from a larger group of similarly dressed majority population.[187] Although ninety percent came from Fujian Province, there were also many who came from other parts of China (e.g., Hokkien, Cantonese, etc.). In the Philippines, they seem to have shown a great deal of unity and cooperation. Their shared experiences in a foreign land might have given them reason to undermine their differences back home. As Lynn Pan pointed out,

> What happened in the Philippines was that diversity became amalgamation, if only because the subtle regional distinctions were irrelevant in the face of the simple fact that they were all Chinese in a foreign land. What eventually happened to the Chinese living in the Philippines was that they gradually became a unified group, dissolved the cultural and linguistic quirks of their localities, and then eventually developed a culture of their own.

In terms of dress culture, the reality was that they appeared in clothes distinct from both the colonizing and the colonized populations. Within their own 'homogeneous' group, the social gap between the rich, poor and intermediate classes was accompanied by a sartorial gap. But, given the history of Chinese persecutions in the colony, not to mention the taxation system which correlated ethnicity with income or earning potential,[188] it is possible to say that many were prudent about displaying wealth and status through appearances. The general

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[185] *Carlos Palanca Tan Quien-Sien*, B/W photograph, n.d., Kaisa para sa Kaunlaran, Inc.; CHU, *Chinese and Chinese Mestizos of Manila: Family, Identity and Culture, 1860s-1930s*, 129; *Rich Chinese Merchant*, B/W photograph, n.d., Rizal Library, Ateneo de Manila University; Bienvenido TAN, Jr., "Chinatown," in *The World of 1896*, ed. Lorna KALAW-TIROL (Makati: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1998), fig. 156, p. 95.
[186] Photo source from Kaisa para sa Kaunlaran. Reproduced and captioned in Maria Serena I. DIOKNO, "Chapter Three: The Rise of the Chinese Trader," in *Kasaysayan: The Story of the Filipino People*, ed. Maria Serena I. DIOKNO and Ramon N. VILLEGAS, vol. 4: Life in the Colony (Manila: Asia Publishing Co., 1998), 67.
[187] PAN, *Sons of the Yellow Emperor: The Story of the Overseas Chinese*, 10.
[188] WICKBERG, *The Chinese in Philippine Life, 1850-1898*, 2000, 140.

perception of the average Chinese was that they looked miserable, as opposed to the better off among them who were described as cheerful and happy.[189] One can see that foreign observers correlated appearances with wealth and emotional states, in the sense that the poor looked miserable and therefore, "very ugly,"[190] while the rich looked content and happy therefore, not so ugly.

Whether rich or poor, their continued use of Chinese styles while in living in their host countries must be explained in the context of sojourning.[191] Many of them did not really intend to settle in the islands permanently. Likened to mere passing birds, many came to the islands to work, make money and go back to China, worthy of being able to wear silken robes.[192] This explains why they were referred to originally as *sangleys* or merchant travelers.[193] While in the Philippines, they "spent very little and carried their savings back to their home country, where they planned their bones to lie."[194] The married ones regularly remitted portions of their income to their wives and children back home.[195] Assimilation to Philippine society was partly deterred by this sojourning mentality.

Apart from this perspective, Richard Chu, in his work on the *Chinese and Chinese Mestizos of Manila*, also suggested that there was some form of Spanish prohibition that guided the way the Chinese dressed, relative to the indios and the mestizos. This implies that a sartorial classification paralleled the legal classification of society, which was mainly based on race. In addition, for Chinamen who wished to be converted, the church supposedly mandated that the classic *queue* be cut upon baptism as a sign of allegiance to Spain and to the Catholic Church (Fig. 134).[196] By the late 19th century, such prohibitions were reportedly lifted, giving the Chinese the liberty to dress and style their hair in any way they wanted.

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[189] SAWYER, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines (1900)*, chap. 31; MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1983, 339.
[190] MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1983, 337.
[191] John T. OMOHUNDRO, "Trading Patterns of Philippine Chinese: Strategies of Sojourning Middlemen," in *Economic Exchange and Social Interaction in Southeast Asia: Perspective from Prehistory, History and Ethnography*, ed. Karl L. HUTTERER (Ann Arbor: Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of Michigan, 1977), 121; Anthony REID, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce, C. 1450-1680*, vol. 1 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988).
[192] LEGARDA, *After the Galleons*, 196; BOWRING, *A Visit to the Philippine Islands*, 296–297.
[193] MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1983, 336; BARRÁNTES, "Spanish, Portuguese, and American Women (1876)," chap. 26; CHU, *Chinese and Chinese Mestizos of Manila: Family, Identity and Culture, 1860s-1930s*, 69.
[194] MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1983, 337; HANNAFORD, *History and Description of the Picturesque Philippines*, sec. John Chinaman, Millionaire and Pariah, p. 67.
[195] Barrántes commented on how this practice of sending money back to China defrauded the Philippines annually of enormous revenues. MARTÍNEZ DE ZÚÑIGA y DÍAZ DE ILARRAZA, *A Historical View of the Philippine Islands*, chap. 6; BARRÁNTES, "Spanish, Portuguese, and American Women (1876)," chap. 26.
[196] CHU, *Chinese and Chinese Mestizos of Manila: Family, Identity and Culture, 1860s-1930s*, 199–200; WICKBERG, *The Chinese in Philippine Life, 1850-1898*, 2000, 191.

Without citing specific sources, claims that spoke of prohibitions presumably intended to racially segregate society according to dress, are difficult, if not impossible to prove.

In the 18th century, the legal classification, which segregated the population according to race,[197] was accompanied by a staunchly hierarchical taxation policy, which stood on two grounds: race and income. While the Spanish,[198] including the Spanish mestizos were exempted from paying tribute or head tax, the non-Spanish groups, which were comprised of the indios, Chinese mestizos and Chinese had to pay 12 reales or 1.5 pesos,[199] 24 reales or 3 pesos[200] and an average of 81 reales or 10 pesos, respectively.[201] Although the astonishing amount of 81 reales the Chinese had to pay—six times more than the indios-- was reduced to 54 reales after 1790, they were still the group taxed the highest in the colony.[202] Although their base tax was lower than the indios, the additional charges imposed on them greatly increased the total amount they had to pay. On account of race, the Spanish were the most privileged while the Chinese were the most disadvantaged.

The industrial tax of 1828 followed similar patterns. The Spanish and Spanish mestizos still did not have to pay anything. The indios were taxed the lowest, followed by the mestizos who had to pay twice as much, then finally the Chinese, who were first classed according to whether they were self-employed or employed, before subdividing them further into four classes. The lowest class had to pay at least 12 pesos, followed by 24 and 48 pesos for the second and third classes, and 120 pesos or more for the first class.[203] Even those in the lowest income bracket still had to pay around eight times as much as the indios. This supports

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[197] In 1741, racial distinctions were formalized and legalized. Spanish, Indios, Chinese became "terms of legal status." With the increase of the half-indio, half-Chinese mestizo population, a separate category was created for them. Due to the low number of Spaniards in the colony, the mestizo-españoles (offspring of Caucasian and indio parents) remained few in number. Maria Serena Diokno clarified that, in Spanish records especially in the 18th and 19th centuries, "the term mestizo always referred to mestizos de sangley." VAN DEN MUIJZENBERG, *The Philippines through European Lenses*, 66; WICKBERG, *The Chinese in Philippine Life, 1850-1898*, 2000, 8; CHU, *Chinese and Chinese Mestizos of Manila: Family, Identity and Culture, 1860s-1930s*, 240; DIOKNO, "Chapter Six: The Making of the Filipino," 112.

[198] Both types of Spaniards, peninsular and insular or creoles were exempt from paying taxes. WICKBERG, *The Chinese in Philippine Life, 1850-1898*, 9, 141, 158–165; CHU, *Chinese and Chinese Mestizos of Manila: Family, Identity and Culture, 1860s-1930s*, 240.

[199] Tomas de Comyn states that the tribute was originally 8 reales before increasing it was increased to 10 reales. Males paid taxes from 20-60 years old, while women paid from 25-60. There was a discrepancy between the 12 reales Wickberg mentioned and the 14 reales (less than 2 pesos) that Maria Serena Diokno stated. DE COMYN, "State of the Philippines in 1810," sec. Items in Tribute; DIOKNO, "Chapter Three: The Rise of the Chinese Trader," 68; WICKBERG, *The Chinese in Philippine Life, 1850-1898*, 2000, 31.

[200] The base tax for the Chinese mestizos was set at 20 reales but other miscellaneous charges, like the community chest tax of 4 reales, were added. WICKBERG, *The Chinese in Philippine Life, 1850-1898*, 2000, 31; DIOKNO, "Chapter Three: The Rise of the Chinese Trader," 68.

[201] DIOKNO, "Chapter Three: The Rise of the Chinese Trader," 68.

[202] They paid, more or less, three times as much as the mestizos and five to six times as much as the indios. Ibid.

[203] CHU, *Chinese and Chinese Mestizos of Manila: Family, Identity and Culture, 1860s-1930s*, 128.

the idea that the Chinese were long perceived as having a greater earning potential than the indios.[204]

In 1852, this system was replaced by the *patente industrial* or the shop license tax, which further reduced the range from approximately 12 to 120 pesos to 12 to 107 pesos. Through the years, tax impositions would evolve and would be presented under different names, in light of the economic and socio-cultural changes taking place in the colony. After 1870, "direct taxes to be levied upon everyone,"[205] led a series of policy changes that acknowledged a sort of societal amalgamation that seem to have transcended race.

As the indios and Chinese mestizos began to exhibit some form of shared culture, the original four-tiered categorization based on race (Spanish, including Spanish mestizos, indios, Chinese mestizos and Chinese), was rendered obsolete.[206] The legal distinction between indios and Chinese mestizos disappeared alongside the dissolution of the tribute (head tax).[207] It paved the way for a three-way ethno-legal classification of Spanish, indios and Chinese.[208]

The tribute system, which clearly became outdated – it became an anachronism, as author Edgar Wickberg repeatedly emphasized[209]-- would be replaced by the imposition of a *contribución industrial* on all self-employed persons. Taking effect in the 1880s was the *cédula personal* (identification card tax)[210] and the *cédula de capitacion* (head tax payment certificate) of 1889.[211]

With time, the varied restrictions on the Chinese were relaxed. In 1843, for example, Chinese ships were placed on equal terms with other foreign countries.[212] In 1850, under the instigation of Captain-General Juan Antonio de Urbiztondo, the Chinese involved in commercial agriculture were given incentives in the form of lowered taxes.[213] In the latter years, they no longer suffered periodic banishments and persecutions.[214] They were also

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[204] WICKBERG, *The Chinese in Philippine Life, 1850-1898*, 2000, 9–10, 140.
[205] Ibid., 140.
[206] James A. LEROY, *Philippine Life in Town and Country* (New York and London, 1905), 137; WICKBERG, *The Chinese in Philippine Life, 1850-1898*, 2000, 140–145.
[207] Edgar WICKBERG, *The Chinese in Philippine Life, 1850-1898* (New York: Yale University, 1965), 140–141.
[208] CHU, *Chinese and Chinese Mestizos of Manila: Family, Identity and Culture, 1860s-1930s*, 5.
[209] WICKBERG, *The Chinese in Philippine Life, 1850-1898*, 2000, 140.
[210] Ibid., 140–141.
[211] DIOKNO, "Chapter Three: The Rise of the Chinese Trader," 68.
[212] Barrántes referred to Legislation Ultramar, II, p. 476 as his source. BARRÁNTES, "Spanish, Portuguese, and American Women (1876)," 41.
[213] Urbiztondo y Eguía (b. 1803-d. 1857), the Marquis de la Solana, served, under the monarchy of Isabella II of Spain, as the 73rd Governor-General of the Philippines. His term of office was between 29 July 1850 and 20 December 1853. Ibid., chap. 26.
[214] Ibid.

granted greater geographic mobility around the archipelago, which in turn, allowed them to be involved in nearly all branches of the wholesale and retail trade of the colony.[215] They brought different items for sale, including clothing and textiles, to the far-flung regions of the colony, which may have contributed to the growing convergence in fashion styles.

Amidst all these changes, the Chinese would continue to have the highest tax liabilities. As Hannaford (1900) mentioned, "the Manila government, which never forgot to convert them into an important source of revenue, during the late decades, taxed every pig-tail poll that came over, at times as high as forty dollars (eighty pesos)."[216] The Spanish government was aware that the Chinese, whose taxes were still computed according to occupation status and incomes, paid the most. In fact, Rizal in his second novel, *El Filibusterismo* (1891), brought to light the fact that the Spanish community supported the idea that the Catholic Chinese, being the highest taxpayers, be given preferential seating during some church celebrations.[217]

Interestingly, only ten percent of the Chinese population was listed as self-employed, the rest were all employees, who, belonged to the lower income tax brackets.[218] Unlike some indios and mestizos, who, eager for prestige, sought to change their status from indio to mestizo, even if it had tax repercussions,[219] the Chinese, adversely, were known to have "found ways to be classed lower so they would be taxed less."[220] Since the higher the income, the higher the taxes and the more affluent they looked, the more they would attract the suspicions of the colonial authorities, many have learned to undermine their status, making sure to maintain austere appearances and docile demeanors in the process.

Based on their history of evading taxation, many of those who achieved wealth-- presumably worried about the taxes that would come with being perceived as rich-- may have consciously tried to dress down. Of course, there were also exceptions. Some who were relatively well-off, perhaps those with political and social ambitions, were described to have "displayed great luxury and seemed very happy; some had a carriage; but in that case, their *cochero* is not a Chinese."[221]

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[215] WICKBERG, *The Chinese in Philippine Life, 1850-1898*, 2000, 41.
[216] HANNAFORD, *History and Description of the Picturesque Philippines*, sec. John Chinaman: Millionaire and Pariah, p. 67.
[217] CHU, *Chinese and Chinese Mestizos of Manila: Family, Identity and Culture, 1860s-1930s*, 82–83.
[218] DIOKNO, "Chapter Three: The Rise of the Chinese Trader," 68.
[219] DE COMYN, "State of the Philippines in 1810," sec. Items in Tribute; WICKBERG, *The Chinese in Philippine Life, 1850-1898*, 2000, 31, 137; LEROY, *Philippine Life in Town and Country*, 186–195.
[220] CHU, *Chinese and Chinese Mestizos of Manila: Family, Identity and Culture, 1860s-1930s*, 128.
[221] MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1983, 339.

The employment of a non-Chinese *cochero,* when they were known to have hired only their fellow Chinese,[222] is a clear example of how some actually participated in the colonial world of appearances. The archetype of the ambitious Chinese was further presented in the character of Quiroga in Rizal's *El Filibusterismo* (1891). Quiroga, an unscrupulous Chinese merchant greatly involved in smuggling was pushing for the establishment of a Chinese Consulate, with him appointed as Consul.[223] As one can see, if dressing down was the norm for most Chinese, dress and the appearance of wealth was, in fact, crucial for those who had social and political aspirations.

John Chinaman: The Wealthy chino comerciante

It is a widely known fact that many of the wealthy Chinamen came to the Philippines as poor young men. Having come from a hierarchical society with strong sartorial traditions, almost all sprung from the lowest orders, with some dreaming of going back to China dressed, metaphorically, in silken robes. In the second half of the 19th century, the export crop economy in the Philippines, coinciding with trends in Spanish policy, which encouraged foreign trade and immigration, provided favorable opportunities for young Chinese men willing and eager to make money. Chinese coolie brokers in Manila began recruiting stevedores and warehouse laborers, in behalf of European and American trading houses, who were looking for reliable, efficient but more importantly, cheap labor for their offices in Manila and in other major port cities like Cebu and Iloilo. Chinese workers were imported in response to the increasing demands for labor called for by the industrial developments taking place in the colony. As foreign investors and investments flowed through the islands, Chinese laborers came to work as railroad builders, founders, carpenters, blacksmiths, etc. Artisans and entrepreneurs, eager not so much to participate in the colonial status game but to supply the thriving local population, came as tailors, shoemakers, boot-makers, soap-makers, dyers, barbers, hatmakers, etc.[224] As wholesalers and retailers, they established department stores known back then as *bazares*, which sold imported textiles, and various European luxury goods, ranging from Parisian pianos and harps to cooking stoves, cabinets, carriage

[222] Ibid.
[223] Historians speculated that Quiroga was Carlos Tan Quien-sien, who in real-life pursued the establishment of a Chinese consulate in Manila. José RIZAL, *The Reign of Greed: A Complete English Version of El Filibusterismo from the Spanish of José Rizal*, trans. Charles DERBYSHIRE (Manila: Philippine Education Company, 1912), sec. Tribulations of a Chinese, http://www.gutenberg.org/catalog/world/readfile?fk_files=1477571; CHU, *Chinese and Chinese Mestizos of Manila: Family, Identity and Culture, 1860s-1930s*, 82.
[224] MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1983, 338; WICKBERG, *The Chinese in Philippine Life, 1850-1898*, 2000, 107, 109; HANNAFORD, *History and Description of the Picturesque Philippines*.

ornaments, silverware, etc.[225] The lovely and enterprising *sinamayeras,* whose shops once lined Calle Rosario, progressive as they were in marketing, gradually succumbed to the formidable Chinese competition,[226] who imported textiles by bulk and were more aggressive in terms of distribution. This coincided with the growth of a new class of indios and mestizos who developed tastes for European goods. The increased use of Western-style garments among the men of this class also contributed to the decreased demand for native luxury textiles. The demands for new imports also expanded the clothing choices available to the local population. New fabrics for women's skirts (*saya)* were made available. Women were no longer limited to wearing skirts in striped or checked patterns. An interesting new array of silks and satins in celestial and floral patterns and vivid colors presented women with new options.

The trade of imported European goods was in the last quarter of the 19th century almost entirely in the hands of the Chinese, not to mention half of the wholesale purchase of export crops went to them.[227] As a result of Spanish policies after 1850, which granted them the liberty to move freely in the different islands, they were diffused and were able to penetrate new markets in remote and smaller Philippine towns.[228] Shrewd merchants and the *corredores* (ambulant vendors) they hired to peddle everything from dry goods like Chinese silk, European cotton and yarns of varying grades to hardware and other household knick-knacks, rapidly multiplied and expanded throughout the archipelago.[229]

It was a known fact that behind many of these poor pole-carrying Chinese *corredores* (Fig. 131A) were part of a larger organization set up by successful *chino comerciantes* (Chinese merchants, Fig. 132).[230] The Chinese in general were involved in various types of work in the wholesale and retail trade. Many of those who achieved success were self-

[225] Chua Farruco and Mariano Velasco Chua Chengco owned the two largest Chinese-owned *bazares* in Manila. Chua Farruco's was located originally at Escolta before moving to No. 6 Calle Nueva while Mariano Velasco's was located at No. 8 Calle Nueva. WICKBERG, *The Chinese in Philippine Life, 1850-1898*, 2000, 107.
[226] Ibid., 149.
[227] The Chinese were recognized in the colony as *banqueros* (bankers) and *capitalistas* (capitalists). They also appeared in the cover of *Manililla* (1890). BARRÁNTES, "Spanish, Portuguese, and American Women (1876)," chap. 26; *Manililla Periódico Semanal: Ilustrado, Cómico y Humorístico*, Año IV (Manila: Se Publica Los Sábados, 1890), sec. en honor de Peral, pp. 4–5; ibid., sec. Cover: Entre Chinos, 1890 Abril 26, Num. 104.
[228] WICKBERG, *The Chinese in Philippine Life, 1850-1898*, 2000, 41.
[229] Photo of a roving Chinese textile merchant sourced from Lopez Museum. DIOKNO, "Chapter Three: The Rise of the Chinese Trader," 52; MORENO, *Philippine Costume*, 50; HANNAFORD, *History and Description of the Picturesque Philippines*, 67; WICKBERG, *The Chinese in Philippine Life, 1850-1898*, 2000, 108; MOYA y JIMENEZ, *Las Islas Filipinas en 1882: Estudios Históricos, Geográficos, Estadísticos y Descriptivos*, 188; SAWYER, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines (1900)*, 186.
[230] WICKBERG, *The Chinese in Philippine Life, 1850-1898*, 2000, 108; MOYA y JIMENEZ, *Las Islas Filipinas en 1882: Estudios Históricos, Geográficos, Estadísticos y Descriptivos*, 188; SAWYER, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines (1900)*, 186.

employed businessmen. Ignacio Sy Jao Boncan and Carlos Palanca Tan Quien Sien, for example, came as apprentices and worked their way up to *tenderos* (shopkeepers) until they developed their own enterprises, involving textiles, opium, moneylending as well as agricultural and coolie brokerage. They had far-reaching operations not only in Manila but all over the country, particularly Central Luzon.[231] Carlos Palanca Tan Quie-sien, who served as *gobernadorcillo de chinos*, was known as the number one taxpayer among the Chinese in the Philippines.[232] It must also be mentioned that both married Chinese mestizas of considerable fortunes, which must have contributed not only to their social and economic success but also to their decision to make the Philippines their permanent home.

The ambitious ones were known to have used conversion as a method to gain a foothold in the local economy, perceiving it as investments that may bring them business and contacts. Conversion, which entailed baptism called for them to gain a *padrino* (godparent), an influential Spanish or non-Chinese person, who with careful choice, could potentially open up opportunities for them to expand their social and commercial networks. It also allowed them to enter into Catholic marriages with native or mestizo women, who, if fortune may have it, would come from a family with thriving businesses and properties to inherit. Sharp as they are, they must have been prompted by a decree issued in 1804, which mandated that all Chinese merchants, with the exception of those who were married to local women, must leave the Philippines within eight days. Those with local wives were entitled to keep their shops in Manila while the rest who resided in other parts of the country must acquiesce to the condition that they could only be involved in agriculture, and not in trade.

The type of Chinese with varied interactions with the different classes of Spanish, indios and mestizos must have exhibited some form of cultural elevation. Urbanized Chinese like Carlos Palanca Tan Quien-sien for example, became Spanish-speaking, albeit with thick accents.[233] They were popular and their parties were often well attended by a mix group of colonial officials, friars, merchants, European customers, suppliers, etc. Carlos Palanca Tan

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[231] Carlos Palanca Tan Quien-sien was referred to by Chu as the most powerful and most popular Chinese during the latter part of the 19th century. CHU, *Chinese and Chinese Mestizos of Manila: Family, Identity and Culture, 1860s-1930s*, 125–128, 128–143.

[232] Chinben SEE, "Chinese Organizations and Ethnic Identity in the Philippines," in *Changing Identities of the Southeast Asian Chinese Since World War II*, ed. Wang GUNG-WU and Jennifer CUSHMAN (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1988), 320, http://books.google.fr/books?id=USbxAQAAQBAJ&pg=PA320&lpg=PA320&dq=gobernadorcillo+de+chino&source=bl&ots=XoAN8KrbI2&sig=P5EKwJ1mAs81FCVr_WVbdaJGcBQ&hl=en&sa=X&ei=rhybU4_JFcWd0AXqtIBI&ved=0CCAQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q=gobernadorcillo%20de%20chino&f=false; WICKBERG, *The Chinese in Philippine Life, 1850-1898*, 2000, 113, 200; CHU, *Chinese and Chinese Mestizos of Manila: Family, Identity and Culture, 1860s-1930s*, 133.

[233] Don Carlos was an illiterate boy who came to Manila at the age of 12 to assist in his uncle's draper's store. CHU, *Chinese and Chinese Mestizos of Manila: Family, Identity and Culture, 1860s-1930s*, 128, 134.

Quien-sien, who was likened to Quiroga in Rizal's *El Filibusterismo* (1891), was shown dressed in "mandarin-style with tasseled cap," which was, most likely, robes of silk or satin[234] with rich embroidered squares sewn in the chest area. Like Quiroga, everything else in his home, from the Viennese furnitures, Chinese paintings, marbles, and religious paintings[235] reflected tastes similar to how the wealthy indios and mestizos integrated European, Chinese and native elements. This is an example of how, except in dress, the wealthier, urbanized Chinese developed the same Hispanized and Catholic sensibilities as the indios and mestizos of the same class. Except for dress, there was some degree of homogeneity in terms of urbanized culture among the various races of the same class.

Chino comerciantes usually hired two or three shopkeepers or *tenderos* to man their shops. Many had varied enterprises and one could hardly see them physically in their shops. But they were certainly aware of what was going on. They had a keen sense of observation. They knew for example that the presence of European men who converged in front of their stores for some tête-à-tête, from sundown until nine in the evening was bad for business because it deterred proper ladies from entering their shops.[236]

Even if they were rarely seen in their shops, the everyday attires of Chinese entrepreneurs were made up of two-piece ensembles of loose round-necked, long-sleeved shirts with slanted front-side opening and loose, wide-leg trousers not too different from the *jareta* and *salaual* the locals were wearing. The researcher could find nothing on the tops referred to by Mallat and Fulgosio as *bisia*. It is possible that their everyday shirts with either the slanted front-side opening or the vertical side opening were shortened versions of the Manchu *changshan* robes.

Their attires in general contrasted with the baro with a deep v-neck and the *jareta* or *salaual* ensemble of the common indios (Fig. 92, Fig. 94). Lorelei de Viana has identified the trousers to be made of silk or cotton and the shirt to have been made of Canton weave.[237] This was further confirmed by the Lozano image, *Chino comerciante*, in his Gervasio Gironella Album (1847, Fig. 132).[238] The text that came with the album indicated that this

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[234] Margherita Arlina HAMM, *Manila and the Philippines* (London and New York: F. Tennyson Neely, 1898), 43; CHU, *Chinese and Chinese Mestizos of Manila: Family, Identity and Culture, 1860s-1930s*, 200.
[235] RIZAL, *The Reign of Greed: A Complete English Version of El Filibusterismo from the Spanish of José Rizal*, chap. Tribulations of a Chinese.
[236] LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. Chino comerciante; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 194–195.
[237] Lorelei D.C. DE VIANA, *Three Centuries of Binondo Architecture, 1594-1898: A Socio-Historical Perspective* (Manila: University of Santo Tomas Press, 2001), 64.
[238] Apart from the image in the *Gervasio Gironella Album*, the rich Chinese of Escolta *(un chino rico de Escolta*) appeared in the *letras y figuras* indicated here. LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 42:

was an accurate depiction of the many prosperous Chinese businessmen in Manila, who were generally seen in shirts of either blue or ash grey and loose trousers in either white or black cotton. The Lozano image portrays the use of sayasaya, in white silk, unlike the dark versions commonly seen among upper-class indios and mestizos that featured embroideries along the borders. The small rounded cap made of *cerda* (animal hair, Fig. 132) was also typically seen only among the prosperous Chinese. In countless images, they were also depicted wearing thick-soled shoes,[239] clearly of Manchu origins. The portrait of Ignacio Sy Jao Boncan shows this successful entrepreneur in black, round toe shoes with thick soles made of paper. Mallat emphasized that they were acquired ready-made from their own country.[240]

The wide-legged sayasaya, however, would become unfashionable by the mid-19th century. It would be replaced by trousers of varying lengths and widths and typically worn with shirts of the same color, like the one worn by the *Chino de la Escolta* featured in *Ilustración Filipina* (1860, Fig. 128).[241]

In countless artworks, they were almost consistently depicted holding a fan in their hands. In the *letras y figuras* of William P. Peirce (1854, Fig. 135) and Manuel E. Co-Gefue (1880 Fig. 136), the fan-holding rich Chinese of Escolta (*un chino rico de Escolta*) was distinguished from his *pinga*-carrying compatriot.[242] Manuel E. Co-Gefue, the recipient of a coveted Lozano *letras y figuras*, was one of the established storeowners of Binondo.[243] Described as a Chinese "gentleman" of sorts, it was speculated that he was the Chinaman engrossed in computation beside the letter C of his name. He could also be the fan-holding Chinaman wearing a blue silk shirt and white pants, with the prominent Manchu platform shoes.

What is equally fascinating is the fact that their growing economic dominance was still perceptible despite the simplicity of their attires. Sawyer, for example, described the Manila Chinaman of wealth as "sleek, prosperous-looking and seems cheerful and

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Chino comerciante; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 194–195; LOZANO, *William P. Peirce*; José Honorato LOZANO, *Manuel E. Co-Gefue*, Letras y Figuras, Watercolor on paper, 1880, Manuel Yan Collection; José Honorato LOZANO, *Andres Sanchez*, Letras y Figuras, Watercolor on paper, 1858, Private Collection.

[239] *Son los zapatos que usan, negros y de suela muy doble*. FULGOSIO, *Crónica de Las Islas Filipinas (1871)*, pt. 3, Ch. 3, p. 52.

[240] *Ignacio Sy Jao Boncan*, B/W photograph, n.d., Bangko Sentral ng Pilipinas; CHU, *Chinese and Chinese Mestizos of Manila: Family, Identity and Culture, 1860s-1930s*, 126; *Canton and Hong Kong Merchants*, B/W photograph, n.d., Lopez Museum; MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1983, 337.

[241] B. GIRAUDIER, "Chino de La Escolta," *La Ilustración Filipina*, Año 2, no. 14 (July 15, 1860); GUARDIOLA, *Filipiniana*, 51; DIOKNO, "Chapter Three: The Rise of the Chinese Trader," 46.

[242] LOZANO, *William P. Peirce*; LOZANO, *Manuel E. Co-Gefue*.

[243] CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 20–21, 42.

content,"[244] a sharp contrast to the "very ugly coolies" from Macao, Canton, etc, who Mallat tried to partly explain as a consequence of their miserable social positions (Fig. 138A).[245] Unless they were involved in the colonial service, it was difficult to assess their true economic and social positions based on their clothing and appearance alone. As seen above, one must turn to other nuanced indicators like confidence and stance.

Mallat (1846) described that the *gobernadorcillo de sangley* and its *alguacils* (bailiffs) retained their own clothing styles but were recognizable by their distinctive marks of office, particularly the cane for the gobernadorcillo, the stick for the *alguacil* and, of course, the European top hat, which interestingly, they would wear over their Chinese cap (Fig. 129C).[246] Although there is no iconographic evidence to support this, it is possible to assume they wore one hat over another. By the second half of the nineteenth century, the wearing of top hats among the Chinese of a certain political rank may have been reduced following the introduction of other types of hats. The growing popularity of the gilded salakot among the local elite may have made the top hat less fashionable. Based on photographs showing the Chinese in queues and in Chinese-style headgears, it is also possible that they wore European hats alternatively with, or as mentioned above, together with, Chinese hats.

Majority of the wealthy were known to have been discreet about their real status. Contrary to the motivations of the rest of the colonial population, not many Chinese used clothes to look good nor did they use clothes to convey wealth. It can also be surmised that since they could not hide their identities as Chinese because of their distinct physical attributes – for example, the distinct fold in their eyes—there was no reason for sojourners like them to adapt and reclothe themselves to local traditions in dress. They could be identified by their clothing as much as they could be recognized by their appearance. It was often said that the Chinese saw themselves as belonging to a culture more superior than the indios.[247] But, despite what they may think, the reality was they were in a land not their own, living in a milieu made up largely of indios. Many of them must have thought it prudent, both for survival and for economic reasons, to keep low profiles.

The Middling and Lower Classes

After articulating the appearance of the wealthy Chinese in relation to their social and economic achievements through the urbanized character of John Chinaman, it would be

[244] SAWYER, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines (1900)*, chap. 31.
[245] MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1983, 337.
[246] Ibid., 338.
[247] WICKBERG, *The Chinese in Philippine Life, 1850-1898*, 2000, 35.

worthy to speculate that for tax purposes, the middling classes or the poor among the Chinese may have dressed in a way that exaggerated their poverty. In the same way their motives for converting to Christianity was put into question,[248] it is worthy to consider that those with no social aspirations, may have even feigned poverty. This was stated in view of the fact that among the older Philippine Chinese men of today, clothing and appearance are not a measure of wealth. For this particular group, their appearance was – and is—never usually proportionate to their economic status. It is also assumed that for the middle and lower class Chinese, clothes had minimal social functions. Among this cultural minority, personal hygiene was judged less harshly and exquisite clothing was more of an exception rather than the rule. Certainly, the clothing and appearance of the rich, as with the poor, showed some common features, particular to their class. Mallat, for example, mentioned how Chinese coolie laborers in the Philippines looked like the coolie laborers everywhere else, e.g. in Macao and Canton.[249]

It is a known fact that majority of the Chinese who came to the Philippines were poor and were part of the common class in Manchu China. In the Philippines, they became involved in the trade of almost all types of commodities, ranging from sugar to pharmaceuticals to wax.[250] Some became successful, but ninety percent were simply registered as employees or low-income taxpayers.[251] There were those who peddled food, particularly pansit and chanchao, and general merchandise on the streets of Manila and other major cities.[252] Coolies, shoe repairmen, furniture makers, tailors, shopkeepers, bakers, fruit dealers, textile peddlers, tea vendors, and newspaper deliverymen were common features of both urban and rural street life.[253] Chinese cooks (*cocineros)* and gardeners were also very much in demand in the homes of wealthy natives and expatriates. In the albums that belonged to Dutch Honorary Consul, Meerkamp van Embden, Chinese domestic workers with their distinct queues were often seen hovering in the backgrounds.[254]

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[248] The account of Barrántes reflects that the Spaniards were of the opinion that the Chinese merely embraced Christianity to facilitate marriage with local women -- with marriage as their key to further their business interests in the Philippines. This was based on the fact that many have abandoned their "second" families in the families to return to their "first" families in China. BARRÁNTES, "Spanish, Portuguese, and American Women (1876)," chap. 26.
[249] MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1983, 337.
[250] MARTÍNEZ DE ZÚÑIGA y DÍAZ DE ILARRAZA, *A Historical View of the Philippine Islands*, chap. 6.
[251] DIOKNO, "Chapter Three: The Rise of the Chinese Trader," 68.
[252] LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 51: Chino Corredor; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 212–213.
[253] Photo of a Chinese Cobbler, 1899, sourced from Rizal Library, Ateneo de Manila University. Reproduced in DE OLIVARES, *Our Islands and Their People as Seen with Camera and Pencil*, chap. XXXIII: Life among the Filipinos, p. 766; TAN, Jr., "Chinatown," fig. 161, p. 96; MORENO, *Philippine Costume*, 50, 334.
[254] VAN DEN MUIJZENBERG, *The Philippines through European Lenses*, fig. 23, p. 110.

Unlike for example the *sinamayeras*, who participated in the publicity of appearances by wearing fine clothes, Chinese street traders and sidewalk craftsmen projected low prices--and low overhead costs—by maintaining austere, or even wretched appearance. The clothing choices of the average Chinese ran counter to the aims of luxury. They confronted increasing business competition with low prices, good after-sales service and the impression of a good deal – all of which they did by looking dispassionate or even uncaring about their appearance.

There were some commodity types that were supplied exclusively by the Chinese – tea, pansit, chanchao and herbal medicine, for example.[255] In different types of iconographic sources, from *tipos del país* artworks to periodicals, the ordinary Chinese in the streets were most recognizable by their queues and the iconic knot buttons that adorned most of their shirts. Immortalized in a sketch by a military man who was also an artist, José Taviel de Andrade, was the shaved forehead of a Chinaman from Calamba (Fig. 138B).[256] To emphasize their queues, Chinamen were usually depicted in either their side or back views. In *Manila Alegre* (1887, Fig. 138C), juxtaposed next to what was presumed as a Spaniard, a European, and a native or mestiza woman was the familiar figure of a Chinaman – with his floor-length queue, two-piece ensemble and thick-soled shoes.[257] Under the heading, "Tell me how you comb and I'll tell you who you are" in *Manililla* (1893, Fig. 139), stereotypes of hairstyles featured the Chinese alongside the painter, the old cobbler (*zapatero de viejo*), the musician, the singer (*tenor*), the hippie (*bohemia*), the waiter (*camarero*), and the unemployed (*cesante*).[258]

Apart from their queues, they were also recognizable by the knot buttons on their shirts. Even in its most rudimentary forms, these knotting buttons had a long and delicate tradition in Chinese history. Knotted waistbelts and buttons were used to enhance the shirts, jackets and dresses of both men and women in China. Its use supposedly reached its peak during the Qing dynasty of the Manchus.[259] Apart from its aesthetic value, knotted buttons can be assumed as among the sartorial icons of Chinese cultural identity.

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[255] WICKBERG, *The Chinese in Philippine Life, 1850-1898*, 2000, 109.
[256] TAVIEL DE ANDRADE, *Filipinas, 1887-1888 (32 Sheets)*, fig. Chinaman in Calamba (20 Enero 1888).
[257] Pedro GROIZÁRD, *Manila Alegre: Periódico Festivo Ilustrado*, Año III (Escolta 18: Imp. La Industrial, 1887), Febrero 24, Num. 8.
[258] The heading in Spanish: *Dime como peinas, te dire quien eres. Manililla Periódico Semanal: Ilustrado, Cómico y Humorístico*, 1893, Agosto 5, p. 245.
[259] "History of Chinese Knotting," accessed June 13, 2014, http://www.co.middlesex.nj.us/culturalheritage/chineseknotting/history.html.

A good representative of the lower class Chinese would be the pansiteros, who have been portrayed as barefoot street vendors who served pansit (noodles) to the poorer segments of the native population.[260] All of them were of Chinese origins and would typically be seen roving around in the busy areas of major cities as well as in the countryside. They would simply unravel the contents of the large baskets on both ends of their *pingas* (shoulder carrying pole) and instantly set up makeshift food stalls. For example, they would be seen outside the exits of cigar factories, usually in time for lunch or *merienda* (snack break) of the thousands *of* cigarreras. On one end of the *pinga*, their basket would contain the stocks of food they were selling. On the other end would be water for use in washing the dishes and cups they used to serve the food or drinks.

The attire of pansiteros was unlike the other members of the colonial population. They had distinct Manchu-style haircuts, sleeveless shirts with unfolded standing collars and Chinese-style knotted buttons, and shorts or cut-off pants that reached up to their knee or mid-thighs. Their shirts were conspicuously short and tight, reaching only up to the navel, and had exceptionally large armholes. Their choice of this airy ensemble must have been influenced by their need for comfort as they carried and balanced the heavy pingas on their shoulders under the tropical heat.

Many pansiteros also doubled as chanchao vendors[261] and as corredores of various, general merchandise like cotton, silk, threads, knives etc (Fig. 131A).[262] In which case, except for the commodities they were carrying, there was not much difference in their clothing and appearance. Sometimes, they would be seen without their shirts on, leaving only some short blue trousers and a handkerchief over their shoulders. In the Gervasio Gironella Album (1847, Fig. 131A), a Chinese corredor was illustrated wearing loose blue trousers that reached only to the mid-thigh and an oversized blue shirt with what appears to be patched holes. The illustration came with a text, which specifically indicated how "they were not normally as well-dressed as the one featured." Understandably, Chinese pansiteros,

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[260] The *Chino pansitero* and the *chino vendedor de chanchao* were well-represented in at least six tipos del país and *costumbrismo* paintings of Lozano. They were also a recurring image in several *letras y figuras*. LOZANO, *Nyssens-Flebus Album (1844-1846)*; LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*; LOZANO, *Karuth Album (1858)*; LOZANO, *Gandára Album (1867)*; ANÓNIMO, *Fr. Juan Tombo*; LOZANO, *Edward A. Westley*; LOZANO, *Andres Sanchez*.

[261] *Chanchao* were round black jelly referred to by the natives as *gulaman*. They were sold with honey, bijon or flour noodle and mongo, a type of beans. They would be served either combined or individually in small cups. LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 51: Chino Chanchaulero; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 224.

[262] *Corredores* were chinese carriers peddling various general merchandise. They were roving *quincallerías* and *abaserías* rolled into one. LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 51: Chino Corredor; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 212–213.

chanchauleros and corredores were all from the lower classes. Most independent corredores, in fact, did not really have any starting capital. What they did was to borrow wares from established Chinese storeowners, tried selling them by going house to house and paid for only what they were able sell, usually on Sundays or Mondays, when they were expected to settle their accounts.[263]

These hardworking street vendors have been shown to cater to a segment of the population construed to be, simply based on appearances and manners of eating, of the working or lower classes. Except for the pansit, which was the only dish they ate using the chopsticks or *sipit*, their usual customers would normally be eating with their hands while squatting down. Sold at only 2-3 cuartos per bowl, pansit sautéed with mixed vegetables and pork, was an affordable meal popular among the common tao. Their usual male customers were dressed very simply in plain shirts and striped pants, some with laborer's hat and some with handkerchief tied to their foreheads. The females would be in the usual baro't saya with checkered handkerchiefs hanging over their shoulders and some scapulars. In one particular painting with a countryside setting from the Gandara Album (1867-1868, Fig. 140), a Chinese pansitero was serving a mother and a young boy, who only had a long shirt on, appearing barefoot, scruffy and dirty.

If the government regarded the Chinese with suspicion, the average indios perceived them to be a class lower than themselves. The lower classes of Philippine colonial society, in fact, recognized distinctions within their class and they also discriminated against one another on grounds of race. In general, indios looked up to the Spaniards and the whites and looked down on the Chinese. Conspicuous with their Manchu haircut and *pingas,* Chinese street sellers would often be ridiculed by these indios, who, on numerous occasions, bargained to ridiculously low prices or worse, overturned their wares without buying anything.[264]

Apart from the activities of the itinerant traders, many other Chinese were shown pursuing service-related occupations, which ranged from cutting hair, cleaning ears and nose with pins, shaving heads, and cleaning shoes dressed not too differently from the Chinese tea vendor depicted by Ravenet in the 1790s – loose, comfortable long-sleeved shirts with knotted buttons paired with wide legged trousers (Fig. 141).[265] Since the Chinese had particular hairstyles, Chinese barbers familiar with the classic queue haircut were numerous

[263] LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 51: Chino Corredor; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 212–213.
[264] LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 51: Chino Corredor; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 212–213.
[265] Juan RAVENET y BUNEL, *Chino Vendiendo Té en Manila (Chinese Tea Vendor)*, pen and ink and sepia gouache on paper, 1792 to 1794, Museo de America.

in the Philippines as they were in China.[266] One would encounter them carrying around a chair, a pair of scissors, a razor and some small pins wherever they went, always ready to oblige a customer with a shave, an ear-cleaning service or of course, a hair-cut (Fig. 133, Fig. 142B).[267] An oil painting by an anonymous artist titled *Chino limpiando las orejas a un Tagalo* (Chinaman cleaning a Tagalog's Ears, 1887, Fig. 142A, Fig. 142B) and similarly, a photograph from the University of Michigan photo collection shows a Chinese street barber (1896-1900), who also functioned as an ear-cleaner, servicing what was unmistakably an indio customer.[268]

A mosaic that appeared in *Ilustración Filipina* (1860, Fig. 143A, Fig. 143B) summarized the typical appearance and the varied activities of the Chinamen, ranging from selling cloths, to carrying *pingas* containing varied items, cleaning ears, sitting in makeshift chanchao stands, etc.[269] They were also captured during their leisure time playing board games and musical instruments (Fig. 145, Fig. 146).[270] Some shirtless coolie laborers were also shown smoking cigarettes along the *esteros* (brook, Fig. 138A) of Binondo.[271]

Chinese Women

There is insufficient data to reconstruct the clothing culture that developed among the full-blooded Chinese women in the Philippines. For one, the Chinese who came to the Philippines in the 19th century were predominantly male and the married ones hardly brought their wives with them. Records showed that the few Chinese women who did come, came either as wives, concubines or as prostitutes.[272] In 1877, there were only about 193 Chinese women in a population of 23,000 Chinese men. Out of the 193 Chinese women, forty percent were below the age of fourteen.[273] Almost a decade later, in 1886, only 194 Chinese women were recorded in a population of 66,000 Chinese men.[274] The male population tripled while the female population, if the figures are accurate, only increased by one person. Sixty percent

[266] MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1983, 338; *Manililla Periódico Semanal: Ilustrado, Cómico y Humorístico*, 1893, Junio 3, sec. à Luengas Tierras...
[267] HANNAFORD, *History and Description of the Picturesque Philippines*, 85.
[268] *Chinese Street Barbers and Ear Cleaners*, 1896 to 1900, PHLC013, University of Michigan, Philippine Photographs Digital Archive, Special Collections Library, http://quod.lib.umich.edu/s/sclphilimg/x-902/PHLC013?lasttype=boolean;lastview=thumbnail;med=1;resnum=13;size=20;sort=sclphilimg_wid;start=1;subview=detail;view=entry;rgn1=ic_all;q1=sclphilimg.
[269] *Ilustración Filipina Periódico Quincenal*, 1860, Marzo 1, Num. 5; Noviembre 1, Num. 21.
[270] "Soiree Musicale at Manilla (October 17, 1857)," in *The Illustrated London News* (London: The Illustrated London News and Sketch Ltd., 1842), http://digitalgallery.nypl.org/nypldigital/id?832960.
[271] *Chinese Coolies*, B/W photograph, n.d., Geronimo Berenguer de los Reyes Museum (GBR Museum, Cavite Export Processing Zone); TAN, Jr., "Chinatown," fig. 162, p. 96.
[272] CHU, *Chinese and Chinese Mestizos of Manila: Family, Identity and Culture, 1860s-1930s*, 70.
[273] WICKBERG, *The Chinese in Philippine Life, 1850-1898*, 2000, 174.
[274] CHU, *Chinese and Chinese Mestizos of Manila: Family, Identity and Culture, 1860s-1930s*, 70.

of the approximately 100,000 Chinese men recorded in 1894 were between the ages of 20 and 35.[275]

One encounters two problems in identifying Chinese women. One is that sightings of full-blooded Chinese women were rare. Those who were able to catch a glimpse of them inside their carriages described them as dressed in colorful silk attires.[276] Second, many Chinese mestizas could pass as Chinese women. For example, Juan Ravenet's depiction of a *Chinese Woman taking her Son for a Walk* shows her dressed like the Tagalog women. She was wearing all four pieces of the Tagalog woman's clothing, except that the alampay was not worn around her shoulders. Instead, it covered her head and was then tied under her chin.[277] It is possible that she was not a Chinese from the mainland but rather, a Chinese mestiza. In another Ravenet painting, labeled *Chinese Woman* (Fig. 144), she was shown in traditional Chinese (Manchu) attire with loose trousers and a long tunic. She might well possibly be the wife of a Chinese worker from the mainland.[278]

Section Conclusion

In the Lozano vignette titled *View of a Plaza* (Nyssens-Flebus Album, 1844-1846, Fig. 137A), two types of Chinese were represented in one painting.[279] The barefooted Chinese *chanchaulero,* dressed in the usual sleeveless top with knotted buttons and cut off shorts was on one side of the painting while two stereotypical *chino comerciantes* were on the other. The two *chino comerciantes*, with their characteristic fans, long-sleeved *changshan*, and wide-legged trousers looked rather comfortable and relaxed. Manchu platform shoes also figured prominently in their attires. They seem unhurried while engaged in what may most likely be a business-related conversation. In between them were an indio bread vendor, a milkmaid and an india mother with a half-naked child. Within one image, the two types of Chinese were presented in clothes and footwear that reflect divergence in terms of work, wealth and the overall demands of life. The barefoot street vendors, whose work involved walking, lifting and serving, showed preferences for comfortable and breezy clothing in the form of sleeveless shirts and shorts. Given the ambulant nature of their trade,

[275] Ibid., 67.
[276] HAMM, *Manila and the Philippines*, 43; CHU, *Chinese and Chinese Mestizos of Manila: Family, Identity and Culture, 1860s-1930s*, 200.
[277] Juan RAVENET y BUNEL, *Chinese Woman Taking Her Son Out for a Walk*, pen and ink and sepia gouache on paper, 1792 to 1794, Museo de America.
[278] Juan RAVENET y BUNEL, *Chinese Woman*, pen and ink and sepia gouache on paper, 1792 to 1794, Museo de America.
[279] LOZANO, *Nyssens-Flebus Album (1844-1846)*, fig. Vista en una plaza; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 76.

their inconsistent use of footwear points to either poverty or habit. Devoid of any form of pretense, the clothing and appearance of the *chanchauleros* who, in this image was captured in the act of serving his customer, was appropriate to the nature of his trade. On the other hand, the long sleeves of the two fan-holding Chinamen shows lifestyles that were far removed from manual work. Using clothes to enhance differences in race and class, this stunning Lozano vignette engages viewers to ponder on the relationships as well as the proximity -- and distance to one another-- of the various ethnic and social groups.

In general, a lack of concern with appearances seem to have characterized the hardworking group of "sojourners" as originally referred to by Anthony Reid, determined not so much to integrate within Philippine society but rather to go back to China, worthy and eager to participate in their own nation's culture of appearances. For most of them, looking prosperous in the Philippines could attract attention to their burgeoning businesses, which could in fact, lead to even higher taxes.

From the rich to the poor, the Chinese have remained true to their identity as Chinese. In various images, they were recognizable by their distinct queues, shirts with knotted buttons, Manchu platform shoes and hats (Fig. 51, 52, 141, 147). Even those with socio-political ambitions maintained Chinese-ness through their clothes, even as the rest of society was beginning to appear in Western suits. In the cover of *Manililla* (1892), the appearance of a man in Western suit contrasts with that of a Chinaman.[280] This was explained in the context of sojourning and the way the colonial social and taxation system was organized based on race and income.

Clothes, shoes and accessories, however, consisted of details integral in distinguishing the rich from the poor and every other segment in between. For pictorials and special celebrations, the rich reinvented themselves as mandarins or as members of the Chinese nobility, and not as native or European nobilities. Some, not all, of the wealthy ones, exuded also success and prosperity through their clothing, stance and air. The poor, as represented by the street traders and laborers, were dressed in a way that was consistent with their work and lifestyles. Clothing for the common class Chinese had a functional rather than a social purpose. More often than not dressed miserably, they participated in the "publicity of appearances" but in a way that gave the impression of low prices. Catering to the poorer segment of the population, what the image of a barefooted Chinese invoked was affordability and a good deal.

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[280] *Manililla Periódico Semanal: Ilustrado, Cómico y Humorístico*, Año VI (Manila: Se Publica Los Sábados, 1892), sec. Cover, Septiembre 24, Num. 231.

In dealing with the Chinese in the Philippine context, their clothing and appearance were often inconsistent with their real status. They were known to be economically prominent but many certainly did not appear like it.[281] Given the history of periodic banishments and persecutions, not to mention the discriminating taxation policies, many have, in fact, managed their appearances to divert attention away from themselves -- and from their wealth. The attires, especially of those with no social aspirations, only served to confuse rather than enlighten. Up until the end of the Spanish rule, the Chinese would remain as an "unassimilated cultural minority."[282]

In looking at their cultural practices, particularly their clothing, it may also appear that their dress have retained its original forms. This degree of sartorial 'closeness' to the motherland was contingent upon whether the individual subjects, which have been stereotyped and classed as one homogeneous group, were newly arrived or entrenched in colonial society, e.g. first, second or third generation Chinese immigrants. In addition, although this study was organized by examining the clothing culture of the different racial groups in the country, it does not mean that these groups were existing in mutually exclusive cultural, political and economic enclaves. The racial and class boundaries were porous and penetrable. The effects of cultural exchange could be observed at various levels of the interacting groups. Manifestations of cultural exchange included adoptions of some garment pieces. The wide-legged sayasaya pants popular among the native gobernadorcillos before the 1840s were, almost assuredly, Chinese in origins. But, the term sayasaya, which was used to refer to these wide-legged pants fashioned by either the Chinese or the natives, were presumably rooted on Indian traditions, in the same way that the salawal pants – from the term *shalwar*-- had Indian or Persian heritage.[283] The use of the term sayasaya, which had Indian roots, to refer to Chinese clothing was due to the fact that the sources consulted for this study were either written by natives or white travelers, who may have recorded the names of the garments based on how the locals referred to them. There may be linguistic variations in the terminologies, in the sense that what was referred to as sayasaya pants in the Philippines may have had a different name in China. Exploring the vocabulary of fashion

[281] No one knew their real financial worth because they kept accounting records in Chinese. The colonial government, hence, issued an order for them to keep their books in Spanish. BARRÁNTES, "Spanish, Portuguese, and American Women (1876)," chap. 26; ABINALES and AMOROSO, *State and Society*, 98.
[282] Based on an incomplete population table presented by Chu, estimates showed that there were only 18,000 Chinese against a total Philippine population of 4.7 million in 1864, 23,000 Chinese against 5.5 million in 1877 and 100,000 against 7 million in the 1890s. In the years mentioned, they constituted only 0.3%, 0.4% and 1.4% of the total population. WICKBERG, *The Chinese in Philippine Life, 1850-1898*, 2000, 190; CHU, *Chinese and Chinese Mestizos of Manila: Family, Identity and Culture, 1860s-1930s*, 66–67.
[283] CANTA, "Of Cambayas, Custas and Calicos: The Indo-Philippine Textile Connection," 127–128.

using old dictionaries in Chinese may, in fact, reveal new data. The most significant adaptation of Chinese clothing in contemporary Philippine fashion was the *camisa chino*. The *camisa chino* was a generic term used to refer to the collarless, buttoned shirts seen among some of the Chinese. The style contrasted with the European-inspired, collared –folded, standing or ruffled—shirts common among the indios and mestizos. It also contrasted with the collarless shirts with deep v-neck typically seen among lower class natives.

Part III. Clothing and Social Distinction in Philippine Colonial Society

Chapter 4 Balancing Pomp and Pageantry with Modesty and Propriety through Clothing

The clothing culture of 19th century Philippines was built into the historical construction of colonial class and gender hierarchies. Against the backdrop of *paseos, tertulias, bailés* in Manila, this part of the study attempts to show how clothing stood at the crossroads of cultural conversations on the multiplicity of human motives: pomp and pageantry in connection with modesty and propriety. At the heart of discussions on ostentation and modesty were the luxurious and embroidered sheer garments worn by both men and women in the Philippines. Men have found the sheerness titillating especially when fashioned into the short camisas of women; hence, this looks into the developments of women's fashions to show how the "fairer sex" protected herself from the public gaze while at the same time, exuding feminine allure. By exploring selected genres of clothing -- everyday and special wear, mourning robes, bath and swimwear-- this study brings to light how the men and women of that era balanced pomp and pageantry with modesty and propriety.

The inhabitants of the Philippines lived through a period when one of the unspoken measures of *urbanidad* was grounded on how extravagance and stylishness were balanced with prudence and good sense. The church as a religious and social space, for example, hosted these cultural "tensions"-- while natives went to church and other church functions to see and be seen, they also had to be modest or at least, appear to be unostentatious. While clothes had to be functional, they also had a social purpose. While clothes expressed one's status, they also had to conform to the evolving societal standards of civility, decency, propriety and modernity.

Apart from exploring themes relating clothes with race, class and culture, this also articulates the role of clothing as people attempted to reconcile their inner and outer selves (*loob* and *labas*) as well as their private and public lives. Clothes not intended for public display is interesting insofar as they represented luxury, which was felt --and experienced-- personally and intimately. By examining housewear, inner wear and the contents of the

boudoir, the function of clothing was examined to shed light into the relationship of 19th century "Filipinos" with themselves and with the world.

Divided into three sections, this part of the study first explores the cultural values relating to hygiene, modesty and propriety to understand the foundations of colonial dressing. Secondly, clothing is examined in the context of the 19th century colonial world of appearances. This looked into how these values were applied as people dressed for the varied social environments. The objective is to show how the personal, the social and the sartorial were intricately linked. Third, discussions on clothing in varied social and private contexts inevitably raised the question of how appearances in everyday life differed from appearances during special occasions. The elements that represented the continuum between everyday and special wear were analyzed in light of whether genre distinctions were static or porous.

Cultural Values relating to Clothing and Appearance

Hygiene

Houag mong ypanotnor sa maruming camay

Trust not the disentanglement of the threads to a man with dirty hands[1]

In a highly conservative and critical colonial society like the Philippines, appraisal of one's social manners and conduct often began with an appraisal of appearance, and appearances were inextricably linked with hygiene and grooming. Members of good families were taught earlier on the outward manifestations of gentility, civility and good breeding, "both by precept and by example."[2] Cleanliness as an element of civilization could be seen when the culture of clothing of lowland, Christianized Filipinos was juxtaposed with that of the so-called savage, wild tribes like the Igorrotes who were described to be "not clean in their persons and they neglect to wash their clothes or clean the interiors of their houses."[3]

Young children of Christianized Filipinos were taught through special books of conduct, like Esteban Paluzie y Cantalozella's "*Tratadito de urbanidad para los niños (diminuto),"* to be constantly mindful of their cleanliness (*kalinisan*) and appearance.[4] For

[1] BOWRING, *A Visit to the Philippine Islands*, chap. XIX: Popular Proverbs, p. 288.
[2] SAWYER, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines (1900)*, chap. XXIII, sec. Appearance–Manners, pp. 208–221.
[3] Ibid., chap. XXVII: Igorrotes, pp. 254–267.
[4] The existence of the Tagalog term *kalinisan* indicates that the norms relating to hygiene were instinctive, if not universal, and may not necessarily be results of colonization. Esteban PALUZIE y CANTALOZELLA, *Diutay Nga Talamdan Sang Urbanidad Nga Maayo Sa Mga Cabataan* (Manila: Imprenta Amigos del Pais, 1884); Esteban PALUZIE y CANTALOZELLA, *Tratatido de Urbanidad Para Los Niños (diminuto)* (Barcelona:

adults, there was the *Nuevo manual de urbanidad* that laid out the foundation of a genuine *caballero* (gentleman).[5] It was works such as these that indoctrinated people according to the Hispanized and Christianized values of decency, propriety and morality. Apart from learning how to conduct themselves through dress and manner under different social situations, from *tertulias* to weddings and funerals, well-bred individuals must also know how to dress neatly and "properly," the meaning of which will be explored later on in the chapter.

Through the letters exchanged by the sisters Urbana and Feliza in Fr. Modesto Theodoro de Castro's1864 novel,[6] one is introduced to the values relating to 19th century clothing and hygiene as well as a few terms specific to garments and accessories. Written in Tagalog, he identified women's shirt or camisa as *barong*, the breast cover as *tapa pecho* ó *panaquip sa dibdib* (Fig. 10), men's breeches as *salaual*, women's slippers or *chinelas* as *chapin* and the state of wearing nothing on the feet as *paá* or *naka-paá*. With each piece of garment, care and prudence was required, a visitor with dirty shoes or slippers, for example, may vex the honorable housewife of a clean home.

He referred to the different types of cleanliness as elements of *kahusayan* or good conduct and carefully argued how good conduct mirrors the purity of the soul. Maintaining clean bodies and apparel at all times should be observed as regularly as one worships God. Proper hygiene must be observed at all circumstances, regardless of whether one was in the privacy of his own home or outdoors, exposed to the observant and critical eyes of others. He also emphasized that cleanliness is, first and foremost, asked from one's self, and is something one owes to one's self. Maintaining a clean body is fundamental and is essentially appreciated by one's self. This is central to the dichotomy of *loob* and *labas* in Philippine culture. *Loob* defined as one's inner self is the core or essence of one's being while *labas* is the exterior, outward self, which one presents to the world. In most cases, *labas* refers to the physical self in public -- to how a person looks, the way he carries himself and the way he is perceived by others. This statement from the novel, *"*in appearing before others, cleanliness

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Paluzie, 1842); Cited in REYES, *Love, Passion and Patriotism: Sexuality and the Philippine Propaganda Movement, 1882-1892*, 22.

[5] *Nuevo Manual de Urbanidad, Cortesanía, Decoro y Etiqueta O El Hombre Fino Contiene Todas Las Reglas del Arte de Presentarse en El Mundo Según Las Prácticas Que La Civilizacíon Ha Introducido en Todos Los Casos Que Ocurren en La Sociedad, Como Visitas Convites, Reuniones Filarmónicas, Matrimonios, Duelos, Lutos Etc., Con Un Tratado Sobre El Arte Cisoria* (Madrid: Librería de Hijos de D.J. Cuesta, 1889); REYES, *Love, Passion and Patriotism*, 20–21.

[6] Fr. de Castro was a Filipino secular. His work, written in Tagalog, was first published in 1864. Later editions came out in 1877, 1889, 1907, 1938, 1946 and 1947. Fr. Modesto DE CASTRO, *Pagsusulatan nang Dalauang Binibini na si Urbana at ni Feliza* (Manila: Imprenta y Libreria de J. Martinez, 1902), http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/15980; CAMAGAY, "Filipino Sexuality in Nineteenth Century Philippines: How to Avoid Conception," 121, 122, 132.

of oneself and of one's home is essential,"[7] sums up how cleanliness of self and of home are essential to one's relationship with others.

This concept of *labas* and *loob* calls to mind that man is a social being and, whether clothed or unclothed, in private or in public, he is vulnerable to the judgment of others and to the judgement of one's self. In Fr. de Castro's epistolary novel, lessons on cleanliness of persons and of clothing were conveyed with their opposites and consequences. *Kalinisan sa pananamit* (literally, cleanliness in clothing), along with *kalinisan sa pamamahay* (cleanliness at home) are contrasted with *karumihan* and *kaguluhan* (dirtiness and mess), which displays laziness, irresponsibility and an overall lack of good sense. Even the Tagalog term *hatol* (advice), which the older, Manila-educated sister, Urbana, used to counsel her provincial younger sister, Feliza, conveyed a second meaning of judgment. Urbana continued by saying that even if the woman is beautiful, rich and attractive, if she does not know how to manage the home for herself and for her family, she is of no value, especially to the keen and discerning eye of others. After all, it is the woman who holds the key to family honor and just as honor can be attained, honor could be destroyed by the sloppy, disorderly woman. In this sense, the care of clothing fell under the household duties traditionally ascribed to women. Women were, therefore, judged not only by their own cleanliness but also that of their family's. Sawyer took notice of how particular the well-to-do native housewives were in rearing, educating, and dressing their children and how homes were kept clean and well-organized under their vigilant supervision.[8] *Jabón* or soaps for bathing (*jabón fino*) and for washing clothes *(jabón ordinario para el lavado)* were available at home alongside fragrances and perfumes.[9]

Incarnating all the unfavorable attributes Fr. de Castro had put a name to, Doña Consolacion, the perfect antithesis to the Urbanas and Felizas of this world was born in the fictional world Rizal had created in the novel, *Noli me tangere* (1886). Distasteful in speech, actions and appearance, Doña Consolacion was the perfect villainess. More real than imagined, this *india lavandera* (native laundrywoman),[10] who married a peninsular, no less than the *Alférez* or the local chief of the Guardia Civil, was assumedly poised to join the

[7] In original Tagalog, *sa pagharap sa tao, hinihingi ang kalinisan sa katauan at sa pamamahay*. DE CASTRO, *Pagsusulatan nang Dalauang Binibini na si Urbana at ni Feliza*.
[8] SAWYER, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines (1900)*, chap. XXIII, pp. 208–221; XXIV, pp. 222–237.
[9] D. José B. Roxas from San Miguel, Manila was listed as a producer of different types of *jabón fino* while Don Eugenio Tabuena from Sta. Cruz, Laguna was a manufacturer of *jabón ordinario para el lavado* (-), *Catálogo de La Exposición General de Las Islas Filipinas 1887*, sec. Septima, Grupo 54: Articulos de Tocador, #19,21, p. 544.
[10] RIZAL, *The Social Cancer: A Complete English Version of Noli me tangere from the Spanish of José Rizal*, chap. 39: Doña Consolacion, pp. 303–304; chap. 47: The Two Señoras, pp. 367–368.

tables of the important members of colonial high society. Her husband, however, dared not to "expose her to the gaze of strangers and persons from the capital" mainly because of her appearance.[11] Despite being alienated from his social circles, she was, nonetheless, slightly elevated by marriage to this white man.[12] Her masculine features, jagged teeth, tangled hair, and worse, her filthy clothes were clearly embarrassing for him, especially since she was further described to be dressed badly, horribly, and ridiculously, in two layers of blue flannel camisa and a faded saya. She wears the pañuelo around her head, rather than around her neck.[13] The flannel camisa distinctly in color blue has been mentioned several times throughout the novel, perhaps to emphasize how it was once white but with improper care and discoloration, it turned into blue. Her worn out and overused ensemble became part of her signature attire as she stood by the window to smoke her big cigar. With makeup "of abundant paint and rouge," passers-by have associated her appearance with that of a *mankukulam*, a witch or even Medusa herself.[14] Her lack of concern for her appearance made her a disgrace in the context of the colonial pageantry and propriety.

Juxtaposing Doña Consolacion and Doña Victorina-- the amusing, rich indio woman in the *Noli me tangere*, who dressed like a Spanish woman (*española)* as a consequence of her marriage to an impoverished and lame Spaniard, Don Tiburcio de Espandaña-- two distinct picture of the colonial culture of appearances emerged. While both were well-to-do and seems to have belonged to the leisure class, Doña Victorina was active as Doña Consolacion was passive. Doña Victorina would actively participate in the colonial status game by socializing and engaging with different peoples, no matter how discriminate she was towards those beneath her class. She would observe the "indolent indios" by walking around town, expecting to be praised and admired for her "marvelous appearance." She enthusiastically learned to speak and dress like a European (Fig. 113), fussed over her husband's appearance, choreographed their afternoon drives so his lameness would be concealed. Doña Consolacion, on the other hand, would idly observe the world through her window, sneering at the passing girls, "who being afraid of her, would hurry in confusion and not dare raise their eyes."[15]

[11] Ibid., chap. 39: Doña Consolacion, pp. 300–302; ch. 57: Vae Victis, pp. 434–435.
[12] FOREMAN, *The Philippine Islands*, chap. XI.
[13] RIZAL, *The Social Cancer: A Complete English Version of Noli me tangere from the Spanish of José Rizal*, chap. 39: Doña Consolacion, pp. 300–301.
[14] Ibid., chap. 11: The Rulers, pp. 79–80; 27: In the Twilight, pp. 214–215; ch. 39: Doña Consolacion, pp. 300–301.
[15] Ibid., chap. 11: The Rulers, p. 81.

Fr. de Castro who used the words *marunong maghiyas* to refer to the state of knowing how to make oneself attractive to others, which implied that physical beauty and wealth are not the true measures of gentility. To be beautiful in the eyes of others required knowledge and guidance, but more importantly, effort and discipline, especially in the keeping of clean bodies. Doña Consolacion was lazy, indifferent and inattentive to how she looked, never even bothering to check her sordid appearance on the mirror.[16] Her idle lifestyle, typically dozing off in the middle of the day amidst her dirty, disorderly and unsanitary surroundings coated with dusts and cobwebs, explained her scanty clothing.[17] For example, her thin saya-sans-tapís, which silhouette her thin, flat thighs was a sharp contrast to the layers of petticoats Doña Victorina wore.[18] The suggestion that Doña Consolacion was dressed rather indecently was validated when Doña Victorina retorted to the *Alférez*, "train your woman better, buy her some decent clothes and if you haven't got any money, rob the people, that's what you've got soldiers for!"[19]

The investments they made on their outward appearance (*labas*) also reflected their inner state (*loob*). If Doña Victorina was haughty and well groomed, Doña Consolacion was cruel and filthy. Doña Victorina was well groomed because she was haughty, pompous, self-important and condescending. For her, her appearance, being the most visible, would distinguish her from those beneath her class. Furthermore, her haughtiness and disdain led her to regard good hygiene as a visible expression of *urbanidad*, necessary and expected from among those in the social circle she revolved in. She may look ridiculous but no one could doubt her cleanliness and the premium she placed on appearance. Doña Consolacion, who was shown to have whipped the madwoman Sisa, was abusive because she was abused by her drunk of a husband.[20] Their marital quarrels have been legendary, entertaining their neighbors with screams, sounds of whipping and ripped camisas, all of which signified physical violence.[21] Her filthy appearance could be indicative of a deeper sense of self-loathing or of low self worth and value. She was angry and hateful, sinister and scornful, all of which contributed to the ability of her appearance to frighten people.[22] She embodied the ugliness of women who were cruel, bitter and wicked, those who were ugly both *sa loob at sa labas* (inside and out).

[16] Ibid.
[17] Ibid., chap. 39: Doña Consolacion, pp. 301–302.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Ibid., chap. 47: The Two Señoras, pp. 368–369.
[20] Ibid., chap. 39: Doña Consolacion, pp. 300–302.
[21] Ibid., chap. 39: Doña Consolacion, pp. 305–306.
[22] She is said to hate young people. Ibid., chap. 11: The Rulers, p. 81.

The maintenance of an immaculate appearance, however, required both time and money. The better classes usually invested not only in the creation and adornment of garments but also in their upkeep and maintenance. Dirty clothes, after all, spoke of a filthy existence; and, grime and dirt can lend opacity even to the most translucent of native garments.[23] Although all classes were generally observed to "very clean in their persons and clothing,"[24] Jagor did mention that some people from poorer localities like Lauang, Tayabas (present-day Quezon), looked very dirty and filthy, mainly because of the scarcity of water. While the wealthier classes could afford to have their water brought in from neighboring areas like Samar, the poor had to get by with the murky waters of the two or three dried up springs.[25] They barely had enough for bathing, how much more for washing? This case illustrates the link between wealth or poverty, access to resources and hygiene in clothing and appearance.

In contrast, the type exemplified by Doña Consolacion could not blame poor hygiene on poverty or on lack of resources. She was married to the *Alférez*, who must have been earning at least 1,500 pesos annually, so her filthy appearance was never a question of money nor a lack of skills for she was formerly a *lavandera* herself.[26]

Propriety

In the 1864 novel *Urbana at Feliza*, Fr. Modesto de Castro's treatment of hygiene and clothing --subjects typically regarded as trivial or superficial-- were, on the contrary, profound and perceptive. The name of the older, supposedly wiser, sister Urbana was chosen to explicitly represent the urbanized, Manila-educated, worldly-yet-conservative young women, who sought to advocate and set good examples to their younger sisters. Feliza, who was left in their hometown of Paombong, Bulacan, assumedly stood for the former's naive and less exposed, provincial counterparts. This Tagalog moral code-cum-novel was addressed to the "new middle classes," who, without proper guidance, was prone to tastelessness and vulgarity.[27] Many Western travelers have written about the "gaudy tastes of wealthy Filipinos" and how this "new middle class," have shown propensity to boast and

[23] During Jagor's visit to Lauang, he talks about the poverty and dirty appearance of the people. JAGOR, "Jagor's Travels in the Philippines," chap. 19.
[24] Antonio de MORGA, "Sucesos de Las Islas Filipinas (concluded). Mexico, 1609.," in *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, ed. Emma Helen BLAIR and James Alexander Robertson, vol. 16 (Clark: Cleveland, 1903), 126.
[25] JAGOR, "Jagor's Travels in the Philippines," chap. 19.
[26] Figures based on the table indicating Officer's Pay per Annum, ordered according to rank. FOREMAN, *The Philippine Islands*, chap. XIII, pp. 214–215.
[27] REYES, *Love, Passion and Patriotism*, 22; CAMAGAY, "Filipino Sexuality in Nineteenth Century Philippines: How to Avoid Conception," 121.

flaunt what their newfound wealth could buy.[28] Sometimes bedecked in "ropes of pearls half as big as birds' eggs," their tastes were flashy to the point of being gaudy. Their camisas and pañuelos, characteristically diaphanous, could only be the costly piña, filled with what can be described as an overkill of silk and seed pearl embroideries of birds, flowers and trees.[29] To Western observers, like Jagor (1875), Barrántes (1876), Retana (1880), Manila's cosmopolitan men and women, with their Europeanized tastes, habits and manners of dressing, were nothing more than caricatures, living under the illusion of intellectual, cultural and moral superiority. They never failed to emphasize the natives' talent in imitating European ways. [30]

According to the values of what Daniel Roche described as the Christian clothing morality, cultivated and well-educated men and women should be conservative, modest, prudent and perpetually conscious of the rules of propriety. This calls to mind that one's clothing and appearance was and is, in fact, consequential. What then does propriety mean in terms of clothing and appearance?

The term propriety links clothing and appearance with conduct and behavior, in the sense of proper young men or proper women. Proper women were expected to cultivate themselves not only to be attractive physically but also intellectually and culturally. They must combine being well-dressed – at the basic level, this means, neat, appropriately covered and well-coordinated – with being well-mannered, well-spoken and well-educated. Additionally, from what could be gathered from the different 19th century articles discussing fashion as an element of propriety, extravagant garments goes against the values of propriety. Based on the article, "Un Bosquejo Sobre La Familia, Parte Segunda," that appeared in *El Oriente* (1876), fortunate was the man who found a woman who adorned her mind just as she did her garb, cultivating her knowledge as she did her beauty. The women who combined physical beauty, elegant clothes with good morals, modesty and prudence set apart the proper and cultivated from the ignorant and uncouth.[31] In "La Moda (Breves Consideraciones),"

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[28] FEE, *A Woman's Impression of the Philippines*, chap. XV: The Filipinos' Christmas Festivities and His Religion, pp. 192–205; SAWYER, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines (1900)*, chap. XIX, sec. Shops, pp. 173–187.

[29] FEE, *A Woman's Impression of the Philippines*, chap. XV, pp. 192–205.

[30] Wenceslao E. RETANA y Gamboa, *Aparato Bibliografico de La Historia General de Filipinas*, vol. 3 (Madrid: Imp. de la Sucesora de M. Minuesa de los Rios, 1906), 1588; JAGOR, "Jagor's Travels in the Philippines," chap. IV; BARRÁNTES, "Spanish, Portuguese, and American Women (1876)," 47.

[31] In original Spanish [*from El Oriente*]: *Ante una mujer amable é instruida no tiene lugar el grosero y el ignorante. No hay homre…que no sienta esa ponderosa influencia que ejerce la mujer, que la puede aumentar adornando su genio como adorna su traje, cultivando sus conocimientos como cultiva su belleza.* Ramón MERINO y MARTINEZ, "Un Bosquejo Sobre La Familia, Parte Segunda," in *El Oriente*, 1876; CAMACHO, "The Public Transcendence of Intimacy: The Social Value of Recogimiento in Urbana at Feliza," 308.

proper women were also reminded to be prudent in their love for fashion and jewelry.[32] There were, after all, two things that some writers, presumably male, claimed could cause havoc in the souls of women -- the vanity of beauty and the vanity of wealth.[33] Jewelries and clothes, although seen as investments for their value to the colonial status game, must be acquired and used with moderation and restraint.[34] Many grateful husbands happily indulged their wives tastes in clothes and jewelry, however, it would always be for the good of the family to err on the side of moderation and simplicity.[35] The author, whose pseudonym was Pickwik, mentioned that more than physical beauty, which could be enhanced by beautiful, luxurious garments, propriety must be pursued by embodying natural grace, purity and modesty. [36]

Propriety also extends to knowing how to dress in a manner suitable to his or her age, status, and circumstance. In general, the dress and ornaments of young, unmarried women were supposed to offer less affectation and wealth than older, married ladies. It has been suggested, that by virtue of their youth, they have not yet had the pleasure of receiving fancy accessories and trinkets from their husbands.[37] In paintings as well in photographs, young ladies would be depicted in their prime, bejeweled but their jewelries would not be colossal.

Notable artists of that period, the likes of Simon Flores and Esteban Villanueva y Vinarao have masterfully captured the filmy textures of the elegant camisas and pañuelos worn by both the old and the younger ladies. Although their upper garments appear almost alike, the young had the advantage of being able to wear fun and flamboyant accessories like feathers and flowerettes as well as bright colors and bold patterns in their skirts, and sometimes in their pañuelos. The young mestiza Urbana David, in a painting by Isidro Arceo,

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[32] PICKWIK, "La Moda (Breves Consideraciones)."

[33] In original Spanish, Emilia, a Spanish woman writes to Luisa, her friend in Spain: *hay dos que causan grandes estragos en el alma de las mujeres: la vanidad de la hermosura y la vanidad de la riqueza. La Moda Filipina*, Julio 23, Num. 30, sec. Brisas de Oriente, p. 2.

[34] Outside the capital city, banks were nonexistent so money was placed into the acquisition of properties and jewelries. The ladies from the few families of Lipa who made their fortunes in the coffee and other types of colonial enterprises were, for instance, legendary for their possession of ornate jewelries. FEE, *A Woman's Impression of the Philippines*, chap. 10; Maria Rita Isabel SANTOS CASTRO, "Demythologising the History of Coffee in Lipa, Batangas in the XIXth Century" (Dissertation submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Gastronomy, Department of History, University of Adelaide, 2003), University of Adelaide Library.

[35] In original Spanish: *y si en toda manifestación artística, gusta hallar el justo medio nunca la exageración, nada tan indispensable como este en el traje de la mujer*. PICKWIK, "La Moda (Breves Consideraciones)," para. 18, pp. 277–278; CAMACHO, "The Public Transcendence of Intimacy: The Social Value of Recogimiento in Urbana at Feliza," 310.

[36] In original Spanish: *Nuestras amables lectoras, no deben ignorar lo bien que las viste la pulcritud y sencillez en sus atavios; así como también deben saber que nada hay que las preste mas encantos que la modestia de sus adornos, la naturalidad en su porte y la pureza de sentimientos*. PICKWIK, "La Moda (Breves Consideraciones)," 278.

[37] *Nuevo Manual de Urbanidad*, chap. IV, section: El tocador, pp. 30–33.

was shown in a delicate piña camisa, with a bright red pañuelo (Fig. 148).[38] She was holding what Maria Serena Diokno has described as a "book depicting fashionably dressed women," which would most likely be a book on fashion from Europe. The well-to-do at that time learned about proper coordination by perusing over fashion journals that came with the ships from France. The *señoras* and *señoritas* at that time were so eager to get hold of these imported fashion journals that they even quarreled over them. Mallat (1846) mentioned how "their impatience and curiosity were so great that they wanted to see everything even before anything was even unpacked."[39]

Apart from fashion magazines, people learned their lessons on the subtle rules of sartorial propriety in different ways. Those who studied and lived in Europe had the opportunity to directly observe fashion as they unfolded in the streets and saloons of Paris, Madrid, etc. The imaging of the young Félix Roxas, then a student living in Paris, for example, began with his acquaintance with a woman, not just any other woman but a baroness nonetheless. Bona fide or otherwise, the *soi-disant* baroness took a fancy on him and escorted him into the exclusive world of Parisian high society -- a leading he was inclined to follow, especially if it served to enrich his purpose. In such circles, subtle sophistication and good taste were required. Her age – or maturity – could not be ascertained but her social connections and sartorial elegance was indeed compelling. Taking lessons in fashion, he allowed himself to be persuaded and measured according to her experiences with style and good form. During trips to *le tailleur* (tailor) and *le magasin de chaussures* (shoe store), her presence was her contribution. She directed tailors to follow his measurements but her specifications.[40] As the social and the sartorial are inescapably linked, his education carried on with picking out the "right" models and colors from a wide selection of cravats and patent shoes as well as knowing how to conduct himself in public while he was in those hand-picked garments. She exposed him to what, at that time, was fashionable. In style, he was the happy marionette and she, the buoyant puppeteer, steering him not from above but by his side. Hopefully, through her meddling, good coordination would become instinctive, an aptitude he should find meaningful and enduring, one he must carry with him even after his

[38] Isidro ARCEO, *Portrait of Urbana David (signed with the Initials y.A.)*, 1876, Bangko Sentral ng Pilipinas collection, http://www.retrato.com.ph/photodtl.asp?id=AC01357; DIOKNO and VILLEGAS, *Kasaysayan: The Story of the Filipino People*, 4: Life in the Colony:155–157.
[39] MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1983, 351.
[40] Félix ROXAS, *The World of Félix Roxas: Anecdotes and Reminiscences of a Manila Newspaper Columnist, 1926-36*, trans. Angel ESTRADA and Vicente DEL CARMEN (Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, 1970), 174; Cited by Racquel A.G. REYES, *Love, Passion and Patriotism: Sexuality and the Philippine Propaganda Movement, 1882-1892* (Singapore: NUS Press in association with University of Washington Press, 2008), 59–60.

sojourn in Paris. She set his style upright to fashion a gentleman, an elegant *caballero* (cavalier) as one would often hear abuzz and see in print advertisements in the colonies.[41]

Although the term for clothed is *bihis*,[42] it is not understood in the local sense as "not naked" or as the state opposite to nakedness. Rather, *bihis* is interpreted more as dressed, as in dressed for a particular occasion or well dressed. With this line, "one who does not know how to coordinate is laughable and can be compared to mourning in red, which is similar to substituting costly garments with poor and humble clothing,"[43] one's inability to put together the right outfits for the right occasions was compared to the impropriety of mourning in red as well as to the folly of one with means who assumes the appearance of the wretched and the downtrodden.

To be well dressed was not only measured by good grooming but also by the suitability of the clothes to the occasion and the aesthetics of the details that made up the outfit. Women's wardrobes were, for instance, more brightly colored compared to the men's in almost every social category, but, subtle differences in details, like hues distinguished the tasteful from the gaudy.

Proper coordination also meant one must be well-informed on how individual pieces were to be used and how these separate elements were to be harmonized and put together. In *Urbana at Feliza*, the former said that the one who does not know how different articles of clothing are fitted together is laughable, which insinuates foolishness and ignorance. Certainly, proper coordination must be pursued knowing that the rules of fashion were constantly changing – that what was once fashionable for use in public and for certain occasions may have, after a few years, become suitable only for wear at home or during regular days. The rise of the *saya de cola* (skirt with train, Fig. 18, Fig. 19), for example, has displaced the *saya a la mascota* (Fig. 2A, Fig. 2B, Fig. 3, Fig. 8) as the skirt for semi-formal or formal occasions. The tapís was being used sparingly. Imported silks and satins in celestial and floral patterns replaced the checkered skirts popular in the earlier decades.

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[41] In Urbana at Feliza, it was put forward that ill-matched clothing looks foolish. *See* Fr. Modesto DE CASTRO, *Pag Susulatan nang Dalauang Binibini na si Urbana at ni Feliza* (Manila: Imprenta y Libreria de J. Martinez, 1902), chap. Calinisan, http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/15980; The short advertisement of Giber says "e*l que quiera pretender de elegante caballero que vaya al sastre Giber que es como sastre, el primero*." *See* (-), *La Moda Filipina Periodico Quincenal Ilustrado*, Año II (Quiapo: Redaccion y Administracion, 1894), Julio 23, Num. 30.

[42] VILLEGAS, "Chapter Eleven: Costumes and Adornments," 273.

[43] In original Tagalog, *napatataua ang hindi marunong magucol-ucol nang damit, na caparis nang lucsa na sa pula; gayon din naman ang pagsasalit nang may halagang cayo sa ducha at abang damit.* DE CASTRO, *Pagsusulatan nang Dalauang Binibini na si Urbana at ni Feliza*.

The notion of sartorial propriety and its display of well-coordinated outfits carefully selected to suit the occasion was, however, challenged by the character of the dandy. Philippine dandies were heterosexual men who, characteristically, appeared outrageous and sometimes, mismatched (Fig. 149A).[44] They were self-styled individuals who, through dress and demeanor, appeared free from social conventions. They tend to use their outrageous appearances to excuse themselves from the confines of polite society as well as to challenge acceptable behavior. Rudolf Mrazek has described the dandy of a similar colonial society, Indonesia, as someone who "moved fast, crossed borders, mixed languages, celebrated individuality and embodied ruliness."[45] In similar fashion, the Philippine dandy tend to be socially mobile, open-minded, worldly and simply at ease with the mixture of cultures. Henk Schulte Nordholt, in his article, *The State on the Skin: Clothes, Shoes and Neatness in (Colonial) Indonesia*, also mentioned how dandies in colonial Indonesia were "difficult to categorize. They were natives, belonging to the early moments of national awakening, who managed to escape from the rigid standards set by their Dutch overlords."[46]

Madrid had the *manolo*s and *manolas* or *majos* and *majas*, people from the lower classes whose exaggerated outfits made them the misfits of society. Also called *chulapos* and *chulapas, chulos* and *chula*s, or *chisperos* and *chisperas*, their over-the-top renditions of traditional Spanish attires were striking contrasts to the French styles worn by the Spanish elite. A link between dress and political protest existed since the 18th century[47] and underneath the riotous, almost comical Spanish attires, the *majos* and *majas* made provocative political statements against the "Frenchified" Spanish high society. Apart from dress, they were also known for their cheeky, sometimes ill-mannered attitude. They have been described as quite quarrelsome, often eliciting arguments with those they saw as pretentious "*afrancesados.*"[48] Their deliberate efforts to stand in contrast with the elite can be seen as a response of the lower classes to the mockery the *afrancesado*s had made of Spain. Their outlandish appearance were captured by 18th century artist Francisco de Goya in *El*

[44] LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 30: Indio á Caballo; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 170.
[45] Rudolf MRAZEK, "Indonesian Dandy: The Politics of Clothes in the Late Colonial Period, 1893-1942"," in *Outward Appearances: Dressing State and Society in Indonesia*, ed. Henk SCHULTE NORDHOLT (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1997); SCHULTE NORDHOLT, "The State on the Skin: Clothes, Shoes and Neatness in (Colonial) Indonesia," 24–25.
[46] SCHULTE NORDHOLT, "The State on the Skin: Clothes, Shoes and Neatness in (Colonial) Indonesia," 24.
[47] Eileen RIBEIRO, "On Englishness in Dress," in *The Englishness of English Dress*, ed. Christopher BREWARD, Becky E. CONEKIN, and Caroline COX (Oxford, United Kingdom: Berg, 2002), 15–28.
[48] Charles J. ESDAILE, *Spain in the Liberal Age: From Constitution to Civil War, 1808-1939* (Wiley-Blackwell, 2000), 10.

paseo por Andalucia, where both *majos* and *majas* were portrayed in one painting.[49] One of the *majos* was wearing short, tight-fitting breeches with gold embellishments on the sides, reminiscent of the *traje de luces* (bullfighter's costume) typically worn by *matadores* (bullfighters). Interestingly, the outrageous styles of the *majos* and *majas* would later become iconic symbols of Spain, especially that of the fan-holding *manola.*

Unlike Madrid's *chulos* and *chulas,* who mostly came from the lower classes, the dandies of Spanish Philippines, were drawn from the various sectors of colonial society. This meant that what characterized the dandies were not necessarily their place in the social hierarchy. Rather, it was their airs and attitudes, their responses to the existing social conventions as well as the statements they made through their clothing. More than just a concern for clothing and appearances, dandyism in colonial Philippines was a state of mind. Underneath their flamboyant appearance and unconventional ways lie a nonconformist and a freethinker, whose behavior and views show a kind of aplomb, sort of an indifference to societal norms and constraints. Within polite high society, they often stood out with their bold fashion statements. They were colorful, flamboyant, and sometimes, mismatched but they were neither indecent nor offensive in appearance. The sartorial flamboyance of the rich educated were probably excused as the folly of the young and the carefree.

Between the 1820s and 1840s, they distinguished themselves by their preposterous attires, wearing embroidered slippers similar to those worn by women, or adding a wide waistband in bright white to their *sayasaya*, which conspicuously glared underneath their transparent camisas. Specifically, Damián Domingo's dandy, *Un Indio de Manila bestido de gala*, was dressed in ankle-length *sayasaya,* transparent striped camisa, glaringly white waistband, white cravat tied in a ribbon around the neck, black European top hat, and embroidered slippers (Fig. 23).[50] He was holding a handkerchief and a Chinese parasol in one hand and a cigarette in another. His dandyism was revealed not only in his overall appearance but also in the details that made up his outfit. He appeared proud and manly but at the same time almost effeminate. He must be a dandy from the upper classes, considering that the *sayasaya* he was wearing was generally seen among *gobernadorcillos*. This demonstrates that he had access to items not readily available to the common *tao*. His feminine-looking

[49] Francisco de GOYA y LUCIENTES, *El Paseo de Andalucía, O La Maja y Los Embozados*, Oil, 1770, Museo Nacional del Prado, http://www.museodelprado.es/coleccion/galeria-on-line/galeria-on-line/obra/la-maja-y-los-embozados-o-el-paseo-de-andalucia/.
[50] DOMINGO, *Colección de Trajes de Manila y de Las Provincias*, fig. XI: Un Indio de Manila bestido de Gala; JOAQUIN and SANTIAGO, *The World of Damián Domingo*, 46–47.

chinelas (slippers)[51] as well as the manner by which he elegantly held his cigarette made him appear nonchalant and quite urbane. Interestingly, he exhibited what author Antonia Finnane referred to as "male femininity" without actually appearing feminine.[52]

For the same time period, Espiridión de la Rosa's *El joven majo* or The Dandy looked less ostentatious with just full-length, striped red and cream pants and a sheer, embroidered baro full of coconut tree patterns (Fig. 25).[53] There were no cravats, no striking waistbands, no imposing European top hats and no feminine slipper.[54] The silhouette and hip-length of the baro, in fact, already resemble the familiar style of the modern-day *barong tagalog*. A smaller laborer's hat was also worn instead of the colossal European top hats, typical during that period.

The difference between Damián Domingo and Espiridión de la Rosa's depiction of a dandy's attire could simply lie on the event they were going to. Damián Domingo's was dressed to attend a party, a tertulia perhaps, while Espiridión de la Rosa's dressed down version depicts the dandy as he went about his daily activities, or as he went out for a promenade.

By the mid-1840s, the dandies party attire looked more animated and garish, combining stripes on stripes --high-waisted striped pants with striped shirts filled with heavy embroidery. They wore huge white European-style top hats alternately with their imposing black ones.[55] In one Justiniano Asunción painting, they appeared especially comical with their long, heavily embroidered transparent shirt over striped baggy pants (Fig. 149A).[56] The addition of a short, checkered jacket, which was fitted around the waist, created some shear out of the loose camisa. This created an effect similar to women's peplum overskirt.

The dandies of the 1870s began to wear patent leather shoes, with no socks and the pants went from baggy to tight-fitting, either in black and white or some other outrageously colorful combination. The shirts they were wearing were already "starched, pleated and of

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[51] Two of these *corchos* or slip-on shoes, dated 19th century, may be found at Museo Nacional de Antropología in Madrid. The one with wooden sole and leather upper was labeled *zuecos masculinos de cuero repujado* and the other with embroidered velvet upper and red velvet sole was simply referred to as *chinelas masculinas*. Meanwhile, Ramon N. Villegas has in his collection, a rare pair of hammered silver *corcho* covers. (-), *La Piña: El Tejido del Paraíso*, 73, 117; VILLEGAS, "Chapter Eleven: Costumes and Adornments," 295.
[52] FINNANE, *Changing Clothes in China*, 189.
[53] Espiridión DE LA ROSA, *Tipos del País*, between 1820 to 1840, fig. El Joven Majo, Private Collection, Manila; CARIÑO and NER, *Álbum: Islas Filipinas, 1663-1888*, 119.
[54] He was wearing black, semi-pointed shoes. CARIÑO and NER, *Álbum: Islas Filipinas, 1663-1888*, 114–125.
[55] LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 30: Indio á Caballo; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 170.
[56] Justiniano ASUNCIÓN, n.d., fig. The Town Dandy, Private Collection, Manila. CARIÑO and NER, *Álbum: Islas Filipinas, 1663-1888*, 143.

European make."[57] Their chimney-pot hats were made of silk and therefore, satiny and quite dazzling, unlike the matte ones preferred by most men. Of course, they would hold nonchalantly a cane or walking stick in their hands, even if it served them no purpose other than to look cool and trendy.

The attires of the dandies were described in order to show how pomp challenged propriety. Some men, by incorporating certain elements of female dressing and by appearing in public wearing stripes on stripes, striped shirts with checkered pants, fully embroidered barong with patterned pants, challenged the conventions of dress. In challenging the conventions of dress, they appeared to be challenging the limits of what was acceptable behavior in society.

Modesty

If dirty or unwashed clothing could elicit revulsion and if poorly-coordinated and mismatched clothing could induce laughter, the wearing of risqué and indecent clothes (*mahalay na damit*) was far worse, especially when Tagalog adjectives like "*nakasusuklam*" (disgusting) and "*nakaririmarim*" (dreadful) were used. For women, this meant the wearing of the usual transparent garments *sin tapa pecho* or without breast cover. Mixing Filipino and Spanish words, *nanganganinag* (transparent) was used by Fr. de Castro to describe this *barong* (camisa/baro or shirt) of women, which must be worn with the *tapa pecho ó panakip sa dibdib* (breast panel, Fig. 10), without which it looks *nakakacasuklam* (disgusting). Without this *tapa pecho* or rectangular piece of cloth sewn inside the inner part of the woman's sheer camisa, the woman would look "exposed," which was shameful and scandalous. Even if there was a *tapa pecho* but if the coverage it provided was inadequate, then the woman who was indecently exposed would still be *masamang tingnan* or offensive to the eyes of others.

Urbana thanked her obedient younger sister, Feliza for her good conduct in protecting herself through the clothes she wears. In showing appreciation, she was taking the opportunity to remind Feliza to carry on avoiding short clothing and to always be conscious and mindful of her actions, lest she may accidentally expose parts of her body. Shame must be avoided since well-bred Filipinas were prone to suffer in disgrace.[58] Urbana continued by

[57] JAGOR, "Jagor's Travels in the Philippines," chap. 3.
[58] *La Ilustración del Oriente Revista Semanal*, 1878, Enero 20, Num. 3, p. 28, 30.

using a certain type of fish with breasts in the chest, called the *pesmulier* [59]as an allegory of modest behavior. She urged Feliza to take example from the *pesmulier*, which, when caught by the fisherman, instinctively and graciously covers her breast with her wide fins.

As women's baros were constructed to be short and shapeless, they ran the danger of exposing, as Mallat explicitly detailed, either upright (*soso tayo* in Tagalog or *pechos parados* in Spanish) or drooping breasts (*soso higa* or *pechos caidos*), when lifting their arms.[60] The baro's short length,[61] transparency and lack of lining were verified by an actual piña baro (dated between 1876-1900) from the *Museo del Traje* collection. The baro, which measures only 21 cm in length and 61 cm circumference, has a front opening, which means it was not possible to attach any *tapa pecho*.[62] This explains why in *Ang Lagda* (1734), another moral code written also by a priest, women were reminded to:

> Watch your *camiso* that it is not opened at the breast nor should it show your waist when you lift your arms. Do not make the neck of your dress so large so as to show your shoulders…It is also good that a woman should wear pañuelo whether she is in town or in the country, and when she goes to and leave the church she should wear a veil[63]

Clothing for men also became a cause for concern for elders when it became an outward expression of youthful defiance and rebelliousness. Some young men's *salaual* (loose and wide breeches) have been described as *manipis at madalang* (short and flimsy), which led the author to remark, "what does this say about values and principles? What this shows is rebelliousness, a lack of shame and good sense in following vulgar fashions."[64] Clothing issues brought up in the novel --like length and transparency—brings to the fore elements, which bordered between propriety and vulgarity.

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[59] In original Tagalog: *sucat alalahanin nang manga namamaling binibini ang malinis na uaní nang isada, na tinatauag na pesmulier. Ang isdang ito, ang sabi, ay may suso sa dibdib, ang palicpic ay malalapad; pagnahuli nang mangingisda, caraca raca ay ibanababá ang palicpic at itinataquip sa dibdib at nang di maquita. Magandang caasalan na sucat pagcunang halimbaua nating manga babaye!* Researching what type of fish this is yielded no results, other than two Spanish words put together: *pez* for fish and *mulier* or *mujer* for women. DE CASTRO, *Pagsusulatan nang Dalauang Binibini na si Urbana at ni Feliza*.

[60] MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1846, 66; MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1983, 294.

[61] A kind of shift, which barely reaches the navel. MARTÍNEZ DE ZÚÑIGA y DÍAZ DE ILARRAZA, *A Historical View of the Philippine Islands*, sec. Extract.

[62] Call no. CE108450. *Cuerpo (Baro)*.

[63] Gregorio F. ZAIDE, *Documentary Sources of Philippine History* (Metro Manila: National Book Store Inc., 1990), 262; CAMAGAY, "Filipino Sexuality in Nineteenth Century Philippines: How to Avoid Conception," 122.

[64] *ano ang sinasaysay nang asal na ito? Ang sinasaysay as casalaulaan, caculangang nang hiya at bait nang sumusunod sa mahalay na moda.* DE CASTRO, *Pagsusulatan nang Dalauang Binibini na si Urbana at ni Feliza*.

Even if the words in the novel were supposedly uttered by female "voices," the sentiments and the point-of-view of the male religious resonated throughout the novel. Those who exposed their bodies by wearing *maikli* (short) and *madalang* (revealing) supposedly destroyed souls and provoked the anger of God. Therefore, he must be punished and may heaven grant enlightenment to the misguided youth. The argument that indecent clothes may provoke lust and misdeeds was brought forward as a metaphor for the destruction of souls. Exactly what sort of punishment was the author urging to recompense for the donning of indecent clothes is intriguing and certainly, thought-provoking.

Caught at the center of discussions on decency and indecency, pageantry and modesty were the sheer fabrics popular among both male and female natives. The lightness and translucency of the fabric sparked controversy especially when fashioned into the short camisas of women. The sheer fabrics on women were described as fascinating and coquettish[65] --revealing while at the same time, concealing. They were controversial for they had the potential and the power to be more seductive and more provocative than having no clothes.

There were many misconceptions that surrounded the development and use of these sheer fabrics (*nipis*, Fig. 150, Fig. 151). Sheer fabrics for use in clothing were, according to Lourdes Montinola, in her book *Piña*, the result of the Spanish prohibition on the natives not to wear imported fabrics. It is believed that the use of sheer fabrics was supposedly imposed by the Spaniards to distinguish themselves from the natives. The use of transparent material was surmised as an early assertion of Spanish colonial power for it made it impossible for the wearer to conceal any weapons. The lack of pockets, likewise, prevented the wearer from engaging in any form of thievery (Fig. 152).[66] However, these are highly unlikely especially as no written source was yet rediscovered.

The translucency and revealing nature of the fabric often threatened exposure and it was likewise believed to be the colonizers' way of debasing its subjects. As the fabric of the baro was transparent and never lined,[67] it often offered a glimpse of what was underneath. Clothing made of piña, sinamay and jusi allowed the wearer's body or undergarments to be seen vaguely through its fabric. However, it is more likely that this type of sheer fabric for clothing was developed and used because it was ideal for warmer climates. Besides, they were almost always worn over opaque undergarments or underdress, which meant that the

[65] GIRONIÈRE, *Adventures in the Philippine Islands*, chap. 2, p. 35.
[66] TORRE, *The Barong Tagalog: Then & Now*, 6.
[67] MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1983, 294.

wearer's modesty was maintained. For the elite, their neckline or décolletage (French *décolleté*) was further covered with fine, embroidered pañuelos, secured demurely with broochs. The length of their baro sleeves and their skirts were always long. Underneath their saya, they wore petticoats and stockings. For added dignity, the men in authority typically wore short Western-style jackets over their baro.

Applications of Colonial Values in Dress

Clothing in Colonial Street Spectacles

> They love dress, and in one lightning flash will take you in from head to foot, note every detail of your costume, and, the next day, imitate whatever parts of it please their fancy and fall in with their national customs. They are adepts at mimicry & among themselves will lash us mercilessly[68]

From the mundane to the significant of man's activities, clothing is always a consideration. From the moment one is born, he is clothed or at least, partially clothed. People worked, traveled, and celebrated both the joyful and the tragic with clothes. They were baptized, married and buried with clothes. After exploring the values relating to hygiene, propriety and modesty, it is now time to look at how these were applied in the varied social environments. This also inquires into the intentions behind dress and the repercussions of living in a colonial society that nurtured pomp and pageantry alongside modesty and propriety.

Either as participants or spectators of colonial street spectacles, the "Filipino" was clothed – and clothed in their best and most charming attires on grand occasions.[69] Many of the native elites and petty bureaucrats, whose ranks were inherited, would even make it a point to appear in distinctive clothing that once belonged to their forefathers.[70] The significance of clothing in Philippine social life could not really be ignored. They were integral to both life and lifestyles.

The daily afternoon promenades, along with the daily masses, siestas, six o'clock angelus, fiestas and the numerous religious holy days of obligation were distinct characteristics of colonialism. They were all colonial adaptations of life in Spain. As Albert Memmi carefully presented in his work, *"The Colonizer and the Colonized,"* the 'cadence'

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[68] FEE, *A Woman's Impression of the Philippines*, chap. X: Filipino Youths and Maidens, pp. 119–129.
[69] "The expression the expression filipino neither denotes any autochthonous race, nor any nationality, but simply one born in those islands named Philippines" See FOREMAN, *The Philippine Islands*, chap. XI: Domesticated Natives, pp. 163–194.
[70] BOWRING, *A Visit to the Philippine Islands*, 161.

that life took in the colonies was that of the colonizers, not the colonized.[71] As the Spaniards settled into the colonies, they brought with them their food, their habits and their apparels. Sewing supplies, fabrics, hardware, perfumery, preserves, wines, and beer were among those that made up the import trade.[72] This cadence of life, combined with the creation of planned public and social spaces, including churches, theaters, gardens, parks, esplanades, like the *paseo de Luneta*, where people walked around not so much to see but to be seen were all essential aspects of the colonial production.[73]

The colonial system also nurtured spaces and occasions conducive to the demonstration of wealth and status, primarily because "it corresponded to a deep necessity of colonial life: to impress the colonized was just as important as to reassure oneself."[74] The arrival and departure of Spanish Alcaldes to unimportant events were all accorded with so much pomp and pageantry that their positions in society could never be put into question. A servant would often signal their arrival by shouting, "here comes the alcalde." The alcalde will soon arrive in an open carriage, complete with an entourage of both Spaniards and native horsemen, the latter of which were described as "prancing about in silk hats and shirts fluttering in the wind."[75]

Colonial societies like the Philippines worked hard to keep up appearances that no expense was spared to demonstrate the glory of Spain to the colonized, to the other Europeans and foreigners residing in the colonies, and even to the insecure colonizer himself. Public spectacles were designed and organized to make the colonized believe they were part of something greater than themselves.[76] Specifically, in 1825, a series of parades, concerts, and parties were organized by Mariano Ricafort Palacin y Abarca, then the newly appointed Governor General of the Philippines, to welcome the arrival of the oil portrait of King Felipe VII from Spain.[77] As the Philippines was Spain's farthest colony, the actual presence of the King could not be expected. In his absence, a painting will symbolically represent him to

[71] MEMMI, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, 57.
[72] MARCHE, *Luzon and Palawan*, 32.
[73] STA. MARIA, "Leisure Time in Old Manila," 12–13.
[74] MEMMI, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, 103.
[75] JAGOR, "Jagor's Travels in the Philippines," chap. XI.
[76] "He can make people believe. He loves the most flashy symbols, the most striking demonstrations of the power of his country. He attends all military parades and he desires and obtains frequent and elaborate ones; he contributes his part by dressing up carefully and ostentatiously. He reveres uniforms and covets decorations." *See* MEMMI, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, 103.
[77] 26 watercolors were commissioned by Governor General Ricafort to document the event. These watercolors, *Fiestas en Manila, Año 1825,* can now be found at the Real Biblioteca del Palacio Real in Madrid. Almost all of them were painted by Spanish military soldiers who had backgrounds in technical drawing. 19 were by Spanish Lieutenant Colonel of the Royal Army, Antonio Chacón y Conde, while the rest were by Tomás Cortes,Vicente Anastacio de Castro and Celedonio de Ocampo. Of the 4 artists, De Ocampo (1792-1830) was the only Chinese-Filipino mestizo. *See* CARIÑO and NER, *Álbum: Islas Filipinas, 1663-1888*, 72–75.

allow his subjects to put a face to their sovereign. The clothes in which the King would be immortalized in painting were crucial to the colonizing strategy. Felipe VII was depicted wearing white robes tied with a gold belt, a necklace and a medal of the Order of King Carlos III.[78] The choice of attire was symbolic for King Carlos III originally established the Order to award people for meritorious service to Spain. It is presumed that the painting was a reward to Manila colonial authorities for quelling a revolt instigated two years earlier, in 1823, by Andres Novales, a mestizo captain of the Spanish Army in the Philippines.[79] Novales was the son of a Mexican Army captain with a native woman from a prominent family. The main reason why he revolted was the prejudices against mestizo soldiers, especially the replacement of mestizo officers with peninsulares who were newly dispatched from Spain.

Felipe VII's clothes were complemented by recognizable and potent symbols of power, such as the gold crown, which rests on the table, the scepter he was holding on his right hand and the plumed headgear on his left. In this portrait, the King's favorite court artist, Vicente López, made him appear benevolent and almost imminent. It indicates how he wished to be perceived by his subjects - as a powerful paternalistic figure.

The series of festivities to honor the arrival of the King's portrait began with a parade from the Royal Wine and Spirits Tax Collection building to the Ayuntamiento on December 18, 1825, which drew a crowd of 400,000 people.[80] The merrymaking lasted for six days and became an occasion for Manila's elite to display their wealth and privilege. For example, the opportunity to be selected as one of Manila's twelve loveliest young ladies to accompany the chariot in its four-hour grand street parade was highly coveted. The magnitude of the event would almost be like the pretty *dalagas'* (young ladies) coming out to society. Presumably from the upper class, they would be dressed in fashionable baro and pañuelo of nipis,[81] saya of imported Madras checkered cotton, tapís made of silk from Baliuag, while adorned with precious family heirlooms. The Governor General, military authorities and other colonial personnel were all dressed in their best gala clothes, bearing sashes, medals and elaborate

[78] Real y Distinguida Orden Española de Carlos III (The Royal and Distinguished Spanish Order of Charles III) STA. MARIA, *The Governor-General's Kitchen*, 229.
[79] Nick Joaquin, *Manila, My Manila* (Makati City: Bookmark, 1999).
[80] The authors wrote that "Governor-General Ricafort himself estimated that at least 400,000 people watched the parade." There must be a typographical error. 40,000 is more plausible than 400,000, considering that the distance from Binondo and the Ayuntamiento where the crowds gathered were not that far. CARIÑO and NER, *Álbum: Islas Filipinas, 1663-1888*, 73.
[81] In the period between 1820 and 1840, the shirts of cosmopolitan or elite men were shown in the works of Damián Domingo and Espiridión de la Rosa to be made of distinctly nipis or sheer fabrics, presumably piña or jusi; women's shirts however, were depicted by the same artists, during the same time period, as more opaque and thicker. DOMINGO, *Colección de Trajes de Manila y de Las Provincias*; DE LA ROSA, *El Joven Gallardo (Elegant Young Man)*; DE LA ROSA, *El Joven Majo (The Dandy)*.

headgear.[82] All this may have given the impression of prosperity and abundance, however, it left the colonial government almost penniless. At a time when 1.50 pesos could buy approximately 63 kilos of rice, the 1,000 pesos presented by the Economic Society of Manila to the artist Vicente López was exorbitant.[83] 6,000 pesos was also sent by the Manila colonial administration to the King as a sign of appreciation for the painting. In 1830, the Tax Minister of Spain decreed that colonial expenses must be regulated following an investigation on an unaccounted 15,944 pesos authorized by Governor General Ricafort on overly decorated carros (floats), carriages, tents, fireworks and balloons launched in Bagumbayan, Luneta during the 1825 festivities.

Theatricality of different forms abounded in the streets of colonial Manila. Clothing and appearance played crucial roles in the processions and parades of religious and civil character, and even in the punishments or persecutions that were unfolding in public spaces (Fig. 42A). Crimes entailed harsh punishments in colonial Philippines. Adultery, for instance, was punishable by death.[84] The standard capital punishment enforced was strangulation by garrote or by hanging.[85] Lt. John White of the United States Navy (1819) witnessed first-hand an execution of a mestizo soldier charged with murder. The execution by hanging he witnessed was held at Bagumbayan, Manila, where people from all walks of life were drawn to a circle of around two hundred feet in diameter. The hangman was recognizable by his all-red clothing --from his hat and long-sleeved jacket, down to his trousers—the color of which gave prominence to his dark skin. While the familiar image was that of a masked executioner, the ones in colonial Philippines were unmasked, often revealing the silent smirk that Lt. White described as "demonic visage." The hangman's facial expressions and exaggerated actions from the time he ascended the ladder, put the rope around the prisoners' neck to the time he pushed the ladder were theatrical and were meant to amuse the curious spectators.

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[82] "the gala dress were designed over the centuries according to royal rules and they lined up according to official etiquette." *See*

[83] CARIÑO and NER, *Álbum: Islas Filipinas, 1663-1888*, 75.

[84] An indio, who gave a full confession that he murdered his friend in a fit of jealous rage and threw his body into the lake, was condemned to death. *See* Antoine-Alfred MARCHE, *Luzon and Palawan*, trans. Carmen OJEDA and Jovita CASTRO (Manila: The Filipiniana Book Guild, 1970), 36–37; Pierre SONNERAT, *Voyage Aux Indes Orientales et à La Chine, Fait Par Ordre du Roi, depuis 1774 Jusqu'en 1781. Dans Lequel on Traite Des Mœurs de La Religion, Des Sciences & Des Arts Des Indiens, Des Chinois, Des Pégouins & Des Madégasses*, vol. 3, Chapter 10 (Paris: Dentu, Imprimeur-Libraire, quai des Augustins, no. 17, 1782), chap. 10; Fr. Joaquín MARTÍNEZ DE ZÚÑIGA y DÍAZ DE ILARRAZA, *An Historical View of the Philippine Islands, Vol II (of 2): Exhibiting Their Discovery, Population, Language, Government, Manners, Customs, Productions and Commerce*, trans. John Maver (London: T. Davison, Whitefriars, 1814), sec. Extract, http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/39027.

[85] Garrotes were used as execution tool for capital punishments in Spain. LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 67: Ajusticiado; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 244–245.

Unlike in other cultures where punishments were carried out by professionals or by members of the military, prison staff or police, executioners in the Spanish Philippines were convicts themselves sentenced to life imprisonment for heinous crimes such as parricide and were only allowed to leave their cells on occasions when they were asked to perform their duties.[86] Performing the duties of executioners was their atonement and their appearance in public in distinctive clothing displayed their temporary respite from the disgraced life of a criminal.

The appearance and roles of these executioners in Philippine colonial society have been documented by José Honorato Lozano in various watercolor paintings. It seems that nothing has changed in the way they dressed from the time of White (1819) to the time of Gervasio Gironella (1847, Fig. 156)[87] and even until the time when Governor-General José de la Gandara y Navarro (1867, Fig. 157)[88] commissioned Lozano to paint vignettes of Philippine life. These paintings filled in the details that White failed to mention, such as the executioners' lack of shoes. They were still seen wearing red from head to foot but they were by the 1850s depicted carrying out various forms of public punishment like whipping.[89] From the *Gandara Album*, the painting titled "*Reo criminal azotado por el Verdugo en calles públicas* (Imprisoned criminal being lashed in public streets by the hangman, Fig. 157)," the executioner in his distinct red hat and red clothes can be seen whipping a prisoner sitting half naked on top of a horse, specifically on the corner of No. 62 Calle San Nicolás.[90] The fact that the exact location where the execution took place was clearly identified show that by the second half of the 19th century, paintings became essentially journalistic and served as visual documentations of actual events. It also confirms that executions were public affairs, well attended by both men and women, who, devoid of any emotions, stood as silent witnesses. The interesting array of well-dressed people looking down from their windows and balconies, the *alguacils* (bailiffs) with their short jackets over a loose shirt, and the *gobernadorcillo* in his Western style jacket, European top hat and leather shoes reading what appears to be the prisoner's verdict show that such events were a part of the street spectacle of colonial Philippines. Public degradation allowed the colonial government to demonstrate its power to

[86] The term executioner was not limited to those prescribed to kill, rather, it extends to administrators of different forms of physical punishments. WHITE, "Manila in 1819 by An American Naval Officer," 530–535.
[87] Gervasio Gironella was the Superintendent General and the Quartermaster General of the Spanish Army in the country. CARIÑO and NER, *Álbum: Islas Filipinas, 1663-1888*, 153, 184.
[88] Ibid., 184.
[89] Those caught trading with the "wild tribes" for example are punished with one hundred blows. JAGOR, "Jagor's Travels in the Philippines," chap. 17.
[90] LOZANO, *Gandára Album (1867)*.

its subjects while affording the public the opportunity to witness what may be considered as an "event." A distinguished looking European man with a beard is shown in one of the upper balconies in a white suit and a black bow tie. His appearance -- and location, where he overlooks the crowd-- suggest power and position. European soldiers were distinguished from native soldiers through their hat and the shoes – or the lack thereof. The native recruits were barefooted and were using salakot while the European soldiers were wearing cream cylinder hats and leather shoes.[91] Although it needs to be pointed out that even the Spanish troops would usually go barefoot during marching or in the fields; they reportedly only wore shoes to parades and other official functions.[92]

Having presented the clothing and appearance of the executioner using iconographic sources, the one obvious element that begs an answer is why red? Their all-red clothing and red hat is interesting to analyze for they seem to have served a dual purpose of distinguishing them from the crowd while at the same time, underscoring their diminished status. Looking like predecessors of the orange penitential garbs worn by modern-day Philippine prisoners, the meaning of red clothing would have to be explored here with the acceptance that the exact circumstances of whether the clothes were provisions or impositions would, perhaps, never be wholly known. One could only assume that since the color red is the color of blood and blood is entwined with the duties of an executioner -- at least, if the sentence was death by garrote and not by means in which blood will most likely be absent-- then it could be attributed not only to the pomp and pageantry pervasive in Philippine colonial life but also to the pragmatism of its members. As history unfolded though, the executioners would not always be dressed in red. By the end of the 19th century, they were dressed completely in military uniform, which shows that punishments were no longer administered by prisoners but by military personnel.

Opposite to colonial executioners in public punishments were the prisoners. Sentenced criminals about to be executed by garrote were shown wearing plain, long, white robes with a white cloth covering their heads and faces (Fig. 156).[93] Prisoners sentenced to be flogged were shown with their backs exposed, either dressed with only trousers on or with shirts rolled up. Some had their faces covered while some did not but they were usually

[91] Those with higher positions wore salakots with a tip of silver or gold. Ibid.
[92] Ferdinand BLUMENTRITT, *Versuch einer Ethnographie der Philippinen* (Gotha: Justus Perthes, 1882), 9–19, http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/40867.
[93] LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 67: Ajusticiado; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 244–245.

shown with their heads bowed down.[94] There would be a lot of bailiffs and *polistas*[95] armed with lances in the scene, alongside the commanding authority, which in most cases was the *gobernadorcillo*. Prisoners presented to the tribunal usually appeared miserable barefoot with their unkempt shirts, which were either half or fully opened in front. One end of a rope was tied to the prisoner's arm while the other was held by the *alguacil* (Fig. 158).[96]

An 1898 black and white print by the Mid-Manhattan Picture Company, with this caption on the border, "An execution of insurgent chiefs on the Luneta (Fig. 160)," showed changes towards the end of the 19th century. One was a change in the mode of execution to, for example, firing squad and second was a change in the manner of dressing of both the prisoners and executioners. As the mode of execution changed to firing squad, lone executioners in sardonic red attires were replaced by groups of soldiers in military attire. Prisoners, meanwhile, in clean shirts and trousers, shoes and European-style hats, assumed some dignity in their appearance.[97] In a photo of the execution of José Rizal supposedly taken a few seconds before his death in December 30, 1896 in Bagumbayan, the national hero was shown standing regal and proud in a black Western suit over a white shirt, black trousers and a bowler's hat (Fig. 161).[98] This clear and original black and white photograph discovered at a flea market in Pennsylvania, USA in 1987,[99]close to 100 years after his death, was an important historical find. This has aided documentary filmmakers to recreate Rizal's appearance during this unfortunate event.

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[94] LOZANO, *Gandára Album (1867)*, fig. Reo criminal azotado por el Verdugo en calles públicas; LOZANO, *Ayala Album*, fig. Conduciendo al azotado y Vista del puerto de Manila.

[95] *Polistas* or *palistas* were men who took turns in completing their mandatory 40 days polos y servicios. MONTERO y VIDAL, *Archipiélago Filipino*, 162–168; BLAIR and ROBERTSON, *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898*, 1903, 17:331; LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 67: Ajusticiado; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 244–245.

[96] LOZANO, *Ayala Album*, fig. 79: Prisoner being presented to the Tribunal; LOZANO, *Gandára Album (1867)*, fig. Un gobernadorcillo de pueblo en su tribunal actuando justicia.

[97] MID-MANHATTAN PICTURE COLLECTION, *An Execution Of Insurgent Chiefs On The Luneta.*, Prints, 1898, New York Public Library, http://digitalgallery.nypl.org/nypldigital/dgkeysearchdetail.cfm?trg=1&strucID=713208&imageID=814510&word=An%20execution%20of%20insurgent%20chiefs%20on%20the%20Luneta&s=1&notword=&d=&c=&f=&k=1&lWord=&lField=&sScope=&sLevel=&sLabel=&sort=&total=1&num=0&imgs=20&pNum=&pos=1.

[98] Fr. Bonoan sourced the photo from GBR Museum. Juan Guardiola, in a footnote, said that "the execution photograph was attributed to Manuel Arias Rodriguez, however, it does not bear the signature MA that appears on most of his works. There is also some controversy regarding the authenticity of the shot." The author also refers to historian John Silva who gave a background on Rodriguez as "a partisan of the Philippine cause, who made abundant photographic documentation of the military conflict from a pro-Spanish perspective." BONOAN, S.J., "José Rizal: Revolution of the Mind," fig. 328, pp. 214–215; GUARDIOLA, "The Colonial Imaginary," footnote # 64 and 65, p. 268.

[99] SILVA, "Nineteenth-Century Photography," 143.

Bajo las campanas: Life under the Church Bells

So far as the Filipinos know pageantry, it is the pageantry of the Church...[100]

For the inhabitants of a Christianized colony like the Philippines, pageantry followed church activities and events (Fig. 42A).[101] In matters of dress, Philippine colonial culture valued display and spectacle as much as they valued modesty and simplicity. Outside the permissive home environments, women were expected to carry themselves more demurely, covering their cleavage, chest, neck, shoulders and legs. At church, heads must be covered, at times with fancy *mantillas* (veils), as a sign of respect-- and respectability (Fig. 18). Almost all converted natives were aware of the clothing decorum required when entering the house of God. Male wage-earners who typically worked half-naked would make it a point to put clean shirts on.[102] Even the poorest men had at least one pair of shoes and women had at least one *mantilla*, intended for wear to church.[103]

As church activities grew in numbers, from daily to Sunday masses to fiestas, Christmas and lent, to major life events that needed the sacraments of the church, like baptisms, marriages and funerals, the *simbahan* (church) was one of the places to see and be seen – by peers, friends and lovers alike. Churches were often charged with romance, which gave attendees an added motivation to present a charming appearance. In an illustration that appeared in *La Moda Filipina* (1894), veiled young women were shown leaving the church well dressed in *trajes del país*, for which in the accompanying article it was explained that with hearts beating, infatuated youths went to church to catch glimpses of their love interests.[104]

The *simbahan* (church) was also a place where the rich and the poor converged and as such, it was a regular venue for the display of piety and respectability as well as power and wealth. Church choir lofts[105] often offered the best view of the colonial pageantry – of not only the colors and aesthetics but also the social, gender, class and political divisions that pervaded 19th century Philippine society. Women were on one side, men on the other, while

[100] FEE, *A Woman's Impression of the Philippines*, chap. XV.
[101] Ibid., chap. XV: The Filipino's Christmas Festivities and His Religion, pp. 192–205.
[102] Ibid., chap. XX.
[103] JAGOR, "Jagor's Travels in the Philippines," chap. 22.
[104] *La Moda Filipina*, fig. Hermanas del Corazon de Jesus y Maria saliendo de la Iglesia, p. 4.
[105] FEE, *A Woman's Impression of the Philippines*, chap. 15; LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. mestiza de sangley.

important dignitaries dominated the front pews.[106] Since women in general wore veils over their heads when going to church, much like what most women typically wore when entering religious houses of worship,[107] Castilian women distinguished themselves from their native counterparts by their characteristic use of black veils, much like the traditional lace mantillas worn in Spain.[108] *Lambóng* or heavy mantles typically in black or other dark colors, like crimson, usually distinguished those in mourning. During early morning masses, one could catch glimpses of seemingly pious daughters with soft veils draping over their heads, accompanying their mothers, with prayerbooks and rosaries at hand.[109]

Although there were 19th century visitors that said the church in the Philippines represented the "plane of equality, in relations that bridge the gulf of material prosperity with the dignity of their common faith,"[110] the groups that converged there were still largely unequal. There were fees connected with every church ceremony, whether it was for a baptism, a wedding, or a funeral, and they were usually fixed according to financial capacities.[111] Many foreigners were under the impression that the natives were drawn to church-related activities for the *éclat* and prestige of occasions --to impress as much as to celebrate. During weddings, seats were offered to the upper-class, who were "chiefly interested in preserving the spotlessness of their gala attires" and they seemed to be more interested in guarding their *"ropa"* (clothes) than in participating in the ceremony.[112]

Parties that followed many of life's significant moments were often suffused with racial, social and gender inequalities. If there were any Europeans, priests and native officials, food were served to them first, then to the men, and finally, to the women.[113] Interestingly, the honor of families was somehow connected with their capacities to orchestrate imposing spectacles and costly feasts. The natives were shown to have reveled in the opportunities provided by the church to display their material prosperity.

Almost every major town had patron saints, after whom the towns were named after. Fiestas were celebrated with masses, processions, *bailés* (balls) and even theater plays. People from neighboring towns were drawn to these festivities, dressed in their best

[106] LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. mestiza de sangley.
[107] Ibid., fig. 54: Mestiza de Sangley; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 218–219.
[108] LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 54: Mestiza de Sangley; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 218–219.
[109] BARRÁNTES, "Spanish, Portuguese, and American Women (1876)," 56.
[110] FEE, *A Woman's Impression of the Philippines*, chap. XV.
[111] FOREMAN, *The Philippine Islands*, chap. XI.
[112] FEE, *A Woman's Impression of the Philippines*, chap. XIX.
[113] FOREMAN, *The Philippine Islands*, chap. XI, sec. Marriage.

clothes.[114] In many church spectacles, people came to witness the event as much as to enjoy observing the audience's attires. In events that occurred in front of massive crowds of people, native men and women alike relished being seen in their fineries of embroidered camisas and pañuelos, luxurious silk sayas and massive jewelries. Feast days, Christmas and lent were the three main church-related occasions that called for festive wear. Upper class women's piña camisas were embellished with silken threads and seed pearls, their silk skirts came in colors of every kind, from blue, rose, orange, apple-green to violet, their necks were adorned with ropes of pearls and diamond necklaces, while their pañuelos and mantillas were secured by "jeweled birds and butterflies of emeralds, sapphires and diamonds."[115] These broochs had both decorative and practical functions, and often served to accentuate the intricacy and fineness of the fabric's texture and weave. Following major shifts in fashion like the use of silk for sayas and the widening of sleeves and trains, women were essentially in their most fashionable attires.

While women were dressed in the same basic pieces, men were dressed depending on their political or social positions. Processions were attended by the richest to the poorest. Deputations in full regalia represented the different sectors of society, from the civil and municipal government, the military to the religious orders.[116] In Rizal's *Noli me tangere* (1886), for example, the Spanish Alcalde was described to have appeared in full military uniform, with the cordon of Carlos III and four or five decorative medals, to which the author added, "the people did not recognize him, they thought he was a civil guard dressed as a comedian."[117]

For leisure activities, upper class men were typically shown in baros with evolving lengths, patterns, silhouettes and combinations. Through the years, the lengths shortened, the patterns went from riotous between 1840s and 1860s to subdued and streamlined from the 1870s onwards. The riotous yet festive patterns included shirts with embroideries all over --in addition to stripes of red, blue or black—paired with colorful pants. There were changes also in the construction of the baro, like the addition of ruching or shirring at the back, which produced a more relaxed fit.[118] In the 1880s, preferences have changed to monotonous or solid colors. There were also some men who sported the all-white ensembles once worn only by the British expatriates.

[114] MARCHE, *Luzon and Palawan*, 70.
[115] FEE, *A Woman's Impression of the Philippines*, chap. XV.
[116] SAWYER, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines (1900)*, chap. XIX.
[117] RIZAL, *The Social Cancer: A Complete English Version of Noli me tangere from the Spanish of José Rizal*, chap. 30: In the Church, pp. 232–233.
[118] LOZANO, *Nyssens-Flebus Album (1844-1846)*, fig. Mestizos in Fiesta Attire.

Paseo

at this hour, all roads led to Luneta…[119]

An hour or so before the sun goes down, when the sun is tempered, the light is softened and the air is cooler, almost all of the 19th century writers mentioned how "the social world comes alive."[120] Everyday, the inhabitants of Manila's extra- and intramuros congregated in Luneta at around five to six in the afternoon to see and be seen (Fig. 153, Fig. 154, Fig. 155). "It was the time of the day when all Manila seemed to be walking, riding or driving" upon the tree-lined Bagumbayan heading towards Luneta.[121] People, especially those from the better classes, slowly awaken from their two to four pm[122] afternoon naps (*siestas*, Fig. 42B) to prepare for their afternoon strolls. If the Church was the morning setting for the pious, the well bred and the elegant to see and be seen, Luneta was their afternoon parade ground.[123] The activities of life in Manila were, to say the least, affected by the tropical heat. From between two to five in the afternoon, the upper classes and the foreigners tend to stay indoors. Unimpaired by the climate were the working class street traders, not to mention the enterprising Chinese.

The *Paseo de Luneta* was a rectangular field designed with walking paths capped with rounded ends and a wide carriage driveway called *La Calzada* (Fig. 153, Fig. 154, Fig. 155). The promenade featured greeneries, fountains and a bandstand, where the Governor's military band played once or twice a week, sometimes under the direction of Frenchmen or Spaniards.[124] The Luneta was the place to be, where the *señor* and *señoras*, as well as the *señoritos* and *señoritos* engaged in both pleasantries and flirtations. Jagor described how Manila's citizens would walk up and down the street as the local band played music in the background. He used the word "formally" to describe how they were walking, especially since they were dressed so elegantly.[125]

This *paseo* (*promenade* in French) was an unorganized, daily spectacle that all kinds of people looked forward to—whether as active or passive participants. The delightful mixture of fresh air, music and beautiful people were really pleasurable.[126] To observe,

[119] ZARAGOZA, *Old Manila (Images of Asia)*, 49.
[120] Ibid., 47.
[121] FEE, *A Woman's Impression of the Philippines*, chap. V, pp. 45–59.
[122] SAWYER, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines (1900)*, chap. XIX.
[123] ZARAGOZA, *Old Manila (Images of Asia)*, 49.
[124] WILKES, "Manila in 1842," sec. The Luneta; FERNANDEZ, "Paseo and Tertulia, Zarzuela and Fiesta: Social Life in Old Manila."
[125] JAGOR, "Jagor's Travels in the Philippines," chap. 3.
[126] FEE, *A Woman's Impression of the Philippines*, chap. V, pp. 45–59.

document and catch up on trends, Luneta was the place to be, especially for the better classes. It was both a public and social space. Unlike formal parties, the dress codes of which were often subjected to the dictates of the host, this daily *paseo* was an informal, unrestricted, not to mention, regular event, in which everyone may essentially take part in. As the workday of the average wage earners ends at six pm, many would be able to witness –some as mere bystanders- this parade, which was mainly dominated by the better classes.

It seems like different types of participants were driven by different motivations. As this was a public spectacle, dress and appearance was of the essence. For women, especially the mestizas of the better classes, this was their opportunity to show off their beauty and everything *à la mode*. They joined to admire and be admired. At Luneta, they had the opportunity to bump into the kind of people they probably hoped would see them. As Jagor observed, "the object of the daily promenade was for the display of their toilettes and not the enjoyment of nature."[127]

This afternoon stroll, certainly, was superficial – a celebration of outward appearances and sometimes, of hypocritical interactions. The participants recognized the artificialities of such places and spaces, yet they pursue them enthusiastically and eagerly. The regularity of such events, in a way, exposed the triviality of its participants. If women came to display, the men cheerfully came to watch. Gironière mentioned how the Spanish, French and Englishmen joined everyone else in taking this afternoon stroll to "ogle at the beautiful and facile half-breed, whose transparent robes reveal their splendid figures."[128] His use of the adjective facile is interesting, it is precise but at the same time, ambiguous and charged with insinuations. Facile, which could mean easy, reflects the reality of how the female inhabitants of the Philippines at that time cherished dreams of marrying Europeans; hence, they were open, receptive and even "easy" for men of a certain race or class. Facile could be used to describe subjects, which appears orderly but only by ignoring the true complexities. Figuratively, this could be an acknowledgement that as mere observers with no actual interactions with these women, they came expecting to see beauty, which is no more than skin-deep. Meanwhile, facile, which could also mean effortless, is not the appropriate word to describe how women were dressed. Their carefully coiffed hair and layers of clothing hardly demonstrated effortless style.

[127] JAGOR, "Jagor's Travels in the Philippines," chap. 3.
[128] GIRONIÈRE, *Adventures in the Philippine Islands*, chap. 2, p. 35.

When the Angelus bells rang from the sixteen churches of Intramuros for the evening prayer, all carriages, horsemen and pedestrians would momentarily stand motionless.[129] This moment would be a good snapshot of the local scene and the social landscape.[130] This would be the time to absorb the human and clothing diversity in the colony: the Spaniards in uniforms or in black frock coats, the other Caucasians, particularly the British in white drill with a coat with narrow standing collar buttoned all the way up the neck,[131] the Chinese with shaved foreheads and pig-tails, loose shirts and trousers in white, blue or purples,[132] the *señorito* holding a dainty cigarette, the *caballero* (gentleman) who took off his hat while absorbed in prayer, the well-dressed mestizas in baro't saya with no stockings underneath and the indios and mestizos with fine piña or sinamay shirts over striped trousers of various colors, with silk handkerchiefs tied around their necks.[133]

Based on the foreign "gaze," the native men's attire was fascinating for their peculiarity. European in cut but made of, in the words of John Foreman, "an extremely fine yellow-tinted material called piña."[134] The dress of the local women, meanwhile, was made up of a saya usually in bright red, green and white. The textile, whether made of silk, satin or cotton, and the drama of the skirt's train really depended on their means. They wore embroidered baros or camisas with wide sleeves, which many agreed was ideal to the climate. Since corsets were not popular, they wore a *chemisette* as inner shirt under their baro to cover their breast. During the latter part of the 19th century, the piña or jusi triangular pañuelo was also worn starched and standing high up in the neck majestically.[135] The front of the pañuelo is carefully secured at the top of her *décolletée* with a brooch. Apart from their clothing, upper class local women were also identified by the way they wore their hair in a neat chignon, their jewelries and their dainty *chinelas*, which despite the construction, they

[129] FERNANDEZ, "Paseo and Tertulia, Zarzuela and Fiesta: Social Life in Old Manila."
[130] "This was by far the best opportunity that one can have for viewing the society of Manila." WILKES, "Manila in 1842," sec. The Luneta.
[131] Hannaford referred to the Englishmen's attire as the "cool, white drill suit the British wore everywhere in the Orient." Fee also mentioned how they were with their "inevitable walking sticks." John FOREMAN, *The Philippine Islands: A Political, Geographical, Ethnographical, Social and Commercial History of the Philippine Archipelago, Third, Revised and Enlarged with Maps and Illustrations* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1906), chap. XXI, http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/22815; Ebenezer HANNAFORD, *History and Description of the Picturesque Philippines, with Entertaining Accounts of the People and Their Modes of Living, Customs, Industries, Climate and Present Conditions (over 150 Illustrations)* (Springfield, Ohio: The Crowell & Kirkpatrick Co, 1900), 85, http://dlxs.library.cornell.edu/cgi/t/text/pageviewer-idx?c=sea&cc=sea&idno=sea192&q1=Philippines&node=sea192%3A1.2&view=image&seq=9&size=50; Mary Helen FEE, *A Woman's Impression of the Philippines* (Chicago: A.C. McClurg and Co., 1910), chap. 5, http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/13392.
[132] FEE, *A Woman's Impression of the Philippines*, chap. 5.
[133] JAGOR, "Jagor's Travels in the Philippines," chap. 3; WILKES, "Manila in 1842," sec. The Luneta.
[134] FOREMAN, *The Philippine Islands*, chap. XXI.
[135] Ibid.

could easily walk in. Some of the young, female, native elites (*jeunesse dorée*) of Manila, he also noted, were wearing the European dress with much discomfort. The common men wore similar attires but they were rarely seen without a fighting cock under their arm, nearly like a fashion accessory.[136]

On hot summer days, elegantly dressed ladies and gentlemen would be seen in public driven around in carriages, instead of strolling around (Fig. 154, Fig. 155).[137] These drives usually took about an hour. Carriages of different kinds were shown off. Decked out carriages and *cocheros* in European "uniforms" became a crucial part of this spectacle. The rich mestizos and some Chinese merchants would be seen on board their gilded victorias or landaus, four-wheeled horse drawn carriages with a foldable roof and an elevated seat for the coachman, while the poor indios would be in the more modest *calesa* or *carromata*.[138] The Governor-General's carriage was the only vehicle allowed to counterflow traffic -- that in itself, was a show of power.

It was shown above that people dressed elegantly to go for afternoon walks, but who were they dressing for and for what purpose? The details of their clothing show they were intended to stand out, or even to show off, which reflects the inclination of many of the rich in the colony to display their own superfluities, in short, to be boastful, especially to those of their class. As what can be gathered from the observations of foreign visitors about the spirit of competition that existed among those within the same class, women tend to flaunt their fashionable clothes to other women and their beauty --most likely enhanced by garments that were alluring in their demureness-- to men. Men strolled with their fashionable wives in arm to show off their wealth and their elegance to those they counted as equals. Since this street spectacle was public, by appearing elegant and luxurious, specifically by wearing costly garments made of luxurious fabrics with refined embroideries, they display their wealth and status even to those outside of their class. This pageantry, in fact, a narcissistic playground, propagated an impression of the rich as impervious and indifferent to the plights of the poor, many of whom were wearing patched clothing.

Observing how people dressed for such activities, wealth and social distance were clearly emphasized. With the poor foolishly splurging their month's salaries on clothes, styles and fashion choices presented through these daily street events may have had, inadvertently,

[136] WILKES, "Manila in 1842," sec. tertulia.
[137] JAGOR, "Jagor's Travels in the Philippines," chap. 3.
[138] MARCHE, *Luzon and Palawan*, 33.

permeated the consciousness of the masses.[139] Aspirations were evidently created. Clothes, jewelry and money, for example, accounted as among the main items stolen by runaway servants.[140] Although there may be no direct link between theft and these regular displays of superfluity, it is interesting to ponder on the indirect effects of colonial public spectacles, wherein destitution, scarcity and hardship existed side by side with extreme affluence, abundance and prosperity. The social reality was that street theatricality as expressed in dress could serve to evoke not only yearnings but also inferiority and frustration.

Tertulias and Private Parties

Ostentation of a slightly different nature is explored against the backdrop of tertulias and private parties, which usually drew in various racial groups belonging to the same class. In the Philippine cultural context, tertulias or intimate evening soirées were social gatherings that drew in people who, in some respects, have shared or common interests. A typical tertulia in the 19th century occurred in private homes, in which case, clothing could be viewed in much closer proximities.

At around six thirty or seven o'clock at night, the parlors of some affluent private homes would be lighted up, drawing men and women, usually from the same class for an evening of worldly conversation, music and good food. Certainly, *tertulias* would include priests and the occasional foreign or Caucasian guests. The men tend to congregate in the *antesala* (antechamber) to smoke. The main living room of these private homes where tertulias were held were typically lighted with chandeliers holding petroleum lamps. Just like the illustration that appeared in the book of Frenchman Dr. J. Montano (1886, Fig. 162), the ladies would be seated in two rows of chairs facing each other; arriving guests would make the rounds, being greeted politely with handshakes and the customary *buenas noches* (good evening). In occasions like these, distinctions would certainly be mentioned, if not talked about. For example, American schoolteacher Mary Helen Fee was introduced to a Spanish woman referred to as *la Gobernadora*, whose husband, *el Gobernador* (the Governor), a

[139] Translated by José Maria Cariño: "There is nothing more common than seeing the coach driver or a servant buying a shirt or trousers that cost four or more pesos, and then using them the next day to play around to clean floors, to sweep the stable, or to give water and honey to the horses. In a few days, he is left with nothing, but he is content wearing a torn shirt instead of the good clothes. He covers his body only for decency, which he can achieve with a cloth in the form of the bahague(loincloth." LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 49: Aguador de Mariquina; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 208–209.

[140] A *criada* (maid) by the name of Valentina was accused of stealing a *tampipi* (makeshift container) full of clothes. Maria Luisa T. CAMAGAY, "Working Women of Manila in the 19th Century," in *More Pinay than We Admit: The Social Construction of the Filipina*, ed. Maria Luisa T. CAMAGAY (Quezon City: Vibal Foundation, 2010), 49, 51.

plump Chinese mestizo, perhaps a civil servant of some sort. Connections and time spent in Europe was a key piece of information that never escaped anyone's attention during these evening soirées. *El Gobernador*, for example, made sure to mention that he met his wife during the fourteen years he spent in Spain.

These tertulias often drew in quite a number of guests. The American naval commander, Charles Wilkes once attended a tertulia with around thirty to forty female guests and sixty gentlemen. Finger foods and sweets were laid out in beautifully decorated tables covered with white cloth and adorned with fresh flowers. The rounds of meringue and candies would be followed by some light entertainment. A young maiden would either sing, play the piano or the harp, and at times, some dancing, e.g., rigodón and waltz, would follow.[141] Since *tertulias* and other private parties often attracted guests of varied races, they normally ended shortly before eleven in the evening, when the gates of Intramuros would close. Most non-Spaniards were obliged to live outside the city walls, hence, it was interesting how parties would be broken up by force of this "curfew." For a moment, there would be temporary chaos of people gathering their hats and shawls while calling for their cocheros to pick them up in the driveway.

In Rizal's *Noli me tangere* (1886), descriptions of clothing and appearance during private parties were used to emphasize human aspirations and vanities as well as the love for ostentation, all of which pointed to the idea that clothes have a social purpose. Capitán Tiago whose full name was Santiago de los Santos or was one of the richest men in Binondo. Apart from the several plantations he owned in Laguna and Pampanga, he was involved in different types of businesses, from opium to grass feeds for horses (*zacates).* As a Spanish-speaking ex-gobernadorcillo, he was one of those considered as a "cultured Filipino millionaire," or as a "Filipino Croesus." Entwined with descriptions of his clothing, his elegant home, his English biscuits, his imported wines, his European chairs and chandeliers, his class of guests, his lovely daughter and his newsworthy future son-in-law, Capitán Tiago's purpose to impress was made clear, "as a Manilan, to humble the provincials with his splendor."[142]

As a favored colonized, he was beset with a crisis of self-identity: is he an Indio, a mestizo or an Iberian? Based on the description of him in the novel, he looks mestizo, with his "full face, small eyes (but with no Chinese slant), slender nose (neither flat nor round), clear complexion and white teeth," but he neither considers himself as an Indio nor a mestizo,

[141] FEE, *A Woman's Impression of the Philippines*, chap. VII, pp. 73–85.
[142] RIZAL, *The Social Cancer: A Complete English Version of Noli me tangere from the Spanish of José Rizal*, chap. 27: In the Twilight, pp. 210–211.

but as a true Iberian. This impression of himself must resonate for many of his Spanish and Chinese peers in the flourishing guild of mestizos to which he was president, question his sense of belongingness. His home, with Renaissance-style frameworks, imported furnitures, chandeliers, grand pianos, polished floors and mirrored walls serve to reflect his identification with Europeans. They were clearly modeled from Europe, but with touches of local luxuries, like piña curtains and table runners. His home and his events, "not usual among the natives," were considered of good taste precisely because they were fashioned according to the European standards of luxury. To those privileged to be invited to his parties, he offered a taste of home to the foreign community and a taste of Europe to the native elite by serving hams, turkeys, champagnes and fine liqueurs imported from Europe and China.

The parties in his home at the heart of Binondo were much talked about, having among his guests members of the colonial ruling elite such as the Captain-General, the *alcalde*, the *gobernadorcillo*, the *alférez*, some Spanish soldiers and as might be expected, the friars. Civilians in his guest list included newspaper reporters, Chinese shop owners, foreign businessmen and several Spanish and native women. In parties such as this, one could get a glimpse of the racial division through conduct and clothing despite the supposed class homogeneity. For example, Capitán Tiago's cousin, Tia Isabel would serve Spanish ladies plates of cigars and betel nut while to her countrywomen, she would simply extend her hand to be kissed. It is interesting how the guests were also divided in their clothing choices – the British, would typically be dressed in white, the native wives of peninsulars, like Doña Victorina, would be in a European gown with train, the mestizas like Maria Clara, in full native clothing, with camisa, pañuelo, saya suelta, a kind of heavy skirt with train and Spaniards in European-style frock coat (Fig. 113).

Apart from the usual pleasantries, the guests, women in particular, who were dressed in colorful silk skirts, embroidered or hand-painted piña camisas and pañuelos, hardly spoke to each other.[143] This is when dress and appearances played a central role in colonial sociability. While men engaged in conversations about current affairs, art, etc, women hardly spoke to one another. With the lack of conversation while seated in front of each other,[144] observations would naturally be directed to appearances. It would not be hard to imagine that occasions like this hosted the spirit of competition that was pervasive in colonial social life. In a way, the politics of dress manifested more among women than among men, occurred

[143] FEE, *A Woman's Impression of the Philippines*, chap. VII, pp. 73–85.
[144] WILKES, "Manila in 1842," sec. Tertulia.

mainly among equals, and happened more frequently during social events, especially events that took place in closed quarters.

Bailés

On November 19, 1834, José Celis and Ceferino Hernandez of the Manila City administration sent out invitations for a formal ball in honor of Isabel II's ascension to the Spanish throne. The event was held at the Ayuntamiento building along Plaza Mayor in Intramuros. Although no dress code was indicated in the invitation, it was understood that a momentous royal event, complete with sit-down dinner and dance, called for formal attire.[145] But what constituted formal attire in the 19th century? Grand official banquets that called for exceptional attires were usually isolated from the masses.[146]

On August 27, 1847, Malacañang Palace was decreed to be the official summer residence of the governor-general. Since then, it became the setting of many elegant balls.[147] Located along the Pasig River, Malacañang provided a beautiful riverside setting for elegant Spanish events, which, quite naturally, necessitated European attires. Exclusive events such as these drew the prominent men and women of the colony.[148] The men wore formal evening jackets with coattails, while the women were dressed in European-style ball gowns, with heavily embroidered bodices and hand-painted skirts. On November 19, 1855, Governor-General Manuel Crespo hosted a grand ball at Malacañang to honor Queen Isabela II of Spain (Fig. 163, Fig. 164). The event was Spanish in character, from the Spanish menu to the fancy porcelain in red and gold to the *narra* chairs carved with Spanish coat of arms to doorways bearing the Spanish royal seal. The walls would be lined with paintings of various colonial heroes, such as Fernando Magallanes, Miguel López de Legazpi, Juan de Salcedo. A massive portrait of the Queen, dressed in a silk ball gown, was the centerpiece of the event.[149] Uniformed attendants to assist the distinguished guests were dressed in the royal colors of Spain. Everything from the minute the guests arrive in their carriages were to present an image of a glorious Spain, after all, it was meant to be an imperial celebration. The mirrored halls were intended to reflect the glittering jewelries the guests were wearing. Another ball in 1877, also held at Malacañang, was immortalized in a lithograph by Felipe Verdugo Jr (Fig.

[145] STA. MARIA, *The Governor-General's Kitchen*, 225.
[146] Ibid., 27.
[147] A property on Calle Malacañang was acquired on January 22, 1823 by the office of Governor-General Juan Antonio Martinez (1822-1824). Ibid., 223.
[148] Ibid., 224.
[149] Ibid., 223.

165).[150] It depicts the first rigodón for the night, with the guests lined up ready to take their places on the dance floor.[151] The setting was distinctly European with its huge chandeliers and heavy drapes. The guests were depicted wearing European formal gowns and coat tails. A man in a formal military attire, in pants with a single stripe, bearing sash, medals, and sword, is presumably the governor-general. He is shown accompanied by his wife, dressed in a fancy off-the-shoulder ball gown with a long train and what appears to be a tiara was sitting gently on her head.

Their gowns must have been sewn and customized in the Philippines but the fabrics clearly must have been imported. These parties abound with guests boasting of some favorites they were able to easily import from Europe because of their positions. Since the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, European goods became increasingly available in the Philippines.[152]

By December 1891, in a ball at Casino Nacional held to honor the Governor-General, the Count of Caspe and his wife, the dress code for women was no longer European but Filipino or *traje del país* as they would be called. A lithograph of the event appeared in *Ilustración Filipina* where the women were shown distinctively wearing the sheer pañuelo and baro with loose angel sleeves.[153] It is difficult to accurately identify if piña fabrics were used based on the lithograph alone but considering the high-profile nature of the event, it is assumed that the guests were of means to use luxury piña fabrics. As the women's formal dress styles have evolved, the men, interestingly, were still wearing European-style formal jackets, not the native baro.

In the 1890s, many of these *bailés* thrown by affluent mestizos began to specifically call for the wearing of the *traje del país* for both men and women; hence, the word *saya bailes*.[154] Men appeared in some formal events dressed in gauzy barong over European trousers, similar to what Félix Martínez's *Mestizo-Español* (1886, Fig. 166) was wearing.[155] Native-style barong has been since the 1820s, fashionable as churchgoing, promenade and fiesta wear among men with means. Most likely, men of certain social positions possessed this type of garments even before they were needed, in anticipation of events that had *traje del país* indicated as dress codes. The specification to wear the *traje del país* in party

[150] Ibid.
[151] Ibid.
[152] Ibid., 224.
[153] Eugenio Lopez Museum and Library. Ibid.
[154] HANNAFORD, *History and Description of the Picturesque Philippines*, 49.
[155] MARTÍNEZ y LORENZO, *Mestizo Español*.

invitations exhibited a growing sense of national pride and established the garment's increasing significance as an icon of Filipino identity.

On the October 10, 1894 issue of *La Moda Filipina* (Philippine Fashion), a bi-monthly illustrated periodical that was only in circulation for one year, a very interesting fictional correspondence between a certain Emilia and Luisa appeared in the "Brisas del Oriente" section.[156] Emilia was presumably a Spanish woman living in the Philippines and Luisa was her friend in Spain, with whom she shares aspects of her life in the colonies. Emilia included an engraving, the equivalent of a photograph at that time that showed a group of people posing during a party. All men were wearing light or dark-colored European style suits, while all women were seated wearing the distinct wide bell-sleeved baro and pañuelo. Emilia writes that to ensure the success of the party, the invitations indicated that guests (presumably women based on the accompanying image, Fig. 43), wear the "Filipino dress," even if they were Spanish or English. Emilia was either a peninsular or insular woman for she wrote that her friend may not recognize her in her mestizo dress but she quickly corrected herself and wrote "Filipino," for such "mixed designation did not seem appropriate to this period." [157] This clearly shows a shift in the sensibilities, a growing sensitivity to the terms used to designate people and their clothing.

The opening of Manila to world trade brought prosperity-- and options. Since the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, a wider selection of material goods, including fabrics, entered the Philippine market and became more accessible to the majority of the population. This meant that distinctions based on clothing and appearance grew increasingly subtle.[158] To determine the social class of an individual based on his/her clothes, one must be more perceptive in looking at the overall craftsmanship of the dress, from the grade of piña used in the pañuelo to the quality of the embroidery. The clothes must also be viewed in connection with other emerging indicators, like education, friendships, family backgrounds, etc.

With the passing of time, the social function of the men's baro was validated. During the first decade of the succeeding American period, for example, the Filipino men at a Christmas ball were described to have abandoned their usual black evening clothes-- most likely referring to the Western suit-- in favor of white trousers, high-collared undershirts and

[156] (-), "Brisas del Oriente."
[157] Ibid.
[158] ROSS, *Clothing: A Global History*, 50.

shirts of sheer piña or sinamay. Reworked using better materials for the elite, Fee described how "its use signified a tribute to nationality."[159]

Death and Mourning

After articulating the function of clothing in life's joyous occasions, clothing will be studied in the context of death, loss and mourning. For almost every death in the Philippines, family, distant relatives, even close friends and servants put on mourning robes.[160] It is a known fact that the number of mourners usually far outnumbered the awful loss of lives. Worn during wakes, burials, nine days after the funeral and even some time after, the *trajes de luto* (mourning robes) represented the grief people were experiencing over the death of a loved one (Fig. 117, Fig. 137B, Fig. 167, Fig. 168, Fig. 169).[161]

In various cultures, clothing is one of the ways in which the death of a loved one can be publicly declared. While clothing in general can disguise, mourning clothes, adversely, served to un-disguise. Broadly, mourning clothes signifies some form of cultural permission to weep and wail, to act with sorrow and to digress from normal behavior. They also leave bereaved loved ones some latitude to wallow in grief. The donning of such garments had, on many occasions, elicited sympathies and compassion from others.

The social dimension of clothing is studied here in the context of how deaths in the Philippines were usually seen as occasions to gather and commiserate with one another The wakes and funerals of the natives were generally not a solemn one.[162] The chatters, the music, the games, the laughters were all very strange for most European observers.[163] Deaths were seen as social events, a cause to gather, reconnect and eat together. As Laureano observed, "death is a cause for a feast, for all to come and see."[164]

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[159] FEE, *A Woman's Impression of the Philippines*, chap. XV, pp. 192–205.
[160] "en gran duelo corresponde a los servidores ofrecen traje negro." *Nuevo Manual de Urbanidad*, 200.
[161] According to Foreman, *catapusan* signifies in the native dialect a "gathering of friends," which refers to the period following "any event or ceremony, whether it be a wedding, a funeral, baptism or an election of local authorities. The festivities after a burial normally lasts nine days; on the last day of wailing, drinking, praying and eating, the celebration called *catapusan* begins." FOREMAN, *The Philippine Islands*, 179; LALA, *The Philippine Islands*, 88; HANNAFORD, *History and Description of the Picturesque Philippines*, 42.
[162] Juan de Plasencia was among the first missionaries of the Franciscan Order, who came to the Philippines in 1577. He died in Lilio, Laguna in 1590. He mentioned how, for around 4 days after death, the relatives of the deceased bewailed him, singing dirges, and praises of his good qualities.. Juan de PLASENCIA, OSF, "Customs of the Tagalogs," in *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898*, ed. Emma H. BLAIR and James A. ROBERTSON, vol. 7: 1588–1591 (Cleveland: Clark, 1903), sec. Relation of the Worship of the Tagalogs, their Gods, and Their Burials and Superstitions.
[163] Dancing, music and various forms of visible lamentations following deaths of natives have been recorded even in the 1600s. CHIRINO, S.J., "Relacion de Las Islas Filipinas," chap. 33.
[164] LAUREANO, *Recuerdos de Filipinas*, 53–59.

As grieving was done socially, one's appearance should not - and in most cases, were not-- neglected. The appearance of the dead, just as the appearance of the living, were, even in times of sorrow, treated as matters of sensitivity and consideration. There is no information, however, on whether powders and cosmetics were applied on the face to enhance the dull and deathly gray pallor of the deceased. Families, friends, neighbors, even estranged relatives would come to the house of the deceased to offer their condolences. At a time when embalming as a means to preserve the body was not yet common, there would only be a window of twenty-four hours for the wake or *velorio*. If the death occurred in the morning, the wake would draw visitors from near and far, with company peaking at around 5 o'clock in the afternoon.[165] Funerals generally occurred within the same day or the day after. Coffins would be loaded into a hearse or depending on means, carried either by relatives, friends or hired men in procession towards the church. Catholic funerals generally involved the celebration of the Holy Mass before coffins were brought to the cemetery.

Clothes of the Grieving

Christianized women in the Philippines who were in mourning wore thick, heavy veils over their heads. This head covering, which sartorially announces death, was called *lambó* or *lambóng* in the native language and *cobijas* in Spanish (Fig. 167).[166] Made of shiny fabric, most likely silk or satin, they were dyed in dark solid colors, like black, blue or maroon and at times, they were lined with brighter colors.[167] While many have found the wearing of muted, somber and sentimental colors to be consoling, relevant and even poetic as symbols of darkness or gloom, the wearing of loud colors, especially red, has been pointed out in manuals of good etiquette to be disdainfully inappropriate.[168]

Between 1820 and 1840, underneath their dark *lambóng*, native women in mourning wore their usual colorful checkered sayas and striped tapís, as represented, for example, in Damián Domingo's *Una India que va a misa con chiquita* (Fig. 168).[169] But, there were some mestizas and creoles, who fashioned the same printed patterns in their sayas and tapís but in more subdued colors like dark blue with black and white stripes.[170] The disparity in their

[165] FEE, *A Woman's Impression of the Philippines*, chap. XX: Sickbeds and Funerals.
[166] SAN ANTONIO, O.S.F., "The Native Peoples and Their Customs. Manila, 1738 [From His Cronicas]"; LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 54: Mestiza de Sangley; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 218–219.
[167] DOMINGO, *Colección de Trajes de Manila y de Las Provincias*, fig. Una India Viuda Vestido de Duelo.
[168] DE CASTRO, *Pagsusulatan nang Dalauang Binibini na si Urbana at ni Feliza*, chap. Calinisan; SAWYER, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines (1900)*, chap. XXVII.
[169] JOAQUIN and SANTIAGO, *The World of Damián Domingo*, fig. V: Una India que va a Misa con chiquita.
[170] Ibid., fig. XXIV: Una India Viuda Vestido de Duelo.

clothes underneath the *lambóng*, may be rooted on disparities in tastes and family circumstances. Bright ensembles were often traced to the colorful, at times, gaudy tastes that Spanish writers described to have developed among indios and mestizo-sangleys, while subdued tones were associated with the refinement of tastes of European, Spanish and mestizo-europeos.

The *lambóng*, typically worn by 19th century women over their heads and bodies may have been a Muslim influence.[171] The 1734 map of the Philippines by Pedro Murillo Velarde, which included several engravings by indio artist, Nicolas Cruz Bagay, however, shows that men also used the *lambóng,* except that they wore them differently from the women. In the map's borders, the illustrations of the various racial types that inhabited the islands were depicted as they go through life's everyday activities (Fig. 170). There were two characters on their way to church, labeled *Indio con lambon e india con cobija para ir a la Iglesia* -- the man was wearing the *lambóng* as a sash, looped diagonally across his upper body and the woman was wearing the the same dark heavy cloak to cover her head, hair and entire body.[172] In Christianity, just as in Islam, the concept of covering the head, was associated with modesty and prudence and must have been customary among churchgoers. Its use may also be traced to the various representations of the Virgin Mother Mary, which show her as veiled. The *lambóng* used by both men and women to sartorially display modesty and respect must have later on extended to other church-related activities like funerals.

The length of the *lambóng* varied. The common ones were usually short, reaching only to the hips[173] but there were some, which extended to the knees (Fig. 168).[174] There were also floor-length versions as seen on the Velarde map and on Espiridión dela Rosa's painting of *La India Viuda* (Fig. 117), in which the *viuda* (widow) was also depicted wearing a black pañuelo and a black saya.[175]

By the late 1840s, these thick, heavy and floor-length *lambongs* were still used but they were not so common anymore. Instead, black tapís, black pañuelo and shorter, lighter black mantillas have taken their place. In the 1880 *letras y figuras* by C. Laforteza, the A in Sloan was illustrated with women in an all-black ensemble, consisting of black saya, black

[171] CASTRO, "Dissecting Dress," 51–53.
[172] Marcel explains that the word cobija did not appear in the vocabulary of Ferdinand Blumentritt's writings. MARCEL, *La Carte Des Philippines du Père Murillo Velarde*, sec. 17/18.
[173] JOAQUIN and SANTIAGO, *The World of Damián Domingo*, fig. V: Una India que va a Misa con Chiquita.
[174] LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 54: Mestiza de Sangley; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 218–219.
[175] CARIÑO and NER, *Álbum: Islas Filipinas, 1663-1888*; ibid., 123.

camisa and black pañuelo (Fig. 171).[176] The women in Rizal's family were also photographed after his execution and burial in 1896 in exactly the same ensemble (Fig. 172).[177]

Black sayas, if worn by themselves, were not really indicative of mourning. In fact, black sayas and black lace veils were also worn on regular church days by fashionable churchgoing Spanish and European women who were not in mourning.[178] For the poorer classes who could not afford piña or lace, they would use any black cloth and make their own garments.[179]

How native men demonstrated mourning, meanwhile, may be discussed in reference to the character of Don Juan Crisostomo Ibarra y Magsalin in Rizal's novel, *Noli me tangere* (1886). After seven years in Europe, the dashing young man appeared at a party in Capitán Tiago's house described to be dressed in mourning attire following the tragic death of his father, the tycoon Don Rafael Ibarra. The author did not elaborate on the details of Ibarra's attire but local men in the late 19th century would wear *lucsa* (mourning) by tying around their necks a black ribbon or scarf, approximately two to three inches wide, and secure it with a brooch. These would usually be placed underneath the folded collars of their loose baro, which would either be in black or white colors. Others would tie a black cloth around one of their upper arms.[180] Class disparities appear in the material and the type of embellishments in one's attire, e.g., embroideries.[181] Some wealthy mestizos would fashion black or white baros and wear over them, like a sash, a solid black or burgundy *lambóng,* as shown, for example, in a Lozano painting titled *Mestizo de Luto* (1847, Fig. 169).[182] In Lozano's *A Burial* from the Nyssens-Flebus Album, a man is shown in striped black barong with black pants beside a weeping woman and a priest in predominantly black ensembles (Fig. 137B).[183] In the novel, however, Ibarra was attending a party and it would be safe to assume that a person well versed in the social conventions of that time would come dressed in simple black and not with the heavy *lambóng* sash typically seen among men during funerals. Despite being dressed in mourning clothes, it is clear that the appearance of this handsome Spanish mestizo

[176] LAFORTEZA, *James Sloan*.
[177] "Rizal Family Picture Taken after José's Burial," Education and Resource Website, maintained by José Rizal University (JRU), *JoséRizal.ph*, accessed October 24, 2013, http://joserizal.ph/im10.html.
[178] LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 54: Mestiza de Sangley; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 218.
[179] FEE, *A Woman's Impression of the Philippines*, chap. XX.
[180] Ibid.
[181] LOZANO, *Nyssens-Flebus Album (1844-1846)*, fig. 7: A Burial with a Chinese Textile Merchant, a Chinese Vendor and an Indio Chicken Vendor.
[182] LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 53: Mestizo de Luto; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 216–217.
[183] LOZANO, *Nyssens-Flebus Album (1844-1846)*, fig. A Burial.

made quite an impression on the guests, that not even the arrival of "two beautiful and well-gowned women" attracted the attention of the lustful Fray Sibyla.[184]

The church choir loft often allowed external spectators the best view of how a conservative but clearly hierarchical Philippine colonial society operated. On regular church days, native and mestiza women who were usually in their colorful sayas and veils part from their male companions upon entering the church. They were usually seated in the central pews, separate from their husbands, fathers and brothers.[185] The native *principaliás* and their families often attend masses with so much pomp and spectacle that one cannot possibly overlook them. They usually enjoyed having reserved seats of honor in the front pews. The choir loft offers a vivid view of the colorful congregation from above and many were mesmerized with the kaleidoscope of colors, patterns and shapes bursting especially from women's clothing. However, when, for example, the cholera epidemics of 1820[186] and 1882 broke out in Manila and in the provinces, churches began to be filled with mourners in a sea of black veils. More than 30,000 people died during the three to four months that cholera ravaged Manila in 1882 while Capiz was plagued with between 100-150 deaths a day for two to three months.[187] As one can imagine, the churches became a "veritable house of mourning" crowded with countless "kneeling figures in black."[188]

What is interesting though was what 19th century manuals of etiquette said about being mindful of when to start wearing mourning robes. The *Nuevo manual de urbanidad, cortesanía, decoro y etiqueta o el hombre fino* (1889), a book of conduct which may have been intended for readers literate in Spanish suggested that mourning garments should not be donned immediately after the passing of a loved one for this could be misconstrued that death was anticipated.[189] Having mourning clothes in one's closet intimates that one pre-purchased or had those clothes made in advance in expectation of a death. It must have, therefore, been more prudent to purchase *trajes de luto* after the death has occurred. By the 1880s, *pret-a-porter* garments in black for both men and women were readily available off-the-rack, providing clothes quickly to mourners. In a loose survey of ads from the 1870s and 1890s,

[184] RIZAL, *The Social Cancer: A Complete English Version of Noli me tangere from the Spanish of José Rizal*, chap. 2: Crisostomo Ibarra, pp. 15–16.
[185] LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 54: mestiza de sangley; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 218.
[186] The cholera broke out in Manila on September 1820. The epidemic spread quickly, killing thousands of indios. The streets were filled with dead carts. GIRONIÈRE, *Adventures in the Philippine Islands*, chap. 1.
[187] SAWYER, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines (1900)*, chap. XXIII.
[188] Fee commented on how the principales in their characteristic dress suit were not affected by the illness, which claimed so many lives among the poor. FEE, *A Woman's Impression of the Philippines*, chap. XV, pp. 192–205; XVII, pp. 217–231.
[189] *Nuevo Manual de Urbanidad*, pt. IV, Capitulo II, section III: de los entierros, duelos y lutos, p. 200.

Tiendas de los Catalanes, located at No. 9 Escolta, was the only shop that included items and garments relating to death and mourning in their advertisements, indicating that they specialized in articles for mourning (*especialidad en géneros de luto*).[190] They had ready-made sayas that may be altered to perfection, imported black lace *mantillas* (veils), camisas in European and native styles.

One of ads by the said shop was particularly striking for it touches on the subject of achieving this delicate balance between presentation and propriety in one's choice of mourning garments. In the November 1st issue of *Manila Alegre* (1886, Fig. 173), the short advertisement of *Tiendas de los Catalanes* was of a woman saying that she only got widowed three months ago, and now, she already has a sea of admirers. "You know why?," she asks. It was because she bought her *trajes de luto* -- which she emphasized to be very elegant -- at *Los Catalanes*.[191]

The ad sounds rather impious towards the nature of death, especially in a country where the populace was most reverent of their dead, even taking off their hats and bowing when a funeral procession passes by.[192] But several things that can be gathered from this: this obviously upholds that mourning clothes represented a separate genre in clothing. Second, the availability of ready-to-wear mourning clothes during the late 19th century rendered customary etiquettes like the one mentioned above outdated. Ready-made, rather than made-to-order garments allowed people to don mourning attires immediately after death has occurred. This shows a direct link of how the changing commercial landscape challenged the existing conventions of propriety. Lastly, the ad verbalizes what was perceived as the hidden motive behind women's clothing, even mourning dresses – that of being appropriate while at the same time, appearing attractive to the opposite sex. Although assumedly intended as a parody, this nonetheless portrays women as foolish and trivial. Through her clothes, she was grieving--with the intention of enticing. The perception that women's fashion was oriented towards the "male gaze"[193] – that women dress for the men, more so than women of the same class—is reflective of the mentalities of a society, which was staunchly patriarchal. This reveals that dresses on women are crucial insofar as they could make the woman attractive to

[190] GROIZÁRD, *Manila Alegre: Periódico Festivo Ilustrado*, 1885, Deciembre 6, Num. 1, p. 4; Deciembre 11, Num. 2, p. 4.
[191] GROIZÁRD, *Manila Alegre: Periódico Festivo Ilustrado*, 1886, Nov 1, Num. 41, p. 8.
[192] FEE, *A Woman's Impression of the Philippines*, chap. XX.
[193] ENCANTO, *Constructing the Filipina*, 20.

the man. Ads that marketed the essence of women's fashions in this way serve to propagate the "centrality of males" in Philippine colonial society.[194]

Clothing and Appearance of the Dead

Funerals were organized depending on the level of wealth of the deceased. The elite, specifically the mestizos and the Chinese, would incurred heavy expenses for this ceremony, from the brass band to the flowers.[195] The elite spent for the ornamentation of the coffin and the carriage, which would often include a skull placed on top of the carriage as well as inscription with the name of the deceased. According to Foreman

> "the first class Manila funeral, before the American advent, was a whimsical display of pompous ignorance worth seeing once. There was a hideous bier with rude relics of barbarism in the shape of paltry adornments. The native driver, with a tall chimney pot hat, full of salaried mournfulness, drove the white team. The bier was headed by a band of music playing a lively march and followed by a line of carriages containing the relations of the deceased. The burial was almost invariably within twenty-four hours of the death—sometimes within six hours."[196]

The corpse, typically displayed for viewing during the wake and paraded in open caskets[197] around the town's public streets before heading to the church and cemetery, would be dressed in, according to Marche, "his best clothes,"[198] surrounded by flowers and polished candelabras. The poor meanwhile sometimes had to be wrapped using a *petate* (native woven mat) and transported using a cane stretcher (*lancapes*). Other times, they would use a table as a makeshift stretcher. There were also coffins for rent, for use only in transporting the body from home to cemetery, after which the *petate* would again be used to bundle and roll the corpse into the shallow grave.[199]

There were peculiarities in the way cadavers were dressed. More often than not, how they were dressed were subject to the discretion of the family members. Information on the native beliefs that may have influenced the appearance of the dead, as well as the ceremony

[194] Ibid., 18.
[195] MARCHE, *Luzon and Palawan*, 67.
[196] FOREMAN, *The Philippine Islands*, chap. XXI.
[197] "The Tagalogs formerly exposed their dead while passing through the streets or along the roads on the way to church, until the Spaniards were compelled to put a stop to the custom by severe measures." DE OLIVARES, *Our Islands and Their People as Seen with Camera and Pencil*, chap. XXVIII, p. 609.
[198] MARCHE, *Luzon and Palawan*, 67.
[199] FEE, *A Woman's Impression of the Philippines*, chap. XX.

of his or her burial in the early years of colonization, were provided by Juan de Plasencia, OSF, who was in the Philippines from 1577 until his death in Lilio, Laguna in 1590.

> These natives bury their dead in certain wooden coffins in their own houses. They bury with the dead gold, cloth and other valuable objects- saying that if they depart rich, they will be well-received in the other world but coldly if they go poor.[200]

As Christianity took root, it became typical in the 19th century to see deceased adults dressed in white garments with hooded robes on top.[201] Some deceased male adults, in particular, wore robes similar to the habits of St. Francis of Assisi while some deceased females wore the nun's tunic.[202]

Appearances of dead children were perhaps the most uncanny and bizarre but also the most interesting in terms of dress. Many were dressed as saints and bishops and paraded sitting or standing like dolls erected on top of decorated cakes (Fig. 174).[203] The high infant mortality rates had resulted to an enormous number of children's funerals. With cause of death ranging from poor hygiene and nutrition to starvation, at least one-fourth of the children born in Manila died within two weeks to one month after their births.[204] One child after another, rich and poor alike, were honored with processions and funerals. With no intention of generalizing, dead children were often dressed after the saints whom they were named after. "If his name was Santiago, they dressed him the way the saint is represented in the image."[205] Similarly, it was typical for Christianized families to give the eldest son the familiar name of Niño from the Spanish word *niño*, which means child or boy. As such, if Niño dies, he would be dressed elaborately like the statue image of Santo Niño, the most celebrated of which was the *Santo Niño de Cebu* (Holy Child of Cebu). The child's corpse, described to be exquisitely dressed in chiffons, velvets, sequins and spangles, would then be positioned, strangely, sitting or standing upright on top of a wooden pedestal or throne

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[200] PLASENCIA, OSF, "Customs of the Tagalogs," chap. 8: Of their belief concerning the dead.
[201] LAUREANO, *Recuerdos de Filipinas*, 53–59.
[202] LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 26: Entierro de un Parbulo; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 162–163.
[203] LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 26: Entierro de un Parbulo; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 162–163.
[204] This was consistent with Foreman's estimate of 25%. Andreas Fedor JAGOR, "Jagor's Travels in the Philippines," in *The Former Philippines Thru Foreign Eyes*, ed. Austin CRAIG (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1917), chap. 14; John FOREMAN, *The Philippine Islands: A Political, Geographical, Ethnographical, Social and Commercial History of the Philippine Archipelago*, Third, Revised and Enlarged with Maps and Illustrations (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1906), chap. XI, http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/22815.
[205] LAUREANO, *Recuerdos de Filipinas*, 53–59.

(*andas)* carried on two horizontal poles (*tingas*) by four bearers.[206] The dead child in Lozano's *Entierro de un parbulo* was being paraded standing like the statue of a saint, wearing a cape, a crown and bearing regalias like scepters. Depending on the resources of the family, the *andas* would be lined with blue or pink cushions, canopied and/or elaborately adorned with red, yellow or green etchings and trimmings, most of which were frills and extravagances unnecessarily added to keep up with appearances. The funeral cortege travels from the home where the wake took place and traverses the town's various streets before heading to the church and finally, to the cemetery. It has been mentioned that quite a number of times during the procession, much to the consternation of everyone, baby cadavers have appallingly fallen from their thrones onto the ground.[207] There were some newborns, which would later on, during the American period, be placed lying down in open wooden boxes, fashioned as coffins. These would be lined with blue cloth for males and pink for females. Fee specifically mentioned the use of cambric or chambray lining but certainly, other types of fabrics must have been used as well.[208] Hearses among the wealthy will also begin to take on the form of expensive-looking, gilded carriages or coaches.[209] Accompanied by priests in extravagantly embroidered vestments and by a retinue of hired men liveried in "eighteenth century court costumes, which include huge shoe buckles, black silk stocking and powdered wigs," funeral processions especially in Manila was no less than a parade of wealth and status.[210] The funerals of the upper-class were made even more spectacular by these costumed figures handling the poles. The young men described by Gervasio Gironella (1847) were "sharply dressed, wearing the clothes of the saints with much aplomb." The funerals of common men, on the other hand, have been reported to be at times, assisted by noisy, betel-nut chewing bearers, who tend to irreverently act like drunken *cocheros*. Many bearers were also just *batas* or children below the age of eleven. Some even as young as three to five years old, clad only in dirty, loose, knee-length t-shirts, with no bottoms.[211] The *petates*, the noisy bearers and their filthy attires somehow gave the solemn occasion an aura of vulgarity.

When life culminates in death, Filipinos believe the soul, especially of young children, journeys to "*gloria*," understood as a place or a state of eternal happiness, free from the miseries of this world. As such, one would expect to hear brass bands accompanying

[206] Mallat writes that "children who die very young are crowned with white flowers, dressed in their finest clothes and like adults, are brought to the cemetery in open coffins." MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1983, 299.
[207] LAUREANO, *Recuerdos de Filipinas*, 53–59.
[208] FEE, *A Woman's Impression of the Philippines*, chap. XX.
[209] Hearses were usually white for children and black for adults. Ibid.
[210] Ibid.
[211] Ibid.

funeral cortegés play happy and lively tunes, from polkas to waltzes to pop songs. Songs like *la marcha real, el himno de Riego,* and *la marsellesa* were played alternately with some songs in English, which had inappropriate lyrics like *Hot Time* or *I don't care if you never come back*.[212] What must have been particularly astonishing to foreign spectators was the jarring juxtaposition of a joyless event and cheerful music.

Various cultures express their grief in different ways. Europeans and European mestizos living in the colonies usually followed more austere traditions. Death was treated with solemnity and seriousness. Unlike the indios and Chinese mestizos, they regard with distaste the exhibition of wealth and social success. They found the noise, the music, the pompous attires, the decorations, the parade using open caskets rather irreverent and offensive. They, instead, placed their dead in closed coffins boarded quietly in carriages, with family and friends serenely following behind.[213]

As one can see above, the clothing and appearances of the funeral participants, from the corpse to the families and friends to the priests to the carriers and to the bands mattered in as much as they lend dignity and ceremony to the occasion. From the richest to the poorest, family members associate funerals with the wearing of "special" garments, usually intended for momentous occasions. The new middle class eager to show their social worth displayed much pomp during this occasion. Carriers were outfitted in grand liveries to reflect the social standing of the deceased. The guests and entourage in Lozano's *Entierro de un indio rico* (Burial of a rich native man, 1850, Fig. 175) were all wearing short black jackets over their white barongs and black pants. This shows they were members of the *principalía* class paying homage to someone who may be of the same rank or even higher.[214]

While white was the color that signaled bereavement among Igorots and the Moros of Sulu and Mindanao, black was not always the color of mourning among the Christianized communities. Sartorial signs of loss were not exclusive to the donning of garments in black. In the 1600s, according to Father Pedro Chirino, S.J., the Visayans wore white robes to mourn their dead while the Tagalogs wore black.[215] Paintings before the 1850s also showed

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[212] LAUREANO, *Recuerdos de Filipinas*, 53–59; FEE, *A Woman's Impression of the Philippines*, chap. XX.
[213] LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, 26: Entierro de un parbulo; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 163.
[214] LOZANO, *Ayala Album*, fig. Entierro de un indio rico.
[215] Fr. Chirino also mentioned how the Visayans shaved their hair and eyebrows, which "made them ugly indeed." In general, gold was also placed in the mouths of corpses. The dead were buried under their house in hard wood coffins, with articles of value, including chests of garments. Fr. Chirino also discussed the sacrificial deaths of male and female servants who were fed hearty meals before getting killed to join their masters in the afterlife. Pedro CHIRINO, S.J., "Relacion de Las Islas Filipinas," in *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898*, ed.

that dark somber colors like crimson and dark blue were also used. Black was not traditionally associated with death, in fact, the wearing of black mantillas and sayas were already popular among churchgoing women. The donning of black light veils or heavy mantles over the head was part of respectful church behavior, which explains why some women during their wedding days were seen with these black *lambóngs* over their dresses.[216]

When black became the color widely associated with death--and loss in general-- may be traced, as Nick Joaquin suggested, to the British example set by Queen Victoria, whose extended period of mourning after the death of her husband Prince Albert in 1861 influenced worldwide trends in mourning fashions, elevating mourning to a form of art.[217] Among Filipinos living in Europe, Juan Luna damaged his wife, Paz's clothes and ordered her to wear only black to prove she was really mourning the loss of their daughter who just died at infancy.[218] He forbade her from going shopping and from wearing any makeup, perceiving any interest in her appearance as an intimation of infidelity.[219] In another case, José Cecilio or Chengoy wrote in a letter to Rizal that the 15-year old Leonor Rivera, who was inconsolable when the latter left "wanted to dye all her clothes" perhaps to black as an outward manifestation of her loss not because of death but because of the departure of a loved one.[220]

Customs evolved over time and the wearing of mourning clothes was more particular and pronounced among the upper classes. During the early years of American regime, there were many people from the poorer classes whose clothing showed no trace of mourning other than clean and relatively dignified-looking clothes. In a photo of a funeral of a child at

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Emma H. BLAIR and James A. ROBERTSON, trans. Frederic W. MORRISON, vol. 12: 1601–1602 (Cleveland: Clark, 1903), chap. 7 and 33.

[216] In a signed watercolor painting by Espiridión de la Rosa labeled as *La Novia* or the Bride, the woman was wearing a striped baro, bright red saya, dark blue tapis with black stripes, a lace pañuelo, and a small lace veil covering the head, which is secured under the chin. Finally, a *lambong* or dark heavy cloak in a shiny fabric lined in bright green was worn over the whole ensemble. This type of heavy cloak was previously seen worn by women in mourning in various Damian Domingo artworks. Espiridión DE LA ROSA, *La Novia (The Bride)*, Watercolor on paper, 1820 to 1840, Private Collection.

[217] Queen Victoria wore black for forty years after the death of her beloved husband. JOAQUIN and SANTIAGO, *The World of Damián Domingo*, 72; Jane RIESS, "Let's Bring Back Mourning Clothes," *Huffington Post*, February 25, 2013, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/jana-riess/lets-bring-back-mourning-clothes_b_2743861.html.

[218] DA SILVA, *Juan Luna y Novicio*, 16–21.

[219] In the months that led to the shooting of his wife Paz and his mother-in-law Doña Juliana Gorricho Pardo de Tavera, painter Juan Luna's behavior became increasingly erratic, violent and paranoid. He became verbally and physically abusive, often beating her with a cane and accusing her of being a neglectful mother. Early on September 22, 1892, pointing a gun at her temples, Juan Luna forced his wife to admit that she has been unfaithful, before shooting both her and her mother point-blank. See *Proceso: Seguida Contra El Parricida Juan Luna San Pedro y Novicio, Natural de Badoc (Filipinas) Discurso Pronunciado en La Audiencia del 18 Febrero de 1893 Par Maître Félix Decori-Abogado de La Corte de Apelation de Paris*, 14; REYES, *Love, Passion and Patriotism*, 76; PAREDES, "The Pardo de Taveras of Manila," 394–395.

[220] José RIZAL, "José Cecilio (Manila) to José Rizal, 16 September 1882," in *Epistolario Rizalino*, ed. Teodoro M. KALAW, vol. 1 (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1930), 49; REYES, *Love, Passion and Patriotism*, 163.

Echague during the first decade of American rule (1906-1910), the indio men crouching beside the body of a dead child were all wearing fresh and clean white shirts and jackets while the woman was wearing baro and pañuelo in white or natural colors.[221]

Rivers and Bathing

After examining clothing in the context of some of life's momentous occasions, this looks into how clothing figured in the daily lives of the colonized. Treading the line between exposure and coverage were native women's scanty clothing - of short baros and tapís- in river scenes, which became part of the images of the exotic east (Fig. 176A). Clothing or the scarcity of (meaning partial nakedness) was used by Spain and later by the United States to justify colonization. Unlike women from the wealthier classes whose everyday dresses meant they were modestly clad in layers of clothing, women from the poorer classes wore, more often than not, just the baro't saya. This ensemble or the tapís was also what they would wear after bathing in rivers, as they dried themselves under the sun. Partially wet, Jagor (1875) commented on how, although clothed, their ensemble was dangerously transparent.[222]

This surveys how women in particular negotiated the look and the feel of their garments in such a way that they were clad comfortably and at the same time, decently. This also looks into whether class distinctions carried over even to these genres of clothing. Observing color, length, prints --and the tightness by which they secured the tapís-- against context and activities, this chronicles the varied ways women maintained decency, giving insights into the hierarchy of body parts that needed particular coverage.

Westerners have generally observed the local preoccupation with bathing, both in the rivers and at home. Mallat (1846) mentioned that, with the exception of the two days that they bathed at home, locals generally swam in the rivers.[223] Some do the washing of clothes under shaded palm trees while their children bathed and frolicked with the other bathers. Sawyer observed that on feast-days, holidays and during high tide, "the number of bathers increased that it seems that a very large proportion of the population seems to be in the water, both sexes and all ages mixing indiscriminately, the adults decently covered and all behaving themselves as decorously as the bathers at Brighton, Newport or Atlantic City."[224] On Sundays, the rivers of Marikina, Sta. Cruz and other surrounding towns would be full of men

[221] E. Murray BRUNER, *Filipino Funerals [of a Child] at Echague*, B/W photograph, 1906 to 1910, Wisconsin Philippines Image Collection, Library of Congress Philippines Image Collection, Southeast Asian Images and Texts.
[222] JAGOR, "Jagor's Travels in the Philippines," 3.
[223] MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1846, 58.
[224] SAWYER, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines (1900)*, chap. XXIII, sec. Cleanliness, pp. 208–221.

and women bathing together, but as Mallat emphasized, the people were "always dressed, and this maintains decency."[225] Several tapís-clad women with luxurious long dark hairs would be sunbathing covered in wide hats. Upon entering the water, they would don an additional baro, while men would be *hubad* (naked above the waist), with only their pants on.[226] Both were decently covered but they were, nonetheless, minimally dressed that one could still make out the outlines of their bodies.[227]

In contrast, Barrántes reported in the 1870s that the middle and upper-class mestizas who swam in open waters would "enter the water in a suit, like the Bilbao and Sardinero bathers."[228] This suit was a two-piece ensemble made up of a dress that reached the knees and pants that reached the ankles. These bathing gowns were made of dark and heavy fabrics, which did not become transparent when wet. In colder climates, wool was often used for swimwear but the tropics must have called for a different type of material. By 1894, it was reported in the "Cronica de la Moda" section of *La Moda Filipina* that swimwear seen among the fashionable women bathing in the Pasig river, consisted of knee-length trousers tied gracefully around the knees, a short blouse with embroidered square neckline and short sleeves fitted in the arms.[229] There were many combinations of different elements, like the addition of a shawl probably for modesty and a belt, in order "to give this aspect of bathing some semblance of vanity and grace."[230] This type of swimwear was described to have replaced the drab and heavy straight pants worn with enormous long pleated blouses worn in the past, which has become unfashionable by the 1890s. A headscarf to keep the hair in place also replaced some sort of swimming cap, which Margarita, the supposed writer of this article, described as horrible. Following the trends in Europe, the swimsuit colors deemed as modern and fashionable by the end of the 19th century were black and white, with black as

[225] Sta. Cruz was described by Jagor to be a lively Manila suburb, with approximately 11,500 inhabitants in 1865. Art historian Santiago A. Pilar mentioned that group bathing was, in fact, quite risqué, even notorious. Jean-Baptiste MALLAT, *The Philippines: History, Geography, Customs, Agriculture, Industry and Commerce of the Spanish Colonies in Oceania* (Manila: National Historical Institute, 1983), 345; JAGOR, "Jagor's Travels in the Philippines," chap. 7; Fernando FULGOSIO, *Crónica de Las Islas Filipinas*, Crónica General de España, O Sea Historia Ilustrada y Descriptiva de Sus Provincias, Sus Poblaciones Más Importantes de La Península y de Ultramar (Madrid: Rubio, Grilo y Vitturi, 1871), pt. 2, Ch. 8, p. 37; Santiago A. PILAR, "Letras y Figuras: The Charm of Illustrated Letters - A Witty Inventive Artist Captures the Times and the People," *Archipelago* III, no. 30 (1976): 18.

[226] In Spanish: *una especie de blusa suele server á las señora para entrar en el agua; los hombres llevan ancho pantalon y desnudo el cuerpo, costumbre que años atrás podia no parecer bien á los europeo recien llegados, pero que en nuestros dias y espesialmente por las costas del Océano.* FULGOSIO, *Crónica de Las Islas Filipinas (1871)*, pt. 2, Ch. 8, p. 37.

[227] SAWYER, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines (1900)*, chap. VII: The Religious Orders, pp. 57–70.

[228] BARRÁNTES, "Spanish, Portuguese, and American Women (1876)," 63.

[229] (-), "Cronica de la Moda," in *La Moda Filipina Periódico Quincenal Ilustrado*, vol. 2, 33 (Quiapo: Redaccion y Administracion, 1894), 3.

[230] Ibid.

the main color and white only as accents. Except for the rubber-trimmed *chinellas* (slippers) worn by bathers in the Philippines, this type of swimming suit was consistent with images of bathers in Europe in the 1890s, which captured European women wearing black knee-length wool dresses with puffed sleeves over bloomers or drawers trimmed with what were, most likely, ribbons and bows in white.

Ordinary females who were simply going through their daily routine of bathing, draped in the usual tapís as their *bata de baño,* have captivated artists and foreign travelers, who were eager to capture these sensual images. Captured in different art forms from *letras y figuras* to watercolor and oil paintings to photographs, the fascination lay in the suggestion of what lies beneath that single piece of fabric, which when damp, clings to every curve of the female body. Except for variations in color and length, attires of the lady of the bath appear to be consistent throughout the 19th century. It can be surmised that most of these women captured bathing were from the lower classes as the rules of propriety at that time demanded that upper class women should be dressed modestly both in private and in public. Most of the upper class also bathed in private, protected from the gaze of even their domestic servants.

In Justiniano Asunción's *tipos del país,* the *baigneuse* was a lady clad in a one-piece dark blue and black striped tapís (Fig. 176B). She was also clad in the same attire in Lozano's Gervasio Gironella Album (1847). In Lorenzo Guerrero's "Fetching Water" (1850, Fig. 177), she was the lady alluringly draped in red tapís, trying to fetch water while balancing an earthenware jar over her head.[231] She was holding on to the hem of her tapís and in doing so, exposed her legs, which must have been considered rather risqué for the sensibilities of that time. The time setting was dark, almost eerie, unlike most river scenes, which were captured during daytime. Ramon N. Villegas, interpreted this painting as "psychologically sexual and suggestive of "deep-rooted secrets."[232] In Lozano's *letras y figuras* of William P. Pierce (1854-55, Fig. 178), two women with long hair, both in a plain, light-colored tapís were captured in the act of bathing together.[233] One was literally pouring water over her head using a *tabo* (water dipper or scoop) while the other appears to be speaking to her. There are two interesting things about this artwork. One was the artist's depiction of the tapís in white or natural color, which must really have been dangerously transparent especially when wet. It must have been impractical and indecent for women to bathe outdoors clad only in a one-

[231] Lorenzo GUERRERO, *Fetching Water*, 1850, Bangko Sentral ng Pilipinas collection, http://www.retrato.com.ph/photodtl.asp?id=AC01004.
[232] Ramon N. VILLEGAS, "Chapter Seven: Images of a New Nation," in *Kasaysayan: The Story of the Filipino People*, ed. Maria Serena I. DIOKNO and Ramon N. VILLEGAS, vol. 4: Life in the Colony (Manila: Asia Publishing Co., 1998), 161–162.
[233] LOZANO, *William P. Peirce*.

piece, light-colored fabric. The other was the suggestion that even bathing was social. At least two more *letras y figuras* by Lozano featured women in light-colored, body-hugging tapís.[234] Inasmuch as dark colored tapís was more functional, it seemed that, indeed, light-colored ones were used. To confirm how realistic Lozano's depictions were, other artworks and photographs were consulted. In C.W. Andrews' illustration of *Escenas campestres del país* (1860, Fig. 179), five of the seven women were draped only in tapís, one draped so alluringly that one could make out the undersides of her breasts.[235] Her tapís was wrapped so loosely that her whole back was exposed. Another has one of her hands across her chest in what appears to be a gesture of modesty. Another one of them was in a crouching position in which her thighs were spread out. To protect herself from indecent exposure, she gathered the tapís between her legs. Their attires would look risqué in an urban setting but in this type of natural environment, they looked natural and uninhibited, which contributed to the charm of the overall image. In a black and white photograph from the *Manila and the Philippine Islands* (no date) titled *Dia de Colada*, a young woman in white tapís was washing clothes while children were swimming around her.[236] In a 1903 photograph by the American Roy Squires, labeled "Type of Visayan Woman," a young indio woman looks out in what could be a window, clad only in a light-colored but printed tapís.[237] The fact that the tapís was printed may have given her a little bit more coverage. Considering they have nothing underneath, it was astonishing why women would wear such light-colored clothing knowing that contact with water could cause the fabrics to turn translucent, clinging not only to their breasts but to every curve of their bodies, rendering them nearly naked. Darker tapís would have been more sensible and comfortable but as one can see, light-colored tapís were indeed used.

In Félix Resurrección Hidalgo's 1875 oil painting of *Una Mujer* (A Woman), she was the *baigneuse*, who was not on her way to a bath, but a sitter for the live modeling class at the *Academia de Dibujo*. With only a slinky striped tapís loosely covering her body, she typified the shy but sensual ladies of the bath. Draped with tapís in natural color, the green stripes were the compromise, providing an optical illusion of added coverage.

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[234] LOZANO, *Edward A. Westley*; LOZANO, *Manuel E. Co-Gefue*.
[235] *Ilustración Filipina Periódico Quincenal*, 1860, Enero 1, Num. 1.
[236] *Manila and the Philippine Islands. The Pearl of the Orient Illustrated from Actual Photographs (19--?)* (Manila: Philippine Education Company, n.d.), https://archive.org/details/manilaphilippine00philrich; BADIA VILLASECA, *Mujeres Filipinas*, 117.
[237] Best mentioned that Roy Squires remained in Manila and was the co-founder of the Squires and Bingham Publishing Company. This must have been one of the postcard photographs they sold to tourists as souvenirs. BEST, *A Philippine Album: American Era Photographs, 1900-1930*.

The "Filipinas" whose bodies were clad in tapís when bathing, either in private or in public, evokes a reminder that appeared in *Ang Lagda* (1734), the Visayan moral code written by the Leyte-based Jesuit priest, Fr. Pedro de Estrada.[238]

> If you take a bath, do not get out from your clothing like a hermit crab getting out from its shell. Never lose your shame and even in water, you must wrap something around you. If you bathe in the river where people pass by, cover yourself well.[239]

Leisure Time at Home

Treading the line between private and public life or between the visible and the invisible were inner wear, house wear and sleepwear. Looking into these clothing items show that notions of propriety also carried over to the private and public realms.

Propriety demanded neatness and decency, and for one's appearance to be in keeping with gender, age, status, figure and occupation.[240] There were dresses for going out *(los trajes de levantarse* or *los trajes de salir)* and dresses for staying in *(los trajes de interior)*.[241]Among men who wore *levites fracs* or frocked coats, they were, literally, frocked when going out and defrocked when coming home. If the women of leisure were well dressed when going out, they typically assumed a more relaxed appearance within the private confines of their own homes. They discarded the essentials and emblems of modesty obligatory to public life. They let their long hair down.[242] They do away with the tapís and the layers of petticoats. They wore only the saya and some light chemise, otherwise known as the *kimona.* Alternatively, they also wore the *duster*, a loose, straight-cut, collarless and sleeveless dress, a type of house wear more common among provincial women. An actual piece of home wear was submitted by the *subcomisión provincial de la Laguna* to the 1887 Madrid exhibition. The *camisa de buri sin mangas* (sleeveless shirt) was specifically labeled *para la casa*.[243] Gironella (1847) observed that "without the shawl and with only the

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[238] ZAIDE, *Documentary Sources of Philippine History*, 285; CAMAGAY, "Filipino Sexuality in Nineteenth Century Philippines: How to Avoid Conception," 121–124; Hope SABANPAN-YU, "Querida Mia: The Mistress in Cebuano Women's Short Fiction," in *More Pinay than We Admit: The Social Construction of the Filipina*, ed. Maria Luisa T. CAMAGAY (Quezon City: Vibal Foundation, 2010), 241.

[239] Fr. Chirino, S.J. wrote: "Through modesty, they bathe with their bodies drawn up and almost in a sitting posture, with the water to their neck, taking the greatest care not to be seen, although no one may be near to see them." ZAIDE, *Documentary Sources of Philippine History*, 285; CAMAGAY, "Filipino Sexuality in Nineteenth Century Philippines: How to Avoid Conception," 123; CHIRINO, S.J., "Relacion de Las Islas Filipinas," chap. X: Of baths in the Philippines.

[240] *Nuevo Manual de Urbanidad*, pt. I, Capitulo IV, 1: El tocador, pp. 30–33.

[241] SINUÉS, "Trajes de los Niños," para. 16, p. 358.

[242] BARRÁNTES, "Spanish, Portuguese, and American Women (1876)," 4.

[243] *burí* palm, similar to raffia fiber was also used for making cloth (-), *Catálogo de La Exposición General de Las Islas Filipinas 1887*, sec. Segunda, Grupo 16, #108, p. 270.

undershirt, you can see a part of their waist as well as the shoulders and the neck which are generally nicely shaped."[244] Sawyer discussed how, foreign women, dressed and spent their time before receiving guests in their homes. His account is, in fact, an example of how foreign women engaged in "limited orientalism" – that of wearing aspects of indigenous fashions but limiting their use solely in the bedroom or at home.[245]

> clad in kabaya and sarong, she awaits the moment when she must resume the garments of civilization, and receive her guests looking as fresh, in spite of the thermometer, as if she had steeped out of a coupe in Piccadilly or Fifth Avenue.[246]

Charles Wilkes of the United States Navy (1842) commented on how women of the Manila leisure class "spent three-fourths of their time in *déshabillé* or state of undress, with their maids around them, dressing, lolling and combing their hair. In this way, the whole morning is lounged away; they neither read, write nor work. In dress, they generally imitate the Europeans, except that they seldom wear stocking and go with their arms bare."[247] Women who were married to Europeans were almost always wearing shoes and stockings when going out, no matter how ill suited these articles are for the tropical climate.[248]

People were aware of the public and private functions of clothes. In the last two decades of the 19th century, stores selling clothes put these distinctions into words through their ads. For instance, *La Madrileña Modista*, located at Isla del Romero, No. 46 in Sta. Cruz, Manila advertised *"especialidades en trajes de baile, de visita, de paseo y de casa,"* which showed the varied purpose of clothes.[249] Dressing with elegant simplicity was an important decorum even inside the house, especially among those who had servants in their employ.[250] Then there were those whose social standing encouraged them to dress beautifully

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[244] LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 52: India de Manila; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 214–215.
[245] HOGANSON, "The Fashionable World: Imagined Communities of Dress," 269–270.
[246] The tapís was, in fact, similar to the sarong or kebaya/kabaya. In Indonesia, these two most recognizable dress for women "gradually moved [from public] into the private sphere where they survived well into the 20th century as far as European women were concerned. After the turn of the century, sarong and kebaya were restricted to the indigenous sphere, while European fashion became synonymous with white colonial power." SCHULTE NORDHOLT, "The State on the Skin: Clothes, Shoes and Neatness in (Colonial) Indonesia," 22–23; SAWYER, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines (1900)*, chap. XIX.
[247] According to Sawyer, ladies of leisure, referring most likely wives and daughters of well-off foreign expatriates, usually rested between 2-4 in the afternoon, in order to be "fresh for the evening." SAWYER, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines (1900)*, chap. XIX, sec. Amusements; WILKES, "Manila in 1842," sec. Amusement.
[248] JAGOR, "Jagor's Travels in the Philippines," chap. 3.
[249] ESCOBAR y LOZANO, *El Indicador del Viajero en Las Islas Filipinas*, 248.
[250] *Nuevo Manual de Urbanidad*, pt. I, Capitulo III; de los deberes del decoro conyugal y domestico, p. 24.

even at home, in anticipation of callers who might come knocking at their doors.[251] Looking gracious even in private was an art that many wealthy and stylish housewives tried to embody. Comfortable, less expensive, and at times, thinner materials were used as intimate house wear. However, in the presence of servants, especially male ones, women would don some robe for decency. When guests were expected, they were dressed as if they would be going out. There were items considered too intimate to be worn in public or in the presence of non-family members.[252]

In the article "Trajes de los Niños" in *El Bello Sexo* (1891), young children, especially girls, and their mothers and sisters, were reminded to live out the ideals of dressing for self, more than dressing for others. Women, in particular, were forewarned not to go out anytime of the day, in clothes that were torn, stained or ill-fitting.[253] For growing girls, it would not be necessary to make distinctions between clothes for going out and clothes for staying in. The author recommends dressing them in clothes for going out *(los trajes de levantarse* or *los trajes de salir; damit panlabas* in Filipino*)* in the mornings, rather than to dress them in apparel relegated as house wear (*los trajes de casa*; *damit panloob* in Filipino), which generally consist of clothes they have already outgrown or clothes that have faded with use, but which were neither torn nor stained.[254] Clothes that were either too small (*demasiado pequeño*) or too loose (*demasiado holgado*) would just make them not only look but also feel ridiculous. Particularly interesting was the fact that this literally put into words the elements that could cause attires to be relegated from *trajes de salir* into *trajes de casa*.

In between these two, there were also clothes for use during evening dinners spent at home, when no guests were expected. Low-cut women's dresses in light and thin silk or cotton muslin cloths, either imported or locally made, in Antique, for instance, were typically worn by the more affluent at that time. Apart from embroideries, there were evidences to

[251] According to Fee, the proper hours for calling were between 4 to 8 pm, while according to Sawyer, it was at 9 pm, or 10 am on Sundays, after High Mass. FEE, *A Woman's Impression of the Philippines*, chap. VII; SAWYER, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines (1900)*, chap. XIX.
[252] JOAQUIN and SANTIAGO, *The World of Damián Domingo*, 72.
[253] In original Spanish: *vestidos rotos, manchados ó de mala figura.* The same goes with footwear. One may choose to wear their old *chinellas* (the ones that are not tattered, yet, too faded for going out) but, bear in mind that there would nothing be more ridiculous that having to hide when called to the door. SINUÉS, "Trajes de los Niños," para. 13, p. 357; para. 18, p. 358.
[254] In original Spanish: *El gasto de los trajes de levantarse y de interior es superfluo para las niñas: basta con que lleven por la mañana uno de los trajes de salir que se haya deslucido ó quedado pequeño; pero este traje, que éste arreglado á su talla, limpio y hasta lleno de piezas, si es preciso; pero jamás roto ni manchado ni de una hechura ridícula, demasiado pequeño ó demasiado holgado para la figura de la niña.* Ibid., para. 16, p. 358.

suggest that muslins, presumably for home wear, were also hand-painted (*muselina pintada*).[255]

Etiquettes propagated in publications such as *El Bello Sexo* (1891) reminded women that under no circumstance should they abandon their appearance based on the pretext that nobody would see them. Dressing for the sake of beauty was believed to contribute to a general sense of well-being and must therefore, be cultivated early in childhood. No one even had to see, the author of the article "Trajes de los Niños" pointed out.[256] Parents were advocated to invest not in the quantity of accessories and expensive outer wear (*damit panlabas*) but in the quality of their daughter's underwear (*ropa interior* in Spanish, *damit panloob* in Filipino).[257] Rationale such as this may have propagated the value and importance of good and proper underwear, especially among the wealthy. This explains why, despite the fact that these garments were intended for the home and will not be worn outside in public, many still turned out to be rather opulent and pricey. Laces *(encajes)*, embroideries (*bordados*) and bows (*lazos*) applied on undergarments made of moderately priced textiles (*e.g.,,* batiste), were instrumental in evoking feelings of luxury and heightened self-respect.[258] The European-style, high-necked *corpiño* (vest-like undershirt), for example, had ruffle and/or lace edgings called *puntillas*.[259] The intimate kind of elegance, the author elaborated, which we often give little importance to, is, in fact, most telling of the respect we have for ourselves.[260]

Men, meanwhile, underneath their clothes and within their private chambers, typically wore *calzoncillos* (shorts or drawers) and *camisetas* (sleeveless or sleeved undershirts) as underwear. It is similar to what is, contemporarily, known as boxer shorts and t-shirts. Materials for these were cotton, refined abacá or sinamay.[261] There were some colored *calzoncillos,* which were dyed in indigo.[262] In the last quarter of the 19th century, men could easily purchase ready-made underwear from the bazars along Escolta, such as *Bazar la*

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[255] Entry by the the Comisión Central de Manila. (-), *Catálogo de La Exposición General de Las Islas Filipinas 1887*, sec. Septima, Grupo 50, #71, p. 502.
[256] SINUÉS, "Trajes de los Niños," para. 13, p. 357.
[257] Ibid., para. 11, p. 357.
[258] Ibid.
[259] Don Pablo Ponce from Bataán, Capiz exhibited a sample of a *puntilla* during the 1887 Madrid exhibition. The material was not indicated. (-), *Catálogo de La Exposición General de Las Islas Filipinas 1887*, sec. Septima, Grupo 52, #27, p. 531; CRUZ, *The Terno*, 4.
[260] SINUÉS, "Trajes de los Niños," para. 11, p. 357.
[261] Examples of moderately priced in cotton (*telas de módico precio)* are *percal*, percale or calico and *batiste*, batista or cambric, usually printed. Ibid., para. 9, 11, p. 357.
[262] Subcomisión provincial de Bataan sent one *calzoncillo* (underwear for men) using cotton percale (otherwise called calico, usually printed) fabric dyed in indigo and another *calzoncillo* made of abacá. (-), *Catálogo de La Exposición General de Las Islas Filipinas 1887*, sec. Segunda, Grupo 16, p. 267.

Puerta del Sol and *Casa de Londres, Spring y C.ª*.[263] For sleeping, the typical night wear of men, regardless of wealth or race, consisted of loose pants with shirts over them.[264] They would either remain in this or don a robe as they took their morning chocolate drink (*chicara de chocolate)*.

The color white was a popular color, especially in hot, tropical climates. For men, white was a common color for outer shirts, but for women, white was the preferred color for morning robes or dressing gowns (*batas* and *peinadors*). There was one painting by Juan Luna, *La mestiza en su tocador* (The Mestiza in her Boudoir, 1887, Fig. 125, *see also* Fig. 109B), which shows his sister-in-law Rosario "Charing" Melgar in a private moment of dressing and primping.[265] She was wearing a colorful striped *saya* and a short diaphanous white blouse (*chambras*) over a sleeveless chemise or *camiseta*.[266] By capturing her in this moment and in this space where, conventionally, no one other than one's self, mother or husband is a witness, Luna inadvertently brought to life some of the intimate apparel being advertised in the European bazars in Escolta. *Bazar La Puerta del Sol,* for example, promoted its *batas, peinadores* and *chambras* while *Bazar de la Bota de Oro* sold a variety of *lencerias* (linen) and *ropas interiors* (underwear).[267]

Boudoirs or dressing rooms like the one Charing Melgar had were almost necessary for well-to-do women. As Sawyer recommended: "good lights are essential in the dressing room."[268] Many, in fact, would *get dressed* to get dressed. This meant that they would put on special dressing gowns over their sleepwear, after getting out of bed. In *En el "boudoir,"* a feature from the periodical *El Domingo Semanal* (1890), a certain Jacinta wakes up, still yawning, dressed in a *négligé*, which was described to be charming in its disarray (*vestida con encantadora y abandonada négligé)*.[269] These *négligés* were typically princess robes made of airy, lightweight and soft fabrics, such as cambric (*batiste*) or lawn cotton. More

[263] GROIZÁRD, *Manila Alegre: Periódico Festivo Ilustrado*, 1886, Octobre 1; GONZÁLEZ FERNÁNDEZ, *Manual del Viajero en Filipinas*, 631.
[264] The Spaniards in the Philippines were dressed in pretty much the same way as the Indios. MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1983, 345.
[265] LUNA y NOVICIO, *La Mestiza en su Tocador (The Mestiza in Her Boudoir)*; *Discovering Philippine Art in Spain*, 224.
[266] Her attire was in keeping with Mallat's description that many women "go to bed in their sayas and upon waking up, they put on the tapís to go to the bath, either in the river or at home." MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1983, 345.
[267] ESCOBAR y LOZANO, *El Indicador del Viajero en Las Islas Filipinas*, 236; GONZÁLEZ FERNÁNDEZ, *Manual del Viajero en Filipinas*, 587–588.
[268] SAWYER, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines (1900)*, chap. XIX: Life in Manila (A Chapter for the Ladies), pp. 173–187.
[269] *El Domingo (Semanal)* (Manila, 1890), Agosto 4, Num. 4, p. 2.

often than not, ladies purchased imported fabrics from the stores in Manila and employed *sastres* and *bordadoras* to work in their homes to turn them into clothing.[270]

It seems that the *tocador* (*boudoir*) was not only a place for dressing but also a space for clothes, slippers, shoes, accessories (e.g., *cintas* or ribbons, *lazos* or bows) as well as beauty products like ylang-ylang essences and perfumes.[271] Perusing over the catalogue of the 1887 Madrid exposition suggests that travel suitcases may also be stored in the *tocador*. Grupo 54 of section seven listed items and producers of various objects in the dressing room (*articulos de tocador)*, among which were suitcases made of cane (*maleta de tejida de caña* and *una cartera de caña para viaje)*.[272] This curious mix of evening gowns, everyday clothes, travel outfits, and lingerie in one's boudoir offered insights to the lifestyle of its owner.

The Spectrum between Everyday and Special Attires

Descriptions of how clothing in varied social and private contexts inevitably posed the question of how appearances in daily life differed from appearances during special occasions. To further understand clothing variations, it was important to take into account differences in terms of purpose, occupations, income, age or phase in life, occasions or dress codes and cultures adopted, for example, after marriage.

Everyday and festive wear both had very specific functions. The approach and processes are different. Usually with everyday clothing, comfort, practicality and ease of movement takes precedence over visual impact. This also varied depending on the setting of the event. With attires worn in private parties, the fact that clothing would be viewed in much closer quarters was a consideration. A wealthy woman attending a tertulia or a bailé in a private home was also more willing to sacrifice a little of comfort for the sake of style and elegance. Dresses generally made for special occasions were also usually more personal, with some women doing the sewing and embroidering themselves. Delicate pieces of clothing like embroidered piña camisas and pañuelos required more time and patience as well as quality and care. They would need servants not only to help them dress and undress, but also to dismantle the pieces for washing before sewing them again.[273]

[270] SAWYER, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines (1900)*, chap. XIX.
[271] PICKWIK, "La Moda (Breves Consideraciones)," para. 4, p. 277.
[272] The *maletas* were exhibited by Carcel Pública de San Fernando, Unión. (-), *Catálogo de La Exposición General de Las Islas Filipinas 1887*, sec. Septima, Grupo 54: Articulos de Tocador, pp. 542–544.
[273] CRUZ, *The Terno*, 8.

Promenade attires, in representing somewhat of a middle ground between everyday and party attires, must stand out in a crowd. Through the articulation of the pageantry in public as opposed to private spaces, it was observed that clothing was in fact one of the most visible manifestations of class barrier. Sartorial barriers complemented existing class barriers and although the purpose may be to flaunt prosperity and wealth to the members of one's class, the indirect influence to the middling and lower classes was also be considered.

Second, they also varied depending on occupations and preoccupations. Those who were involved in the clothes trade, the *sinamayeras,* which will be featured in a latter chapter, participated in the publicity of appearances for which they had to "dress up" in daily life, essentially creating an ambiguous style for ambiguous occasions, those that were neither "purely" special nor "purely" ordinary. For example, promenade attire was special attire but on a different level from evening gowns.

As one can see above, in Philippine cultural life, there were clothes that were neither everyday nor special wear. They were somewhere in between. This echoes Henk Schulte Nordholt who argued in his article, "The State on the Skin: Clothes, Shoes and Neatness in (colonial) Indonesia," that the lines separating "purely" special and "purely" everyday wear are often not clear.[274] Mixtures abound and oftentimes, regular clothing consisted of an assortment of "purely" special pieces and "purely" ordinary pieces. The lines drawn were neither limited to the "purity" of the attire nor the "purity" of the event, they could extend to varied combinations, blending European and native elements, contemporary and vintage *(antiguo uso)*, modern (in the sense of up-to-date and contemporary) and traditional, etc. A study on clothes is best approached with fluidity, fluctuations and creativity in mind.

What this essentially calls to mind is the delimiting nature of genre distinction, in terms of styles, occasions and influences. Among women whose clothes revolved around the four basic pieces of baro't saya, tapís and pañuelo, it is difficult to say where leisure ended and where professional began. Some pieces used for promenade may have also been used for tertulias and fiestas. The saya fashioned in cotton paired with an exquisite baro could, for example, be worn for a variety of occasions. Among self-employed men, from the planter class, for instance, much of what was used for everyday business meetings may have been likewise used for weekends. A piña shirt could host a variety of activities that did not necessarily fall into established categories.

[274] SCHULTE NORDHOLT, "The State on the Skin: Clothes, Shoes and Neatness in (Colonial) Indonesia," 21.

In the same way that clothing did not come to serve one specific purpose or occasion, clothing did not just come from one influence. Clothing is not reducible to any one determinant. The discourse on the multiplicity of influences, intertwining elements and categories that bear on clothing choices underscores the historic connections and consequences in the relationship of clothing and appearance to the wider colonial culture.

Third, everyday and festive wear also varied depending on incomes. Almost all members of the lower classes had at least one set of special clothes, mainly for occasions that involved the pageantry of the church, namely processions, fiestas, mass celebrations, etc.

If everyday wear for common class women were typically be made up of between four to five pieces: baro, saya, headscarf (that doubled as a wipe or pañuelo), slippers and the optional tapís. For special occasions, it would increase to six pieces: fine camisa (worth six times as much as her ordinary shirt), sayas of European cotton (worth twice as much as her everyday saya), petticoat or a kind of underskirt, mantilla (for church mainly), pañuelo and chinelas. They basically wore better, more expensive materials and additional layers for certain occasions.

Men's wear, meanwhile, was made up of four main pieces for ordinary days: shirt, pants, chinelas and headscarf, which doubled as handkerchief or wipe. Special wear was made of three instead of four pieces: fine shirt, fine pants, and a pair of shoes. Their shoes would cost them around seven reales (less than one peso), which would be approximately one-third of, for example, a houseboy's salary.

Third, appearances during everyday and special occasions varied depending on age or phase in life. This will later on be articulated on chapter four, which covers the clothing of children and students.

Fourth, clothing choices varied depending on occasions and stated dress codes: there were events at Malacañang, for example, that specifically called for Western style ball gowns, complete with the bustle skirt, etc. There were events specifically called *saya bailés* that called for the wearing of *trajé del país*.

Fifth, among women, this varied depending on who they married and what culture they chose to adopt while living in the colony. Accounts by Álvarez-Guerra, for example, shows that those who married Europeans underwent complete vestimentary transformations, from native to completely Western styles for everyday life, e.g., Doña Victorina in *Noli me tangere* (1886, Fig. 113).

Chapter 5 Clothing at a Time of Waning and Emerging Power

Many colonial societies were characterized by culture of appearances in which clothes was used as indefinite and fluid markers of class and social position. Although sartorial expectations did exist according to one's professional assignments or social standing, Robert Ross in his work, *Clothing: A Global History*, revealed that fundamentally "people use clothes to make two basic statements: first, this is the sort of person I am and second, this is what I am doing."[1] Citizens of class-stratified societies have often turned to clothing as non-verbal expressions of themselves -- to make statements without the use of voice, to be silent without being wordless.[2] As the brown-skinned among the colonized could not alter their race, features and skin color, many have learned to manipulate their outward appearances – and by extension, their children's and sometimes, their employees -- in order to establish their status in Philippine colonial society. In many ways, clothes were employed as wordless but unsubtle reminders of power, wealth and class. Images, travel accounts and moralizing novels were among those reviewed to chronicle the colonial community's manner of sartorially flaunting or concealing their social status.

This looked into how the clothing of selected groups provided clues to their status. What may initially appear as disconnected subjects would be linked in light of the actual socio-cultural changes that occurred, some of which were results of changing colonial policies. Divided into two sections, the first part looked at what the changing clothes of the gobernadorcillos conveyed. The second part examined how the clothing of the generation of Ilustrados that lived through the 19th century progressed with age. Clothing disparities based on gender occurred as early as infancy and carried on to student age before being influenced by their professional and socio-cultural lives. Particularly, this articulates the clothing of children, male and female students and the Ilustrados in light of the evolving meanings of power and wealth.

The Gobernadorcillo and his Clothes

Spanish political rule in the Philippines was indirect.[3] The provinces were divided into towns (pueblos), ruled by native gobernadorcillos (petty governor), who were associated

[1] ROSS, *Clothing: A Global History*, 7.
[2] Ibid., 122.
[3] WICKBERG, *The Chinese in Philippine Life, 1850-1898*, 2000, 132.

not only politically but also culturally with Spain.[4] Each town was further subdivided into barangays, composed of forty-five to fifty tribute-paying families, administered by the cabezas de barangay (village heads).[5] Collectively, they formed the principalía, which represented the native aristocracy. Members of this pre-colonial indigenous elite, the datus and their descendants evolved to become a new class, functioning mainly as collectors of tributes for the Spanish crown.[6] They were also responsible for organizing people to render labor service to the government (*polos y servicios*) as well as for the maintenance of both the prison and the Casa Tribunal or townhall. They also served as notaries and judges for trials.[7] It must be pointed out though that many of these gobernadorcillos and cabezas de barangay could neither understand nor speak Spanish, they depended on the services of native interpreters, called *Directorcillo* (Secretary).[8]

Gobernadorcillos were the main authority figure on the local level (Fig. 80C, Fig. 119, Fig. 184). They had an advising body called the Council of Principales, composed of six Cabezas de Barangay and six former gobernadorcillos called *capitanes pasados*, who were summoned to help settle disputes or elect new officials (Fig. 82, Fig. 83).[9] In larger, more populous towns such as Tondo, there were three gobernadorcillos to represent three major racial groups – a gobernadorcillo de naturales, gobernadorcillo de mestizos and gobernadorcillo de chinos (Fig. 129C).[10] Each gobernadorcillo had his Council of Principales[11] and his own Tribunal to run. In 1847 when the office of Gobernadorcillo

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[4] Ibid.

[5] There were approximately 725 towns in the Colony, with each locally governed by a *Gobernadorcillo*. They were elected every two years. Sinibaldo de MAS, "Informe Sobre El Estado de Las Islas Filipinas en 1842," in *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, ed. Emma H. BLAIR and James ROBERTSON, vol. XXVII (Cleveland: Clark, 1903), tomo ii; BLAIR and ROBERTSON, *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898*, 1903, 17:326; FOREMAN, *The Philippine Islands*, XIII, pp. 211–225.

[6] ABINALES and AMOROSO, *State and Society*, 57, 86; BLAIR and ROBERTSON, *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898*, 1903, 42:326.

[7] Gobernadorcillos could be seen presiding over cases such as the one of an indio who committed a crime of passion by killing a friend on a fit of jealousy and subsequently, threw the corpse into the lake. The gobernadorcillo initiated a search for the corpse by tossing two blessed candles, each tied to one end of a board, to the river. They prayed over the candles, waited until the candles stopped around the central part of the lake, and then began searching for the corpse on that spot. After using some bamboos to search the lakebed, they managed to find the dead body. Occurrences like this were considered by the ignorant as feats of miracles, and contributed to the image of the gobernadorcillo as miracle workers, or as men of wisdom. However, the truth of the matter was that the uneven surface of the lake, which hollowed around the central part, naturally drew to that area both the body and the candles. *See* MARCHE, *Luzon and Palawan*, 36–37.

[8] FOREMAN, *The Philippine Islands*, XIII, pp. 211–225.

[9] Cabeza which means head, barangay refers to the rowboat used by the indios. Cabezas de Barangay literally translates to head of the vessel. MARCHE, *Luzon and Palawan*, 35; SAWYER, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines (1900)*, chap. II, pp. 7–13.

[10] "They were chosen by and from among the people of their race." *See* José Maria A. CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847* (Manila: Ars Mundi, 2002), 182.

[11] Bandilla is the term used to refer to members of the Gobernadorcillo's Council. *See* José Maria A. CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847* (Manila: Ars Mundi, 2002), 186.

became elective, only members of the principalía could be elected and were allowed to vote.[12] The position of Gobernadorcillo and Cabezas de Barangay were limited to the native principalía, which explains why some people concealed their foreign ancestry and had, instead, fully embraced their place amongst the natives. For example, French scientist, Alfred Marche who was in the Philippines between 1879-1883 met gobernadorcillos of French ancestry. Except for their French last name, they were native in every way. They have never met their father and they could not speak a single word of French.[13] Likewise, the position of both the Governor-General and the Provincial Governor (alcalde mayor) were not open to members of the native Principalia.

Although the titles bestowed upon these local municipal officers such as Gobernadorcillo, which translates as Little Governor,[14] was considered diminutive, discriminating, even "improper and ridiculous," their positions "carried importance and respectability."[15] There were some towns where they were, instead, addressed as Capitán (captain).[16] They and their sons often took pride in being addressed by the title *Don*, their wives as *Doñas*, and their daughters as *Señoritas*.[17] They also had the privilege of having a prestigious address by living within the confines of the town's main square or Plaza Mayor.[18] Furthermore, they, their wives and their eldest sons were exempted from the burdens of paying tribute and the much-dreaded *polos y servicios* or *servicios personales*, the obligatory labor service for the government, imposed on the general population. These mandatory labor services to which the principales were exempted from involves cleaning government buildings, sweeping streets, building public works and were therefore considered demeaning to their status.[19] In 1890, townships were "raised to the dignity of municipalities," hence, the

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[12] ABINALES and AMOROSO, *State and Society*, 89; *Encyclopedia Univeral Ilustrada Europeo-Americana*, vol. VII (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, S.A., 1921), 624.
[13] Marche met two brothers of French ancestry, Messieurs Balthazar, who traded gold with the Igorots. They were said to be the richest men of the region. *See* MARCHE, *Luzon and Palawan*, 112.
[14] Other examples would be *medequillo* for doctor, *bandilla* for a member of the gobernadorcillo's council and licurquillo for students who compose the native songs and elaborate comedies. *See* CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 186.
[15] MONTERO y VIDAL, *Archipiélago Filipino*, 162–168; BLAIR and ROBERTSON, *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898*, 1903, 17:330.
[16] They were officially called Gobernadorcillo but their popular title was Capitán. *See* FOREMAN, *The Philippine Islands*, chap. XIII, pp. 211–225; JOAQUIN and SANTIAGO, *The World of Damián Domingo*, 28.
[17] *Primogenito* means first born, and first borns were exempted from *polos y servicios*, under the assumption that they would "assist their fathers in gratuitous government service." *Encyclopedia Univeral Ilustrada Europeo-Americana*, VII:624; FOREMAN, *The Philippine Islands*, chap. XIII, pp. 211–225; JOAQUIN and SANTIAGO, *The World of Damián Domingo*, 28–29.
[18] Although it must be noted that the Gobernadorcillo de Chinos lived in "one of the towns outside the Intramuros." *See* José Maria A. CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847* (Manila: Ars Mundi, 2002), 182.
[19] Ibid., 188.

title of Gobernadorcillo (petty governor), which in Spanish sounds contemptuous, was changed to Capitán Municipal (Municipal Captain).[20]

Gobernadorcillos reportedly only had an annual salary of twenty-four pesos but in some towns, they were considered the "richest people of the region," sometimes even only after two years in office.[21] Many of them were wealthy landowners and planters that the two pesos salary per month were practically just honorarium. Although they were entitled to a certain percentage of the tributes they collected, they were technically not allowed to use their position for personal gain, thus, this makes one wonder why this position would be so coveted by the indios.[22] The opportunities to accumulate wealth that comes with the position as well as their desire for prominence were believed to be major motivating factors.[23] As Foreman said, "many were anxious for the office, even if it cost them money, on account of the local prestige which the title of Capitán gave them."[24] For the two years that they were in office, they spent to entertain and furnish officials passing through their town with food, drinks, carriages, escorts, sedan chairs and amusements. To ingratiate themselves with the colonial authorities, they always had to be ready to honor governors, archbishops, alcaldes and judges by presenting them with gifts of flowers and fruits and imported wines and biscuits on their birthdays, their children's baptisms, even their cousin's cousin's funeral. In Rizal's *Noli*, the characters of Capitán Tiago and Capitán Tinong who certainly must have been based on the conducts of real-life gobernadorcillos, would have orchestras ready to congratulate and serenade Spanish officials or would be prepared to give costly jewelries to the Captain-General as Christmas gifts.[25]

Many have used their positions to enrich themselves by exacting payments in service and in kind. Payment in the form of "local produce such as unhulled rice, salt, chicken, eggs, native liquor and wine" were often accepted then resold at a profit – most of which went straight to their own pockets. They also had the authority to redirect the labor services of the *polistas*[26] from state public works to become their own private carpenters and construction

[20] FOREMAN, *The Philippine Islands*, chap. XIII, pp. 211–225.
[21] MARCHE, *Luzon and Palawan*, 112.
[22] MONTERO y VIDAL, *Archipiélago Filipino*, 162–168; BLAIR and ROBERTSON, *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898*, 1903, 17:330.
[23] MONTERO y VIDAL, *Archipiélago Filipino*, 331.
[24] FOREMAN, *The Philippine Islands*, chap. XIII, pp. 211–225.
[25] Capitán Tinong was said to have given the Captain-General a ring worth one thousand pesos. RIZAL, *The Social Cancer: A Complete English Version of Noli me tangere from the Spanish of José Rizal*, chap. 6, pp. 42–43 and chap. 59, 458–459.
[26] People who are paying taxes in the form of personal service, for 40 days a year. *See* MONTERO y VIDAL, *Archipiélago Filipino*, 162–168; BLAIR and ROBERTSON, *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898*, 1903, 17:331.

workers. Through this, there were cases when their houses were built for them for free. They have also been known for extortions, briberies and illegal collection of taxes on court cases. [27]

The principalías' identification and distorted perception of themselves as better or more superior was a clear feature of colonial programming. They were natives who discriminated against fellow natives, their own subjects whom they supposedly sought to uphold but whom they profited from. Interestingly, they were the most entertaining, even amusing, to analyze in terms of dress for the following reasons. First, although it was not their exclusive privilege to wear this type of attire,[28] they could easily be recognized by their use of short jackets over a long shirt, which sometimes had high-standing collars. More than this combination, it was how they carried such outfits with distinction that set them apart from other brown-skinned indios. [29] Second, they wore or carried specific items that symbolized their office and status, such as the walking stick or cane (*bastón*) for the gobernadorcillo and the long stick or wand (*varas*) for the cabezas de barangay.[30] Many would complete their attires with an added flair - and air- of self-entitlement, as well as sense of superiority and importance. In the article, "Las Principalías Modernas" in *La Moda Filipina* (1894), this influential group had been called the aristocracy of despotism, the perpetuation of which was rooted on the economic, social and class inequality of Philippine colonial society. Their mandatory presence during church events were charged with the "vanity and aristocratic aura of class superiority," that served only to highlight contrasts in wealth and lifestyles.[31]

In representations of gobernadorcillos throughout the 19th century, they were consistently portrayed with their canes or walking sticks, some of which were tassled gold[32] while others were made of carabao horn with silver cap.[33] The *bastón* that General Emilio

[27] MONTERO y VIDAL, *Archipiélago Filipino*, 331; CORPUZ, *An Economic History of the Philippines*, 32; ABINALES and AMOROSO, *State and Society*, 55.
[28] BLUMENTRITT, *Versuch einer Ethnographie der Philippinen*, chap. 2.
[29] They wore this ensemble as if they had been persons in authority their whole life. *See* "'El Gobernadorcillo,' Ilustración Filipina, 1859 Deciembre 15," 165–167.
[30] In Damian Domingo's painting entitled "Un Indio Capitano *Gobernadorcillo* del Pueblo," he was carrying a bamboo stick or a wand (varas) for ordinary days and the tassled cane or baston for special occasions. *See* JOAQUIN and SANTIAGO, *The World of Damián Domingo*, 28–29; MONTERO y VIDAL, *Archipiélago Filipino*, 162–168; BLAIR and ROBERTSON, *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898*, 1903, 17:332.
[31] J., *La Moda Filipina Periodico Quincenal Ilustrado*, Año II (Quiapo: Redaccion y Administracion, 1894), February 28, Num. 24, sec. Las Principalas Modernas, p. 2.
[32] JOAQUIN and SANTIAGO, *The World of Damián Domingo*, fig. II: Un Indio Capitano Gobernadorcillo del Pueblo, pp. 28–29.
[33] *Museo Nacional de Antropología* (Madrid, Spain, n.d.), Call #: 2.413; *Discovering Philippine Art in Spain*, 162.

Aguinaldo owned, engraved with his initials EA, was made of bamboo and silver.[34] "The cane was a symbol of authority among Spaniards," and some of the canes carried by gobernadorcillos even had engravings of the Spanish coat of arms.[35] These *bastónes* also functioned as an instrument of discipline, used like a whip, which they would sometimes use to strike their subjects.[36] The many expressions related to the *bastón* were in fact, indicative of their uses.[37] *Bastón de mando* and *empuñar el bastón* means to take charge or to take command while *meter el bastón* means to intervene. Wielded only by men, the *bastón* also represented male authority.[38]

The jacket and the cane became one of the recognizable features of the gobernadorcillos appearance. In fact, ordinary people often peered through their windows in hopes of catching a glimpse of this awed figure in a jacket and a cane.[39] Many *bastónes* of the local principalía, many of which were customized, were fabled for their craftsmanship and design. There was one story of a member of the principalía who was described by Foreman as "imprudently vain enough to carry a walking-stick with a chased gold-know handle studded with brilliants."[40] The Spanish Governor (name not specified) wanted it so badly and in so many words of flattery, hinted many times how he would want to receive it as a gift. Soon, it was time for him to leave his post. After having waited in vain for that *bastón* to come to his possession, he summoned the native chief to bid them farewell with an adulatory speech. Determined not to leave the colony without the bejeweled cane he has been lusting over, his final gesture was to honorably bestow his official-stick to his favored subjects, an act, which was received with, claps and acclaims. He then obstinately grabbed the bejeweled stick and much to the bewilderment of the native chief, he announced that he would keep it as a memento of his sojourn and authority in the Philippines.

Before the 1830s, the *gobernadorcillo*'s daily attire was comprised of (Fig. 180, Fig. 181A, Fig. 182):

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[34] The actual *bastón* may currently be found at the *Museo del Ejercito* (Toledo, Spain), Call #: 43.395, cited in *Discovering Philippine Art in Spain*, 162. It originally came into the possession of the Museo de Artilleria or Museo Historico Militar in Cartagena, Murcia, Spain when then-Governor General Camilo García de Polavieja y del Castillo-Negrete, Marques de Polavieja (1838–1914; period of office: Dec. 13, 1896-April 15, 1897) gave it as a donation.
[35] MARCHE, *Luzon and Palawan*, 71.
[36] GIRONIÈRE, *Adventures in the Philippine Islands*, 79–80; "'El Gobernadorcillo,' Ilustración Filipina, 1859 Deciembre 15," 165–167.
[37] The bastón, along with the sword, was also seen among the Customs Officers of the Mayor of Manila. JOAQUIN and SANTIAGO, *The World of Damián Domingo*, fig. IV: Un Ministro del Alcalde de Manila, pp. 32–33.
[38] REYES, *Love, Passion and Patriotism*, 75.
[39] "'El Gobernadorcillo,' Ilustración Filipina, 1859 Deciembre 15," 165–167.
[40] FOREMAN, *The Philippine Islands*, XIII, 211–225.

(a) short, long-sleeved jacket. They were either plain black or printed with stripes or some indistinct small, presumably, embroidered patterns. The materials used were pinukpok, a type of rough fabric made from beaten abacá fibers.[41];

(b) shirt (baro), the length of which varied from hips to mid-upper thigh. The fabrics were either transparent or opaque, made of handwoven cotton, silk, sinamay, jusi or lupis;[42] The shirt was also worn with a little string tie around the neck.[43]

(c) wide-legged trousers in silk or brocade with embroidery along the bottom identified as sayasaya (Fig. 181B);[44]

(d) pair of pointed or square-toed shoes –either beribboned or plain, colors were either in black or tan[45]

(e) large European top hat[46]

(f) accessories such as an umbrella, a cane (*bastón*)[47]

The gobernadorcillos were seen doing a variety of work activities that ranged from electing town officials, talking to prisoners in these ensembles. Sometimes he would be depicted as seated behind his desk in the *tribunal* (city hall). Montero y Vidal, wrote in 1866: "In his tribunal, he occupies a large lofty seat, which is adorned with the arms of España, and with fanciful designs, if his social footing shows a respectable antiquity."

The sayasaya he wore is very interesting for although, it was seen in the depictions of *tipos del país* (Philippine types) before 1840, no actual trousers were found anywhere in the Philippines. The term sayasaya also appeared in various historical accounts in the first half of the 19th century. Paul Gironière (between 1820 and 1840), in describing the dress of some indios and mestizos, presumably from the upper classes, he specifically mentioned their use of "trousers of colored silk with embroidery near the bottom."[48] Mallat, whose work was published in 1846, mentioned how some men continued to wear the silk pants called sayasaya, whose lower part is embroidered and which used to be worn by the *maguinoones* (gentlemen) of the pueblos."[49] Moreover, the catalogue of the 1887 Madrid *Exposición*

[41] TORRE, *The Barong Tagalog: Then & Now*, 4.
[42] Ibid.
[43] JOAQUIN and SANTIAGO, *The World of Damián Domingo*, fig. II: Un Indio Capitano Gobernadorcillo del Pueblo.
[44] MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1846, 61; CAPISTRANO-BAKER, "Embroidered Multiples: Nineteenth-Century Philippine Costumes and Images," 16–20.
[45] Nick Joaquin and Luciano P.R. Santiago identified them as moccasins. JOAQUIN and SANTIAGO, *The World of Damián Domingo*, 28.
[46] Ibid., fig. II: Un Indio Capitano *Gobernadorcillo* del Pueblo.
[47] Ibid.
[48] GIRONIÈRE, *Twenty Years in the Philippines*, chap. 2.
[49] MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1846, 61; MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1983, 291.

General de las Islas Filipinas recorded that a certain Doña Justa Parra from La Paz, Iloilo and the Junta local de La Paz, Iloilo both sent a *pantalón de seda bordado, uso antiguo* (silk pants with embroidery, old-style) for exhibition; however, there was no physical evidence to confirm their actual use and existence.[50] It was only 150 years later when an invaluable cache of rare Philippine clothing was rediscovered in Leiden, Netherlands. In 1991, Florina H. Capistrano-Baker found seven of these embroidered sayasayas at the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde (RMV-Leiden), a real breakthrough considering no such garment could be found anywhere else in the world.[51] Fortunately, all seven trousers were different from each other. Except for the dark colors, each feature varying patterns, designs and lengths.

Thought to have first been seen worn in the watercolor works of Damián Domingo (b. 1790- d. 1835), there were three artworks (1814) specifically featuring the clothing of the native population, which predated this. Two watercolors painted in the naïve style, titled *Indumentaría Filipina* (Philippine Apparel) and one *Indumentaría Femenina Filipina* (Philippine Women's Apparel, Fig. 180) may be found in the Archivo General de Indias in Sevilla.[52] These watercolors were originally commissioned by the Archbishop of Cebu, Don Fray Joaquin Encaro de la Virgen de Sopetran, following inquiries by the Overseas Authorities of the City of Cadiz about the customs and manners of the colonial population. In these artworks, one of the men's attire, identical to those in Damián Domingo and Espiridíon de la Rosa's works,[53] denotes the wearer's ethnicity and political position as a native or mestizo gobernadorcillo.[54]

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[50] Guardiola mentions that most of the objects exhibited would "subsequently enter the Museo-Biblioteca de Ultramar, founded after the 1887 Exposition of the Philippines." Hence, there is a chance that two sayasayas may be found in this museum. (-), *Catálogo de La Exposición General de Las Islas Filipinas 1887*, sec. Septima, Grupo 51, #15, p. 528; Grupo 53, #54, p. 536; GUARDIOLA, "The Colonial Imaginary," 223.

[51] Apart from the sayasaya, several women's nipis blouses were found in the same collection. CAPISTRANO-BAKER, "Embroidered Multiples: Nineteenth-Century Philippine Costumes and Images," 16–18.

[52] *Indumentaría Filipina (Philippine Apparel)*; CARIÑO and NER, *Álbum: Islas Filipinas, 1663-1888*, 12.

[53] Damian DOMINGO, *Damian Domingo Coleccion de Trajes Manila y Delas Provincias Ynbentado por D. Rafael Daniel Baboom y Dibujado por D. Damian Domingo Director Della Academia de Dibujo por La Real Sociedad Economica de Estas Islas Filipinas No. 3.o*, January 1833, fig. II: Un Indio Capitano *Gobernadorcillo* del Pueblo, Mr. Paulino Que Collection, Dr. Eleuterio Pascual Collection and Ayala Museum and Library, Makati, Metro Manila; Damian DOMINGO, *Indio Principal del Pueblo de Manila*, Watercolor on paper, between 1827 to 1832, Edward E. Ayer Art Collection, Newberry Library Great Lakes Digital Collection, http://collections.carli.illinois.edu/cdm4/item_viewer.php?CISOROOT=/nby_grlakes&CISOPTR=2109&CISOBOX=1&REC=15; DE LA ROSA, *El Gobernadorcillo de Mestizos*; JOAQUIN and SANTIAGO, *Nineteenth Century Manila. The World of Damian Domingo*, 28–29, 46–47, 58–59; MALLAT, *Les Philippines: Histoire, Géographie, Moeurs, Agriculture, Industrie et Commerce Des Colonies Espagnoles Dans L'oceanie*, 61.

[54] There were no records to suggest that the Chinese in China and the Europeans residing in the Philippines wore the sayasaya. Possibly, these kinds of trousers were imported from China, already sewn and embroidered, OR only the textile (silk), was imported from China or Bengal, then sewn and embroidered in the Philippines. CAPISTRANO-BAKER, "Embroidered Multiples: Nineteenth-Century Philippine Costumes and Images," 20; CANTA, "Of Cambayas, Custas and Calicos: The Indo-Philippine Textile Connection," 127–128.

The significance of finding the actual garments, equivalent to those found in the paintings, was twofold: First, it confirmed that the material is silk and the designs were embroidered, not printed or 'stamped.' The workmanship of these embroideries exposed both the value of these trousers and the status of the wearer. Their origins pointed to China since silk has long been considered a prestige product from that region and the embroideries in some of the trousers show auspicious Chinese symbols, like the phoenix and the dragon.[55]

How these silk trousers found its way to the Philippines may also be attributed to the 250-year Galleon Trade when the Philippines was used as a temporary reservoir for Chinese luxury goods before they were re-shipped to Mexico. The Philippines had a long history of using imported goods from China that the colonial government felt the need to intervene, especially following reports that the wide-scale use of Chinese goods deterred the growth of native cotton and weaving industries. Back in the 16th century, Governor-General Dasmariñas issued a legal ordinance dated March 30, 1591, prohibiting natives from wearing Chinese stuff. What is interesting was the inclusion of a clause stating that this "decree may be suspended in some cases."[56] This clearly indicated that exceptions applied to a favored few. It is not surprising that only the elite wore these silk sayasayas, after all, silk back then must have been affordable only to a select few.

What is also interesting was that no similar trousers were known to have been used in China and since no records existed of Europeans wearing these trousers, these must have been worn only by the native and mestizo elite. Second, being able to hold the actual garment, one may feel it against the skin, ascertain the width, flow of the fabric to understand the comfort they provided in hot tropical climates, perhaps even understand why it was preferred by elite men.

By the 1840s, there were three significant changes in the daily wear of gobernadorcillos. The silk or brocade sayasaya was no longer fashionable[57] and were mostly seen among old or retired gobernadorcillos (Fig. 121).[58] Quoting Fernando Fulgosio (1871):

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[55] The rest of the seven sayasayas in the RMV collection have the triangular tumpal motif more commonly associated with Southeast Asia. CAPISTRANO-BAKER, "Embroidered Multiples: Nineteenth-Century Philippine Costumes and Images," 19.

[56] Emma H. BLAIR and James A. ROBERTSON, *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898*, vol. 8, 55 vols. (Cleveland: Clark, 1903).

[57] "Dark embroidered sayasayas were no longer worn." *See* CARIÑO and NER, *Álbum: Islas Filipinas, 1663-1888*, 115.

[58] LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 39: Capitán Pasado con Traje Antiguo; LOZANO, *Karuth Album (1858)*, fig. 21: A Native Town Official; CARIÑO and NER, *Álbum: Islas Filipinas, 1663-1888*, 183.

> Some elders continued to wear the costume of the earlier village lords, which consisted of wide and long trousers in embroidered silk, sinamay shirt worn over pants, a morning jacket and a small scarf with green stripes.. [translation mine] [59]

The younger gobernadorcillos and cabezas de barangay preferred to wear the trendier, striped cotton trousers made of cambayas, imported from Madras in India or France.[60] In Lozano's Gervasio Gironella Album (1847, Fig. 121), the current gobernadorcillos were no longer wearing the sayasaya. Instead, they were wearing striped or plaid trousers in narrower cuts.[61] The sayasaya continued to appear at much later dates, specifically in Lozano's Karuth Album (1858), but more likely, to juxtapose past attires with more recent trends.

Although dark colored jackets was the norm, as evident in eighteen out of a sample of twenty paintings depicting gobernadorcillos from 1820 to 1868 from the different albums of Damián Domingo, Espiridíon de la Rosa and José Honorato Lozano, the color and patterns of the short jackets expanded to include lighter and brighter colors, like white, green, red, and blue.[62] In one specific Lozano work from the Ayala Album, titled "Election of a Town Judge by the Mayor, Priest and Scribe (1850-1851, Fig. 82)," where there was a high concentration of gobernadorcillos and other members of the principalía in one painting, a few were wearing bright colors, like red, green and red and white checkered pattern. The last quarter of the 19th century, once again, saw changes in the colors of both Western and Philippine style garments, this time becoming increasingly monochromatic. While loud colors or colorful ensembles were once associated with the gaudy tastes of the indios and mestizos de sangleys, shifts in their tastes in color blurred distinctions between the racial groups.

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[59] *Hay ancianos que conservan unos pantalones de seda, anchos y largos, cubiertos de bordaduras, que era el traje de los antiguos maguinones ó señores de los pueblo. Llevan la camisa de sinamay sobre los pantalones, y encima una como chaqueta, pañolillo con rayas verdes.* FULGOSIO, *Crónica de Las Islas Filipinas (1871)*, pt. 2, Ch. 8, p. 43.

[60] LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 39: Capitán Pasado con Traje Antiguo; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 188–189; MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1846, 65.

[61] Checkered patterns first appeared in Lozano's "Gobernadorcillo de Naturales en el Tribunal (Gobernadorcillo in his Tribunal)."*See* José Honorato LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album: Album Vistas De Las Yslas Filipinas y Trages De Sus Abitantes 1847*, Watercolor, 1847, BNE Sala Goya Bellas Artes.

[62] A white short jacket was worn in Lozano's 1847 painting from the Gervasio Gironella Album, "*Gobernadorcillo* de Naturales en el Tribunal (*Gobernadorcillo* in his Tribunal)." A short jacket in cream with light blue stripes was worn by Espiridíon de la Rosa's "El Gobernadorcillo de Mestizos." Although the birthdate and death of Espiridíon de la Rosa cannot be ascertained, his paintings were dated to be before 1840s. José Cariño writes that "the most compelling reason for dating Espiridíon de la Rosa's works to the early 19th century is the painting of "El Gobernadorcillo de Mestizos" which shows a town mayor with his stove pipe (or top hat), dark blue striped jacket, an untucked embroidered shirt and wide dark pantaloons with embroidery on the lower portion. By the 1840s, the gobernadorcillo's costume had changed from dark jacket and embroidered dark pants to a light colored jacket and multicolored wide pants." Ibid.; DE LA ROSA, *El Gobernadorcillo de Mestizos*; CARIÑO and NER, *Álbum: Islas Filipinas, 1663-1888*, 115.

The pointed "elf" sandals, presumably of Moorish origins made its appearance again (Fig. 158). First seen in *Indumentaría Filipina* in 1814, it reappeared in José Honorato Lozano's 1847 watercolor painting, *Capitán pasado con traje antiguo* (Retired *Gobernadorcillo* in Old-Fashion Clothes, Fig. 121), followed by his 1850 *Caña dulce y dos viejos principales antiguos* (Sugarcane and Two Old Councilors). Within a 20-year period, between 1847-1868, these pointed sandals were either worn on ordinary days and the beribboned European type closed shoes on special occasions or they were both used alternately on ordinary days. What is clear though is that these pointed sandals were not used for special occasions or official functions. Additionally, although they were quite often seen worn by gobernadorcillos, they were not exclusive to their class. Some common folks, old men preparing betel nut in the countryside, were also seen wearing the same type of shoes as well as what was presumably some rich natives from Mindanao.[63]

Based on paintings between the 1820s and 1860s, elite men were typically wearing European top hats or *sombrero de copa*, as they have been referred to in Spanish texts.[64] Beginning in the 1840s, the mushroom-shaped hat, known as salakot (Fig. 119), started to be integrated in their attire and was most probably used alternately with the European top hat for regular days.[65] In Lozano's 1844 watercolor titled *Un preso conducido por un cuadrillero y el gobernadorcillo* (Prisoner led by a civil guard and town mayor), the gobernadorcillo was wearing the salakot while in his 1858 *letras y figuras* of Edward A. Westley fourteen years later, the gobernadorcillo was wearing the European top hat.

Marche confirmed that the towering European top hat was popular in the first half of the 19th century, but by the 1870s, it was no longer in fashion. Instead, the male elite began to sport three different types of hat: the smaller, round bowler's hat *(sombrero hongo,* Fig. 86*)*, the plain or gilded salakot and the straw hat *(sombrero de paja*, Fig. 217*)*. The average salakot measured 18 inches in diameter and 6 inches tall; and, had a center cavity for the head (Fig. 186).[66] The elite refashioned the ordinary salakot, generally used by the males and females of the lower classes, by customizing them with silver or gold (Fig. 187B). They usually used the plain salakot, typically made of rattan (*junquillo*) or bamboo for ordinary

[63] The Middle Eastern pointed slippers appeared in a sample of 10 Lozano paintings from various albums. In 2 similar watercolors, one from the Karuth Album ("Old Woman, Old Man Preparing Betel Nut, Pampanga Natives," 1858) and another from the Gandara Album ("Poor and Old Country Natives,"1868), this type of footwear were worn by ordinary people: *See* LOZANO, *Karuth Album (1858)*; LOZANO, *Gandára Album (1867)*.
[64] ÁLVAREZ GUERRA, *Viajes por Manila à Tayabas*, chap. XX.
[65] LOZANO, *Nyssens-Flebus Album (1844-1846)*.
[66] FULGOSIO, *Crónica de Las Islas Filipinas (1871)*, pt. 2, Ch. 8, p. 42.

days and the gilded ones (using *repoussé* silver, Fig. 185, Fig. 186, Fig. 187B) or embroidered ones for special occasions.[67] Straw hats made of *buri* also became quite common. The price varied depending on the quality of the craftsmanship. Naturally, only the rich could afford the exquisitely fine ones, which often came with a hefty price tag. The best salakot were believed to be the ones manufactured in the provinces of Camarines, Albay and Bulacan.[68] These hats made great presents because the indios placed great value on them.[69]

It is clear that the elite also used the salakot, which, by the 1850s, was already constructed using a variety of materials. In the 1859 issue of *Ilustración Filipina*, there was an illustration by C.W. Andrews of a seated *gobernadorcillo* with what presumably looks like a salakot made of silver (Fig. 119).[70] In 1866, Montero y Vidal wrote that "the usual dress of a gobernadorcillo is a black jacket, European trousers, mushroom hat (salakot), and colored slippers; many even wear varnished (i.e. patent leather) shoes. The shirt is short, and worn outside the trousers. The gobernadorcillo carried a tassled cane (*bastón*), the lieutenants rod or sticks (*varas*)."[71] There may be a slight oversight here as elite men at that time commonly wore long shirts that would be difficult to tuck in. In almost all paintings and illustrations until the 1860s, elite men wore shirts whose length ran from the hips to mid-upper thigh.

How, when and where important men used the European frock coat and the top hat was summarily captured in this paragraph in the *Noli me tangere*(1886):

> In the two years Capitán Tiago was president of the rich guild of mestizos, he wore out ten frock coats, an equal number of high hats, and half a dozen canes. The frock coat and the high hat were in evidence at the Ayuntamiento, in the governor-general's palace, and at military headquarters; the high hat and the frock coat might have been noticed in the cockpit, in the market, in the processions, in the Chinese shops, and under the hat and within the coat might have seen the perspiring Capitán Tiago, waving his tasseled cane, directing, arranging, etc."[72]

To immortalize himself in an oil painting, Capitán Tiago was described to be in full dress, which consisted of three distinct items that shows his position both as an ex-

[67] SAWYER, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines (1900)*, chap. XVII: Manufactures and Industries; FULGOSIO, *Crónica de Las Islas Filipinas (1871)*, pt. 2, Ch. 8, p. 42.
[68] FULGOSIO, *Crónica de Las Islas Filipinas (1871)*, pt. 2, Ch. 8, p. 42.
[69] At some point, they even functioned as a form of currency. In Spanish: *sombrero antiguo, conservado á veces en la familia por espacio de un siglo entero... aun los llegan á jugar, sirviéndoles no pocas veces como si fueran moneda, acuñada y corriente.* Ibid., pt. 2, Ch. 8, p. 43.
[70] "'El Gobernadorcillo,' Ilustración Filipina, 1859 Deciembre 15."
[71] MONTERO y VIDAL, *Archipiélago Filipino*, 162–168; BLAIR and ROBERTSON, *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898*, 1903, 17:330–336.
[72] RIZAL, *The Social Cancer: A Complete English Version of Noli me tangere from the Spanish of José Rizal*, chap. 6: Capitán Tiago, pp. 43–44.

gobernadorcillo and as a wealthy capitalist, the frock coat, the top hat, and the cane, along an untucked baro over his pants and bejeweled fingers. More than his attire, his pose and stance was as "rigid and erect as the tasseled cane he held in his stiff, ring-covered fingers, as if to say, ahem, see how well dressed and dignified I am!" [73]

Capitán Tiago is comparable to the real-life Capitán Joaquin Arnedo Cruz of Sulepan, a rich native sugar plantation owner, who would throw elegant balls in his mansion in Pampanga. Like Capitán Tiago, he also had a daughter, who was married to the notable lawyer and statesman, Don Felipe Buencamino. [74] Capitán Joaquin, described as the *espléndido matanda sa nayon* (spending old men of the village) embodied the patriarchs of that era, whose "proverbial gallantry of splendor" was manifested in their lavish parties for two hundred of the most important native and foreign dignitaries.[75] Among his distinguished guests was the Grand Duke Alexis of Russia who was enchanted with the vivid combination of sophisticated décor, intricate costumes and sparkling jewelries. In 1894, he threw a party on his name day, account of which appeared as a cover story in *La Moda Filipina* (1894). The article, written by someone whose alias was "LIKE," could not help but comment on how the tapestries, the *marcante* dances, and the dresses were all very entrancing. Of course, the Capitán's generosity and congeniality was reciprocated with a remark on how young he looked at sixty-four years of age.

Gobernadorcillos' Gala Wear

In days of great ceremony, Filipinos were known to have been dressed in their most luxurious attires (*sus trajes de mas lujo*).[76] Special occasions such as religious fiestas and civil events called for those in active service, like the gobernadorcillos and the retired *capitánes pasados*, to be dressed in formal wear.[77] Their presence was expected during Sunday masses and on feast days (Fig. 83).[78] When high-ranking guests from the Manila colonial government visited their town, the gobernadorcillos were also expected to give him a proper welcome as well as assist him in his departure. This entailed that the gobernadorcillos

[73] Ibid., chap. 1.
[74] FOREMAN, *The Philippine Islands*, chap. XXV, pp. 238–245.
[75] LIKE, *La Moda Filipina*, 1894 September 15, Num. 32.
[76] FULGOSIO, *Crónica de Las Islas Filipinas (1871)*, pt. 2, Ch. 8, p. 43.
[77] They were usually dressed formally during *fiestajan* (great festivals) or on the day they assume office as *gobernadorcillo*s. Retired officials were referred to as *jubilados* in some Spanish texts. *See* MONTERO y VIDAL, *Archipiélago Filipino*, 162–168; BLAIR and ROBERTSON, *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898*, 1903, 17:332; FULGOSIO, *Crónica de Las Islas Filipinas (1871)*, pt. 2, Ch. 8, p. 43.
[78] According to Foreman, their absence will incur them some penalties. It is not clear what the mechanics were in checking their attendance. FOREMAN, *The Philippine Islands*, XIII, pp. 211–225.

and his entourage should wait by the main entrance to his town, dressed in official attire (*trajes de etiqueta*)[79] to meet and greet his guests, who would most likely be arriving on horseback. Their official dress consisted of dark trousers, short, waist or hips-length jacket referred to by writers from around the mid-1880s as the Eton jacket and shirt left hanging over the trousers (Fig. 184).[80] Gervasio Gironella wrote "there was no prescribed kind of cassocks, vests, hats, swords and daggers with handles of all types and forms of metals, that were worn with pride and seriousness than those of the gobernadorcillos."[81] Many of them wore hats and swords that have been passed on for generations.

They were also expected to assist the visiting officials on lunches and dinners. But instead of sharing meals together as equals, protocol dictated that gobernadorcillos "remain standing at a small distance from the table during the entire duration of the visit, unless they are told to leave."[82]

The gobernadorcillo's gala attire before 1840 was juxtaposed with his daily attire in one Damián Domingo painting.[83] The left figure shows that the gobernadorcillos' gala wear was a Napoleonic style military uniform, complete with knee breeches, tricorn hat, waistcoat, jacket which is a combination of frockcoat and tailcoat popular during the early Victorian era (1837-1901) and even, stockings (Fig. 181A). Overall, he appeared colorful, considering that the jacket was blue, the waistcoat was red and white stripes, the breeches were grey, the hat, stockings and shoes were black. He is holding a tasseled gold cane on one hand and a handkerchief on the other. This was in line with the norm at that time which was to hold handkerchiefs by the hand, not in the pockets of the shirt or trousers.[84]

By 1847, there were slight variations in their gala attire. They still generally wore knee breeches and silk stockings, although alternatively, they wore long trousers in narrower cuts. The predominant color was now plain black. The gala attire started to appear less like a military uniform and evolved to become more ceremonial and majestic, especially with the

[79] Their dress suit were referred to by Álvarez Guerra as *traje de etiqueta*. ÁLVAREZ GUERRA, *Viajes por Manila à Tayabas*, chap. XX.
[80] The Eton jacket, the length of which reaches their hips, was the piece of garment, which gave them their official distinction. Although Foreman did mention that "all this is now changing, with a tendency to imitate the Americans." FOREMAN, *The Philippine Islands*, chap. XIII, pp. 221–225; chap. XXI, pp. 343–360.
[81] LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 36: Gobernadorcillo de Naturales; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 183–184.
[82] LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 36: Gobernadorcillo de Naturales; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 183–184.
[83] DOMINGO, *Colección de Trajes de Manila y de Las Provincias*, fig. II: Un Indio Capitano Gobernadorcillo del Pueblo; JOAQUIN and SANTIAGO, *The World of Damián Domingo*, 28–29.
[84] JOAQUIN and SANTIAGO, *The World of Damián Domingo*, 32.

addition of feathers on the tricorn hat and the use of gold brocade (*brocada*)[85] or velvet (*terciopelo*)[86] in their sword belt.[87] In 1866, Montero y Vidal described that "on occasions of great ceremony, they would dress formally in frock coat, high-crowned hat – objects of value that were inherited from father to son."[88] This type of gala attire, illustrated in Lozano's *Gobernadorcillo de Naturales* (Gervasio Gironella Album, 1847, Fig. 183) was validated by Fulgosio (1871):

> They wore in an old-fashioned black dress and held a hat with feathers under their arm. They carried a cane with a golden head, cords and tassels, which served to declare their authority and a sword, which symbolized their position. They also used a lot of velvet and wore opulent slippers [translation mine] [89]

By the 1880s, their attires became more streamlined. As shown in the photo by Spanish photographer, Félix Laureano (ca. 1880, Fig. 83), eighteen members of the *Principalia de Leganés de Iloilo* were wearing light or dark-colored pants, barongs characteristically untucked and a short dark jacket.[90] By the 1890s, their attires varied, some began to imitate the British, some the Europeans and Americans in Western suits. The attire of a gobernadorcillo from Boac, Marinduque looked like an imitation of the British white drill coat, which was buttoned high up to the neck (Fig. 187A). Photographed alongside German chemist and pharmacist Dr. Alexander Schadenberg, he looked, like a self-assured young man, dapper in a white coat, black pants, white socks and closed leather shoes. Meanwhile, the cabeza or gobernadorcillo of the Igorots (Benguet) by the name of Álvarez was photographed on the day of his baptism dressed in the typical black Western suit and pants (Fig. 188). Underneath the suit, he had on a white shirt and what appears to be a black

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[85] Brocades were available at *Tiendas los Catalanes,* was located at No. 18 Escolta in the 1870s and at No. 9 Escolta in the 1880s. See ad with their product listings on *Manila Alegre*. GROIZÁRD, *Manila Alegre: Periódico Festivo Ilustrado*, 1885, Deciembre 6 and 11.

[86] In the article "Trajes de los Niños," velvet (*terciopelo*) and feathers (*pluma*) was identified as common adornments for hats (*sombreros). Terciopelo* may be bought from Casa de Londres, Spring y C.a. at No. 23, Escolta. SINUÉS, "Trajes de los Niños," para. 10, p. 357; GONZÁLEZ FERNÁNDEZ, *Manual del Viajero en Filipinas*, 631; *El Bello Sexo*, Junio 23, Num. 23.

[87] LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 36: Gobernadorcillo de Naturales; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 183–184.

[88] MONTERO y VIDAL, *Archipiélago Filipino*, 162–168; BLAIR and ROBERTSON, *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898*, 1903, 17:329–336.

[89] *usan vestido negro de corte antiguo, sombrero de plumas debajo del brazo, bastón con puño de oro, cordones y borlas, que declara y autoriza el cargo, y espada, la cual usan meramente los que ejercen el empleo. Usan mucho el terciopelo, así como ricas chinelas.* FULGOSIO, *Crónica de Las Islas Filipinas (1871)*, pt. 2, Ch. 8, p. 43.

[90] In the catalogue of the 1887 Madrid Exposition, three photographs of the *Principalía de Jaro*, Iloilo were exhibited. LAUREANO, *Album-Libro: Recuerdos de Filipinas*; (-), *Catálogo de La Exposición General de Las Islas Filipinas 1887*, 299, Grupo 22, #5.

bowtie.[91] On the other hand, his equally influential and rich brother, Mateo Cariño, was photographed with his sons combining the loincloth with the same high, closed-neck white coat the *gobernadorcillo* from Boac was wearing.[92] The Chinese gobernadorcillo, meanwhile, was sporting the distinctive Manchu attire and haircut. Following the Chinese tradition of maintaining their own national costume, he was wearing a loose, round-necked *camisa chino* with wide sleeves, straight-cut pants and the typical Manchu platform shoes (Fig. 129C). The Chinese in the Philippines had a history of cultural resistance. All of them were seen with the cane as their exclusive sign of office.

There were several particularly interesting details that revealed the colonial character of the way the native principalía dressed. Their hybrid outfits showed the influence of the West or, rather, the ill-suited integration of European elements into native attire. Their coats, which "choked more than they warmed," were incredibly unsuitable to the tropical climate.[93] But their distinct appearance - with their high-necked shirts most probably made of native material worn with Chinese silk trousers (sayasaya, Fig. 181B) and European-style jacket and top-hat - show the internationalization of fashion even in the early-1800s. Towards the last two decades of the 19th century, they were dressed in different ways, depending on what the occasion called for. Most of the elite had hybrid ensembles, Philippine- and European-style garments in their wardrobes. The use of either was discretionary and dependent upon the nature of the event or activity.

Neither, or perhaps, both colonizer and colonized,[94] this showed what the imaging of native bureaucrats entailed. While it was clear that the colonial system favored distinctions, what this presented were the mechanisms of prestige used to shape the gobernadorcillos' appearance and persona. As seen above, the gobernadorcillos were often depicted wearing a short European-style long-sleeved jacket over a high-necked, translucent baro made of native material. The layering was clearly unsuitable to a tropical climate. The shirt itself was made of either sheer or opaque fabric. If sheer material was used, a cotton shirt must certainly be worn underneath, resulting to a total of three layers of clothing.[95] What the unsuitability of this uncanny combination suggested was a sartorial conformity to Western concepts of power, propriety, and even modernity. Following the framework of the colonizer-colonized, "reclothing" came in the form of clothing etiquettes (*trajes de etiqueta*), which made the

[91] VAN DEN MUIJZENBERG, *The Philippines through European Lenses*, chap. 4, fig. # 54, p. 230.
[92] Ibid., chap. 4, fig. # 53, p. 229.
[93] BARRÁNTES, "Spanish, Portuguese, and American Women (1876)," 41.
[94] "Who are they? Colonizer or colonized? Neither or both? *See* SARTRE, "Introduction," 18.
[95] The artist captured the sheerness of the fabric because one can clearly see the wide waistband and the black sayasaya pants underneath. DE LA ROSA, *El Gobernadorcillo de Mestizos*.

donning of Western jackets a sign of good form when conducting official or formal businesses. Álvarez Guerra (1887) mentioned that the first order of business, following the election (no longer appointment) of a gobernadorcillo, was to call the local tailor to be fitted for a frock coat, indicating that "the frac is as indispensable for the Gobernadorcillo as the top hat, cane and ruffled shirt. The hat was usually bequeathed by those who served before him while the shirt and the cane were likely presented to him by his constituents. But, what is important for the moment was to be fitted with a frock coat, necessary for his debut in Manila."[96] One can gather from this account that the wearing of Western suits was protocol, especially when appearing before the Spanish colonial administrators in Manila. They were also meant to announce allegiance to the regime.

Secondly, colonial officials conferred to them the European-style top hats and canes on the day they assume office, which symbolize Westernization, affiliation, social rank, authority and solidarity.[97] While short Western jackets, top hats and canes showed their distinguished background and their new social roles, future pins and ribbons demonstrated their achievements and merits.

Through a system of appearances- through distinct apparel and insignias- the gobernadorcillos associated themselves with their own class and likewise, they dissociated themselves from the general population whom they governed. This dissociation was, for instance, apparent when principalía and their families enjoyed the privilege of having reserved seats during Church services. The Spanish colonial government appeared keen to accord privileges to these petty officials, after all, the latter were their collectors of royal revenues. The binary idea of respect and honor were inculcated among the natives. Through sermons of priests, for example, people were taught to always offer seats to the gobernadorcillos and never to leave them standing.[98] These were the kind of entitlements that colonial recruits thrived on. They were able to dress and live like their colonial masters. Even if only through the clothes they wore, they felt like they were not part of the mass of *tao*,

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[96] *Sigamo á un Gobernadorcillo electo en Manila. La primera diligencia es llamar al sastre municipal. Este se presenta en la casa con un rollo de telas, hace su correspondiente cortesía al neófito, le da la enhorabuena y el que se para mucha felicidad del pueblo, se sonríen ambos, y acto seguido el maestro tira de regla, de jabón y de lapiz y cubica, mide y estira al pobre municipe que empieze á sudar al solo olor del reluciente paño que ha de convertirse en los faldones de un frac. El frac es tan indispensable para el Gobernadorcillo, como el sombrero de copa, el bastón y la camisa de chorreras. El sombrero suele legarse y servir en tres ó cuatro bienios; la camisa lo mismo que el bastón podrán ser manufacturas de el pueblo, pero lo que es el frac necesariamente ha de estrenarse y pasar por el corte de los sastres de Manila. Ni durante la medida, ni en las pruebas, ni en la elección de paño habla una palabra nuestro hombre, y se deja hacer, pues le basta y le sobra con saber que el sastre que le sirve es el mismo que está encargado hace años de proveer á los Gobernadorcillos de Manila de trajes de etiqueta.* ÁLVAREZ GUERRA, *Viajes por Manila à Tayabas*, chap. 20, p. 308.
[97] Maria Serena I. Dionko, "Chapter Six: The Making of the Filipino" in *Kasaysayan*, Vol. 4, p. 134.
[98] WILKES, "Manila in 1842," 459–529.

which represented the colonized. They became willing participants and partners of the colonial system, disregarding the fact that the distribution of petty privileges and compensations while simultaneously withholding real power was a tool of the self-serving colonizer.

Children's Clothing

In Miguel Zaragoza's oil painting titled *Juego de Niños* (Children's Games, 1890) the artist captured a grandmother's surprise in seeing her grandchildren amuse themselves in a make-believe procession using the clothes she had carefully put aside for special occasions.[99] This painting, first of all, serves to demonstrate the distinctions between everyday clothes and special attires. Secondly, this captures how children, in their naiveté, associated special clothes with the world of fantasy. The power of clothes to evoke daydreams and memories of idealized past events is succinctly, encapsulated in this work. For many people, playing dress up in grandmother's clothes could conjure similar images of childhood summers blissfully spent on the countryside.[100]

Children's clothes are being dealt with in this study because they served to reflect colonial dressing, in ways specific to the Philippines. After showing the changing meanings of the gobernadorcillos' clothing and appearance, this part of the study will now attempt to document how the rules of sartorial propriety progressed with age and similarly, varied according to gender and class. Children's attires and appearance was studied to show how they reflected the status-- and mentalities—of their parents. It has often been said that at times, it is through one's children that wealth may be recognized. In recognizing the role of clothing and appearance in one's relationship with the wider society, some who may never have felt compelled to display status through clothes have instead invested on their children. Attires of rich male children in particular were, in many cases, more elaborate than their adult counterparts.[101] In addition, given the tropical climate of the country, one would naturally expect that clothes of children residing in the Philippines would show less variety. But, as history unfolded, many children belonging to urbanized, wealthier families were dressed, at least on certain occasions, like their European counterparts; hence, their wardrobes tend to

[99] Miguel ZARAGOZA y ARANQUIZNA, *Juego de Niños (Children's Games)*, Oil on canvas, 1890, Museo del Prado on loan to Diputacion Provincial de Valladolid, Call #: P07139.
[100] In *Discovering Philippine Art in Spain*, the simple setting was described to be the *entresuelo* of a home in a provincial town, not in an urbanized city. *Discovering Philippine Art in Spain*, 260.
[101] SRES. DE CARLOS y C.A, *La Moda Elegante: Periódico de Las Familias. Contiene Los Dibujos Mas Elegantes de Las Modas de Paris, Modelos de Toda Clase de Trabajos de Aguja, Inclusos Los de Tapiceria en Colores, Crochets, Canevas, Etc.*, 1861, 69.

include both native and Western (*i.e., los trajes ingleses* or *la moda inglesa*)[102] clothing as well.

The clothing and appearance of children as represented in 19th century art and texts signified how children, especially before the ages of five or six years old were innocent actors in the game of appearances. They were interesting for they were clear examples of those who were not in complete control of their clothes and appearance. Rich children could do no more than twitch and tense under the grand but uncomfortable and at times, itchy attires their parents would put on them. On feast days especially, children of various ages would be dressed as elegantly as their parents – also in piña.[103] Among those who cared about social distinction, these boys and girls were often extensions of the image their parents wished to project.

An article "Trajes de los Niños" by a certain María del Pilar Sinués, which was published in *El Bello Sexo* (1891), pointed out to parents that at an early age, children could not yet appreciate the rich and expensive fabrics, laces and jewelries.[104] She advised them not to spend thoughtlessly on the clothes of their children, at least, until they have completed their growth. Articles such as this must have been written to address issues visible in society—that of parents spending unwisely on the clothing of growing children. Parents are instead guided to dress them in fabrics of little value, which were nonetheless fresh and beautiful in appearance. The importance on the hygiene of children could not be emphasized enough. Even more so than adults, their ties, hats, caps must always be freshly laundered and the details that ran the peripheries of their garments, the collars and the cuffs of their camisas *(el cuello y los puños de la camisa),* must be minimal and must always be as clean as they are elegant.[105]

The predilection of some parents to invest in their children's appearance would begin even before their children were even born. Wealthy parents have been known to prepare for their births by buying blankets *(mantillas de bebe)*[106] and garments with which to swathe them. Shops and bazaars like *La Puerta del Sol* advertised little bonnets for newborn babies *(gorritos para recien nacidos)* and for the christening needs *(cajas de avios completos para*

[102] SINUÉS, "Trajes de los Niños," para. 1 and 2, p. 356.
[103] Caption in original Spanish: *Los tejidos de piña vestían a los niños más elegantes de la España colonial en Filipinas*. (-), *La Piña: El Tejido del Paraíso*, 67.
[104] *telas ricas y costosas, con encajes y joyas*. SINUÉS, "Trajes de los Niños," para. 6, pp. 356–358.
[105] *la corbata, el sombrero ó gorra del niños deben ser buenos y estar siempre nuevos y frescos.* Ibid., para. 5, p. 357.
[106] Available at *Bazar la Puerta del Sol*, located at No. 14 Escolta, Binondo. GROIZÁRD, *Manila Alegre: Periódico Festivo Ilustrado*, 1886, Octobre 1.

cristianar) of these better classes.[107] In the Catholic tradition, people were baptized at infancy. Many of the wealthy have adopted the Western custom of dressing their children in long, white, gender-neutral garments, especially made for the ceremony. Traditional baptismal gowns *(los vestidos de bautizo* or *trajes de bautismo)* were usually made of white fabric and may include lace or embroidered piña trimmings.[108] Matching bonnets, mittens and socks were sometimes added as well. As the word christening indicates, these garments, generally in white, represented the purity of the one who is about to be baptized and symbolized his entry to Christianity, a custom clearly brought alongside the colonization of the islands. As whole gowns were European in design but, at times, made entirely of native luxury fabrics like piña and sinamay -- which tend to be itchy—variations in the style came to include an inner garment made of cotton and an outer garment made of piña. The white baptismal gown of Spanish King Alfonso XIII,[109] for example, recorded only as made of cotton *(algodón)* and nipis fabric in the collection of the *Museo del Traje* in Madrid consisted of two layers of very fine and soft fabric.[110] As nipis was not a Spanish term but a local word for thin, nipis could only refer to one of the fabrics produced in the Philippines. Alfonso XIII's baptismal garments consisted of two pieces with the outer piece fastened in the back with three round buttons. The outer piece has the characteristic floral motif and garlands, embroidered in the 17th century Venetian needle lacework, a handiwork, which many skilled Filipina *bordadoras* (embroiderers) were adept in. What made this particularly important is the embroidery of the seal of the Spanish Bourbon monarchy (Fig. 189, Fig. 190). Under the royal crown, there is the emblem of Spain, particularly of Castille-Leon, Aragon and Navarre. The 106 x 242 cm piece was dated 1907 by the *Museo del Traje*, but Alfonso XIII, who was born on May 17, 1886, would have already been 21 years old by then. The King, most likely,

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[107] GONZÁLEZ FERNÁNDEZ, *Manual del Viajero en Filipinas*, 587–588.

[108] *Trajes para niños y niñas de bautismo* were available at *Bazar Oriental (de Juan Muñoz)* at No. 3, San Juan de Letran, Intramuros. GROIZÁRD, *Manila Alegre: Periódico Festivo Ilustrado*, 1886, 1886 Marzo 2, Año 11, No. 9, p. 7; *La Ilustración del Oriente Revista Semanal*, 1877, Noviembre 11, Num. 6, p. 11.

[109] Alfonso León Fernando Maria Jaime Isidro Pascual Antonio de Borbon of Austria-Lorena or Alfonso XIII was the son of Alfonso XII of Spain (b. 28 November 1857-d. 25 November 1885; reign: 1874 to 1885) and Maria Christina of Austria. He was the grandson of Queen Isabella II of Spain (reign: 1833-1868), who was deposed during the 1868 Glorious Revolution. Alfonso XIII (b. 1886; d. 1941) was born as King of Spain, but his mother ruled as regent until he was 16 years old. He formally assumed the duties of king in 1902. During his official 45-year reign (1886-1931), Spain lost its overseas colonies in the Americas (Cuba and Puerto Rico) and the Philippines. When Spain became a republic in 1930, Alfonso XIII went on exile to Italy on 14 April 1931, where he lived until his death on 28 February 1941, at the age of 54. Shortly before he died, he formally abdicated in favor of his second surviving son, Juan, the father of the current King Juan Carlos**.** *Nipis Baptismal Gown of King Alfonso XIII of Spain, Presented as Gift by Godfather Pope Pio X.*

[110] Dr. Elvira González was the Conservadora, *Colección de Indumentaría, Museo del Traje*, Madrid. Elvira GONZÁLEZ ASENJO, Oral Interview about the Baptistmal gown of Alfonso XIII, January 25, 2012, Museo del Traje.

wore this gown for his baptism shortly after his birth, in around 1886 or 1887. Pope Pius X must have ordered either the nipis fabric or the finished garment from the Philippines as a baptismal gift when he was favored to be the godfather *(padrino)* to the infant heir to the throne of Spain. Pope Pius X (b. 2 June 1835- d. 20 August 1914), whose papacy began on August 4, 1903 and lasted until his death on August 20, 1914, in all probability, presented this dress as a gift before he even became Pope.[111]

Other baptismal gowns common among wealthy families included separates. Interestingly, for reasons unknown, many museum collections preserved only the upper garments, particularly the camisas of mixed cotton and piña *(camisa de niño en fibra de algodón y tejido de piña)*.[112] Even if the lower garments were absent, these types of attire were, most likely, still gender neutral.

More than the wealth of the parents, the intricacy of the baby's baptismal gown usually depended on how much the parents were willing to dispense for the appearance of their child. As significant investments were often made, many of these baptismal gowns would go on to become status symbols and heirloom pieces, preserved and passed on from generation to generation.

Babies and Male Children

In a family portrait of the Quiason family by Simon Flores (ca. 1880, Fig. 64), the infant child of Cirilo and Severina Quiason was captured dressed adorably in a comfortable and age-appropriate onesie.[113] This one-piece garment with sleeves, constructed with snap fasteners at the crotch, contrasts with the low-necked, oversized shirts (no bottoms), characteristically worn by poorer children. Both male and female children with no bottoms on could be seen, for example, hovering around Espiridión de la Rosa's guitar-playing

[111] This piece came to the possession of the museum when a private collector, Joséfa Vilahur Bellestar sold this piece for 250,000 pesetas in 1981. She acquired it from its previous owner, who was not from the royal family. Dr. Elvira González Asenjo (curator, *Colección de Indumentaría*) proposed that the royal family must have sold this particular piece, along with many other family heirloom pieces, during the Republic when they needed to leave Spain in 1930. Ibid.

[112] Los vestidos de bautizo y bebe mostraban los mejores bordados,19th century. Camisa de niño en fibra de algodón y tejido de piña.(-), La Piña: El Tejido del Paraíso, 74.

[113] Infants as young as this generally wore clothes, like onesies, that were suitable for both sexes. Simon FLORES y DE LA ROSA, *Retrato de Cirilo y Severina Quiason y Sus Dos Hijos*, 1880; Reproduced in Juan GUARDIOLA, *Filipiniana* (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, Casa Asia, Ayuntamiento de Madrid y Centro Cultural Conde Duque, 2006), 83; Captioned and described in Patrick FLORES, "Art Turns in the Century," in *FILIPINAS : Arte, Identidad y Discurso Poscolonial*, ed. Juan GUARDIOLA (Madrid: Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores y de Cooperación: Ministerio de Cultura: Sociedad Estatal para la Acción Cultural Exterior; Barcelona: Casa Asia, 2008), 214–215.

Sangley Cristiano (Fig 191),[114] being carried by their mother in Lozano's *Vista en una plaza* (View of a Plaza, Fig. 137A)[115] and in Juan Ribelles' *Indios provando sus gallos* (indios training their cocks, 1850s, Fig. 192),[116] sitting on top of a carabao beside his farmer father in Lozano's *Indio Labrador*,[117] and being carried by a woman with exposed breasts by the same artist, *India con su niño* (Fig. 193).[118] From city streets and sidewalks[119] to roadside eateries[120] to countryside agricultural and fishing communities,[121] half-naked toddlers and young children can be seen in a variety of places frequented by or associated mainly with the poorer classes. In a stereographic picture, a young boy with only a short-sleeved shirt also appeared to be tending hides at a local tannery.[122] Despite being partially naked (*semidesnudez,* Fig. 93), with no trousers on, their clothing styles still show they were part of the civilized, lowland, Christianized communities.[123] Other representations show them also in the company of adults (some of whom appeared to be doting and attentive parents, Fig. 192, Fig. 193),[124] who do not seem to possess the refined, genteel, urbanized appearance of the better classes. Although the circumstances of children who were dressed no differently from the boy leading an old, blind beggar in a Justiniano Asunción painting[125] may not be as wretched, their attires suggest they belonged to society's illiterate poor.

During special occasions like fiestas or evening parties like *tertulias*, one could not help but get a glimpse of babies in the background, who were, more often than not, dressed in fine, but uncomfortable clothes. Babies dressed meticulously in European clothes – regardless of how uncomfortable those ruffled drawers, waistbands, petticoats and even

[114] Espiridión DE LA ROSA, *Sangley Cristiano (Christian Chinese Man)*, Watercolor on paper, 1820 to 1840, Private collection-Spain.
[115] LOZANO, *Nyssens-Flebus Album (1844-1846)*, fig. Vista en una plaza; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 76.
[116] Three plates by Spanish artist, Juan Ribelles, was included in the Karuth Album. LOZANO, *Karuth Album (1858)*.
[117] LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 63: Indio Labrador.
[118] Ibid., fig. 46: India con su niño.
[119] Two half-naked children playing on the sidewalk while a dog looks on. LOZANO, *Gandára Album (1867)*, fig. Vista de la entrada de la Calzada de San Sebastián hasta la Yglesia de Nuestra Señora del Carmen; CARIÑO and NER, *Álbum: Islas Filipinas, 1663-1888*, 201.
[120] LOZANO, *Karuth Album (1858)*, fig. 28: Vendedora de poto bonbong; LOZANO, *Gandára Album (1867)*, fig. Una casa de nipa, un chino con puesto ambulante vendiendo refresco y un indio asando cerdo; CARIÑO and NER, *Álbum: Islas Filipinas, 1663-1888*, 200.
[121] LOZANO, *Karuth Album (1858)*, fig. India del pueblo de Taguig; CARIÑO and NER, *Álbum: Islas Filipinas, 1663-1888*, 155.
[122] KEYSTONE VIEW COMPANY, *A Queer Method of Stretching Hides at a Filipino Tannery*, Stereographic photograph, 1899 or 1906, Madrid: Museo Nacional de Antropología, Call #: FD1795.
[123] Inside their homes, it was quite common for poorer children to run around naked. MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1846, 68; SINUÉS, "Trajes de los Niños," para. 2, p. 356; LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 63: Indio labrador; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 236–237.
[124] LOZANO, *Karuth Album (1858)*, fig. India del pueblo de Taguig; fig. Vendedora de poto bonbong; CARIÑO and NER, *Álbum: Islas Filipinas, 1663-1888*, 155.
[125] Justiniano ASUNCIÓN, *Old Beggar Led by a Young Boy*, Watercolor on paper, 1840s, Private Collection.

sashes were to children- were often indicative of well-to-do, European, biracial or hispanized native parents. Mothers who associated stylishness with European fashions tend to dress their children in Western clothes, shoes and accessories, especially for special occasions. Well-dressed infants and young children carried and attended by servants and nannies while festooned with beautiful sashes on Christmas eve, not only displayed the wealth of the family he or she belonged to but also called attention to the fact that their tastes were European and therefore, more superior.[126] If not in European clothes, heads of little boys would be shaved and they would be dressed in devotional garments, like the little statued saints, especially during church-related fiestas.[127]

Insights into the exquisite intricacy of the formal clothes worn by wealthier male children between the ages of one to two years old, were provided in the "Modas" section of *Manila Alegre* (1886 Febrero 24, Fig. 194).[128] One of the featured shirts described as *vestidito de piqué, con tiras y entredoses bordados* was made of heavy and stiff cotton, woven in a ribbed pattern *(piqué)* with the entire bodice decorated with diagonal strips of embroideries and lace.[129] The other one, *trajecito de beatilla, con bordados y encajes, para niños de uno á dos años* (clothing made of fine linen, with embroideries and lace, for little boys, aged one to two years old) was made of *beatilla*, a type of fine linen. These two little garments encompassed an outrageous amount of embellishments, combining embroideries, ruffles, stripes, pleats, waistbands and ribbons – all of which suggest the importance of appearance over comfort. The suggested attire for male children between ages two to four years old (*traje de niño de 2 á 4 años*), which appeared in *El Bello Sexo* (1891 Febrero 28) was also completely European, featuring a similarly embellished top with knee-length breeches, the silhouette of which, resembled a skirt.[130] A dress feature on the attire of little boys that appeared in the Spanish publication *La Moda Elegante* even featured a Tudor hat, complete with feathers.[131] It is, hence, assumed that many, but not all, of the clothing and

[126] Fee was in the Philippines beginning in 1901. She published her work in 1910. FEE, *A Woman's Impression of the Philippines*, chap. XV.
[127] On leur rase la tête en ne leur laissant qu'une couronne de cheveux comme celle des moines, dont on leur fait même souvent porter l'habit par dévotion. MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1846, 68; MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1983, chap. XX, p. 295.
[128] GROIZÁRD, *Manila Alegre: Periódico Festivo Ilustrado*, 1886, Febrero 24, Num. 8, sec. Modas, p. 8.
[129] The article by Sinués confirms that apart from the stiff *piqué*, *franela blanca* (flannel), a very soft woven fabric, typically made of cotton or wool, counted as among the fabrics commonly used for the clothing of children before the age of eight. SINUÉS, "Trajes de los Niños," para. 5, p. 357.
[130] *El Bello Sexo*, Febrero 28, Num. 8.
[131] The attire for boys between six and eight years old featured in the Spanish publication (published in Madrid), *La Moda Elegante*, which Álvarez Guerra mentioned was popular among native women was described to be: *este traje es de popelina color oscuro, castaño ó café y terciopelo negro. Pantalones anchos de popelina oscura, que llegan por bajo de la rodilla. Sombrero "Tudor," con plumas de castor ó bien de paja.* This

some accessories for children up to the age of eight were genderless and universal. Considering this particular publication, founded by a Spanish woman, Matilde Martin,[132] was intended for the literate and educated portion of the country's population, it is likely that attires like these were appealing to parents who claimed associations with Europe --and with Europeans. In the same way that Jean-Jacques Rousseau, in *Émile ou De L'Éducation* commented on how unhealthy the clothes of little French boys were and how they would "be better off in clothes which freed the limbs, allowed the humors to circulate, facilitated exercise and accustomed them to a more active life," the opulent clothes made of uncomfortable materials worn by little boys in the Philippines betrayed no less than the vanity of affluent parents, who were inclined towards European tastes.[133] Luxurious and fancy but disagreeable and inappropriate, especially considering the tropical climate, illustrates the folly, if not insecurity, of even the most educated indio or mestizo parents.

Ready-made *(ropa hecha)* and basted European-style clothes for children of all sex and ages were available in at least four shops along Escolta. Different types of children's things from t-shirts (*camisetas*), to knitted cardigans (*chaquetas de punto*) to shorts, drawers or slips (*calzoncillos*), to full ensembles for both boys and girls *(trajes completos para niños y niñas*) to children's shoes (*calzados para niños*) to hats (*sombreros*) to toys *(juguetes*)[134] were available to those who could afford to indulge in the appearance and amusement of their children. Shops that sold textiles imported from Europe *(tejidos de Europa),*[135] like *Elzinger Hermanos*,[136] *Casa de Londres, Spring y C.a.*,[137] *Bazar la Puerta del Sol* [138]and *Tiendas los*

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translates to: this poplin suit is dark, coffee brown or black velvet. Dark baggy pants in poplin reaches below the knee. The Tudor hat is decorated with feathers and straw. SRES. DE CARLOS y C.A, *La Moda Elegante: Periódico de Las Familias. Contiene Los Dibujos Mas Elegantes de Las Modas de Paris, Modelos de Toda Clase de Trabajos de Aguja, Inclusos Los de Tapiceria en Colores, Crochets, Canevas, Etc.*, 1861, 69; ÁLVAREZ GUERRA, *Viajes por Filipinas de Manila à Albay*, chap. 1, pp. 22–23.

[132] DE VIANA, Lorelei D.C., "El Bello Sexo: The World of Women in Late 19th Century Philippines," 53.

[133] Roche brought attention to this quotation from Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Émile in *Oeuvres Complètes*, Vol. IV, p. 371-372. ROCHE, *The Culture of Clothing: Dress and Fashion in the 'Ancien Regime*, 407.

[134] *Villa de Paris* at No. 37, Calle Real, Intramuros and *Bazar la Puerta del Sol* at No. 14 Escolta, Binondo sold and advertised juguetes (toys) for children. An example of an ad would be a sketch of a little boy in boots and salakot next to the words "*en La Puerta del Sol hay juguetes para hacer la felicidad de todos los niños de Manila* (at La Puerta del Sol, there are toys to make all the children of Manila happy). GONZÁLEZ FERNÁNDEZ, *Manual del Viajero en Filipinas*, 629; GROIZÁRD, *Manila Alegre: Periódico Festivo Ilustrado*, 1886, 1886 Noviembre 16, Año II, Num. 43, p. 8.

[135] Distinctions must be made between shops that carried goods imported from Europe (*tejidos de Europa*) and those that imported from China *(tejidos de China, i.e. Ciudad de Pekin* in Escolta and *Bazar Chino-Japones Yong-Heng* at No. 9 Escolta*)*. GONZÁLEZ FERNÁNDEZ, *Manual del Viajero en Filipinas*, 270, 283; ESCOBAR y LOZANO, *El Indicador del Viajero en Las Islas Filipinas*, 223.

[136] *Elzinger Hermanos* (established in 1852) at No. 27 Escolta, Binondo, carried children's shoes and ready-made clothes *(ropa hecha)*. GONZÁLEZ FERNÁNDEZ, *Manual del Viajero en Filipinas*, 657.

[137] *Casa de Londres, Spring y C.a.* at No. 23 Escolta, categorized both as *camisería* and as *bazares de tejidos de Europa*, advertised a special selection of hats for women, male and female children *(sombreros para señoras, niños y niñas*). Ibid., 631.

Catalanes [139]promoted their line of children's toys, clothing and accessories in print, which illustrates how they were clearly intended for the literate, well-to-do parents, who had the leisure time to browse through clothing advertisements. As shopping was done usually by mothers, children's merchandise were available in stores that mainly carried items for adults. It is assumed that there were separate sections intended for the needs of children.

In lieu of European garments, there were photographs to support that for certain occasions, male children, from the age of one, or even younger, presumably from a different social class, wore the long, loose, long-sleeved baro with the usual folded collar. In an 1890 portrait of a family in a rural setting, a woman was seated in a reclining position, surrounded by a man, a woman and children of varied ages. The most striking character in the photo was a toddler dressed in a baro,[140] similar to the one worn by the little boy with combed hair seated next to his mother in Alfred Molteni's photograph labeled "*Femme Tagale de Cavite et son Fils* (Tagalog Woman of Cavite and her son, 1881).[141] In Félix Laureno's *Tipos Indios* (1895, Fig. 15A),[142] another little boy looked like the miniature version of what was assumed to be his father. All three boys were dressed neatly in a baro, which, except for the type of fabric used, was similar in cut and style to the adult version worn by the indio in *Álbum de Filipinas* (c. 1870) and by Félix Martínez's *Mestizo-Español* (1886, Fig. 166).[143] This type of baro, of course with changes and variations in length, cut, fabrics and fabric designs, has been in popular use since the 1820s, as special attires for church and promenade and for the occasional tertulias and fiestas (but not for black-tie affairs organized by Europeans, which usually required formal evening dresses and dinner jackets). The material of the shirt worn by the boy in Molteni's photograph, however, appears to be opaque and thicker. From what can

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[138] Based on their advertisements, *Bazar La Puerta del Sol*, with a store at No. 14 Escolta and another in Iloilo, had the widest selection of children's specialty items, i.e. baptismal items. GROIZÁRD, *Manila Alegre: Periódico Festivo Ilustrado*, 1886, Octobre 1; ESCOBAR y LOZANO, *El Indicador del Viajero en Las Islas Filipinas*, 238.

[139] The *Tiendas de los Catalanes de Millat y Marti* at No. 18 Escolta in the 1870s became the *Tiendas de los Catalanes de Echevarria Perez y C.a* at No. 9 Escolta of the 1880s. Concentrating on clothes, they had a wide variety of *trajecitos* and other special items, like knitwear and cardigans, for children of all ages. GROIZÁRD, *Manila Alegre: Periódico Festivo Ilustrado*, 1885, 1885 Deciembre 6 and 11; GROIZÁRD, *Manila Alegre: Periódico Festivo Ilustrado*, 1886, Marzo 2.

[140] Photo sourced from Jonathan Best. ILETO, "1896-1897 Rural Life in a Time of Revolution," fig. 187, pp. 120–121.

[141] Alfred MOLTENI, *Malaisie. Luçon, femme Tagale de Cavite et son fils / [photogr. reprod. par Molténi pour la conférence donnée par J. Montano, Chef de la mission Auteur de la conférence]*, 1879 to 1881, http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b530002306.

[142] LAUREANO, *Album-Libro: Recuerdos de Filipinas*; LAUREANO, *Recuerdos de Filipinas*, 38.

[143] *Photographe présumé Alfred Molteni*. Molteni (birth 1846- death 1892) must have been the photographer that accompanied Dr. Joséph Montano, *Membre de l'Institut Professeur d'Anthropologie au Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle,* during his scientific mission to the Philippines between May 1879 and June 1881. MOLTENI, *Malaisie. Luçon, femme Tagale de Cavite et son fils / [photogr. reprod. par Molténi ?*; MARTÍNEZ y LORENZO, *Mestizo Español*; *Álbum de Filipinas, Retrato y Vistas, Ca. 1870 (60 Fotografias)*, fig. Indio.

be made out of the picture, the fabric of his shirt did not possess the fine, sheer quality of native luxury fabrics, like piña, which were especially suitable to the baro's loose style. The lackluster quality of his shirt when viewed in connection with the simple materials that made up his mother's clothes, not to mention their stark *indio* features, betray their low or middle class backgrounds.

There were some indications that by the age of three, clothing, particularly everyday clothing, began to really digress in terms of gender. Two separate images by Lozano depict priests accompanied by young boys, carrying his hat, while dressed comfortably in long-sleeved camisa chino and loose trousers, with pañolitos around their necks. In *Cura Indio* (Native Priest, Gironella Album, 1847),[144] the boy looks well groomed and nicely dressed in his native attire, especially with his black shoes. Meanwhile, the second image, *Native Woman Greeting a Priest* (Karuth Album, 1858),[145] depicts a barefooted little boy in similar but unkempt and sullen clothes. Their appearance and everyday clothing must represent the varied types of welfare and provisions these countless *batas* (children) received while in the care of priests. It was a known fact that many orphaned children were left to the care of friars; in the process, they learned to assist at masses and with various chores around the convent.

Male children, dressed carelessly with loose shirts open to the chest, worn characteristically over trousers, some of which were patched, tattered, cropped or rolled up, playing in rural and urban settings,[146] exhibits that they were children of the common *tao,* typically made up farmers, farmhands, and other types of laborers. Many children, like the *Los Batas* depicted by C.W. Andrews in *Ilustración Filipina* (1860 Julio 1, Fig. 195A),[147] also entered early servitude, depriving them of education, which could very well be their key to social elevation. Many would grow up to lead productive but common lives as assistants to coachmen,[148] houseboys, tailors, carpenters, farmhands or hacienda operators, etc. Their work would, hence, influence their clothing.

Beginning in the 1870s, knitwear, particularly jersey, in sailor style *(traje de punto "jersey," á la marinera, para niños de tres á ocho años),* became popular worldwide as

[144] LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 40: Cura Indio.
[145] LOZANO, *Karuth Album (1858)*, fig. Native Woman Greeting a Priest; CARIÑO and NER, *Álbum: Islas Filipinas, 1663-1888*, 181.
[146] ANÓNIMO, *Niños Jugando (Children Playing)*, Oil on canvas, 1887, Museo Oriental de Valladolid, Spain, Call #: 177; C.W. ANDREWS, "Los Batas," in *Ilustración Filipina Periódico Quincenal*, Año 2,, Num. 13 (Manila: Imprenta y litografía de Ramírez y Giraudier, 1860), Julio 1, pp. 145–146.
[147] ANDREWS, "Los Batas, Ilustración Filipina 1860 Julio 1."
[148] Children dressed in striped pants, loose shirts open to the chest with handkerchiefs tied around their foreheads, who hanged on the back footholds of horse-drawn carriages were LOZANO, *Ayala Album*, fig. Carruaje de alquiler, signed p. J. Lozano en 1851.

ordinary wear among boys between three to eight years old.[149] An article, "Trajes de los Niños," in *El Bello Sexo* in 1891, confirmed this shift in children's fashions.

> clothes of age past - ridiculous imitations of the clothes of older people- have been succeeded by English fashions *(los trajes ingleses*), loose-fitting or comfortable clothes that allowed children to move freely; dressed this way, they could abandon themselves with natural joy with no fear of damaging the ruffles *(volantes)* and bows (*lazos)* of their clothes. This practical fashion lasted a long time, because nothing major has been invented [translation mine] [150]

The son of Dutch businessman-turned-Honorary Consul Meerkamp van Embden, was photographed at various ages dressed in scaled-down versions of the traditional white and blue sailor or navy uniforms. Karel van Embden, or Carlos as he was known locally, was born in Manila on July 1892 and was photographed several times as a toddler with the trademark blue with a white stripe collar, the most recognizable part of the sailor suit (Fig. 195B).[151] Male children were also seen in dark versions of suits with wide, white collars. It must be noted though that in studying photographs, it was difficult to identify whether children wearing these types of attire were in Europe or in the Philippines. Sailor suits were, after all, worn by both children living in Europe and by Europeans and their imitators living in the Philippines. In *Luling Castigado* (1892),[152] Juan Luna painted his wife, Paz Pardo de Tavera, scolding their little boy, Luling, who was cowering in a corner in an attire similar to the *traje á la marinera* featured in *Manila Alegre* (1886 Febrero 24).[153] The clothes of both Paz and Luling registered the fact that they were, at that time living in Paris. Illustrations of children in the same outfit as Luling appeared in local publications, specifically *Manila Alegre* (1886 Deciembre 1)[154] and *Manililla* (1893 Junio 3, Fig. 109A).[155] Both boys were in the company of their mothers, who were dressed in completely European attires, made up of morning jackets over high-collared shirts and full skirts (Fig. 109A, Fig. 109B, Fig. 110, see

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[149] GROIZÁRD, *Manila Alegre: Periódico Festivo Ilustrado*, 1886, Febrero 24, Año II, Num. 8, sec. Modas, p. 8.

[150] *á los trajes de los años precedentes, ridiculas imitaciones de los trajes de las personas mayores, han sucedido los trajes ingleses, largos de talle y holgados, y que dejan á los niños el libre ejercicio de sus movimientos; asi ataviados pueden entregarse á su natural alegría sin temor ae ajar los volantes (ruffles) y los lazos (bows) de sus vestidos. Esta moda inteligente durara largo tiempo, porque nada major se puede inventor.* The author also advised on the use of the color white (*el traje blanco*) until the age of seven. SINUÉS, "Trajes de los Niños," para. 1, 4, pp. 356–357.

[151] VAN DEN MUIJZENBERG, *The Philippines through European Lenses*, chap. 3, fig. 40, 41, pp. 124–126.

[152] Juan LUNA, *Luling Castigado por su Mama*, 1892, National Museum of the Philippines Collection, Manila; REYES, *Love, Passion and Patriotism*, 73–74; PILAR, *Juan Luna: The Filipino as Painter*.

[153] GROIZÁRD, *Manila Alegre: Periódico Festivo Ilustrado*, 1886, 1886 Febrero 24, Num. 8, p. 8.

[154] Ibid., 1886 Deciembre 1, Año II, Num. 45.

[155] *Manililla Periódico Semanal: Ilustrado, Cómico y Humorístico*, 1893, Junio 3, Num. 267, sec. Cover.

also Fig. 115 B, Fig. 115C, Fig. 115D). Boys and their mothers dressed this way in the tropics indicated European origins and/or hispanized or Spanish mestizo backgrounds,[156] presumably from the elite or middle-class.

Clothing changes in the 1890s were evident when some older male children (between ages 6-10) wore versions of the British white drill suit with matching white pants, like miniatures of some male adults, who were, in fact, dressed no differently from some of the white or British expatriates. In a photo taken in front of the *tribunal* or town hall of Boac, Marinduque, a crowd of local men, women and children gathered around Wilhelm Bargmann and Paul Hube, both friends of Dutch Honorary Consul Meerkamp van Embden (Fig. 187A).[157] The diversity in clothing captured in one photograph reflects the multiplicity of status, professions and agendas, as well as the varied relations these people had with one another. The white suit, shirt and pants, in combination with the bowler's hat, cane and black closed shoes, distinguished the older man in the rightmost side of the photo as a member of the native *principalía*. The bearing and clean, well-groomed appearance of the boys in all-white, which stood in contrast with the other similar-aged boys in sullen clothes, reflected existing social gaps and other forms of inequalities. However, there were children in the photo whose attires lend ambiguity to their status. There was a boy in untucked sinamay shirt and bowler's hat, who, although barefooted, was brimming with confidence. His attire, hat and bearing looked essentially incongruous with the fact that he had no shoes on. Although the attires have evolved, this case is similar to the two barefooted boys who accompanied a grieving widow in Espiridión de la Rosa's *La India Viuda* (The Native Widow, between 1820 to 1840, Fig. 117) some fifty years earlier.[158] The fact that the boys, in comfortable-looking camisa chinos and loose trousers, both with little pañolitos around their necks, were walking barefoot outdoors, next to a seemingly well-dressed and well-heeled woman, presumably their mother, makes their status rather ambiguous. These two examples were illustrative of the many cases of men, women, and children whose social position would remain vague or unclear and therefore, inconclusive, because certain aspects of their appearance --in these instances, the lack of shoes --do not appear to be in keeping with their stance, bearing, clothing, accessories and sometimes, context. Incongruencies and deficiencies that contribute to a questionable reading of appearance were, as often the case, characteristic of ambiguous

[156] Jagor mentioned how women who were married to Europeans wore shoes and stockings no matter how ill-suited they were to the tropical climate. JAGOR, "Jagor's Travels in the Philippines," 3.
[157] VAN DEN MUIJZENBERG, *The Philippines through European Lenses*, fig. 40, pp. 214–215.
[158] Espiridión DE LA ROSA, *La India Viuda (The Native Widow)*, Watercolor on paper, signed Rosa ff, 1820 to 1840, Private Collection-Spain.

or middling classes, whose status did not seem to fall into any of the conventional social categories at that time.

Female Children

Female newborns and toddlers who wore one-piece dresses and accessorized with light bonnets or straw hats laden with embroideries or embellishments in the form of feathers, flowers, lace, gauze, and beads like the ones featured in the "Modas" section of *Manila Alegre* (1886) displayed the affluence and European styles of their parents.[159] Around their necks or pinned to their clothes were types of amulets *(anting-anting)* in the form of caiman teeth or pipe of red cava, believed by natives to ward off diseases.[160]

Spotted on the streets accompanying their mothers were little girls from a different age group, (around three to five years of age) wearing miniature versions of their mother's clothes. "A most comical little caricature of womanhood," as American schoolteacher Mary Helen Fee described.[161] Unlike the attires of little boys which sometimes appeared to be more elaborate and at times, more historical, developments in female children's wear in the Philippines generally followed adult women's fashions. Proper little girls of the 1830s wore baros with straight and narrow sleeves, pleated sayas, tapís, dainty embroidered pañuelos and bejeweled chinelas, just like their mothers. Exemplified in Damián Domingo's *Una India que va a Misa con Chiquita*[162] was a little girl in this kind of ensemble, draped with a soft, small veil, holding her mother's hands on their way to church (Fig. 168). She displayed the refinement and graciousness absent in, for example, the appearance of the barefooted little girl seen Lozano's depiction of a roadside Chinese noodle house or *pansitería* (Karuth Album, 1858, Fig. 196).[163] The little girl's low-necked baro with three-fourth sleeves and saya, her lack of shoes and her odd, knotted hairstyle denotes a rather lowly existence. The *pansitería* setting, coupled with the kind of people who ordinarily ate with their hands, squatting in these kinds of sidewalk eateries, do not reflect the refined lifestyles of society elites.

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[159] Illustration # 4 was a *sombrero de paja, adornado con flores, cintas, y gasas* or straw hat adorned with flowers, bands and gauze. Illustration # 5 was *capota de encajes con adornos de abalorios* or light bejeweled bonnet made of lace. GROIZÁRD, *Manila Alegre: Periódico Festivo Ilustrado*, 1886, Febrero 24, Num. 8, p. 8; MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1983, 69.

[160] The wearing of *anting-anting* was not limited to female children of a certain class. They were commonly pinned on native children in general. MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1983, 295.

[161] Fee was in the Philippines beginning in 1901. She published her work in 1910. FEE, *A Woman's Impression of the Philippines*, chap. VII, pp. 73–85.

[162] DOMINGO, *Colección de Trajes de Manila y de Las Provincias*, fig. Una India que va a Misa con chiquita; JOAQUIN and SANTIAGO, *The World of Damián Domingo*, 34–35.

[163] LOZANO, *Karuth Album (1858)*, fig. Chinese Food Vendor Preparing Food for Natives; CARIÑO and NER, *Álbum: Islas Filipinas, 1663-1888*.

In a countryside setting, amidst a backdrop of *nipa* or palm huts, a young girl carrying a child looks on while other male children were playing. The noticeable change in the type of sleeves her baro demonstrates the progression of both time and fashion. Painted in 1887 by an anonymous artist, the oil in canvas *Niños Jugando* (Children Playing, Fig. 197)[164] currently housed at the *Museo Oriental*, shows the young girl wearing a baro with angel sleeves and either a saya or patadiong. Her attire as well as the young child in her arms reflect the realities of life among the countryside folks, many of whom had poor but happy existence. Going beyond the subject of appearance, this image also captures the older child caring for her younger sibling, a familial obligation, which developed mainly among the poor. Featuring a countryside girl with a slightly better social condition was Félix Resurrección Hidalgo's *Una india del campo* (Native girl from the countryside)."[165] First published in *La Ilustración Española y Americana* (1882 Febrero 22) as one of the *tipos populares de Filipinas* (Philippine popular types), the girl's attire was almost identical to the girl in *Niños Jugando* (1887, Fig. 197), however, there were several details that provide clues to her slightly better status. Set inside a modest *nipa* hut in similar idyllic country setting, the position of her hands suggest a certain level of poise, imbibed either at home or at the new public schools increasingly being established throughout the islands. Gold earrings -- authenticity of which would be naturally impossible to ascertain based on this painting alone-- worn by a child on a seemingly ordinary day could be symbolic of relative economic means.

With the advent of photography, domestic and street scenes from everyday life were increasingly documented. The mismatched, wrinkled baro't saya and pañuelo worn by the three young girls selling cooked food while seated on the ground elaborates the image and state of destitution the photographer wished to impart (Fig. 198).[166] Two young girls, both in saya and in the off-the-shoulder baro commonly seen among poorer women, were captured in another photograph, squatting by the sidewalk, reportedly selling lottery tickets (fig. #).[167] Their clothing and position supports representations of poor children in urbanized areas, who,

[164] ANÓNIMO, *Niños Jugando (1887)*.
[165] Félix RESURRECCIÓN HIDALGO y PADILLA, "Una India del Campo," in *La Ilustración Española y Americana*, 1882; *Archivo Agustiniano: Revista de Estudios Históricos Publicada por Los PP. Agustinos*, vol. XCVII, Num. 215 (Valladolid: Editorial Estudio Agustiniano, 2013), 450.
[166] Photo source: Jonathan Best. KALAW-TIROL, *The World of 1896*, fig. 208.
[167] Ebenezer HANNAFORD, "Filipina Maidens with Lottery Tickets for Sale, Photo Courtesy of Andreae and Reeves," in *History and Description of the Picturesque Philippines, with Entertaining Accounts of the People and Their Modes of Living, Customs, Industries, Climate and Present Conditions*, accessed January 31, 2013, http://dlxs.library.cornell.edu/cgi/t/text/pageviewer-idx?c=sea&cc=sea&idno=sea192&q1=Philippines&node=sea192%3A1&view=image&seq=89&size=100.

having no means to enter the *colegios para niñas* (school for girls), originally limited to those with money, worked by selling whatever they could scavenge or pick up on the streets.

Poorer children and teenagers, as represented for example in *La Ilustración del Oriente's "*Dalaguita" (1878 February 10),[168] were common features of street life in both urbanized and countryside settings. While they would typically be seen crossing the roads between Manila and the neighboring towns of Marikina, Pasay, Pateros, Taytay, Cainta --or if in the countryside, selling different things by the roadside or simply hanging out by the *tiendas* --children from families with a slightly better financial condition would, in the last quarter of the 19th century, expectedly, be found in schools. A stereographic image, with a glaring propaganda caption, which says, *"Conception School, for bright, adoptive daughters of Uncle Sam, Manila, Philippines (1900),"* shows schoolgirls in scaled-down versions of their teacher's dress.[169] Most of the girls, in filmy baro with angel sleeves and full-length sayas, with no pañuelos, were shown with their hands demurely crossed and placed over their navel.[170] Looking poised and well groomed, despite the simplicity of their clothes, were an application of the ladylike conduct they must have systematically received in schools. In a photograph, *"Principales y las escuelas del Echagüe, Isabela Luzon (1886),"* an entire community made up of the principales and the schoolchildren of Isabela, dressed in fineries, gathered around a cross, perhaps during one of the church activities.[171] The principales could be recognized by their black suits, white shirts, white pants and bowler hats. When viewed in relation to the event and the photo caption, the girls' full-length silky skirts, baros with angel sleeves, and pañuelos display the classic fiesta attire of the ambiguous groups of that period. The schoolgirls, most of who were well-coiffed and elegantly dressed in full-length silky sayas, baros with angel sleeves and pañuelos, The veil the girls draped over their heads, the Western suit of the principales, not to mention the huge cross which loomed over everyone, were all imprints of the Spanish colonization and Christianization of the local population.

The attires of the girls in the fiesta in Isabela, although beautiful and festive, do not quite possess the same opulence and luxury as the clothes worn, for example, by an unnamed

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[168] K., "La Dalaguita, (La Adolecente)," in *La Ilustración del Oriente Revista Semanal*, Año II, Num. 6 (Manila: De J. Oppel, 1878), 66.

[169] UNDERWOOD AND UNDERWOOD, *Colegio Para Niñas en Manila*, Stereographic photograph, 1900, University of Wisconsin Digital Collection, Madison; BADIA VILLASECA, *Mujeres Filipinas*, 124–125.

[170] During the early American period, young female pupils went to school, interestingly dressed in "gauzy camisas, pañuelo and long skirts with trains a yard long," no less than a saya de cola used in more formal occasions by adult women. The brown skin of the young indio schoolchildren peered through their equally filmy camisas. FEE, *A Woman's Impression of the Philippines*, chap. VII, pp. 73–85.

[171] ANÓNIMO, *Principales y las escuelas del Echagüe, Isabela, Luzon*, B/W photograph, 1886, Museo Nacional de Antropología; BADIA VILLASECA, *Mujeres Filipinas*, 84–85.

woman and child in a Simon Flores painting (ca. 1890s, Fig. 199).[172] The quality and fineness of the fabric and the needlework on their piña camisas and pañuelos comes through, especially when combined with other costly signifiers, like jewelry and hair accessories. The impeccable details of handmade dresses usually reflect the higher clothing budgets of people who belonged to a much higher social class. The expensive materials and workmanship of the clothes, which many of the rich chose to immortalize themselves in art or in photographs, reflect status that certainly went beyond mere middle class.

Clothing of children from more affluent families was also shown to have been governed by more rules of propriety compared to the poor. For example, while socks were not necessary for children below the age of six, after that age, parents were advised to cover the legs of their daughters with elegant tights.[173] Ensuing from rhetorics concerning the nature of women, female children were also exposed to stricter standards of modesty – standards, which advanced alongside their age. Women's love for luxury, for example, has been likened to the diseases or infirmities that ravaged the century.[174]

> Luxury! What is comparable to this terrible scourge? Fortunate are those who are steadfast in resisting their allure, which at times devour not only resources but also the honor of families [translation mine][175]

This calls to mind the ruin women may cause to their families when accustomed to luxury at a very young age. Luxury on young girls was not only regarded as wasteful but useless as well. Simple materials and clothing pieces, of moderate prices, were advised for growing girls – textiles like calico (*percal* in Spanish, a type of cotton cloth, typically printed), batiste (*batista*, cotton cloth resembling cambric, usually in checkered pattern), and accessories like scarves or *foulard* (soft, lightweight fabric of either silk or silk mixed with cotton, usually printed) were sufficient enough to present an elegant appearance, for so long as, the author added, the shortness of their dress conforms to lengths accepted by society standards.[176]

> The same must be said with regards to headgear: the band, velvet, feathers are tasteless ostentations for girls. What is advised is felt in winter, straw for

[172] MORENO, *Philippine Costume*, 179–180.
[173] In Spanish, *una media elegante*. SINUÉS, "Trajes de los Niños," para. 2, p. 356.
[174] *los estragos (ravages) de esta enfermedad endemic de nuestro siglo.* Ibid., para. 6, p. 357.
[175] El lujo! Qué hay comparable á este azote terrible? Qué fortuna, por sólida que sea, resiste á sus ataques? A veces devora, no solo todos los recursos, sino tambíen el honor de las familias. Ibid., para. 7, p. 357.
[176] Ibid., para. 9, p. 357.

summer…simple flower adornments are beautiful enough for the cheerful children [translation mine] [177]

More than anything else, what should be inculcated early on among young girls was hygiene; cleanliness was after all the foundation of the charms of the truly elegant.

In contrast, representing poor female children was Hidalgo's *Los mendigos* (Beggars, 1878, Fig. 200), which shows a young girl with her palms up, in a stance of begging, and a boy carrying a small guitar.[178] The artist captured these two bare-footed children in oversized garments. The young girl's red and white patadiong has so much excess cloth that it could only be the castoff clothing of others. Her baro is also too loose that her left shoulder is exposed. The boy, meanwhile, is wearing sullied looking pants rolled to the knees and a shirt with wide shoulder width indicating that it once belonged to someone much older. In Hidalgo's other work, *La Banca* (1876, Fig. 201),[179] a female child is seen boarding a *banca (*small native wooden boat) with two different types of women. Dressed in a baro, saya and headscarf, she is wearing the same type of attire as the woman holding her hand, most likely her mother, who, gathering from the *tampipe* she is holding over her head, must be a *lavandera* (washerwoman). Through their clothes, the artist distinguished the two adult women; and the child's simple attire accentuates the common status of her mother. The lady with an umbrella, pañuelo, embroidered baro with soft flowing angel sleeves and layers of underskirts peering through her demurely raised skirt appears to be dressed for a day of leisure, while the other in comfortable garments appear to be dressed for a day of labor. Although the young girls in *La banca* and *Los mendigos* were dressed alike, the fit and cleanliness of their clothes provide clues to their different life circumstances.

Children photographed in studios dressed in beautiful *traje del país*, however, must be analyzed with caution. Many of them were costumed for the purpose of the pictorial, which means this was typically not how they dressed in everyday life. Foreign children born in Manila, the likes of Salud and Virginia Herrero Moriones, daughters of Governor Emilio Herrero Cortés of Batanes (term of office: 1879 to 1885), posed for the camera of Belgian photographer Francisco van Camp in 1885 (Fig. 202), was described by Sara Badia Villaseca in *Mujeres Filipinas* to have been dressed "in the costume of upper-class Manileñas *(con el*

[177] *Lo mismo hay que decir respeto de los sombreros: la faja, el terciopelo, las plumas y los relumbrones son de pésimo gusto par alas niñas: el fieltro en el invierno, la paja en el verano, es lo que las conviene más, y en ambos casos sencillamente adornados con algunas flores, que son el ornato más bello para la risueña infancia.* Ibid., para. 10, p. 357.
[178] Félix RESURRECCIÓN HIDALGO y PADILLA, *Los Mendigos (Beggars)*, 1878, Alejandro Roces Collection.
[179] Félix RESURRECCIÓN HIDALGO y PADILLA, *La Banca*, Oil on canvas, 1876, Ayala Museum.

traje típico de las manileñas de clase acomodada)."[180] Both children were wearing a *saya de cola* (skirt with train) with dark tapís overskirt, straight-long-sleeved baro and a pañuelo.

Students and the Appearance of *"may pinag-aralan"*

As the education of youths was originally in the hands of the religious orders,[181] naturally, clothing regulations developed from existing Catholic norms relating to governing bodies, and instilling discipline in appearance. Schools were established primarily for religious formation and were originally intended for boys. There were a few secondary schools exclusive for girls, such as the colleges of La Concordia, Santa Rosa, Santa Catalina and Santa Isabel in Manila, which were ran by the Spanish sisters.[182] Quoting the historian Domingo Abella, "the chief characteristics of Spanish pedagogy until the end of Spanish rule was memorization, discipline by fear and corporeal punishment."[183]

Education in the early 19th century was a privilege for the few wealthy Spaniards and influential mestizos, indios were originally not allowed to study in these local colleges and universities.[184] Before 1850, there were three preparatory boarding schools in Manila where rich families sent their sons to study.[185] There were Santo Tomás and Colegio de San Juan de Letran of the Dominicans and Colegio de San José of the Jesuit Order.[186] San José was established mainly to educate the legitimate sons of Spaniards while Santo Tomás was for the *hijos de vecinos* (sons of citizens) of Manila, the sons of white men who served the army and who could prove that they were residents of Manila.[187] Colegio de San Juan de Letran, meanwhile, were originally intended for Spanish orphans. Indios who were admitted as *agraciados* or *capistas* were allowed to study in return for work or service.[188] Escuela

[180] ESTUDIO VAN CAMP, *Retrato de Salud y Virginia Herrero Moriones Vestidas de Manileñas*, 1885, Colección de la Familia Martin de Peralta, Madrid.
[181] The Indios were not taught Spanish, which contributed to their dependence on the clergy. To quote Marche, "most frequently, the natives, not knowing Spanish are in constant need of the parish priest, in order to uphold their interests before the authorities; from there comes in a large measure, the influence of the clergy in the Philippines: an influence, which is beginning to diminish, as the Indians were seeking more and more to learn." MARCHE, *Luzon and Palawan*, 33.
[182] Maria Serena I. DIOKNO, "Chapter Four: The Sugar Industry of Negros," in *Kasaysayan: The Story of the Filipino People*, ed. Maria Serena I. DIOKNO and Ramon N. VILLEGAS, vol. 4: Life in the Colony (Manila: Asia Publishing Co., 1998), 132.
[183] Quoting historian Dominog Abella (1964). Ibid., 4: Life in the Colony:116.
[184] "Up to the year 1884, anything beyond religious tuition was reserved for the Spanish youth, the half-castes and the children of those in office or children of the native petty aristocracy." FOREMAN, *The Philippine Islands*, chap. XI.
[185] JOAQUIN and SANTIAGO, *The World of Damián Domingo*, 52.
[186] LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 24: Colegiales de Manila; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 158–159; MARCHE, *Luzon and Palawan*, 32.
[187] DIOKNO, "Chapter Four: The Sugar Industry of Negros," 121.
[188] LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 24: Colegiales de Manila; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 158–159.

Municipal de Manila, the only primary school in Manila at that time was a private institution for 30 Spanish children before the Governor-General relinquished control over it to the Jesuits in October 1859. In 1865, it evolved to become an accredited secondary school, certified to confer *bachillerato en artes* (Bachelor's degree) in fields such as agriculture and business.[189] Its name was then changed to Ateneo Municipal de Manila and by 1872, it educated brilliant young mestizos like José Rizal. "Except for the last generation before 1896, advanced education was a right and privilege denied to the indios and mestizos."[190]

After the Spanish Revolution of 1868 and as the ideas of the French revolution propagated throughout the world, the new Minister of Overseas Colonies (Ultramar), Segismundo Moret, under General Juan Prim instigated a review of higher education in the colony.[191] The colonial government realized that an educational reform was imperative. By virtue of the royal decree passed on December 20, 1863, reforms in the educational system must now include primary, secondary and collegiate levels.[192] In addition, it called for the establishment of a school to train teachers, the use of Spanish as a medium of instruction, the creation of a board of education to oversee school curriculums. It must be noted that although male and female students had the same core subjects in reading, writing, arithmetic, religion, geographic, history, Spanish language and music, boys also had courses in agriculture and industries while girls had sewing and embroidery. Santo Tomás had around 700 male students and 12 *capistas*; Letran had 142 male students, 42 orphans and 4 *agraciados pobres* (beneficiaries), while San José had 294 male students and 12 *capistas*.[193] All three were founded in the 1600s, with the purpose to prepare the students for careers in ecclesiastics, laws and letters, resulting to a disproportionate number of lawyers and scribes in the colony, many of whom had difficulty securing jobs.[194] Their curriculum included Latin, Syntax, Logic, Prosody, Morality, Philosophy, Christian Doctrine and Theology, which Gervasio Gironella (1847), thought must incorporate courses in the natural sciences, physics and arts "for better political and economic results."

Theoretically, education also became a prerequisite to public office. In a circular issued in 1867, government positions -- from the "lowest offices of the state or of the courts"

[189] DIOKNO, "Chapter Four: The Sugar Industry of Negros," 130.
[190] Ibid., 116.
[191] Ibid., 132.
[192] Ibid., 124–125.
[193] LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 24: Colegiales de Manila; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 158–159.
[194] LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 24: Colegiales de Manila; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 158–159.

to the positions of *gobernadorcillos, cabezas de barangay* and *principales* -- were only open to those who can speak, read and write in Spanish, Castilian.[195] In a way, the educational reforms promulgated in 1863 made educated men and women out of the principalía. Once hereditary positions, it became elective towards the end of the 18th century.[196] It must be noted though that both the candidates and electors were drawn only from within a limited pool of principalía members, essentially ignoring the vast majority of the population.

As the number of schools increased, as the economy improved and as education theoretically became key to political appointments, the number of educated natives also increased. What is clear was that these students exuded the look of what in the local language is referred to as "*may pinag-aralan,"* which was, first of all, based on being clothed, to distinguish them from the *taga-bundok,* the scantily dressed independent, mountain tribes.[197] Secondly, the label, *"may pinag-aralan"* came with some sartorial prerequisites and expectations, usually measured against the dress and appearance of one's peers and perceived equals.

Education being originally exclusive to the privileged classes distinguished the literate elite from the unschooled masses. The native gentry (*gente ilustrada)* or *cacique* in the local dialect were represented by the old rich, the wealthy landowners, some of whose estates have been passed down for generations and the new rich represented by, among others, the prosperous sugar planters, cigar manufacturers and coffee producers.[198] Many of the landowning class have enjoyed affluence and social prestige (some of whom were appointed in the colonial service) since birth. Collectively, the *gente ilustrada* were distinguished by economic or social status, which were not only displayed at home but also worn around. They had the money and means to procure for themselves and for their sons and daughters both tangible and intangible assets, which, against a prejudiced colonial background, would provide them with social legitimacy. They acquired material things alongside education --and the social graces and connections that came with it. As a class, they socialized openly and although uncommon, intermarriages also occurred between pure indias

[195] MARCHE, *Luzon and Palawan*, 76; DIOKNO, "Chapter Four: The Sugar Industry of Negros," 129.
[196] DIOKNO, "Chapter Four: The Sugar Industry of Negros," 136.
[197] DIOKNO, "Chapter Six: The Making of the Filipino," 134.
[198] Quoting Fee, "caciquism is the social and political prestige exercised by a local man or family." Quoting Abinales and Amoroso, caciques were mostly absentee landlords residing in Manila. FEE, *A Woman's Impression of the Philippines*, chap. XVIII; FOREMAN, *The Philippine Islands*, chap. XI; ABINALES and AMOROSO, *State and Society*, 99; WICKBERG, *The Chinese in Philippine Life, 1850-1898*, 2000, chap. 5, p. 127.

and Europeans, whose manners and speech they would then, gainfully acquire.[199] The appearances and lifestyles of this educated class, who were eager to establish their place in society began to reflect the wealth they have amassed, for example, from the success of commercial agriculture.

Convent School Girls

In Lozano's Karuth Album (1858, Fig. 203), a female convent student and a male student of San Juan de Letran was portrayed in one painting. They both represent the educated males and females of that time. The characters were facing opposite directions, which could signify a lack of engagement between the two. After all, education in the Philippines, from primary school onwards, entailed the segregation of male and female students.[200] For higher education, female pupils were subjected to cloistered life, a seclusion specific to their gender.[201] Family members or personal friends were allowed to visit but "only at determined hours or under special circumstances."[202] As Marya Svetlana T. Camacho argues in her article, *The Public Transcendence of Intimacy: The Social Value of Recogimiento in Urbana at Feliza,* "modesty of person translated to seclusion" and beaterios provided women of status and/or beauty social spaces to educate them as well as to protect them from physical dangers and temptations.[203] The functions of the walls surrounding the *beaterios* went beyond the physical and the literal -- in regulating the girls' activities, public appearances, and social interactions with males, the purity of women were thought to have been better protected. Even in the early 1600s, Fr. Pedro Chirino, S.J. already recognized the value of these religious educational institutions in preserving the virtues, especially of the daughters of Spaniards, who formed the majority of the student population. In saying that these Spanish girls "would risk, and even achieve, setting the world on fire, should they go

[199] Foreman mentioned that intermarriages between pure native women and Spaniards occurred less frequently than before. The men tend to "ignore their india wives in their own social connections," but nonetheless, india wives were raised slightly above her own class by the white man's influence and contact." FOREMAN, *The Philippine Islands*, chap. XI.
[200] CAMAGAY, *Working Women of Manila*, 61.
[201] BARRÁNTES, "Spanish, Portuguese, and American Women (1876)," 68; ROSS, *Clothing: A Global History*, chap. 4, fn. 10, p. 40.
[202] LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 55: Beata y Pupila; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 220.
[203] Even after completing their studies, these women continued to live lives of regulated or "reduced public visibility." Quoting Camacho, "for women enjoying higher socioeconomic status who did not need to earn a living or work outside the home, their condition afforded the possibility of leading a life approximating the feminine ideal of reduced public visibility." CAMACHO, "The Public Transcendence of Intimacy: The Social Value of Recogimiento in Urbana at Feliza," 299.

outside the seminary," he was highlighting their beauty and appeal to the native population.[204]

These young convent students were allowed to go out for strolls provided they went as a group, or accompanied by a nun. One could rarely see them on the streets, if they did go out, generally, it was to go to church.[205] Glimpses of demure maidens from the *beaterios* were a veritable part of Manila street life. They would typically be seen walking two and two, chaperoned by *madres* (nuns) in austere black and white robes, trying to fend off chirps and whistles from admiring bystanders (Fig. 108D).[206] When going out of the *beaterios,* they were required to wear specific types of outfits - outfits, which entailed that they were properly covered and which served to communicate that they were girls raised seriously. In short, they were clothed in a way that, as Fr. Chirino put it, would not "set the world on fire." Dressed in long, black European skirts made of either silk or wool and simple white cotton camisa, with heavy shawls or *lambós* or *lambóngs* in either black or purple color, covering essentially their entire upper bodies characterized the look of these educated and sheltered beatas.[207] They also wore a type of plain white veil, quite similar to what the nuns donned, but instead of tying it around their face, it is left to drape softly over their shoulders or worn like a pañuelo.[208] Others would pin them high on their heads, although the young ladies were divided in their opinion of this style -some found them fashionable while others found them rather exaggerated and comical.[209] It would also be quite common to see girls clutching their veils under their chin, leaving only their faces exposed.[210]

Out of three Lozano paintings (1840s and 1850s), which featured beatas in this type of attire, one which painted an india and a mestiza beata side-by-side illustrates how clothes

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[204] These schools for girls were held in high esteem…the good which has resulted to that colony from this institution is beyond exaggeration. Nearly a hundred young girls have retired to the protection of its walls, the greater part of them daughters of Spaniards. CHIRINO, S.J., "Relacion de Las Islas Filipinas," chap. XIX.
[205] LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 55: Beata y Pupila; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 220.
[206] FEE, *A Woman's Impression of the Philippines*, chap. V, pp. 45–59.
[207] Apart from Nick Joaquin's description of the students of *Escuela Municipal* for girls having "ribbons on shoulders, books in hand, with their maids following behind," there were no other source that mentions this. Variations in their attires mainly depended on the institutions they belonged to. Ross describes a similar case in Batavia during the 18th century, "womenfolk- heavily mestizo- were almost in sex-specific seclusion, only appearing to go to church and at weddings…when they did go out, they would generally be dressed at least partially in European clothing, displaying their diamonds and other jewelleries." JOAQUIN and SANTIAGO, *The World of Damián Domingo*, 52; ROSS, *Clothing: A Global History*, chap. 4, fn. 10, p. 40.
[208] BARRÁNTES, "Spanish, Portuguese, and American Women (1876)," 68.
[209] "Educandos de los Beaterios," *Ilustración Filipina*, 1860 Septiembre 15, p. 206.
[210] LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 55: Madre del Beaterio de Sta. Rosa, Pupila; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 220.

provide clues to race, background and taste.[211] In Lozano's "An Indian and a Mestiza (Karuth Album, 1858, Fig. 32)," both were shown with the dark-colored, heavy *lambóng* over their heads, which indicates that they were on their way to the church.[212] The burst of color in the india's attire, however, differentiated her from her mestiza counterpart, who was dressed in the typical somber black and white ensemble. The colorful checkered *saya a la mascota*, dark striped tapís, white baro, and white pañuelo with a single red stripe exemplified the more colorful tastes of india convent students. This juxtaposition substantiates how austerity was associated with conventional standards of good taste and European eloquence, while colorful attires brought to light the second-rate status and lack of refinement of their wearers. Traditional Castilian dark-colored lace veils served also to distinguish the peninsular and creole *beatas* from the mestizas from the indias.[213] This demonstrates that although convent students were expected to dress more or less the same, nonetheless, the girls used clothes to show racial distinctions and highlight their cultural standing.

The more colorful sayas of the indias as illustrated in letter L of the Lozano *letras y figuras* bearing William P. Peirce's name (between 1854 to 1855), stood in stark contrast to the sobriety of the attires of what can be assumed as the mestizas and Spanish girls in letter E of the same artwork.[214] The contrast could be understood not only as a matter of taste, but as a matter of background and influence as well. In colonial Philippines, simplicity in color reflected the Spanish tradition of austerity and was therefore, associated with refined taste.

The difference in the two types of mestizas must, however, be articulated. The mestizas born of a Spanish, European or white parent with a native india, as well as the pure bred Spanish and creole girls, were more likely, hispanized and as such, they were more inclined to muted rather than loud tones. The mestizas born of a Chinese parent with an india, have shown propensity towards colorful attires, which shows how their tastes appeared much closer to the natives than to the Europeans.

After Spanish colonial rule ended, schoolgirls during the ensuing American period were no longer wearing the austere black skirt, white top and dark lambóng typically seen

[211] LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 55: Madre del Beaterio de Sta. Rosa, Pupila; LOZANO, *Karuth Album (1858)*, fig. An India and a Mestiza; Beata and a Student of San Juan de Letran.
[212] LOZANO, *Karuth Album (1858)*, fig. An Indian and a Mestiza; CARIÑO and NER, *Álbum: Islas Filipinas, 1663-1888*.
[213] BARRÁNTES, "Spanish, Portuguese, and American Women (1876)," 68.
[214] LOZANO, *William P. Peirce*.

among the beatas of the Spanish period. Instead, they were wearing floor-length striped *sayas a la mascota* (no tapís), baro with puffed butterfly sleeves and pañuelo (1907).[215]

Male Students

In colonial Philippines, the clothes worn by male students represented the varied styles associated with the privileged few, who were educated in local Catholic schools, which followed Western models. From their hybrid clothing in the 1820s and 1830s (Fig. 24), their fully Westernized attires beginning in the 1840s (Fig. 72, Fig. 105A), redefined the appearance of the educated elite and by extension, sartorially detached them from the poor laboring class – and from the rest of the common, laboring *tao* that formed the majority of the population (Fig. 92, Fig. 94, Fig. 95).

In the first half of the 19th century, only the wealthiest could afford to go to school and proceed to university.[216] According to Mallat, representing the most educated were the male students of Santo Tomás.[217] The Tomasinos, as they were called, usually "dressed with care and style, and moved with ease."[218] Damián Domingo's *Un Mestizo Estudiante de Manila* shows a young man, presumably a Tomasino, dressed in striped trousers typical of that period (Fig. 24). Beneath the sheer barong, it is obvious that his pants were high-waisted and that he was wearing an undershirt. Combining a shirt of native make with European accessories consisting of a silk top hat, dainty cravat, and beribboned shoes, he embodied what Nick Joaquin referred to as that period's concept of "academic chic."[219] The mestizo student's well-thought out attire, from his shoes, his dapper outfit to the brooch and coral rosary around his neck, point to his economic background. The simple everyday clothes of the poor of various trades would show none of the complicated dressing, which characterized the styles of these educated males.

An alternative to the everyday clothes of these boys was their academic dress. In Lozano's depiction of *Colegiales de Manila* (1847, Fig. 72, Fig. 104), three schoolboys were

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[215] H.C. WHITE, *Two School Girls in Traditional Dress*, Stereographic photograph, 1907, University of Wisconsin Digital Collection: Wisconsin Philippines Image Collection, http://digicoll.library.wisc.edu/WebZ/FETCH?sessionid=01-51050-734388098&recno=1&resultset=1&format=F&next=html/nffull.html&bad=error/badfetch.html&entitytoprecno=1&entitycurrecno=1.

[216] DIOKNO, "Chapter Six: The Making of the Filipino," 120.

[217] An undated photograph of the father of Pedro Paterno, Don Maximo Paterno (born 1830), a graduate of Santo Tomás, was shown distinguished in a black suit, white high-collared shirt and an elegant bow-tie. Photo from Filipinas Heritage Library collection. MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1983, 434; DIOKNO, "Chapter Six: The Making of the Filipino," 133.

[218] JOAQUIN and SANTIAGO, *The World of Damián Domingo*, 52.

[219] Ibid.

wearing a sleeveless robe, a narrow v-neck "cape," and a cap.[220] They also had stockings and beribboned shoes on. It is unclear what exactly they were wearing beneath their gowns but considering the mid-thigh length of their gowns, the only pants they could have worn would be short breaches. Considering that the robe was sleeveless and the plain black long sleeves were visible, it is likely that they were wearing plain black shirts with European-style high standing collars underneath.

At various times and cultures, clothing were used to identify people with certain institutions. The colors of their gowns were distinctive to the institution they belonged to, with Colegio de Santo Tomás students in green robes, Letran in blue and San José in burgundy.[221] All of them had a red narrow v-neck cape on, but only the student from Letran clearly had his school's insignia on the right shoulder. The robe of the student from San José also appears longer than the mid-thigh gowns of the other two boys.

While in ancient universities, the academic dress was worn as a daily school uniform, the school boys of Manila only wore theirs for various public functions and ceremonies.[222] Each of them can be seen holding a book, which indicates that they were attending a school ceremony, most likely, a graduation. Interestingly, another work by Lozano, the *Estudiantes de las diferentes universidades* (Nyssens-Flebus Album, Fig. 72) from almost the same time period (between 1844 to 1846) show three school boys in the same scholastic gowns juxtaposed with three more boys wearing white pants with white waistcoat, navy blue jacket, closed leather shoes, accessorized with navy visor caps.[223] While the colored academic gowns made the first three boys look aniquated and ceremonial, the latter three looked European and modern. One of the latter three boys was likewise holding a book, while the other two were reading. This *Estudiantes de las diferentes universidades* painting, could be a representation of their ceremonial wear in contrast to their daily school uniform, with the reading of books being symbolic of their daily activities as students. If indeed this represented the attires current in the 1840s, then the attire worn by Damián Domingo's *Un*

[220] LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 24: Colegiales de Manila; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 158–159.
[221] LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 24: Colegiales de Manila; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 158–159.
[222] LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 24: Colegiales de Manila; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 158–159.
[223] LOZANO, *Nyssens-Flebus Album (1844-1846)*, fig. 8: Estudiantes de las diferentes universidades; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 75.

Mestizo Estudiante de Manila at least a decade earlier, was already out of fashion (Fig. 24).[224]

By the late 1850s, academic robes – which, in fact, resemble the togas used in many Philippine universities in the present-- were still common as ceremonial wear. Represented in the Karuth Album (1858, Fig. 203) by the same artist, a female *beata* (cloistered lady) was portrayed next to a male student, who was wearing a blue academic dress with a seal on the right shoulder. The seal and the color of the boy's robe were consistent with those worn by San Juan de Letran students in the past.

The depiction of Western-style suits and academic robes in the images produced from the 1840s indicate that the appearance of educated men began to be associated with Western clothes. Based on artworks and photographs featuring individuals and groups from the 1840s onwards, male student attires have clearly changed from hybrid barong and trousers to purely Western in white trousers, dark suits and sometimes, waistcoats. This may have been rooted on changes in the institutional clothing policies of elite, Western-run, Catholic schools, conceivably in connection with the sartorial developments in European schools, particularly during the Victorian era (1837-1901). The style of the dark and sometimes, light-colored suits, worn by male students in colonial Philippines bore a resemblance to the blue coat uniforms which became widespread throughout the world, following Victorian England's expanding empire. As new schools established in British colonies, for example, adopted styles popular in the mainland, the suit for men and the bustle skirt for women, appears to have been examples of the impact of the broad diffusion of Victorian era fashions to Europe and to the rest of the world.

A photograph of an unnamed student by Manila's top photographer, Englishman Albert Honiss (1860, Fig. 105A)[225] wearing exactly the same attire as the boys in the abovementioned Lozano painting confirms their school attires.[226] Rizal who was enrolled for secondary studies at the Ateneo Municipal in 1872 and who obtained his bachelor's degree in

[224] DOMINGO, *Colección de Trajes de Manila y de Las Provincias*, fig. XIV: Un Mestizo Estudiante de Manila; JOAQUIN and SANTIAGO, *The World of Damián Domingo*, 52–53.
[225] In the 1860s, the three most popular photography studios in Manila were those of WW Wood (American), Albert Honiss (British) and Pedro Picon. Albert Honiss, described to be Manila's #1 photographer, died in 1874. The Honiss studio was bought in 1875 by Belgian photographer Francisco Van Camp. In light of the increasing number of photography studios opening in Manila, advertisements of *Fotografia de Van Camp*, located at No. 35 Escolta (altos de la Sombreria de Secker), appeared regularly in several periodicals between the 1870s and 1880s. VAN DEN MUIJZENBERG, *The Philippines through European Lenses*, 8; SILVA, "Nineteenth-Century Photography," 138; *La Ilustración del Oriente Revista Semanal*, 1877, October 7, Num. 1; GROIZÁRD, *Manila Alegre: Periódico Festivo Ilustrado*, 1885, December 11, Num. 2.
[226] Albert HONISS, *Portrait of a Student in Manila*, B/W photograph, 1860, Jonathan Best personal collection; SILVA, "Nineteenth-Century Photography," fig. 220, p. 138.

1877 further substantiates that his European-style uniform was made up of "white coat, striped shirt, black tie and cream-colored hempen trousers."[227] A photograph of a Dominican priest with his class of students in Manila shows the young men in attires that, except for the dark instead of the white coats, matched Rizal's description.[228] Moreover, a photograph showing Rizal and his classmates at the University of Santo Tomás attest that students from that institution were also wearing Western suits and light-colored pants.[229] In that photo, Rizal, in a dark suit, can be seen holding a palette while standing beside an easel. Examining these group photographs, unlike paintings and photographs of single individuals, revealed one interesting fact about students' attires. Similarity and subtle diversity, not complete uniformity in their attires point to clothing regulations and categorical suggestions or prescriptions, not absolute impositions, unlike many schools in the present day, which offer for sale ready-made uniforms in standardized sizes to ensure complete uniformity. Recommended proper school attires, assuredly, defined the meaning of propriety in these distinctly Catholic institutions, which functioned as academic as well as social environments. Unified student clothing were ideal in colonial societies with underlying racial and class issues for its potential to equalize any apparent clothing differences arising from wealth or social status, without negating student prerogatives to dress and appearance. However, it was conceivable that within the academic and social context of colonial, Catholic schools, distinctions – and correspondingly, associations –were significant. Within the same school, subtle distinctions that delineated status were rooted on a few tacit or unspoken rules governing male dressing: what length should their school coats be, how shirts should be buttoned up, what angle to wear their top hats, what type of, for example, cravats and fragrance were deemed fashionable to use, how to hold their handkerchiefs and cigarettes, and many other seemingly trivial details, like fit and cut, which marked status, privilege and some form of hierarchy. It must be considered that the pursuit of leadership among competitive schoolboys may have also found expressions in clothing.[230] In the *Noli me tangere* (1886), Rizal made some references to Manila boys, who were admiring the appearance and subtle sophistication of the lead character, the European-educated Crisostomo

[227] JOAQUIN and SANTIAGO, *The World of Damián Domingo*, 52.
[228] HANNAFORD, *History and Description of the Picturesque Philippines*, 69.
[229] Photo from Ateneo de Manila Rizal Library. Reproduced in BONOAN, S.J., "José Rizal: Revolution of the Mind," fig. 337, p. 220.
[230] During Rizal's time, for example, students in a class were divided between the Roman Empire or the Carthaginian Empire. The boy with the highest grade for the month would be appointed emperor of the empire he belongs to. Reportedly, the boys vied earnestly for the leadership position each month. JOAQUIN and SANTIAGO, *The World of Damián Domingo*, fig. XVI: A Mestizo Student of Manila, p. 52.

Ibarra. In one provincial fiesta in San Diego, the younger male students were observing him from afar and were carefully studying the fine details that set apart this polished young man, who was in fact wearing mourning clothes or *lucsa*. They observed how he tied his cravat, what type of collar he was wearing and how many buttons does his overcoat or vest have.[231] Ibarra's return to the islands have created quite a stir. One reputable newspaper in Manila featured him with the words "Imitate him!" on their front page.[232] The young mestizo has been referred to as the Filipino Spaniard, explicitly suggesting that fine clothes, combined with good manners, a European education and a wealthy or recognized family background, qualified as "Spanishness" in the colony.

In contrast to the Westernized attires of the young men from elite boarding schools, a photograph taken presumably in the 1890s shows the boys from *Escuela Normal*, a school established for the training of teachers, dressed in black or white trousers, round-necked camisa chinos and leather shoes (Fig. 204).[233] They were dressed in what Nick Joaquin referred to as style *à la Philippine*.[234] Their relatively simpler clothes give substance to the existence of different types of schools, educating boys and girls from different social classes. While in the first half of the 19th century, only the children of Spaniards and the wealthiest indios and mestizos had access to education, the 1890s saw the increasing integration of the children of the common *tao* into the educational system. The establishment of more schools and the broadening of their student population was, in fact, a realization of many of the objectives of the 1863 educational reform.

Disparities in the attires of students coming from varied backgrounds show how certain styles did not really exist beyond the exclusive convent schools for girls and the private schools for boys; hence, the dark Western suit and white pants came to signify elite education. Women's fashions --the baro't saya, and the occasional pañuelo and tapís—were, however, so common that, except for differences in fabric and adornments, were seen in similar form or character, among females of varied social status. Although the clothes of male students varied according to institutions, the styles were, more or less, comparable, which, suggests that these boys were in the same league. As clothing regulations were localized to a small number of schools, and were never enforced on a national or even

[231] RIZAL, *The Social Cancer: A Complete English Version of Noli me tangere from the Spanish of José Rizal*, chap. 26: The Eve of the Fiesta, pp. 208–210.
[232] Ibid., chap. 27: In the Twilight, pp. 210–211.
[233] Photo source: Geronimo Berenguer de los Reyes Museum. Reproduced in KALAW-TIROL, *The World of 1896*, fig. 11.
[234] JOAQUIN and SANTIAGO, *The World of Damián Domingo*, 52.

regional scale, clothing like the navy, black or white coat/suit, became a visible symbol of their integration to literate class society – and to a lesser extent, a symbol of school prestige.

As the blue, black or sometimes, white Western suit came to be associated with the literate sons of wealthy families attending prestigious institutions, it set apart the may *pinag-aralan* from the unschooled *tao*, which made up the mass of society, typically made up of different types, from farmers, farmhands, fishermen to street traders to domestic and industrial workers. Although characterized by poverty, or slightly above poverty, not all of those who were poor were unhappy and impoverished. Many farmers, for example, were content and never felt the need for education.[235] They had simple wants, simple needs, and their day-to-day clothes consisting of a salakot*,* ordinary pants and shirts did not cost them much. The rolled up pants, rolled-up shirt sleeves, unadorned salakots as well as the bolos hanging around their waist, tied using improvised cords demonstrate the practicality and resourcefulness of those with meager means. Unlike the rich, the primary function of clothes for their everyday life was not for appearances but for comfort and practicality. For the poor, function takes precedence over form. The simplicity of their garments, their lack of attention to details and the relative carelessness with which they wore their clothes reflected civilization, but certainly, not sophistication.

Foreign Impressions on How Male Students were Dressed

Many foreign travel writers were united in their opinion about these native schoolboys, especially the ones from the provinces. Male students have been described as "imitators of European dress and Western manners."[236] Through their Western suits and frock coats, they flaunted their European tastes and possessions acquired in travels abroad.[237] Foreman for example, wrote:

> One of the most interesting and amusing types of the native was the average college student from the provinces. After a course of two, three, up to eight years, he learned to imitate European dress and ape Western manners-- to fantastically dress his hair, to wear patent-leather shoes, jewelry, and the latest-fashioned felt hat adjusted carefully towards one side of his head. He went to the theatre, drove a "tilbury," and attended native reunions, to deploy his abilities before the *beau sexe* of his class. During his residence in the capital, he was supposed to learn, amongst other subjects, Latin,

[235] LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. # 63: Indio labrador; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 236–237.
[236] FOREMAN, *The Philippine Islands*, chap. XI: Domesticated Natives, pp. 190–192.
[237] ABINALES and AMOROSO, *State and Society*, 99.

> Divinity, Philosophy, and sometimes Theology, reparatory, in many cases, to succeeding his father in a sugar-cane and rice plantation. The average student had barely an outline idea of either physical or political geography, whilst his notions of Spanish or universal history were very chaotic. I really think the Manila newspapers--poor as they were--contributed very largely to the education of the people in this colony.[238]

Many of these students came from families who profited from the agricultural development, which began in the mid-19th century. Newly enriched families had the means to send their sons and daughters to acquire some formation under the supervision of the religious orders in Manila, Cebu and Jaro in Iloilo Province. Since many of the local schools had limited course offerings, young men of means who wished to pursue education in fields other than law and letters must obtain them in the universities in Spain.[239] Some of those from the planter class, motivated by the idea of prestige and social advantage sent their children to Hong Kong and Europe.[240]

After spending a few years in a cultural melting pot like Manila, these students became what John Foreman referred to as "modified beings."[241] The charm of the provincial types would be superseded by their eagerness to copy the easy manners or the perceived element of cool embodied by some Europeans in the colony. As such, their nature became hard to define. Their education inculcated in them a sense of pride, a kind of sauciness or arrogance, which sometimes found expressions in their clothing and appearance. Sawyer offered some insights into the root causes of their behavior and choices:

> To take a young native lad away from his parents, to place him in a corrupted capital like Manila, and to cram him with the intricacies of Spanish law, while there is probably, not in all those who surround him, one single honest and upright man he can look up to for guidance and example, is to deprive him of whatever principles of action he may once have possessed, whilst giving him no guide for his future conduct.

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[238] It must be mentioned that newspapers actually had a very important cultural influence in disseminating fashion, especially to the literate upper-class. Similar to Dutch-controlled Indonesia, newspaper advertisements actually revealed what Henk Schulte-Nordholt referred to as the "discourse of desire" of the late colonial period. FOREMAN, *The Philippine Islands*, chap. XI; SCHULTE NORDHOLT, "The State on the Skin: Clothes, Shoes and Neatness in (Colonial) Indonesia," 26.

[239] LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 24: Colegiales de Manila; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 158–159.

[240] FOREMAN, *The Philippine Islands*, chap. XI.

[241] Ibid.

> He acquires the European vices without the virtues; loses his native modesty and self-respect, and develops too often into a contemptible *pica-pleito*, or pettifogger, instead of becoming an honest farmer.[242]

What was particularly striking was the contrast between generations. Frederick Sawyer observed:

> In fact, I may say that, whilst the unlettered agriculturist, with his old-fashioned dress, and quiet, dignified manner, inspired me with the respect due to an honest and worthy man, the feeling evolved from a discussion with the younger and educated men, dressed in European clothes, who had been pupils in the Ateneo Municipal, or in Santo Tomás, was less favourable, and it became evident to me that, although they might be more instructed than their fathers, they were morally below them. Either their moral training had been deficient, or their natures are not improved by education. I usually preferred to do business with them on a cash basis.[243]

In describing how the male students, especially the *provincianos* who came to be educated in Manila by way of their family's wealth, dressed like Europeans after spending a few years in the capital, they clearly saw a link between the acquisition of clothing habits and their migration to urbanized areas. As Manila gradually opened to foreign trade and residence since the 1830s, the city and its citizens were exposed to various cultural influences, which shaped their ideas of modernity, in terms of thought, fashion, tastes, etc. Foreman and Sawyer also tackled in brief how the duality of cosmopolitanism and "corruption" in the capital influenced and modified the dress and behavior of male students, to such an extent that they formed "new groups of people who no longer fitted into the traditional categories and who manifested themselves by choosing new languages and dress codes."[244]

An analysis of Foreman and Sawyer's observations require, however, an acknowledgement of their backgrounds as white men in the colony. Their points-of-view betrayed some form of condescension, and even trepidation, towards those who, like these students, were caught in between the indigenous and the Western. Recalling Damián Domingo's *Un Mestizo Estudiante de Manila* (1820's and 1830's, Fig. 24), the Tomasino was dressed like he was caught in the crossroads of East and West. He was half-native and half-European in his native baro, striped trousers and European silk top hat and beribboned shoes. Even as the appearance of these male students continually evolved and even as they

[242] SAWYER, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines (1900)*, chap. XXIV.
[243] Ibid.
[244] SCHULTE NORDHOLT, "The State on the Skin: Clothes, Shoes and Neatness in (Colonial) Indonesia," 24.

adopted completely European clothes, their attires and attitudes– their brazenness and sometimes, lack of humility-- represented them as unruly, disquieting and therefore, potentially dangerous. This explains why Sawyer brought up the "unlettered agriculturist in his old-fashioned dress and quiet and dignified manner," to contrast with the educated youth in their modern attires. The "true" indio, who was simpleminded and uncorrupted in dress and manners was perceived as non-progressive, hence, a non-threat. In contrast, the fashionable student, in patent-leather shoes and tilted hats appeared quite fortunate, confident, and more importantly, progressive-- a threat to the colonial order.[245] Sawyer's account was, in fact, a clear example of how opinions and consequently, attitudes, were shaped based on appearances and how these sentiments were expressed or verbalized.

These students were also presumed to be the "mestizo youths of wealth," the archetype of which was presented by Adjutant Ebenezer E. Hannaford in his book, *History and Description of the Picturesque Philippines* (1900).[246] Dressed in mixed piña barong over straight-cut trousers and patent shoes, the mestizo student's attire, which was described as partly native and partly European is reminiscent of Félix Martínez's painting of the mestizo-español type (1886, Fig. 166).[247] In both images, the style, cut and silhouette of the subjects' shirts were already indistinguishable from the modern-day *barong tagalog*. Considering that in the late 1880s and 1890s, many mestizo parties or *saya bailes* called for the wearing of the *traje del país* by both men and women,[248] the men depicted in these images were likely dressed in fiesta or party attire made up of a hybrid of European bottoms and native tops – at variance with their completely European school or professional attires.

Indication that the native baro was worn alongside the Western suit by some segments of the population can be seen in the *Álbum de Filipinas* at the Biblioteca Nacional de España. While the indio male was depicted in native barong, the *mestizo-español* was wearing the same Westernized attire as the students (Fig. 71).[249] To address the varied dress codes for the different events at that time, upper class indios who were usually dressed no differently from the mestizos from the same class could have had both the native baros and the Western suits

[245] How Western clothes may have made the students feel is worthy of consideration. Did they feel independent like Mas Karto, a plantation overseer in Indonesia, who changed his clothes after meeting some friends who just came from Singapore? In buying new clothes like the open jackets, fancy shoes and gold teeth his friends were sporting [to show their newly acquired wealth], he felt "more independent towards his superiors." Ibid., 25.
[246] HANNAFORD, *History and Description of the Picturesque Philippines*, 63.
[247] MARTÍNEZ y LORENZO, *Mestizo Español*.
[248] HANNAFORD, *History and Description of the Picturesque Philippines*, 49.
[249] *Álbum de Filipinas, Retrato y Vistas, Ca. 1870 (60 Fotografias)*, fig. indio; familia mestizo española.

in their wardrobes. As this album was a presentation of the diverse types in the colony, compilers must have been inclined to display the varied modes of male dressing.

Ilustrados

The mistake people tend to make is to associate fashionability with triviality. But what many do not realize is that fashionability when channeled becomes a powerful and enigmatic tool in the game of appearance and perceptions, especially in a colonized world. Fashionability does not mean an excessive preoccupation with clothing, rather, it could refer to something as basic as a concern for one's appearance. The idea that one's appearance play a role in human interactions is undeniable and must, at least, be entertained. Appearances, when ill-conceived, may have socially damaging consequences. Inasmuch as this study is about clothing and appearances, this does not, in any way, glorify external appearances (*labas*). This simply, without being simplistic, explores the power with which clothing and appearances has been historically wielded and how, sartorially, the beauty within (*loob*) could be complemented or enhanced, inasmuch as political causes could be betrayed --or conveyed. Furthermore, in a play of words, *loob* or within may be explored by looking at its literal opposite –without. The word without, implies emptiness and exposes the hollowness of those who direct their lives purely or solely on the pursuit of the material and all its trappings, which common church sermons would perhaps associate with the poverty of the soul.

While lofty appearances can sometimes signal materialism and decadence, the material would not prove to be immaterial, even among those who sought –and who continues to seek- higher wisdom, if not enlightenment. Even the "enlightened" did not neglect their appearances. Images of the wealthy, educated and influential men and women of 19th century colonial Philippines were often enhanced by their clothing and appearance. From the pool of educated youth came men who referred to themselves as the Ilustrados. The term *ilustrado* was "an ideological term, which can be related to the European Enlightenment, referring to the late 18th century anticlerical, antimonarchic, and liberal philosophical movement articulated by intellectuals."[250]

Sons of the planter or landowning class, whether from the provinces or from the capital city, these Ilustrados first converged in Manila to be educated in the elite boarding schools, mostly ran by the religious orders. Influenced by the values of enlightenment during their sojourn at European universities, these energetic and idealistic youths played an active

[250] DIOKNO, "Chapter Four: The Sugar Industry of Negros," 135.

role in the rise of nationalism in the last two decades of the 19th century. These *soi-disant* "enlightened" ones, who shared a common intellectual or economic background, were connected by, more or less, similar causes, interests and social realities.

While this section articulates the role and value that clothes played in the appearance of Ilustrados, the two questions addressed were: how the clothes the Ilustrados wore communicated their causes? What shaped their sartorial posturing?

In the Philippines and Abroad

Perusal of artworks and photographs had consistently shown that the regular dress of the Ilustrados' was the Western suit, even upon their return to the Philippines. In wearing this type of clothing, they deemed it, in fact, necessary in the assertion of equality with the colonial masters. To be taken seriously in cosmopolitan Manila and, certainly, abroad called for the donning of attires that associated them not only with civilization but also with modernity. Clothing, although superficial, was their silent statement of pride-- both personal and national.

Brothers Juan and Antonio Luna, José Rizal, Marcelo H. del Pilar, Pedro Paterno and other Filipinos in Europe appeared, at least publicly, almost consistently in a Western suit. After receiving the accolade for Spolarium, Juan Luna graced the cover of *Ilustración Artistica* (Barcelona, 1884, Fig. 205) looking distinguished in a black suit over a white shirt and tie.[251] A caricature of him in the same attire also appeared on the cover of *Manila Alegre* in 1886.[252] While in Rome, Juan Luna made a quick sketch of himself (1879), looking slightly disheveled in a suit.[253] In a dark self-portrait (Paris, 1885), the artist, true to form and circumstance, portrayed himself holding a palette and wearing a light-colored artist's overcoat over his dark suit. He was wearing the *béret,* a hat of French origins, which became associated with the stereotype of an artist.[254] In a photo taken at his atelier at No. 65 Boulevard Arago, Paris (1889, Fig. 206), the artist along with José Rizal, Félix Pardo de Tavera and a Manila merchant by the name of Mr. Ramirez were all dressed in black Western suits, with one of them wearing a towering top hat.[255] A formal portrait of General Antonio

[251] *Ilustración Artística*, Año III, Num. 147 (Barcelona, 1884), 20 Octubre; *Archivo Agustiniano: Revista de Estudios Históricos Publicada por Los PP. Agustinos*, XCVII:460–461; *Discovering Philippine Art in Spain*, 262.
[252] GROIZÁRD, *Manila Alegre: Periódico Festivo Ilustrado*, 1886, Abril 1, Num. XIII.
[253] Photo from the National Museum. Reproduced in VILLEGAS, "Chapter Seven: Images of a New Nation," 176.
[254] Photo from the Lopez Museum. Reproduced in Ibid., 180–181.
[255] The photo-postcard, circa 1889, copyright 1908 by Philippine Education is available at the Philippine National Library, Filipiniana section. Racquel Reyes has identified one of the men in the photo as Eduardo de

Luna (c. 1890) showed him in a Western suit with a tie and a white shirt underneath.[256] A portrait of José Rizal by Po Chun photography studio in No. 80, Queen's Road, Hong Kong, showed him in a similar attire, with the variance of a bow-tie instead of a tie, and a white shirt with standing rather than folded collar.[257]

Since most photographs and paintings either depicted only the men's upper body or depicted them in sitting positions, it is difficult to ascertain whether they were wearing long frock coats or the shorter morning jackets. However, a photograph labeled *"Propagandistas or Ilustrados in Madrid, Spain* (c. 1890, Fig. 207A, Fig. 207B)*"* shows Rizal and his peers gathered together on a flight of stairs, wearing a variety of morning coats and frock coats, top hats, and canes.[258] A studio photograph shows a different group of twenty-five Filipinos in Spain (c. 1896) wearing white pants, dark suits, white shirt, waistcoat and ties or bow ties.[259] At first glance, they looked like a group of students based on their attires, but upon closer view, they were, in fact, a group of men of various ages. Antonio Luna, Eduardo de Lete and Marcelo H. del Pilar (c. 1890) were also photographed in a studio, dressed in the typical men's day wear, made up of dark frock coats over checkered and light-colored pants, waistcoats, leather shoes, top hats and canes.[260] In a similar setting, José Rizal, Marcelo H. del Pilar and Mariano Ponce (c. 1890, Fig. 208) looked sharp in all-black suits, a more formal type of day wear, with Rizal holding a top hat and an equally dark overcoat in his left arm.[261]

At the backyard of Juan Luna and Paz Pardo de Tavera's home in Paris, the artist and his friends, Rizal and Félix Resurrección Hidalgo, were photographed in fencing attires (Fig. 209, no exact date).[262] Rizal, smiling and standing casually with his left hand in his pocket, displayed relaxed confidence while Luna, dressed in dark colors, stood looking intense with

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Lete, not Mr. Ramirez. VILLEGAS, "Chapter Eight: Language, Literature and Liberation," 205, 207; Racquel A.G. REYES, *Love, Passion and Patriotism: Sexuality and the Philippine Propaganda Movement, 1882-1892* (Singapore: NUS Press in association with University of Washington Press, 2008), fig. 3, p. xvi.

[256] University of the Philippines Main Library, Filipiniana Section. Reproduced in REYES, *Love, Passion and Patriotism*, fig. #4, p. xvi.

[257] Photo from Ramon N. Villegas collection. A similar photo was featured in Fr. Bonoan's article. VILLEGAS, "Chapter Eight: Language, Literature and Liberation," 208; BONOAN, S.J., "José Rizal: Revolution of the Mind," fig. 331, p. 217.

[258] Photo of 25 men, including Rizal, is from the Ateneo de Manila Rizal Library; also available at the Philippine National Library, Filipiniana section. Reproduced and captioned in BONOAN, S.J., "José Rizal: Revolution of the Mind," fig. 352, pp. 230–231; REYES, *Love, Passion and Patriotism*, fig. 22, p. 95–97.

[259] Photo from Museo Nacional de Antropología. Reproduced in (-), *La Piña: El Tejido del Paraíso*, 101.

[260] Photo from University of the Philippines, Diliman, Main Library, Filipiniana Division. Reproduced in REYES, *Love, Passion and Patriotism*, fig. 2, p. xv.

[261] Photo from Ateneo de Manila University Rizal Library and from the collection of Ramon Villegas. Reproduced in BONOAN, S.J., "José Rizal: Revolution of the Mind," fig. 351, pp. 230–231; REYES, *Love, Passion and Patriotism*, fig. 1, p. xv.

[262] Photo from the Ateneo de Manila University Rizal Library, Pardo de Tavera Collection. Reproduced in GUARDIOLA, *Filipiniana*, 87; BONOAN, S.J., "José Rizal: Revolution of the Mind," fig. 339, p. 222; REYES, *Love, Passion and Patriotism*, fig. 23, p. 98.

his back slightly from the camera. Masculine pride was unmistakable from their stance, posture and expressions. Discernible within the context of colonial prejudice and the brewing sense of nationalism, these *Los Indios Bravos*[263] had compelling reason to assert their cultural, social and political standing through the practice of Western sports, like fencing and the possession of requisite garments.[264] When they dressed like Europeans, they were sartorially appropriate to the context and climate of Europe. They must have also felt that the people who demeaned and ridiculed them accorded them the dignity and distinction they believed they deserved. It is within reason to speculate that a piña barong in Europe may be a professional liability for these Ilustrados who sought equal representation under the law and within societal institutions. Wearing something native and sheer in Europe, would have made them appear indigenous and would have marginalized and associated them with the colonized. The crux of their actions was after all, equality, in status, rights and opportunities. In photographs and paintings, these men were projecting not only respectability but also determination and pride, which can also be interpreted as efforts to provoke or challenge the status quo. Based on this photograph, Luna made a sketch of himself appearing taller and leaner (1886, Fig. 209, Fig. 210).[265] He also highlighted his waistcoat by painting it as white, not black, as it appeared in the original photograph. In this self-portrait, fashion and art comes together to demonstrate Juan Luna's perception of --and aspirations for-- himself. This shows that while he saw himself as manly and proud, in imagining that his physique could still be improved, he essentially revealed his self-consciousness. He may have reproduced the photograph in the belief that he was resolving conflicts between self-belief and desire. Moreover, in portrayals of Ilustrados made by fellow Ilustrados, they were painted to radiate, in almost a subliminal way –a certain grace, class, strength and power that extends far beyond the visible and physical. In a portrait made by his good friend and fellow Ilustrado, Félix Resurreccion Hidalgo (7 December 1886, Fig. 211), Juan Luna was portrayed looking

[263] Translates to "the brave Filipinos," an exclusive male club formed by the group of Rizal and Juan Luna in Spain, after watching Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show during the Paris Exposition in May 1889. The name carries with it the denotation proud to be Indio. John N. SCHUMACHER, *The Propaganda Movement 1800-1895: The Creation of a Filipino Consciousness, The Making of the Revolution* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1997), 237; Norman OWEN, "Masculinity and National Identity in the 19th Century Philippines," *Illes et Imperis 2* (1999): 23–47; REYES, *Love, Passion and Patriotism*, 100.

[264] Photo from Lopez Museum shows Rizal and Juan Luna sparring at the latter's home in Paris (no date). Rizal, in white form-fitting protective jacket, was lunging forward while Luna was in a defense position. "Lopez Museum & Library," accessed January 28, 2014, http://lopez-museum.com/.

[265] Photo from Lopez Memorial Museum collection. Reproduced in REYES, *Love, Passion and Patriotism*, fig. 23 and 24, pp. 98–99.

unflinching and formidable in a dark Western coat over a white shirt with a tie.[266] The artist known for his characteristic use of light, highlighted Luna's face and white shirt collar, conceivably, to project determination as well as elegance and refinement. In a painting given by Juan Luna to his friend Ariston Bautista (1892, Fig. 68), he depicted three men who looked like his friends Rizal and Bautista enjoying a private tête-à-tête in a Parisian café dressed like European gentlemen in characteristic black or grey frock coats, tie and top hats.[267] In another Juan Luna work (Rome, 1887), Pedro Alejandro Paterno (1857-1911, Fig. 65), a prominent mestizo-sangley based in Spain, was portrayed with much éclat in an impeccable formal suit. In this particular painting, his identity and status were illuminated by his pristine shirt and his dazzling white bow tie.[268]

A photograph labeled *Manila chef insurgés* (ca. 1898, Fig. 159) shows a mixed group of indios and criollos, dressed in Western suits with waistcoats and ties or bow-ties in what appears to be a studio setting.[269] The label *chefs insurgés* accorded to them corresponds with an observation made by Ross, that "those who were stridently anti-colonial were more likely to be Westernized in their dress."[270]

What Shaped their Sartorial Posturing?

The emergence of the suit in the nineteenth century -- a reworked version of the eighteenth century male sporting wear -- saw its adoption as proper school attire at elite, Western-run Catholic institutions in the Philippines.[271] From around 1850, Western suits were increasingly worn by students and educated males in the colony. By the end of the 19th century, it became the predominant form of dress among university students, professionals, wealthy and some ordinary local males. Just as the "Chinese [in China] who wore the suit appropriately-pressed, clean with matching color- gave them 'face' in the eyes of the world,"[272] the Ilustrados and their contemporaries appropriated it for professional, or even political purposes. This attests to what Finnane referred to as the "politics of clothing" or

[266] Photo from the National Museum. Reproduced in Ramon N. VILLEGAS, "Chapter Eight: Language, Literature and Liberation," in *Kasaysayan: The Story of the Filipino People*, ed. Maria Serena I. DIOKNO and Ramon N. VILLEGAS, vol. 4: Life in the Colony (Manila: Asia Publishing Co., 1998), 138–139.
[267] PILAR, *Juan Luna: The Filipino as Painter*; REYES, *Love, Passion and Patriotism*, fig. 11: Juan Luna, Parisian Life, 1892, p. 57.
[268] Photo from the Bangko Sentral ng Pilipinas collection. Reproduced and described in VILLEGAS, "Chapter Eight: Language, Literature and Liberation," 197.
[269] *Manila Chefs Insurgés (vers 1898)*, Gallica-Bibliothèque nationale de France, Call #: IFN-53000015, accessed January 29, 2013, http://gallica.bnf.fr/.
[270] ROSS, *Clothing: A Global History*, 80.
[271] SCHULTE NORDHOLT, "The State on the Skin: Clothes, Shoes and Neatness in (Colonial) Indonesia," 22.
[272] FINNANE, *Changing Clothes in China*, 188.

what Ross termed as "the clothing of colonial nationalism."[273] Their donning of the Western suit underplayed their being part of the colonized indios and instead, highlighted their internationalism. The Ilustrados' proud stance and appearance not only signaled their spirit of nationalism but also reflected the aspirations of their age.

Photographs of the Ilustrados dressed like most of their urbanized and Westernized peers show that their clothing had, not only class character, but patent colonial qualities as well.[274] According to Hoganson, cultural hierarchies in colonial societies exist with the belief in the superiority of Western way of life, in which case, they look to Europe, especially Paris, for cultural capital.[275] "In its broadest terms, the fashion system emanating from Paris stood for civilization and modernity."[276] Within Philippine society, prominence was associated with the social polish that one acquired when educated in Europe or in local institutions ran by Western priests and nuns. This calls attention to the social function of education – "an education which fits a man to be considered a gentleman and to be an adornment to the society of his peers."[277]

The Ilustrados formed a small, privileged circle of individuals, who spoke and wrote in various languages and who had elevated interests. These Filipino leaders were described as "a body of polished gentlemen…with varying side lines of dilettante tastes in numerous directions."[278] They were conservative *paterfamilias*, who, through clothing conformity, championed equality and sought political correctness. Exposure to European ways was part of the context of Philippine life but their prolonged stay in Europe to acquire direct intellectual, professional and even social instructions, endowed them with what Abinales and Amoroso referred to as "the cultural patina rivaling the peninsulares."[279] Having stayed in Europe for no less than eight years, the main *Ilustrado* characters, which includes José Rizal, who was in Europe for 8 years (between 1882 to 1887 and 1888 to 1891), Juan Luna for 17 years (1877-1893), Antonio Luna for 8 years (1885-1893), Marcelo H. del Pilar for 8 years, until his death from tuberculosis (1888 to 1896),[280] did not discard their European personal effects. In reference to an earlier chapter on male students, they belonged to a generation of native students who, to begin with, departed for Europe already dressed in Western clothes.

[273] Ibid., 228; ROSS, *Clothing: A Global History*, 119.
[274] HOGANSON, "The Fashionable World: Imagined Communities of Dress," 264.
[275] Ibid., 262, 264, 275.
[276] Ibid., 268.
[277] FEE, *A Woman's Impression of the Philippines*, chap. VIII, pp. 86–106.
[278] Ibid.
[279] ABINALES and AMOROSO, *State and Society*, 99.
[280] REYES, *Love, Passion and Patriotism*, xxvi.

Hence, they returned as professionals -- and more importantly, as patriots-- to a society inherently colonial nonetheless garbed in European fashion.

These well-dressed men represented a clique not only eager to integrate but poised to challenge the racial order, to make a claim for equal status and to have their voices heard by the "existing structures of power."[281] As Hoganson said, "clothes never just stood for themselves, they signified the adornment necessary for belonging in particular groups."[282] Characteristic to those who belonged to and who actively engaged in colonial societies, these Ilustrados in Western suits behaved and appeared to be subscribed to the very culture they wished to claim equality with. In terms of dress, they appeared closer to the colonizers than to the mass of *tao* that made up the colonized. They were patriots or nationalists in the attires of the powers they wanted to be associated with. There were, however, complex reasons for this: exposure (to Europe and European ways), economics, access to education as well as stereotypes and societal expectations of how educated and wealthy Filipinos should look in professional settings: well-groomed in Western clothes. It can be argued that experiences fundamental to their resolve to dress in European clothes as a declaration of their objectives were rooted on racial issues. Western suits were donned, undoubtedly, with an awareness of being brown, or in the case of Spanish mestizos, of being partly brown, but also partly white. In wearing European attires while in Europe, they assuredly sought, through their clothing, to integrate with the culture and climate of the place they were temporarily residing in. However, their fashion choices must have also been influenced by an intuitive, even deep-rooted need to seek some form of cultural respect for their talents, education and wealth. Naturally, they benchmarked their tastes and style against European standards of dressing. They advocated equality by representing themselves as equals of Europeans, both in grace and form. Being photographed dressed as Europeans, pursuing leisure activities like Europeans, was according to Racquel Reyes in *Love, Passion and Patriotism: Sexuality and the Philippine Propaganda Movement*, their response to the discriminations and prejudices they have experienced as colonized Filipinos. Their donning of the clothing of another society to acquire a voice, was "a classic colonial statement of equality with their colonial masters"[283] and was apparently, "a strategy widely used by later nationalist movements in colonial contexts."[284]

[281] ROSS, *Clothing: A Global History*, 21.
[282] HOGANSON, "The Fashionable World: Imagined Communities of Dress," 261.
[283] ROSS, *Clothing: A Global History*, 134.
[284] Ibid., 39.

The Ilustrados' badge of education and modernity was the Western suit – and it was in the wearing of suits, hats, ties, leather shoes identical to their colonial superiors, which they addressed issues relating to equality. In the same way that Rizal wrote his novels in Spanish in order to be equal to the Spanish writers, the use of Western suit sartorially declared their desire to be perceived as equals. Ilustrado men's clothing choices especially in the 1880s were supportive of the causes embodied in the Propaganda Movement – particularly, for the dignity of Filipinos to be upheld, for the Filipinos to be given rights (i.e. citizenship) equal to the peninsulares, and for the Philippines to be considered as an autonomous province of Spain and not as a tributary colony.[285] In their appeal for "Filipino self-government as an integral part of Spain, with full representation in the parliament (*cortes*) in Spain,"[286] they were not advocating the direct overthrow of Spanish rule, rather they were declaring their capacity for self-governance – a fact, which was reflected in their dress. In Western suits, they presented themselves as equally educated, competent and tenacious men --distinct from the uneducated mass of *tao*-- who were poised for leadership in the new order they were hoping would materialize. The clothing habits they have adopted were in accordance with their desire to exercise social power and to be political leaders in association with Spain. Ilustrado men's clothing, in being Western, was a wordless but bold proclamation of their quest for equality, which in fact, was quite subversive. It implied their capacity to provoke or challenge the status quo as well as their insistence and determination to effect reforms and changes. It seems that for the Ilustrados, the Western suit was essential to blur distinctions between colonizer and colonized, especially while in discussions with Spain. If and when the Philippines would transition from colony to become a Spanish province, categories like colonizer-colonized would, conceivably, be replaced with concepts like rulers-ruled. In occidentalizing their attires, lifestyles and demeanors, they imagined their roles as rulers visibly distinct from the ruled, or as leaders visibly distinct from the followers.

Chapter Summary

This chapter showed how the changing clothes of the gobernadorcillos signified power and authority based on the earlier ethno-social categories. The decline of the power of gobernadorcillos actually coincided with the rise of the Ilustrados, whose clothing and appearance reflected wealth and power based on the new socio-cultural class categories. In

[285] ABINALES and AMOROSO, *State and Society*, 106.
[286] This was among the declarations made by one of the propagandists, Pedro Sanciangco. SCHUMACHER, *The Propaganda Movement 1800-1895: The Creation of a Filipino Consciousness, The Making of the Revolution*, 26; Cited in ABINALES and AMOROSO, *State and Society*, 106.

this chapter, clothing was shown to have essentially stood at the crossroad of diminishing and emerging power.

After 1850, the Spanish government imposed policy changes, which made municipal positions, such as that of gobernadorcillo, electoral. Changing measures from heritage or lineage to socio-economic and cultural standing, the colonial administration hoped to attract local rulers who had wealth, influence and in theory, education. Towards the end of the 19th century when colonial power was on a decline, the rich, educated and well-connected, in seeing no hereditary privileges, and neither real authority nor prestige in these local positions, refused to serve as gobernadorcillos.[287] On nominal rulers, the Western suit, which by that time became widely used by the various emerging groups, was no longer a sign of distinction. As the contextual meaning of class expanded, clothing had to be combined with other emerging indicators to convey status. Western suit and political position were insufficient, other measures like money, education and talent needed to be integrated. On the right social, cultural and sartorial paths to becoming the new ruling elite were the Ilustrados.

[287] WICKBERG, *The Chinese in Philippine Life, 1850-1898*, 2000, 135.

Part IV The Philippine Clothing Economy

Chapter 6 Domestic Textile and Clothing Industry

Textile Production

The natives of the Philippines have a long tradition of making textiles out of the plants, trees and leaves that grew in their surroundings. Out of cotton, abacá, coconut and palm, they made clothes, shirts, collars, raincoats, and even sandals and hats.[1] Records by Pedro Ordoñez de Cevallos (1595), Fr. Pedro Chirino (1604), and Miguel de Loarca (1582) in the 16th and 17th centuries already mentioned garments made of cotton, abacás (*musa textilis*) and jusi or *husi* (silk blend).[2] Capes and coats made of *anajao* palm leaves were also used for protection against rain (Fig. 88, Fig. 215).

The presence of imported, woven textiles from China has, however, interfered with the tradition of weaving in the islands during the early years of Spanish administration. Government inquiries and studies were conducted to assess the impacts of imported textiles to the native industries. It was discovered that natives preferred to buy cloth from China, rather than to weave their own. The ease with which cloth could be acquired would be, in the long term, detrimental to the local textile industry. Given the perceived indolence of the "Filipinos," it was noted that there would no longer be any incentive for them to produce and develop new fabrics. The expulsion of the Chinese following the British occupation (1762-1764) and the end of the Galleon Trade in 1815 would be, in fact, a turning point in the development of native textiles, especially *piña*.[3]

Galleons and Textiles

From 1565-1815, Manila was used as a transshipment port for the lucrative Galleon trade between China and Acapulco.[4] Once or twice a year, for 250 years, various Chinese products, from silk, needles and furnitures were offloaded in Manila before being shipped in

[1] Pedro ORDOÑEZ DE CEVALLOS, "Historia y Viage del Mundo...a Las Cinco Partes de La Europea, Africa, Asia, America y Magalanica; Con El Itinerario de Todo El," in *Travel Accounts of the Islands, 1513-1787* (Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, 1971), 10; Cited in Lourdes R. MONTINOLA, *Piña* (Makati, Metro Manila: Amon Foundation, 1991), 10.
[2] CHIRINO, S.J., "Relacion de Las Islas Filipinas," 185; LOARCA, "Relacion de Las Islas Filipinas," chap. 6: Of the inhabitants of the Pintados Islands and their mode of life.
[3] VILLEGAS, "Chapter Eleven: Costumes and Adornments," 274.
[4] ABINALES and AMOROSO, *State and Society*, 61.

huge galleons to Acapulco.[5] On May 14, 1591, Don Nicolas Ramos, a gobernadorcillo from Cubao,[6] summoned before Alcalde-Mayor Juan de Alcega and notary public Felipe Roman, reported that since the early years of Spanish conquest, the one or two ships that came from China carried porcelains, ironware, horns, herbs and spices, but no cloth.[7] Whatever cloth or silk, if any at all, were intended for Mexico and were originally not sold to the natives. At the outset, there was no demand for Chinese textiles since the natives have had a long tradition of extracting fibers from plants and turning them into cloth.[8] They were clothed in garments, which they have cultivated, woven and transformed into clothing themselves. In fact, Chinese traders even bartered cotton yarn with them. Another local chief from Cubao, Don Juan Lisin Domingo Birral[9] suggested that the *Sangleys* may have seen an opportunity to import and distribute textiles from China after seeing the new currency (Mexican silver) brought in by the Spaniards. Since then, he estimated that between eight to thirty Chinese ships entered Manila, Cebu, Pangasinan, Ilocos every year.[10] Even if there was initially no demand, their ships came anyway, loaded with different types of cotton, silk, damask, satin, and taffeta. The effect of the entry of Chinese textiles to the Philippine market was twofold. This introduced the local inhabitants not only to the diversity but also to the hierarchy and the prestige value of textiles, often implied initially by the varying prices. Second, this deterred the natives from cultivating and weaving their own cloth when ready-made Chinese cloth could be easily acquired. Regardless of whether the cloth the Chinese were selling were cheap or not, the natives, who in numerous accounts have been described as people with a strong propensity for laziness, would buy just to spare themselves the trouble of weaving their own cloth. Considering that every indio, irrespective of his rank, was estimated to need only an average of two to three new garments per year, they have shown tendencies to be indifferent to the prices dictated by the traders. Since they seem to have no proclivity to amass and pass on

[5] CASTRO, "Dissecting Dress," 65.
[6] Gobernadorcillo Don Nicolas Ramos, 40 years old, did not sign his name because he could not write. His sworn statement was signed by the interpreter, Domingo Birral, and by the alcalde-mayor, Juan de Alcega. BLAIR and ROBERTSON, *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898, Vol. 8*.
[7] Silk and spices were the two main products of the Manila-Acapulco Galleon Trade. *See* ZARAGOZA, *Old Manila (Images of Asia)*, 22 of 47.
[8] MONTINOLA, "Piña, La Reina de Los Tejidos Filipinos," 71.
[9] Don Domingo Birral, 30 years old, signs the document containing his sworn statements. He can not only read and write, but he seems to have some knowledge of Spanish, having acted as an interpreter between Alcalde-Mayor Juan de Alcega and another gobernadorcillo, Don Nicolas Ramos, on interviews relating to the same Ordinance. *See* BLAIR and ROBERTSON, *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898, Vol. 8*.
[10] "The regular arrival of Chinese junks to Manila eliminated the need for a direct trade with China." ZARAGOZA, *Old Manila (Images of Asia)*, 23, 24 of 47.

wealth to the next generation, they have been observed to eagerly, even thoughtlessly, spend on "food, drink and clothes."[11]

The Chinese made the procurement of cloth for clothing convenient. The natives at that time were transfixed on the fact that the tedious process of weaving could be bypassed at a cost actually within their reach. Some even sold raw cotton to the Chinese who would first take them to China for weaving and later resell to them as cloth. They preferred to barter or to buy than to weave. This created not only demand, but also dependency, which in turn, triggered a consistent increase in prices. People slowly disengaged from weaving and grew more dependent on Chinese imports, prompting an increase in prices from 2 to 10 or even 20 reales for a single piece of cotton cloth. Demand was on the rise, with larger quantities of cloth consumed each year. Prices of cloth increased because of higher demand, not because the quality improved. Soon, even the lowest quality Chinese textile cost no less than 1 peso. Annual profits of the Chinese rose from 30,000 to 200,000 pesos, just on the trade in cotton and silk alone. As prices of cloth from China increased in response to the burgeoning demand, the quality and hierarchy of textiles were no longer reflected in their prices. In short, the high prices could not be justified by the poor quality of some of the textiles.

The Chinese were amassing wealth in rice and silver, in exchange for consumables like cloth and tea. There was a serious imbalance of trade, prompting Governor-General Gomez Perez Dasmariñas to investigate on the impact of Chinese imports not only to the native industries but also to peoples' work behavior and attitudes towards labor. To assess the possibility of success of the Ordinance issued on March 31, 1591,"forbidding indians to dress in silk or stuffs from China," various interviews with native officials were conducted to study the acquisition mentality of the natives, with the aim of understanding why people preferred to buy from the *Sangleys* when the textiles they produced – or used to produce-- were "three times better than those woven from China." The inquiries point to practicality and habit. They have grown accustomed to buying cloth from the Chinese, instead of weaving their own cloth. Don Juan Lisin went so far as to say that "in all this province, as this witness knows, no cloths are made; for whenever a garment is needed by a chief, *timagua* or slave, he straightway goes to Manila, where the Chinese have their market, and buys it from them."[12] As everyone started to wear almost the same textiles with same patterns from China, sartorial markers also began to disappear. Customized and individualized of textiles diminished

[11] BLAIR and ROBERTSON, *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898, Vol. 8*.
[12] *Timagua* is the Spanish word for *timawa*, the feudal warrior class of the Visayas, a classification similar to the *maharlika* class of the Tagalogs. They constituted the class between the *tumao* or royalty/nobility and the *uripon* or commoners/serfs/slaves. Ibid.

alongside domestic weaving. As Lisin pointed out, it became increasingly difficult to tell apart "the chief from the *timagua* and the *timagua* from the slave."

Governor-General Dasmariñas, concerned with the impacts on local industries and perhaps driven by self-interest, hoped, through the ordinance issued, that by lessening demand, the natives would once again be compelled to weave cloths not just for their own use, but also for export to New Spain. Ideally, excess cotton may be used in exchange for Chinese goods as well. This ordinance was met with objections specifically from the Bishop of Manila, Don Fray Domingo de Salazar, who argued that this prohibition was unfavorable to the natives, who would then need to spend more time weaving, instead of making a living, especially since woven cloth could be easily acquired anyway. The ordinance may have been ineffective in dissuading the Chinese traders. Chinese junks continued to bring goods to Manila, in fact, the average number of ships increased from eight to twenty in the 16th century to fifty ships in the 17th century.

The measurable effects of this ordinance on the native weaving industry in the 16th and 17th centuries are difficult to assess but authors, such as Fr. Policarpo Hernández, have argued that although "these Chinese textiles in the late 16th century have caused considerable damage to the native textile industry in some regions, native textile producers nonetheless managed to survive."[13] Since then, "Chinese textiles continued to be imported but they were never a threat to the local ones."[14] Benito J. Legarda also wrote that although "the influx of Chinese textiles for the galleon trade brought about the early decline of certain sectors of the native textile industry, native textiles continued to be made on home looms in many parts of the country and in such quantities that the Royal Philippine Company and the government made efforts to stimulate them not only for the benefit of domestic consumers but also for export."[15]

The Galleon Trade, which ran from 1565-1815, was mentioned in this study for four reasons: First, it was the means by which Philippine textiles, specifically the *Abel Iloco or Ilocos mantas*, were exported and consequently used in foreign shores.[16] After all, through these galleons, Manila-based Spaniards, were allowed to export various local products for use

[13] HERNÁNDEZ, *Iloilo, The Most Noble City*, 114; SCHURZ, *The Manila Galleon*, 46.
[14] HERNÁNDEZ, *Iloilo, The Most Noble City*, 114.
[15] LEGARDA, *After the Galleons*, 147.
[16] "Philippine exports include mats, jars, pottery, various cloths, abacá fiber and rope for rigging and tackle for ships and the famed Ilocos mantas…" *See* ABINALES and AMOROSO, *State and Society*, 61–62; CORPUZ, *An Economic History of the Philippines*, 32.

as ornaments, tablecloths, blankets and even, altar covers.[17] Second, it must have been the means by which the pineapple, a plant that was not indigenous to the Philippines, reached the archipelago from the New World.[18] Although the idea of making sheer fabrics out of extracted pineapple fibers could not, in fact, be attributed to any one person.[19] Third, it was one of the ways by which liberal ideas and foreign influences inadvertently entered the Philippines and had impacts on people's manners of dressing. An example of this would be a particular garment imported from China – loose, silk trousers with flower motifs embroidered near the bottom hemline. This was known in the Philippines as sayasaya (Fig. 181B). Castro, quoting Mexican scholar Carmen Yuste Lopez, defines sayasaya as a "type of silk cloth, which eventually referred to the silk trousers worn by the Philippine male elite."[20] Fourth, it made available imported threads and textiles, allowing Chinese raw silk yarn and Indian checkered fabrics to be integrated into people's clothing.[21] For example, the Indian cambaya (Fig. 4).

After the Galleon Trade ended in 1815, the Spanish colonial administration looked for new means of gaining revenues. They fostered the growth of the agricultural sector by encouraging the cultivation of various crops, including cotton, pineapple, banana, and indigo, both for export and domestic use.[22] Along with this, various household activities, from raising animals and planting fruit trees in the backyard to cloth weaving in the living room, were stimulated with the goal of increasing local productivity.

Lowland Weaving Traditions

What is clear is that there were three weaving traditions that emerged among the lowland, Christianized Filipinos during the colonial period.[23] 17th and 18th century records showed that the northern regions, specifically, Ilocos region, were known for their weaving

[17] "History of Cotton Production in the Philippines," *Cotton Development Administration*, accessed November 22, 2012, http://coda.da.gov.ph/about/history.php.
[18] MONTINOLA, *Piña*, 10–11, 26.
[19] Jamie C. Laya writes in the Foreword: "we owe the fabric to an unknown person who, early in the Spanish regime, came up with the idea of extracting fibers from pineapple leaves." Ibid., 6.
[20] The *sayasaya* was first seen worn by Damian Domingo's *Indio de Manila bestido* and *Un Indio Alguacil del Pueblo de Tondo* watercolor images (circa) 1820s, however, no one could ascertain if such a garment existed until Florina H. Capistrano-Baker rediscovered 7 pieces at the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde in Leiden in 1991. CASTRO, "Dissecting Dress," 65; CAPISTRANO-BAKER, "Embroidered Multiples: Nineteenth-Century Philippine Costumes and Images," 16–17; JOAQUIN and SANTIAGO, *The World of Damián Domingo*, 46–47, 58–59; CRUZ, *The Barong Tagalog*, 33, 40, 41, 45, 47.
[21] CASTRO, "Dissecting Dress," 65.
[22] ABINALES and AMOROSO, *State and Society*, 77; LEGARDA, *After the Galleons*, 101–145; CORPUZ, *An Economic History of the Philippines*, 109–111.
[23] MONTINOLA, *Piña*, 12.

of cotton textiles, otherwise known as *Abel Iloco*.[24] Meanwhile many areas in the south, from Bicol to Mindanao, were involved in developing various uses for abacá fibers.[25] Since the 17th century, abacá fibers were used for ropes and clothing. In the Visayas region, specifically in the island of Panay, the 19th century saw the beginning -- and golden age -- of weaving from pineapple fibers, a painstakingly laborious task that qualified piña as a luxury fabric fit for royalty.[26] A piña garment, "*Un vestido de piña bordado, dedicado á S.M. la Reina Regente*" was dedicated by Don Epifanio Rodriguez of Lucban, Tayabas to the Queen Regent Maria Cristina in 1887.[27] Although weaving of such luxury fabrics was said to have been in place since the 18th century, no records mentioned their use until the 19th century. [28]

Production of cloths made of abacá and cotton and dyes made of *achiote* (*roucou* in French) and indigo were considerable that they were even exported in the 18th century. In Sonnerat's "Statement of the Productions of the Philippines, transmitted to the French Minister in 1776," cotton produced in Iloilo and Antique was specifically labeled "of the best quality."[29] Interestingly, these high-grade cotton were obtainable for use of the domestic market primarily because they were being exported to China for as much as 100 percent profit. There was no mention of *piña* textiles yet in Sonnerat's account. But he did identify two types of textiles used for a variety of purposes common at that time – the *lompotes*, a kind of gauze manufactured in Cebu, and the *testingues*, another sheer but strong fabric woven from cotton, usually with checked or striped design.[30]

From the mid-1800s to early 1900s, clothmaking became a primary domestic industry, especially in Iloilo, then the center of native textile weaving.[31] British Consul, Nicolas Loney, remarked in 1857 that almost every family [in Iloilo] owned a loom for the

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[24] CASTRO, "Dissecting Dress," 59–60; ALCINA, S.J., *History of the Bisayan People in the Philippine Islands*, 3:137–143; MONTINOLA, *Piña*, 15.
[25] Based on the records of Augustinian missionary, Fr. José Nieto, Ilocos region developed a strong cotton weaving industry. CASTRO, "Dissecting Dress," 59.
[26] Castro wrote that it is unclear as to when piña weaving really started in the Philippines but "mention of this practice began only in the 19th century." What Lourdes Montinola wrote was quite confusing for while she says that piña weaving "reached its peak of perfection in the late 18th century and in the first half of the 19th," on the same page, she writes that "there are occasional references to cloth and fabric use in documents from Spanish colonial period and writings of foreign explorers, but none treat of piña till the 19th c..." Ibid., 63; MONTINOLA, *Piña*, 8, 70; WELTERS, "Dress as Souvenir: Piña Cloth in the Nineteenth Century," 19.
[27] (-), *Catálogo de La Exposición General de Las Islas Filipinas 1887*, sec. Septima, Grupo 51, #17, p. 528.
[28] MONTINOLA, "Piña, La Reina de Los Tejidos Filipinos," 70; MONTINOLA, *Piña*, 8.
[29] It was also mentioned that cotton products produced in Surat, State of Gujarat, India were also being exported to China. SONNERAT, *Voyage Aux Indes Orientales et a La Chine*, vol. 3, Chapter 10, chap. 10; MARTÍNEZ DE ZÚÑIGA y DÍAZ DE ILARRAZA, *A Historical View of the Philippine Islands*, sec. Extract.
[30] SONNERAT, *Voyage Aux Indes Orientales et a La Chine*, vol. 3, Chapter 10, chap. 10; MARTÍNEZ DE ZÚÑIGA y DÍAZ DE ILARRAZA, *A Historical View of the Philippine Islands*, sec. Extract.
[31] MONTINOLA, "Piña, La Reina de Los Tejidos Filipinos," 70.

weaving of cloth.[32] The economic activity of the region was concerned mainly with the production of piña, jusí, sinamay and other types of local fabrics, so much so that embroidered flags made out of finely woven piña pieces adorned the huts of textile producers.[33] These piña flags were used as emblems to distinguish the huts that had merchandise to sell from those which were purely residential. During public festivities, children would wave these piña flags in greeting or in celebration.[34]

The series of events that contributed to the growth of the local textile industry, included the expulsion of the Chinese from the Philippines following the British occupation in 1762-1764, the end of the Galleon trade in 1815 and Spain's preoccupation with the Napoleonic wars (1799-1858).[35] These events, which greatly reduced the importation, re-exportation and distribution of textiles, coupled with the agricultural development program of Governor-General José Basco y Vargas left a niche for local weavers to fill.

Much impetus for the growth of the weaving sector was provided by Governor-General José Basco y Vargas, when in 1779, he turned his attention to the development of the agricultural sector. The cultivation of cotton, silkworms, indigo, cacao, cinnamon, coconut and tobaccos as well as the development of various local products like textiles, mats and hats were prioritized and nurtured. Believing that the "commerce of the country should depend on the natural resources of the colony," he sought to produce cash crops for export.[36] The establishment of the *Sociedades Económicas de Amigos del País* (Economic Societies of Friends of the Country),[37] a private association organized with the aim of providing training to develop export crops in 1780 further contributed to the implementation of Basco's *Plan General Económico*. In the report of Don Juan Francisco Urroz of the Philippine Company in 1802, he mentioned the vast quantity of mats, handkerchiefs, and cloths worked by indios, Chinese and mestizos from the provinces of Tondo, Laguna, Batangas, Ilocos, Cagayan, Camarines, Albay, Visayas, etc. Working from primitive-looking looms in their households, they worked abacá to such fineness that their textures resemble that of the "best muslins in Bengal."[38]

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[32] Alfred W. MCCOY, "The Social History of an Archipelago: Introduction," in *Philippine Social History* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1982), 303; CASTRO, "Dissecting Dress," 61.
[33] HANNAFORD, *History and Description of the Picturesque Philippines*, 119.
[34] VILLEGAS, "Chapter Eleven: Costumes and Adornments," 278; BOWRING, *A Visit to the Philippine Islands*.
[35] VILLEGAS, "Chapter Eleven: Costumes and Adornments," 274.
[36] ZARAGOZA, *Old Manila (Images of Asia)*, 25 of 47; ABINALES and AMOROSO, *State and Society*, 76.
[37] They also offered international grants to talented students and artists. DE COMYN, "State of the Philippines in 1810," 357–365.
[38] Ibid., sec. Manufactures.

Frenchman Jean-Baptise de Bassilan Mallat (1846)[39] also tried to establish the effect of decreased imports to the development of local industries. As imports of textiles decreased from 1835-1839, there was a growth in the production of nipis and piña textiles, of sinamays in Iloilo and of cotton manufactures such as napkins in the provinces of Ilocos and Pangasinan.[40] By the Philippine Exposition in Madrid in 1887, there were more than three hundred exhibitors of native textiles, with each showing different varieties of one cloth.[41] The word weaving was also recognized and used in many different dialects under different but similar-sounding names. For example, the Tagalog and Pampangos call it *habe*, the Cebuano and Bicolanos refer to it as *habol* and the Ilongos refer to it as *hablon*.[42] Another testament to the prevalence of weaving was the presence of looms in many households in the different islands. It has been estimated in 1833 that there were more than 20,000 looms in the Ilocos region alone.[43] Weaving also became an important industry in the Visayas that the loom counted as among the most important of household equipments, especially since it could not only yield the entire family's clothing, it also became a source of livelihood.[44] Almost everyone owned a loom. During his visit to Panay in the early 1900s, William Dickson Boyce confirmed that there were no regular factories for native textiles, "but just drive out any country road and you will see the women at work. At the window of every little straw hut there would be a Filipina busy at her loom."[45]

British Consul Ricketts reported in 1870 that "three-fourths of the population outside Manila were in the habit of dressing in garments one part of which is European and the other of native fabric."[46] Native fabrics especially piña and jusí were widely used by the wealthy, Christianized Filipinos as material for upper garments, specifically men's formal shirts (baro), women's baro/camisa and pañuelo. Imported European fabrics such as brocades, velvets, satin, drill cotton started to gain popularity for use as lower garments, i.e. men's

[39] Mallat, birth, 1808; death, 1863. MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1846.
[40] Using customs records for the period 1835 to 1839, the importation of wine, for example, decreased from a value of 380,445 piastres to 308,545 piastres. Ibid., 25.
[41] Sawyer mentions how one exhibitor alone, from the Local Board of Namaypacan in the Province of Union showcased 145 different kinds of cloth. SAWYER, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines (1900)*, chap. XVII: Manufactures and Industries.
[42] Eric S. CASIÑO, "Arts and Peoples of the Southern Philippines," in *The People and Art of the Philippines* (Manila: University of Santo Tomas Press, 1981), 130; MONTINOLA, *Piña*, 12.
[43] CASTRO, "Dissecting Dress," 63.
[44] Jagor wrote that women often took care of weaving almost the entire quantity of clothing for the whole family. JAGOR, "Jagor's Travels in the Philippines," chap. 14.
[45] BOYCE, *The Philippine Islands*, 135.
[46] LEGARDA, *After the Galleons*, 149.

pants and women's saya.[47] There was also a steady demand for coarser fabrics because both the elite and the lower classes commonly used sinamay for home and for ordinary days.[48]

During the first half of the 19th century, piña was at its peak but by the 1870s, its production alongside other native textiles began a downward trend for two reasons. First, in the Visayas, there was an agricultural shift to sugar cane production. Second, cheaper, imported factory-made cloth, mainly cotton, from Britain,[49] America[50] and Catalonia affected the demand for locally made textiles. As Benito J. Legarda reported

> "Textile imports were dominated by the British and such imports droved domestic Philippine textiles into decline despite Spanish efforts to protect and even encourage the industry. Only after the nationalistic tariff of 1891 did Spanish textiles succeed in wresting leadership in the trade from the British, but by then Spanish rule was nearing its end."[51] Cloths from Europe were affordable, if not cheap, that could allow even the poor indio to "clothe himself suitably on an outlay of a few reals."[52]

The expanding market of cheaper British textiles was evident by looking at the increasing values of textile imports throughout the different decades of the 19th century. With reference to the table below, within 50 years, between 1844 and 1894, the textile imports increased ninefold while adversely, textile exports of jusí, piña and sinamay from the Philippines decreased from 22,791 pesos in 1844 to only 202 pesos in 1890. While these values demonstrated that both foreign and domestic demand for native textiles severely decreased,[53] concomitantly, they also showed that piña, jusí and high-grade sinamay were luxury fabrics that were marketable mainly to a small(er) percentage of the population, the majority of which were elite native and mestizo women.[54] Art and written narratives validated that the rich indias were fond of these elegant, embroidered fabrics, the price of which often exceeded the cost of the gold and pearl jewelries that already served to declare

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[47] British or English cotton were "adopted as saya by local women." Maria Serena I. DIOKNO, "Chapter Four: The Sugar Industry of Negros," in *Kasaysayan: The Story of the Filipino People*, ed. Maria Serena I. DIOKNO and Ramon N. VILLEGAS, vol. 4: Life in the Colony (Manila: Asia Publishing Co., 1998), 24.
[48] "The native textures usually worn are either made from the fibre of musa textilis (abacá) or from that of the piña; the former are most in use among the poor, the latter among the richer, portion of the inhabitants." Quoted by Legarda from "Report by Consul Ricketts on the Trade and Commerce of the Philippine Islands for the Year 1870," in Sessional Papers, 1871, vol. 66 (London: Harrison and Sons, 1871), p. 752. LEGARDA, *After the Galleons*, 149.
[49] Ibid.
[50] American cotton textiles. Ibid., 148.
[51] Ibid., 145–146.
[52] Joséph LANNOY, *Iles Philippines* (Brussels: Imprimerie de Delevingne et et Callewaert, 1849), 80–81; LEGARDA, *After the Galleons*, 148.
[53] LEGARDA, *After the Galleons*, 154.
[54] VILLEGAS, "Chapter Eleven: Costumes and Adornments," 277.

their status in the colony.[55] Some of the *pañuelos de piña*, actually took years of work and were recognized for their value and craftsmanship.

As times and fashions changed, the use of *piña* among men also began to be limited to formal or party wear. It is assumed that for elite women, cheaper, imported textiles may have been preferred for ordinary and house wear while elite men may have used imported cotton or even wool for their European-style suits and trousers. Cotton, particularly drill cotton (cotton woven to have the surface of diagonal parallel ridges), made in Manchester and Glasgow, had overtaken the native abacá and *Ilokano* cotton as a material for men's trousers and for ordinary women's *patadiong* (Fig. 14A, Fig. 14B).[56] In fact, Sir John Bowring (1859) reported that British printed drills were "fast displacing locally manufactured textiles as articles of general consumption."[57] British Vice Consul Shelmerdine also affirmed in his report in 1887 that "these native hand-woven goods are preferred by the natives when rich enough to afford them, although their cost is twice that of imported goods."[58] There was hardly any demand of the finer qualities of fiber cloth from the poor working classes, who due to limitations of income, purchased cheaper, coarser but sturdier materials for their clothing.[59]

[55] Fulgoso insinuated how marks of status in the colony were not the same in Europe. In Spanish*: Las indias ricas son aficionadas á tejidos bordados muy elegantes; usan tambien alfileres de brillantes y no pocas joyas de oro y perlas, con lo que declaran su condicion, á la cual suele superar al gasto de alhajas, cosa que harto á menudo vemos en Europa…el pañuelo de piña notable por su valor, y el sombrero de nito, que bien pudo costar años de trabajo, se puede meter en el bolsillo.* Fernando FULGOSIO, *Crónica de Las Islas Filipinas*, Crónica General de España, O Sea Historia Ilustrada y Descriptiva de Sus Provincias, Sus Poblaciones Más Importantes de La Península y de Ultramar (Madrid: Rubio, Grilo y Vitturi, 1871), pt. 2, Ch. 8, p. 43.
[56] LEGARDA, *After the Galleons*, 154.
[57] Late Governor of Hongkong, Honorary Member of the *Sociedad Económica de las Islas Filipinas*
BOWRING, *A Visit to the Philippine Islands*; VILLEGAS, "Chapter Eleven: Costumes and Adornments," 277.
[58] LEGARDA, *After the Galleons*, 154.
[59] Ibid., 155.

Table 5: Textile Imports and Exports, 1844-1894

Textiles (Various, including cotton) Imported to the Philippines[60]		Textiles (Piña, Jusí, Sinamay) Exported from the Philippines
Year	Value (pesos)	Value (pesos)
1844	1,471,939	22,791
1847	1,349,349	28,292
1857	3,489,320	709
1867	4,613,431	3,674
1878	6,744,058	845
1880	9,025,238	1,655
1883	9,060,591	551
1887	5,460,454	
1888	9,654,431	638
1890		202
1892	9,283,114	
1894	10,712,663	

Spain made some efforts not only to increase the colony's revenues but also to develop and protect the country's agriculture, trade and industries. A tariff order issued by royal decree on April 6, 1828, which was in place from January 1, 1832 until 1869, indicated that footwear and some clothing items imported from European countries (except Spain) were taxed for as much as 40 to 50%.[61] Textiles imported from India, in general, were taxed lower at 15 to 25 percent while those specifically from Madras were taxed between 20 to 30 percent. Higher taxes on certain products declared which industries in particular Spain wished to protect. The above figures demonstrated Spain's efforts to protect the local clothing and related industries, such as dye production, tailoring, and shoemaking. Particular clothing imports known to have been imitations of Philippine manufactures, such as Baliuag skirts, have also been earmarked for higher taxes.[62]

Baliuag has long been a producer of silk skirts and must have long been copied by foreign textile traders, like what the commercial agents of British and American textile companies did in the 1850s and 1860s. They copied popular and marketable native textile designs, had them machine-manufactured abroad and sold them at lower prices. By studying and cataloguing trends in Philippine fashions, they could determine demand for specific textiles, designs and patterns. They would then order them for production in either Glasgow

[60] Figures derived from Table 8 of LEGARDA, *After the Galleons*, 150.
[61] announced that Spanish or "national goods" entering Philippine ports through national vessels enjoyed preferential tariffs over other foreign goods entering the country in the same way. Spanish goods were taxed 3 percent versus other foreign goods, which were taxed at 7 percent. National goods on foreign vessels were taxed at 8% versus foreign goods on foreign vessels, which were taxed at 14 percent. Ibid., 194–195, 197.
[62] Ibid., 194–195.

or Manchester then import them to the Philippines for sale to the local market. This was precisely what British Vice-Consul Nicholas Loney did when he was assigned in Iloilo in 1856. He gathered samples of various local textiles and sent them to England's mechanized textile factories for reproduction.[63] By ingeniously proposing to ship these cheaper, machine-made textiles to the Philippines with sugar as the return cargo to Britain, "he destroyed the local textile industry in the process,"[64] displacing communities of Panay weavers to relocate to where work may be found—to the newly developed sugar plantations of Negros. As local markets became saturated with cheaper, imported, machine-made textiles, demands for the, more expensive, local, homemade textiles evidently diminished.

Many of those who were involved in local textile weaving, nonetheless, persisted despite the odds. A study of the catalogue of the 1887 exposition in Madrid shows that piña, sinamay, jusí, cotton, silk and other combination textiles continued to be produced in Iloilo, specifically in the towns of Otón, Igbaras, Molo, Mandurriao, Jaro, La Paz, etc.[65] According to Tomás de Comyn, 500,000 pieces of piña, nipis and sinamay were still exported from Iloilo in 1887.[66] Other regions like Antique, Albay, Batangas, Bulacan, Cavite, Cebú, Ilocos, Samar, Tayabas, Union continued producing textiles as well, albeit at significantly less quantities. Hence, as local markets were saturated with imported textiles that were cheap enough for the poor, which made up the bulk of the population, it is possible that local producers turned their attention to improving the qualities of their textiles and produced luxury fabrics *(tejidos de piña, abacá, sinamay, gasa* or gauze *de primera or segunda clase*), instead of low-quality fabrics. They were aware that, for low-grade textiles, they could not compete with the prices of the imported, machine-made ones. If people of the various classes, therefore, needed cheap textiles for ordinary wear, they could just buy the imported, machine-made ones; however, the rich, especially the women, who were eager to distinguish themselves, would continue to favor native and handmade luxury textiles. In short, the native textile industry's chance of survival rested on the production of luxury fabrics, where quality matters more than quantity.

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[63] HERNÁNDEZ, *Iloilo, The Most Noble City*, 114–117.
[64] Ibid., 115, 116.
[65] D. Warres SMITH, *European Settlements in the Far East; China, Japan, Corea, Indo-China, Straits Settlements, Malay States, Siam, Netherlands, India, Borneo, the Philippines, Etc* (London: S. Low, Marston and Company, 1900), 312, http://ebooks.library.cornell.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=sea;idno=sea023.
[66] Tomás de COMYN, *Las Islas Filipinas, progresos en 70 años. Estado a principios de este siglo, según Don Tomás dew Comyn, y en 1878, según el editor de la Revista de Filipinas* (Manila, 1878), 22; HERNÁNDEZ, *Iloilo, The Most Noble City*, 117.

Colors also played a big part in determining both tariff and demand. While white, black, blue and purple were popular colors for use in clothing among the local population, red, yellow, pink and green have been identified as colors "disliked by the natives."[67] Bright colors, especially the color yellow against the complexion of the brown-skinned indios was, observedly, considered unflattering and therefore, unfashionable. As MacMicking said "a dark complexioned beauty is never improved by a yellow dress and any woman at all, old or ugly, looks hideous indeed when dressed in that color."[68] Perhaps guided by impressions similar to MacMicking's, import tax rates on textiles, from 1832 to 1869,[69] were regulated based on color, with no distinctions on use and hues. Cloths in yellow, red, pink and green, regardless of whether they were intended for use as tops or bottoms, were allowed to be imported tax free while whites, blacks, blues and purples were taxed higher.[70] The objective was to protect native producers by "limiting textile imports to colors that could not be dyed locally."[71]

Studying portraits made by respected 19th century artists show that elite women chose to be immortalized in beautifully embroidered pañuelos and camisa made of undyed native nipis fabrics. Interestingly, only their upper garments were in white or natural colors. Except for some women of their class, usually older ladies or widow who preferred black and white ensembles,[72] their lower garments were almost always colored and printed. From Antonio Malantic's portrait of Inocencia Francia (1876)[73] to Juan Luna's paintings of his sister, *Retrato de la hermana del autor* (1877, Fig. 212)[74] and of the mysterious *Una Bulaqueña* (1895, Fig. 63)[75] to Justiniano Asunción's portrait of Teodora Devera Ignacio (1880, Fig.

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[67] Robert MACMICKING, *Recollections of Manilla and the Philippines During 1848, 1849 and 1850* (London: Richard Bentley, 1851), 218–219, http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/20189; LEGARDA, *After the Galleons*, 196.
[68] MACMICKING, *Recollections*, 218–219.
[69] LEGARDA, *After the Galleons*, 194–197.
[70] Example would be white, black, blue chambray shawls. Rafael DÍAZ ARENAS, *Report on the Commerce and Shipping of the Philippine Islands. 1838*, trans. Encarnacion ALZONA (Manila: National Historical Institute, 1979), 36, 68–69; MACMICKING, *Recollections*, 136; CASTRO, "Dissecting Dress," 66.
[71] BOWRING, *A Visit to the Philippine Islands*, 188; Robert MACMICKING, *Recollections of Manilla and the Philippines During 1848, 1849 and 1850* (Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, 1967), 136, http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/20189; CASTRO, "Dissecting Dress," 66.
[72] This late 19th century miniature painting on ivory, of a woman in full Victorian-style skirt, was indicated to be from the collection of Richard Lopez. VILLEGAS, "Chapter Eleven: Costumes and Adornments," 279.
[73] Reproduced in José MORENO, *Philippine Costume* (Manila: J. Moreno Foundation, 1995), 180.
[74] Reproduced in (-), *La Piña: El Tejido del Paraíso* (Madrid: Vive la Moda, 2005), 59.
[75] Ambeth OCAMPO, "Who Was Juan Luna's La Bulaqueña?," *National Commission for Culture and the Arts*, December 27, 2004, http://www.ncca.gov.ph/about-culture-and-arts/articles-on-c-n-a/article.php?i=282&subcat=13; MORENO, *Philippine Costume*, 191.

62)[76] to Félix Resurreccion Hidalgo's portrait of his mother (1897, Fig. 213),[77] not to mention the countless unnamed women, who were simply labeled as "*mestizas*," elite ladies were united in their taste for upper garments in undyed nipis fabrics.[78] Their skirts, meanwhile, have shown range in colors. Lower garments in solid or plain yellow may be rare, but colorful sayas were not one to make women look unattractive. Of course, there were gaudy hues even among neutral tones. White that is glaring and clinical, seen among poorer women, looked rather unfashionable and could well expose low-class origins.

The success of this color-based import tax regulation was doubtful, primarily, because colors could come in varying tones and intensities and if the "right" hues were imported, they would certainly be marketable among the fashionable and their imitators. Pigmented warm tones like *ocre jaune, citrine,* lemon, straw, gold and mustard, all of which belong to the yellow family, complements the skin of Philippine women beautifully. Moreover, importers also found ways to get around the system by shipping in white cotton camouflaged in water-soluble yellow dyes, which may easily be washed off.[79] It must also be considered that cloths may be dyed, printed, embroidered and embellished in order to draw attention away from these so-called "unflattering" colors.

Tariff policymakers also failed to distinguish between colors of upper and lower garments-- that it was actually the tops in gaudy bright colors, which were unflattering. But cloths in vivid hues, specifically for use in skirts, were trendy and must have been in demand. Furthermore, one must take into account that more investments were made for the top, rather than the bottom-- from the high-grade piña or jusí fabric to the embroideries.[80] This points to the reality that women at that time were judged more by her upper garments than by her lower garments. Most formal portraits also featured only upper bodies. Despite the fact that sayas, which were voluminous especially in the second half of the 19th century, were more visible, it was actually the camisas, which served to impress.

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[76] Justiniano ASUNCIÓN, *Portrait of Teodora de Vera Ignacio*, Oil on canvas, 1880, Bangko Sentral ng Pilipinas collection.
[77] Félix Resurreccion RESURRECCIÓN HIDALGO y PADILLA, *The Artist's Mother, Dedicated "a Mi Querida Madre" (to My Beloved Mother)*, Paris 1897, Bangko Sentral ng Pilipinas collection.
[78] Esteban VILLANUEVA y VINARAO, *Una Mestiza (A Mestizo Lady)*, Oil on canvas, 1876, Museo del Prado on loan to Ayuntamiento de Las Palmas de Gran Canaria; Granada CABEZUDO, *Una Mestiza (A Mestizo Lady)*, Oil on canvas, 1887, Museo del Prado on loan to Ayuntamiento de Las Palmas de Gran Canaria; Félix MARTÍNEZ y LORENZO, *Mestiza Española*, Watercolor, 1886, Museo Nacional de Antropología.
[79] LEGARDA, *After the Galleons*, 197.
[80] Although prices of plain *piña* cloth enough for a woman's *camisa* varied between 1 to 4 pesos per piece. There were also high-grade *jusí* and *abacá* pieces, which cost more or less the same. The Subcomisión provincial de Albay, for example, listed the price of their *jusí* and *piña* pieces at 2 pesos each. (-), *Catálogo de La Exposición General de Las Islas Filipinas 1887*, sec. Septima, Grupo 50, #265, p. 521.

Native fabrics like piña, jusí and sinamay, meanwhile, were almost always left in their natural color.[81] Their yellowish natural color was also probably one of the reasons why exports for these expensive luxury textiles were dwindling. More than just being expensive, European women also did not particularly like the shade, which for them looked rather dated or vintage.[82] It is understood, therefore, that the main market for these luxury fabrics was the local native and mestizo elites, who were willing to pay high prices for them.[83] There were also some colored versions but more often than not, they would be dyed in soft, pastel hues.[84] Nipis veils and pañuelos dyed in black were also quite common for use in church or during mourning.

In the tariff of 1869, textiles, footwear and ready-made clothing enjoyed the same protective tariff privileges.[85] Close to the end of the 19th century, through the nationalistic tariff of 1891,[86] Spain seized control of the textile trade from the British and promoted Catalonia-made textiles to the Philippines.[87] British textile traders whose market share has been increasing since the 1840s faced serious competition from these Spanish textile producers. Looking at the figures between 1883 and 1892, cotton imported from Catalonia increased twenty-one times, with their market share doubling between 1892 and 1895. Of all the cotton textiles imported to the Philippines, Spain's market share in 1883 was just 1.32 percent. It increased to 6.11 percent in 1886, plummeted back to 1.6 percent in 1888, increased again to 12.22 percent in 1889 then doubled to 25 percent in the year the nationalistic tariff was passed in 1891. By 1895, Spain controlled 42.6 percent of all textile imports in the country. As Spain's market share increased, Britain's market share decreased. In the face of all these competition, native textile production was reduced to a mere cottage industry.[88]

[81] WELTERS, "Dress as Souvenir: Piña Cloth in the Nineteenth Century," 19.
[82] "Their fine, warm yellowish color also is objected to by the European women, who are accustomed to linen and calicoes strongly blued in the washing. In the country, however, high prices are paid for them by the rich mestizos, who understand the real goodness of their qualities." JAGOR, "Jagor's Travels in the Philippines," chap. 24.
[83] VILLEGAS, "Chapter Eleven: Costumes and Adornments," 277.
[84] WELTERS, "Dress as Souvenir: Piña Cloth in the Nineteenth Century," 19.
[85] LEGARDA, *After the Galleons*, 199.
[86] After Spain's preoccupation with the Napoleonic wars (1799-1858). VILLEGAS, "Chapter Eleven: Costumes and Adornments," 274.
[87] LEGARDA, *After the Galleons*, 155.
[88] WELTERS, "Dress as Souvenir: Piña Cloth in the Nineteenth Century," 20.

Table 6: Value of Philippine Cotton Textile Imports from Spain and their Ratio to Total Cotton Textile Imports, 1883-1895[89]

Year	Value (pesos)	Percentage of Total Cotton Textile Imports
1883	99,307	1.32
1884	100,971	1.79
1885	167,294	2.49
1886	354,772	6.11
1887	134,146	2.90
1888	136,614	1.60
1889	828,699	12.22
1890	349,119	6.29
1891	1,317,464	24.95
1892	2,116,978	26.72
1894	3,898,543	42.04
1895	3,219,559	42.60

Types and Uses of Textiles

The Augustinian missionaries were instrumental to the development of the cotton industry in the northern part of the Philippines.[90] John Foreman, mentioned in a footnote that "weaving was taught to the natives by a Spanish priest around 1595," but it is not clear how he came up with this specific piece information.[91]

The Ilocos region and Pangasinan became the main producers of *algodón* (cotton*)* and *algodón en rama* (patterned cotton).[92] Cotton was a breathable, natural fabric very much preferred by the locals as material for their *traje del diario* (everyday wear), which included the baro, saya and pañuelo. Cotton was considered as the most important of the textile items.[93] During the Spanish colonial period, cotton produced in Ilocos, was considered to be of superior quality and therefore, qualified as payments for tribute.[94] They were highly sought after for their whiteness, rivaling that of the best cotton produced in Calcutta and Bombay.

[89] Legarda cites *Estadistica general*, 1892 and Society of Jesus, *El Archipielago Filipino*, I. 305-606, pp. 312-313 as his sources.
[90] CASTRO, "Dissecting Dress," 61.
[91] John FOREMAN, *The Philippine Islands: A Political, Geographical, Ethnographical, Social and Commercial History of the Philippine Archipelago, Third, Revised and Enlarged with Maps and Illustrations* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1906), XVII: Manila Hemp–Coffee–Tobacco, http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/22815.
[92] Abel means "to weave." There were also silk handkerchiefs produced in Vigan. José Honorato LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album: Album Vistas de Las Yslas Filipinas y Trages de Sus Abitantes 1847 (View of the Philippine Islands and Costumes of Its Inhabitants)*, Watercolor, 1847, fig. Mercaderes Ilocanos, BNE Sala Goya Bellas Artes; José Maria A. CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847* (Manila: Ars Mundi, 2002), 234–235.
[93] LEGARDA, *After the Galleons*, 155.
[94] Marge C. ENRIQUEZ, "Romancing the 'abel' Iloko," Newspaper, *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, (August 20, 2012), http://lifestyle.inquirer.net/62652/romancing-the-abel-iloko.

Royal Philippine Company head, Tomas de Comyn (1810) even went so far as to say that it was "superior over that of the rest of Asia and possibly of the world."[95] However, production level remained low, with annual exports limited only to 125,000 lbs, a scanty figure compared to the 30 million lbs. produced and exported by British India. Dimities, calicos, stripes, checks, and other types of cotton were among the manufactures of Ilocos being exported.[96]

The particular types of Ilocano cotton popular among the natives were the coyote and *guingón.*[97] Both had higher thread counts and were typically used for trousers, jackets, tablecloths, blankets and *sobrecamas* (bedspreads).[98] According to the *Catalógo de la Exposición de la Islas Filipinas* (1887), they were priced between 0.30 to 0.50 pesos per vara (2.8 feet or 0.836 meters). Guingón, the local variant of the dungaree fabric from India, a thick and coarse cotton cloth woven in the twill-textile pattern, typically dyed in blue, was the suitable material for military or naval uniforms.[99] Some women from the lower classes also used these dark blue guingón for their tapís.

Abacá or hemp cloths were woven from the fibers of a plant related to the banana family. As bananas grew abundantly in Bicol and in eastern Visayas, it is not surprising that these regions developed strong traditions of weaving abacá, for use both as ropes and as clothing. The fibers were used depending on the thickness of the filament.

There were different grades of textiles, with different price points, produced from abacá. Thicker fibers like *lapisnon* were used for ropes and blankets.[100] *Tinagsa* was used as "ordinary cloth" and qualified as tribute. Thin and light fibers referred to as *nipis* or *magamay* were used for dainty baros or pañuelos. Nipis is a broad term for sheer fine cloth, and may be used in conjunction with specific woven textiles, for example, *abacáng nipis,*

[95] DE COMYN, "State of the Philippines in 1810," sec. Cotton, pp. 357–458.
[96] Ibid., sec. Scanty Exports.
[97] Aside from Ilocos, there were also coyotes produced in Batangas as well as imported ones from China. José Honorato LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album: Album Vistas de Las Yslas Filipinas y Trages de Sus Abitantes 1847 (View of the Philippine Islands and Costumes of Its Inhabitants)*, Watercolor, 1847, fig. Mercaderes Ilocanos, BNE Sala Goya Bellas Artes; Jean-Baptiste de Bassilan MALLAT, *Les Philippines: Histoire, Géographie, Moeurs, Agriculture, Industrie et Commerce Des Colonies Espagnoles Dans L'oceanie* (Paris: Arthus Bertrand, 1846), sec. Insert.
[98] Many of the exhibitors, such as Don Remigio Tiongsón and D. Martin Farolan were from Vigan, Ilocos Sur. (-), *Catálogo de La Exposición General de Las Islas Filipinas 1887*, 502,507,511,525.
[99] Named after Dongri, a village in Mumbai, dungarees were used by the Indians and the English since the 1600s. Twill-weave is a type of textile weave recognizable for its parallel lines. Denims and chinos are examples of fabrics produced from specifically this type of weave. SAWYER, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines (1900)*, chap. XVII: Manufactures and Industries.
[100] CASTRO, "Dissecting Dress," 60.

piña nipis or nipis de piña, and *nipis na jusí*.[101] Unlike cotton and silk, abacá fiber could not be spun into yarns.[102] The fibers used in the weaving of finer textiles like *lupis* (fine hemp),[103] could only be acquired in small quantities from carefully selected leafstalks. The fiber itself is very fragile and breaks easily, which explains why production, having eluded mechanization, was limited.[104] Other hemp cloths for use in clothing were pinukpok, sinamay and guinara.[105] The texture of the pinukpok may be coarse but it is said to be "three times stronger than cotton and silk."[106] It is called pinukpok after the process of pounding and beating abacá fibers first before weaving them as pure abacá or combining them with other fibers and threads, like cotton, silk and piña. Visitacion de la Torre identified this as the typical material used for the short, long-sleeved jackets of the gobernadorcillos.[107]

Another versatile cloth derived from abacá was the sinamay.[108] Sinamay also exists in various grades and qualities and were used not only for male and female baros but also for pouches, hats, etc. Lower grade versions worn mainly by the common class sold for only two reales were also being produced in Iloilo and in Antique, both in the island of Panay.[109]

The coarsest of the abacá hemp cloths was *guinara*. A piece of *guinara*, which was used not only for the saya but also for the everyday baro, costed two reales and could yield two short baros.[110] Dyed and undyed versions of this were worn mainly by the poorer classes.

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[101] Sandra B. CASTRO, "Cloth from the Wild Banana," in *Kasaysayan: The Story of the Filipino People*, ed. Maria Serena I. DIOKNO and Ramon N. VILLEGAS, vol. 4: Life in the Colony (Manila: Asia Publishing Co., 1998), 94–95; VILLEGAS, "Chapter Eleven: Costumes and Adornments," 274.

[102] Jesuit missionary Francisco Ignacio Alcina documents abacá weaving in the 17th century. CASTRO, "Dissecting Dress," 60; ALCINA, S.J., *History of the Bisayan People in the Philippine Islands*.

[103] A piece of *sinamay lupis* was exhibited by the Junta local de San Fernando, Camarines Sur during the 1887 Madrid Exhibition. (-), *Catálogo de La Exposición General de Las Islas Filipinas 1887*, sec. Septima, Grupo 50, #166, p. 512.

[104] For detailed, technical information on mechanization attempts by Spanish inventor, Don Abelardo Cuesta in 1886 and the Franciscan Fray Mateo Atienza in September 1905, *see* FOREMAN, *The Philippine Islands*, sec. Manila Hemp–Coffee–Tobacco.

[105] Don Mariano Riosa from Tabaco, Albay sent samples of the textile called *pinolpoc*, priced at 0.50 pesos per vara. Pinolpoc could refer to pinukpok. (-), *Catálogo de La Exposición General de Las Islas Filipinas 1887*, sec. Septima, Grupo 50, #240, p. 519.

[106] Pinukpok has, since the 1990s, been developed into a luxury fabric. Finer, smoother and silkier weaves now exist and is said to be comparable to *jusí*. Emily B BORDADO, "'Pinukpok' Abacá Fiber: Weaving Its Way into the High End Fabric Industry," accessed September 25, 2013, http://bicol.da.gov.ph/SUCCESS%20STORIES/pinukpok.html.

[107] Visitacion R. de la TORRE, *The Barong Tagalog: Then & Now* (Makati City: Windsor Tower Book House, 2000), 4.

[108] Ibid., 6; Corazon S. ALVINA, "Technology," in *The World of 1896*, ed. Lorna KALAW-TIROL (Makati City: Ateneo de Manila University, 1998), 52–53.

[109] The town of Bugasong in Antique, Panay (population: 10,750 in the 1890s) produced textiles like sinamay, as well as cotton for patadiong and tapís. Félix LAUREANO, *Recuerdos de Filipinas: Álbum-Libro: Útil Para El Estudio y Conocimiento de Los Usos y Costumbres de Aquellas Islas Con Treinta y Siete Fototipias Tomadas y Copiadas del Natural*, ed. Felice-Noelle RODRIGUEZ and Ramon C. SUNICO, trans. Renan PRADO (Mandaluyong, Filipinas: Cacho Publishing House, 2001), 111.

[110] JAGOR, "Jagor's Travels in the Philippines," chap. 14, 19.

This must have been the material of the blue and maroon shirts worn by many of the working classes, like the *zacateros, pescadores, cargadores* in the Damián Domingo and José Honorato Lozano paintings. *Guinara* fabrics were very common and were woven almost everywhere, from Bicol to Camarines and Caraga to Iloilo.[111]

Silk was also woven and produced in the Philippines, specifically in Baliuag, Bulacan.[112] Before 1870, wealthier women most likely, used handkerchiefs and tapís (overskirt) made of silk from Baliuag for special occasions and cotton ones from Ilocos or Pangasinan for ordinary days.

Predating piña was jusí or husi, a fine and transparent fabric made of silk, blended with different fibers, like abacá (specifically, lupis), cotton, and piña. Produced in Tondo[113] and Panay island, this was deemed less durable and as a cheaper alternative to piña for use in both men's and ladies' shirts.[114] Jusí could be spun and dyed and is therefore, available in many colors. Without a trained eye, jusí could easily be mistaken for piña. Some sellers hoping to increase their profits would, in fact, pass them off as piña to some unsuspecting and impressionable foreigners[115] Many of these nipis fabrics, were after all, quite similar in appearance. High-grade abacá, like jusí could also be mistaken as piña, except that abacá is said to be less lustrous and is generally more brittle.[116] Some museum collections have also labeled fabrics as piña but microscopic tests have proven them to be silk, abacá or even silk/linen mixtures.[117] Adelaide Best, who was identified to be from a wealthy Toledo family, would purchase textiles as materials for her custom-made dresses. A stylish 1890s gown that belonged to her, which is part of the University of Hawaii Art Gallery collection, was supposedly made of piña cloth purchased during her travels to Manila.[118] Microscopic tests have, however, disproven the gown to be made of mixed silk and linen fabric, not piña. It is

[111] Don Pablo Ponce exhibited two pieces of sinamay y guinaras during the 1887 Madrid Exhibition. Jagor mentioned the price to be 0.125, but it is not clear if it was per vara or per piece. CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 226; (-), *Catálogo de La Exposición General de Las Islas Filipinas 1887*, sec. Septima, Grupo 50, #232, p. 518; JAGOR, "Jagor's Travels in the Philippines," chap. 22.
[112] MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1846, 66.
[113] LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, 234–235; ibid., fig. Mercaderes Ilocanos; Eric V. CRUZ, *The Terno: Its Development and Identity as the Filipino Women's National Costume* (Quezon City: The U.P. College of Home Economics, 1982), 3; Leticia FLORES, "A Short History of the Pilipino Costume," *Fookien Times Yearbook*, 1967, 13.
[114] "cheaper than piña because it could be spun, and did not require the tedious process of knotting fibers end to end." CASTRO, "Dissecting Dress," 65; VILLEGAS, "Chapter Eleven: Costumes and Adornments," 277.
[115] FOREMAN, *The Philippine Islands*, chap. VVII: Manila Hemp–Coffee–Tobacco.
[116] WELTERS, "Dress as Souvenir: Piña Cloth in the Nineteenth Century," 18.
[117] Ibid.
[118] Adelaide Best's dress appears in *The Art of Asian Costume* (Honolulu: The University of Hawaii Art Gallery, 1989), p. 80. Ibid., 18,24.

likely that Adelaide Best was one of those who were misled into believing that the fabric she purchased was the celebrated piña.

Comparable to the finest muslins of Bengal were the textiles made from the pineapple fibre. Unlike *jusí*, whose texture, "like horsehair, has a certain amount of stiffness and tendency to spring back, which, when compressed into a ball in the hand, prevents the stuff from retaining that shape"[119] piña, styled "the queen of Philippine textiles,"[120] was soft-flowing, yielding and pliable. Depending on the fineness of the weave as well as on the quantity and quality of the yarns combined, piña textiles were classified into at least four grades-- *primera, seguna, tercera* or *cuarto clase*, if not labeled as *ordinario*, which was priced in 1887 at 1.25 pesos per vara.[121] Both Mallat (1846) and Bowring (1859) detailed that there were piña cloths made of 100% piña, which were consistently high-priced, and piña combined with silk, cotton or abacá, which were slightly cheaper.[122]

Woven from a particular type of pineapple from Panay, piña was cultivated mainly for its fibers.[123] The arduous task of growing, extracting the fibers, and weaving involved working under the right temperatures and humidity since the threads were so fine that they broke easily.[124] Montinola, obtaining information from Mallat and Jagor, wrote that "to work with the finest quality of piña, indios (natives) had to place themselves under a mosquito net for the threads broke at the mere movement caused in the air by a person walking."[125] Extracting the fibers alone took around two days, weaving, which has evaded mechanization, could only yield half an inch of fabric per day.[126]

Textiles woven from piña in the 19th century were considered as gifts to royalty. A small pocket handkerchief of the finest quality reportedly valued at five hundred pesos was sent to the Queen of Spain.[127] The prices really varied depending on the quality of the weave and the level of workmanship in the embroidery work. Plain piña shirts for men would cost

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[119] FOREMAN, *The Philippine Islands*, chap. XVII: Manila Hemp–Coffee–Tobacco.
[120] MONTINOLA, "Piña, La Reina de Los Tejidos Filipinos."
[121] Don Mariano Tejico from Molo, Iloilo exhibited and valued his the "piña ordinaria para camisa de hombre" at 1.25 pesos per vara. D.G.E.A. Cadell from Cebú, Cebú exhibited all four grades of piña. Prices were not indicated. (-), *Catálogo de La Exposición General de Las Islas Filipinas 1887*, Grupo 50, #44, #285, pp. 499–500, 524.
[122] Jean-Baptiste MALLAT, *The Philippines: History, Geography, Customs, Agriculture, Industry and Commerce of the Spanish Colonies in Oceania* (Manila: National Historical Institute, 1983); BOWRING, *A Visit to the Philippine Islands*; VILLEGAS, "Chapter Eleven: Costumes and Adornments," 277.
[123] VILLEGAS, "Chapter Eleven: Costumes and Adornments," 277.
[124] "desirable to avoid either too high or too low in temperature, too much drought or too much humidity." Ibid., 276.
[125] MONTINOLA, "Piña, La Reina de Los Tejidos Filipinos," 71.
[126] Ibid., 54, 71.
[127] *los tejidos de fibra de piña en siglo XIX eran considerados "regalos de reyes."* BOWRING, *A Visit to the Philippine Islands*, 160; (-), *La Piña: El Tejido del Paraíso*, 68.

around seven pesos, while embroidered ones would cost between fifty to one hundred pesos per piece. Sir John Bowring (1859) recalled meeting an upper class indio who showed him his collection of twenty-five embroidered piña shirts, worth at around one hundred pesos each.[128]

"Although weaving is basically the intertwining of horizontal and vertical yarns, the actual design is based on the order of the yarns and the warping frame."[129] The distinct checkered or striped fabrics commonly seen in women's saya and in men's trousers were either made of *Abel Iloko* or cambayas. The *abel iloko* resembled the cambayas, the checkered cotton handkerchiefs and *alampays* (neckerchiefs) with red borders typically seen in Damián Domingo and José Honorato Lozano *tipos del país* watercolors.[130] Marilyn Canta, citing Rafael Díaz Arenas (1850), described this as a "coarse cotton weave with checkered blue lines on a white background, used as sayas."[131]

Cambayas were named after Cambay, a city in Gujarat, India, where they were originally from.[132] Cambayas imported from Madras (present-day Chennai, India) were once considered as luxury fabrics that only the rich could afford.[133] The popularity of these checkered fabrics led to the development of other production centers all over the world. The product listings of the 1778 Acapulco Fair included *cambayas de China* and *cambayas de la costa de Manila*.[134] In the first half of the 19th century, when its demand and use was at its peak,[135] French and British traders entered the market by supplying the local population with cheaper but more durable, machine-made cambayas from Europe. Sold at only 5 piastres (5 pesos) per piece of 3 varas (sufficient for two sayas) and with better selection of colors, French cambayas in particular became popular in the Philippines.[136]

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[128] BOWRING, *A Visit to the Philippine Islands*, 160.
[129] ENRIQUEZ, "Romancing the 'abel' Iloko."
[130] According to Miller, "the only patterns possible on the native looms were the square plaids and stripes and other designs must be worked by hand embroidery." George Amos MILLER, *Interesting Manila* (Manila: E.C. McCullough and Co., 1906), 73, http://dlxs.library.cornell.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=sea;cc=sea;q1=pi%C3%B1a;idno=sea190;view=toc.
[131] Marilyn R. CANTA, "Of Cambayas, Custas and Calicos: The Indo-Philippine Textile Connection," in *Manila: Selected Papers of the 17th Annual Manila Studies Conference, August 13-14, 2008*, ed. Bernardita CHURCHILL (Quezon City: Manila Studies Association, Inc., 2009), 127–128.
[132] "Cambayas were a popular Indian export item." CASTRO, "Dissecting Dress," 57.
[133] 50 piastres or 50 pesos for a piece, which measures 3 varas (3.48 meters). A piece was usually enough for 2 sayas. MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1983, 293.
[134] Carmen YUSTE LOPEZ, *El Comercio de La Nueva España Con Filipinas (1590-1785)* (Mexico: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1984), 93; CASTRO, "Dissecting Dress," 65.
[135] MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1846, 65.
[136] 4 piastres was equivalent to 20 francs. 1 piastre or peso was, therefore, equivalent to 5 francs. 1 franc was equivalent to 0.20 pesos. 1 peso was equivalent to 8 reals. 4 reales or 0.5 pesos was equivalent to 2 francs 50. Antoine-Alfred MARCHE, *Luzon and Palawan*, trans. Carmen OJEDA and Jovita CASTRO (Manila: The Filipiniana Book Guild, 1970), 66.

Mallat actually suggested that the market was, in fact, saturated with the overproduction of locally-produced, low cost textiles like guinara and abacá, some of which were used as linings (*forro*). Abacá were also used for *pantalón* (pants) and sayas while abacá mixed with cotton were used for camisas. Prices varied depending on the grade. Many were valued and sold either per vara or per four varas. The price (per four varas) of the fifth grade abacás for use in clothing was 0.35 pesos, the 4th grade valued at 0.43 pesos, 3rd grade at 0.5 pesos, 2nd grade at 0.62 pesos. The first grade ones were sold at 1 peso per 2.5 varas. The cheapest were the ones used for lining, valued only between 0.06 pesos to 0.10 pesos per vara. Mallat observed that many of the locals found their color and poor quality rather unappealing which led many of the better off to turn to imported fabrics, particularly, cambayas and rouenneries from France. *Rouenneries* were dyed cotton fabrics with small floral prints typical of its origins in Rouen, northwestern France. According to Mallat, these two fabrics preferred in the Philippines for their durability and designs would have given the French traders an economic advantage. They were cheap to produce and would have been profitable had the traders ensured consistent shipment to the Philippines. Unfortunately, for reasons unknown, French traders ceased importing these textiles to the Philippines. As French cambayas and rouenneries were no longer available,[137] consumers gradually started buying British and native textiles, even if they were of poorer quality.

Textile Distribution

There were no large-scale textile factories. The weaving of luxury fabrics, especially piña and jusí would remain, until today, as a cottage industry. Textiles were woven by women in their own homes either for personal consumption or for sale.[138] Production was not large "as each native who dedicated himself to this industry had in his house only one or two looms. He sold what he produced either directly to the buyers or to the traders who would buy it from him for speculation or for transport to another place."[139]

There were also some well to do native principalía, mestizas de sangleys or Chinese who capitalized on labor and equipments.[140] Jusí, piña, guingon, sinamay, rengue, as well as handkerchiefs, towels, sobrecamas (bedspreads) were woven in homes dominated by the

[137] derived from acrylic resin. MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1846, 25.
[138] JAGOR, "Jagor's Travels in the Philippines," chap. 22; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 234–235.
[139] LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 62: Mercaderes Ilocanos; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 234–235.
[140] "Majority of the internal trade were in the hands of the rich native Principalia, mestizos de Sangley, and Chinese shop owners and peddlers." *See* DE COMYN, "State of the Philippines in 1810," sec. Local Markets.

housewives of Ilocos, La Unión and Iloilo. These entrepreneurs would invest by making or buying between six to twelve hand- and floor-looms and employ groups of weavers and embroiderers, who, under their close supervision, would produce, embroider or embellish textiles for sale.[141] What employments such as this offered to weavers was steady and regular income. The well to do capitalized on their labor, paid them, in the 1850s and 1860s, a modest wage of a quarter of a real per day or approximately 1 peso per month, and provided them with daily meals. The weaver and the *bordadora* (embroiderer), in becoming employees, were able to concentrate on weaving and embroidering, having been spared the trouble of finding a venue and an outlet to sell their wares. Meanwhile marketing and sales of the handwoven, hand-embroidered textiles fell on the hands of their employers. By attaching themselves to rich families who had the capacity to lend them money when the need arose and who could altogether act as their sponsor, protector and benefactor, they entered into one of the most enduring relationships, the patron-client relationship.[142]

The various textiles produced in the different provinces were, in short, either (1) used for personal and home consumption; (2) woven and sold on the streets; (3) manufactured exclusively for the *sinamayeras*, (4) brought to a central location like a marketplace of a larger town to be sold directly to buyers or (5) sold to wholesale traders or middlemen, who would then transport and distribute them to the various islands.

Street Weavers

A rare photograph of a woman weaving in the streets of Miagao (Panay, 19th century) show that some of the weavers of that town set up and operated their strident looms (called *de cintura)* by the sidewalks, offering passersby what Manuel Buzeta and Felipe Bravo in *Diccionario* called a "curious spectacle worthy of praise."[143] A similar photograph, dated between 1905-1915 shows a group of five women from Batangas in the act of ginning (separating cotton from its seeds), carding (combing, cleaning and disentangling raw wool, hemp or similar fibers using a sharp-toothed instrument), spinning and weaving cotton in

[141] CASTRO, "Dissecting Dress," 61; SAWYER, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines (1900)*, chap. XVII: Manufactures and Industries.
[142] Mary Helen FEE, *A Woman's Impression of the Philippines* (Chicago: A.C. McClurg and Co., 1910), chap. XVIII, http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/13392.
[143] Image found in HERNÁNDEZ, *Iloilo, The Most Noble City*, 111; Manuel BUZETA and Felipe BRAVO, *Diccionario Geográfico, Estadístico, Histórico de Las Islas Filipinas ... [Texto Impreso]* (Madrid: Imprenta de José C. de la Peña, 1850), 323.

what appears to be a provincial roadside or backyard setting (Fig. 214).[144] Whatever may be the case, spectators of varying ages looked on as the women were absorbed in their work.

The different types of fabrics they were weaving on the streets must have excluded *piña*, which had to be worked under mosquito nets, lest the threads will break by even the slightest movement.[145] Although the fabrics produced on the streets of Miagao were not of the finest quality, they were reported to have found markets in the towns of Albay and Camarines, presumably by way of Manila middlemen.[146]

The appearance and the attire of the weaver in the first photo was rather indiscernible but from what can be made out of the image, it seems she was dressed as ordinarily as the textiles she was weaving. More than just putting up a show, street weavers demonstrated the process of making textiles with the objective to sell; thus, they would most likely wear, as a sample, a comfortable dress made out of the fabrics they were able to weave on the spot. For them to wear starched and well-pressed clothes made of costly piña for example would be unnecessary and futile since it would not serve to promote their business of ordinary textiles. Most likely, these street weavers were also self-employed, hence, they would be less inclined to wear nice clothes for the sake of publicity, especially when working under the sweltering heat.

Local Marketplaces

Fairs were temporary markets set up on open-air fields or around the town's main square to serve as a venue for local manufacturers to trade or sell their produce. Some larger towns organized them either once or twice a week, while smaller towns would have them once a month. The Jaro market in Iloilo, for example, was organized every Thursday while the Daraga market in Albay was on Monday and Friday evenings.[147] These weekly or monthly markets, depending on the size and location, would typically draw in about twenty

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[144] *Women Ginning, Carding, Spinning and Weaving Cotton, Calaca, Batangas, 1905-1915*, B/W photograph, 1905 1915, University of Wisconsin Digital Collection: Wisconsin Philippines Image Collection, http://digicoll.library.wisc.edu/WebZ/FETCH?sessionid=01-49760-1208862805&recno=1&resultset=1&format=F&next=html/nffull.html&bad=error/badfetch.html&&entitytoprecno=1&entitycurrecno=1&entityreturnTo=brief.

[145] Montinola refers to Mallat (1846): "to work with the finest quality of piña, he wrote, Indios (natives) had to place themselves under a mosquito net for the threads broke at the mere movement caused in the air by a person walking." MONTINOLA, "Piña, La Reina de Los Tejidos Filipinos," 71.

[146] BUZETA and BRAVO, *Diccionario*, vol. 2, p. 323.

[147] Juan ÁLVAREZ GUERRA, *Viajes por Filipinas de Manila à Albay*, First edition (Madrid: Imprenta de Fortanet, 1887), chap. IV, http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/12275; LAUREANO, *Recuerdos de Filipinas*, 43–45; JAGOR, "Jagor's Travels in the Philippines," chap. X.

to thirty thousand people. The Jaro market, in particular, would attract an enormous crowd of one hundred fifty to two hundred thousand people.

Different types of people gathered in these fairs generally for the festive vibe and atmosphere. These fairs were where producers and consumers met. The Jaro market for instance had sellers coming in from the provinces of Antique, Capiz and Panay. Boyce commented how these markets were the main source of fine native cloths, specifically, jusí and piña.[148] Having enriched many families from Molo, Manduriao, Arévalo and Iloilo, these markets were clearly lucrative and profitable for the sellers. Collectively, these Thursdays in Jaro were reported to have generated gross sales of between two hundred to three hundred thousand silver pesos. For holy days like Lent and Christmas, gross sales even reached up to five hundred thousand pesos.[149]

The night markets were also interesting to experience. German traveller Jagor commented not on the trade involved but on the sight of "pretty women, neatly and cleanly clad, sitting in long rows, offering their provisions for sale by the light of hundreds of torches; and when the business is over, the slopes were studded all over with flickering little points of brightness proceeding from the torches carried by the homeward-bound women."[150] There were mainly three types of textile sellers present in these events, each catering to different target markets. There were the female weavers, who sold their home-woven piña, silk, jusí and sinamay, directly to the consumers. For those who do the weaving themselves, these once a week, open-air markets were ideal-- they were short-term, regular and consistent, if not only for the occasional weather disruptions. Furthermore, as the women of the house, they could work at their own pace and watch over their children at the same time. Then, surrounded by all the noises and smells of food booths that sold dried and salted fish (*binuros* and *pinacas)*, melons and sweet potatoes *(camotes)*, there were the pretty and statuesque mestiza *sinamayeras*, who stood out with their interesting array of unique and tasteful fabrics.[151] Unlike the low-income weaver, the *sinamayeras* who joined these fairs were most likely the enterprising wife or daughter of a rich landowner, who had in her employ a few weavers and bordadoras (embroiderers) to carry out her exquisite designs.[152] Apart from these transient markets, which sometimes she manned herself, she might also have a permanent little shop to display her textiles. British Major George John

[148] BOYCE, *The Philippine Islands*, 135.
[149] LAUREANO, *Recuerdos de Filipinas*, 43–45; JAGOR, "Jagor's Travels in the Philippines," chap. X.
[150] JAGOR, "Jagor's Travels in the Philippines," chap. X.
[151] LAUREANO, *Recuerdos de Filipinas*, 43–45.
[152] FEE, *A Woman's Impression of the Philippines*, chap. XVIII: The Aristocracy, the Poor and the American Women, pp. 232–249.

Younghusband (1899), for example, mentioned that he visited Rizal's sister who had a shop that sold piña textiles.[153] The merchandise that these well-off women sold was different in quality from what the weavers themselves sold. Their selection of sinamay, piña, silk, and jusí were usually one of a kind, especially with their own added touch of embroideries and embellishments. With higher price points, it is clear that they aimed for the more affluent type of consumer. Last was the pigtailed Chinese, who in limited Spanish, would shout a litany of the assorted items he was selling, from shoes, rings, beads and imported, mass-produced textiles. Most were of low quality but were hawked with superlatives and of course, with the three words people wanted to hear: *chichirico* (beautiful), *balato* (supposedly, *barato* or cheap), and *fantastic* (fantastic). This last type of seller supposedly not only sold the most but also cheated the most. As Laureano remarked, "anyone who buys five or six rods of fabric from the Chinese, finds upon arriving home, that a quarter if not half of a rod is lacking."[154]

Fairs were meeting grounds not only for buyers and sellers but also for the different racial types that inhabited the Philippines. Here the igorrotes and tinguianes were buying and selling alongside the Chinese, which the natives and Spaniards condescendingly call "*insic*," if not, the "sons of the Celestial Empire."[155]

Provincial Exports To Manila

Traders from the north generally transported the woven textiles to Manila by land or boats. Ilocano weavers sold their textiles to traders or middlemen, many of whom travelled to Manila on horseback to resell the items. Meanwhile, weavers from Iloilo in the Visayas, the region known for the production of both luxury and ordinary fabrics, sold and distributed their products to different parts of the country by coasting vessels.[156] The mestizo middlemen of Molo and Jaro, for example, would purchase various regional products to be shipped and sold to Manila dealers. As return cargo, they would procure foreign goods, particularly British textiles, from the Chinese wholesalers of Manila to be resold, afterwards, to the retailers of Jolo, Molo, Oton and Mandurriao.[157]

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[153] George John YOUNGHUSBAND, *The Philippines and Round about* (New York and London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1899), 134, http://ebooks.library.cornell.edu/cgi/t/text/pageviewer-idx?c=sea;cc=sea;idno=sea196;q1=pi%C3%83%C2%B1a;view=image;seq=9;size=50;page=root.
[154] LAUREANO, *Recuerdos de Filipinas*, 43–45.
[155] Ibid.
[156] VILLEGAS, "Chapter Eleven: Costumes and Adornments," 277.
[157] Although local textiles were still widely used as trouser materials, printed drills and plain grandrills imported from Manchester and Glasgow became popular in the mass-market. Ibid.; BOWRING, *A Visit to the Philippine Islands*, 395.

Many Ilocano traders would travel on horseback all the way to Manila to sell the textiles produced in their region. To protect them from the natural elements for the duration of their journey, they would typically be seen dressed in loose, comfortable travelling clothes, made up of a shirt and mid-calf *salaual* or breeches, *anajao* raincoat and small *salakot* with a string which they could use to hang the cap over their heads (Fig. 215).[158] To protect them from highway robbers, they travelled armed with swords and lances. Sometimes, these traders travelled in groups, in which case, they would pool their resources together to hire escorts who were more often dressed like them. They usually stayed at a *bantayan* to rest, which is why it was common to see horses grazing in the fields surrounding the area.[159] To maximize profits, these traders sometimes sold everything including their horses and go home slowly on foot.

In Manila, the textiles will be distributed and sold by retailers, like the sinamayeras or the *comerciantes chinos*, many of which were mainly concentrated in Binondo. Sinamayeras would then either sell them as plain textiles or have them embroidered by the bordadoras before selling them. Although the application of beautiful embroideries was mostly undertaken by women, there were also men in this type of profession.[160] Women in general were involved in so-called "lighter tasks," involving weaving, sewing and embroidery. However, with the development of the tobacco industry, women were employed as cigarreras. This altered the traditional gender roles, allowing women to supplement the income of the family and men assuming some of the feminine work like washing, laundering, and weaving.

After purchasing the textiles, buyers could then hire sastres (seamstresses) to turn the cloth into clothing. Sometimes, embroideries were applied only after the clothes were sewn.

[158] LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 62: Mercaderes Ilocanos; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 234–234.
[159] Bantayan or bantayanes were guardhouses typically made of cane and nipa, set up near bridges and on roads between towns. They were manned by volunteer civilians who were thus, exempted from *polos y servicios,* the personal service of 40 days per year required from men between the ages of 16 to 60. The native horses from Ilocos Norte may generally be small, with the height only between 1 meter 16 cm and 1 meter 42, but they were known for being quite strong and beautiful. They were sold for around 16-24 pesos each. LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 62: Mercaderes Ilocanos; fig. 30: Indio á Caballo; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 170, 234–235; MARCHE, *Luzon and Palawan*, 153; Sinibaldo de MAS, *Informe Sobre El Estado de Las Islas Filipinas en 1842* (Madrid, 1843), tomo ii.
[160] JAGOR, "Jagor's Travels in the Philippines," chap. 14.

Sinamayeras

The sinamayera (*vendedora de telas* or seller of cloth),[161] whether she was a young or married coquette, a widow or even an old maid, was said to be an enterprising woman of her time. One of her most enduring qualities was her constancy and her ability to withstand the mundane task of manning the little fabric shops, which were usually located at Calle San Fernando in Tondo or at Calle San Rosario in Binondo, every single day, with only the exception of holidays.[162] She would brave privations, comfort and welfare by spending her days confined to that little four square feet shop or *cajones*, amidst plain and embroidered textiles, filmy jusí, fine piña or ordinary sinamay.[163] Álvarez Guerra introduced the archetype of *Pepay la sinamayera*, who observed the world around her while seated behind a little counter, with her small wooden measuring stick (*listón de narra)*.[164]

The term *la sinamayera* was derived from the word sinamay, a locally made transparent cloth woven from indigenous abacá fibers. The term sinamayera, however, is inaccurate. Many may be misled into thinking that sinamayeras were limited to selling sinamay. Sinamay were generally considered coarse and cheap fabrics, reportedly costing only two reales when bought straight from the source in Iloilo.[165] If they sold only sinamay, it would mean they catered mainly to the lower-income members of society. On the contrary, their shops, which, for the most part, lined Tondo and Binondo, offered a much wider selection of textiles, depending on the trends at that time. For example, *cambayas* or *madras* cotton were more popular before the 1840s. As such, the sinamayeras in Damián Domingo and Espiridión de la Rosa paintings (1820-1840) were depicted carrying those types of textiles.[166] Later on, as economy improved and the number of well-to-do men and women

[161] Juan ÁLVAREZ GUERRA, *Viajes por Filipinas de Manila á Marianas*, First (Madrid: Imprenta de Fortanet, 1887), chap. 6, p. 113, http://www.gutenberg.org/catalog/world/readfile?fk_files=1484164.
[162] Ibid., chap. 6, p. 112; Maria Luisa CAMAGAY, *Working Women of Manila in the 19th Century* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press in cooperation with the University Center for Women's Studies, 1995), 27.
[163] B.A., "La Sinamayera," *La Moda Filipina Periódico Quincenal Ilustrado* Año II, no. 35 (November 20, 1894): 3–4.
[164] ÁLVAREZ GUERRA, *Viajes por Filipinas de Manila à Marianas*, chap. 6, p. 112–113.
[165] Rafael DÍAZ ARENAS, *Report on the Commerce and Shipping of the Philippine Islands. 1838*, trans. Encarnacion ALZONA (Manila: National Historical Institute, 1979), 64–65; Cited in CASTRO, "Dissecting Dress," 64.
[166] Damián DOMINGO, *Damián Domingo Colección de Trajes de Manila y de Las Provincias Inbentado por D. Rafael Daniel Baboom y Dibujado por D. Damian Domingo Director de La Academia de Dibujo por La Real Sociedad Económica de Estas Islas Filipinas No. 3.o*, January 1833, fig. Una India Mercadera de Manila, Mr. Paulino Que Collection, Dr. Eleuterio Pascual Collection and Ayala Museum and Library, Makati, Metro Manila; Espiridión DE LA ROSA, *Una Mestiza Sangley Con su Venta (Chinese-Filipina Mestiza Selling Goods)*, Watercolor on paper, 1820 to 1840, Private Collection-Spain.

increased, their inventories broadened to include more luxury fabrics like jusí and piña. The term sinamayera also began to be used to refer to sellers of textiles in general.[167]

The diversity of textiles they carried basically signified the range and latitude of their market. They were not limited to selling expensive fabrics only to the rich, but also to the middling and laboring classes, like the grass vendors and sharecroppers (*zacateros* and *aparceros* or *casamas*).[168]

Many sinamayeras were mestizas de sangley, many of whom inherited the responsibility of operating these shops on a day-to-day basis from their well-to-do families, mostly from the "mestizerías" of Sta. Cruz and Binondo. [169] These female shopkeepers who sat languidly in their shops the whole day were described to be far from being hollow and baseless. Metaphorically, they have been described as holding books relating to the language of love on the one hand and account books on the other. They were, in fact, trained with enough social and religious education, taught in the arts women were expected to excel at that time, from dancing, singing to playing the harp and the piano. Prepared by their fathers to tend shops and run businesses, while simultaneously trained by their mothers or convent school nuns to run households, clean, wash, mend and sew, these women were inculcated with adequate values necessary to engage in both the mercantile and domestic economies. Perhaps not content with simply being beautiful young things who could play musical instruments and charm guests, they engaged in the cloth business which allowed them to apply their talents and exercise their keen sense of color and touch.

There were also sinamayeras, the likes of Pepay, whose unknown parentage made them part of the dubious classes.[170] No one knew exactly the circumstances surrounding her birth, except that she was declared during baptism as a niece *(sobrina)* of some aunt. Álvarez Guerra's archetype was said to have received education in the *beaterios*, where she learned to read, write, compute and acquire other womanly skills – up until the death of her aunt. Failing to establish parentage, she would, most likely, not be entitled to any inheritance arising from her death. At fifteen years old, equipped with some education and guts, she

[167] CAMAGAY, *Working Women of Manila*, 27.
[168] ÁLVAREZ GUERRA, *Viajes por Filipinas de Manila à Marianas*, chap. 6, p. 115.
[169] To distinguish from the *mestiza-españoles*, *mestizas de sangleys* were sometimes referred to in Spanish texts as *bellezas de linaje oriental* (beauties of oriental lineage) or in the case of sinamayeras, *herederas del mercantilismo celestial* (heirs of the celestial mercantile groups). *La Moda Filipina Periódico Quincenal Ilustrado*, Año II (Quiapo: Redaccion y Administracion, 1894), November 20, La Sinamayera, signed B.A., pp. 3–4.
[170] As Álvarez Guerra put it, *la dudosa clase de crianza*. Foreman also mentioned the reality in Spanish Philippines that it was considered an honor to have children with a priest. In fact, it was no secret at all that Turing, the cura's female assistant was also his *bonne amie*. ÁLVAREZ GUERRA, *Viajes por Filipinas de Manila à Marianas*, chap. 6, p. 113; FOREMAN, *The Philippine Islands*, chap. XI.

would determinedly turn to business, oftentimes with the assistance of some godfather (*compadre*). This *compadre*, who operated a few *cascos* (boats) for trading oil, rice, and wood, would be instrumental in providing her with the capital to start a business. In this profession, Pepay learned the art and science of marketing.

> With a little bit of usury, a book of accounts and a regular arrangements (or orders), she would soon be making three times as much, profits that Pepay made by understanding the value of the neighborhood resident lists, the *cabecilla* or head of working tables at the Fortin tobacco factory, character that, God willing, we will find later [translation mine][171]

Based on this account, Don Álvarez Guerra indicated the link between sinamayeras and cabecillas of tobacco factories, who then sold the cambayas and sinamay to the thousands of working women, many of who were between the ages of twenty and forty.[172] The cabecillas assured themselves of payment by deducting a portion of the amount owed from the women's weekly salaries. According to Dr. Ma. Luisa Camagay, this trade in textiles, usually sold at incredibly high prices, inadvertently caused the *Alboroto de Cigarreras de Manila* in 1816, a strike directed primarily against these cabecillas.[173]

The *listas de una vecina*, a list indicating the names, age and occupations of people living in the different neighborhoods has been put forward as something of value to the sinamayeras. These lists contained information, such as, what type of buyers might there be in their area and what financial capacity they may have. Facts and figures derived from the *vecindario* would be supplemented by acquaintances and contacts they had the opportunity to deal with at some point in their careers. The sinamayera would find a supporter –and a promoter-- in the character of some handsome mestizo who informs his many friends about this little shop that sells sinamay and other textiles.[174]

This shows how the trade of sinamayeras functioned and operated. In being self-employed, they were involved, in fact, well-informed, in many aspects of marketing and sale

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[171] *Con una mediana usura, un cuaderno de cuentas y una regular disposición, en poco tiempo puede hacerse de un peso tres, multiplicación que acabó de comprender Pepay en las complicadas listas de una vecina, cabecilla de mesa de la fábrica de tabacos de Fortín, personaje que, Dios mediante, encontraremos más adelante.* ÁLVAREZ GUERRA, *Viajes por Filipinas de Manila à Marianas*, chap. 6, p. 115.
[172] Maria Luisa T. CAMAGAY, "Working Women of Manila in the 19th Century," in *More Pinay than We Admit: The Social Construction of the Filipina*, ed. Maria Luisa T. CAMAGAY (Quezon City: Vibal Foundation, 2010), 94.
[173] Dr. Camagay indicated that she found a folder entitled *Alboroto de Cigarreras de Manila* during one of her research trips in Madrid. She explained that the use of the term *alboroto* or tantrum, in lieu of *huelga* or strike is suggestive of notions relating to women's characters, questioning their capacity to initiate industrial strikes. Ibid., 93.
[174] ÁLVAREZ GUERRA, *Viajes por Filipinas de Manila à Marianas*, chap. 6, p. 116.

--from research, distribution to advertising. They were involved in direct selling through their shops and indirect selling through their distribution channels, the latter of which often entailed installment and payment schemes. Their *cajones* (box) of a shop, essentially, formed only a portion of their actual incomes.

Another aspect of the sinamayera's character that needs to be pointed out is the fact that she never sacrificed her appearance. In fact, she could even be described as vain, ostentatious and self-indulgent, sitting in her shop in expensive dresses, costly pearls, and even sparkling jewelry.[175] Her elegant appearance was among those that separated her from the other sellers who peddled textiles on the streets. The diligence she devoted on her daily appearance could be better understood if seen in the context of business, marketing and investment. By wearing beautiful piña pieces, she simultaneously modeled the very textiles she hoped to sell and profit from. She displayed how textiles could –and should be –worn. Her presentation of wares was also manifested in the little details that made up her attire, from the way she folded the pañuelo to the way she let it drape softly over her shoulders. The sinamayeras depicted in Damián Domingo and Espiridión de la Rosa drawings (1820-1840) were almost identical, holding a key on one hand and a pile of checkered fabrics on the other.[176] With the key and her hand to the door, the artists sought to convey ownership or responsibility of the shop, while the pile of fabrics indicated the precise nature of her trade. What was particularly interesting is the sinamayera in Espiridión de la Rosa's work, who was in a saya (skirt) made up of several panels of checkered textiles (presumably cambayas or madras cotton), the colors and patterns of which corresponded to the textiles in the pile she was holding (Fig. 5). This supports the idea that in the absence of fashion mannequins at that time, she employed herself to display the variety of available textiles to her customers. This supports what Roche said that "in order to rise in the hierarchy of distribution or play an active role in the diffusion of fashion, it was necessary to engage in exhibition and display in the publicity of appearances."[177] If the Paris in the "ancient regime" that Roche was describing had linen-drapers, master tailors and stylish *modistes*, Manila had sinamayeras, at least, to cater to the whims of those who were partial to the *traje del país*. After all, in the 1890s, affluent mestizos have been known to throw the most elegant balls and parties at their palatial residences, most of which called for "the use of native costumes," hence, the term

[175] B.A., "La Sinamayera."
[176] DOMINGO, *Damian Domingo Coleccion de Trajes Manila y Delas Provincia*, fig. Una Mestiza Mercadera de Manila; DE LA ROSA, *Una Mestiza Sangley Con su Venta (Chinese-Filipina Mestiza Selling Goods)*.
[177] Daniel ROCHE, *The Culture of Clothing: Dress and Fashion in the "Ancien Regime,"* trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 319.

saya bailes.[178] At times, the dinner and dances given by the American and British expatriates called for the ladies (but not the men) to come dressed in the *traje del país*. "Dressed as natives and mestizas..very handsome some of them looked!" exclaimed Sawyer.[179] Meanwhile, Europeans and their imitators who favored European dressing could visit the shops of French and German millineries, Swiss jewelry, Berlin fancy goods, English emporium, Viennese and Spanish *calzados*.[180] The number of foreign tailoring, shirt and hat-making businesses established around Escolta has, since the 1870s, multiplied.

By engaging in the trade of textiles, the sinamayera contributed to the creation and propagation of fashion trends and more importantly, to the development of tastes. Both her appearance and her merchandise were constantly updated and restyled. She endeavored to hold consumers captive by constantly presenting them with a wide range of piña camisas and pañuelos, embroidered in intricate designs and patterns, taking inspiration from the ever-changing colors and foliage in her surroundings. She recognized that people are fickle and have a thousand whims. In her mind, more often than not, consumers do not know what they want until they are presented with an assortment of items they may potentially like. The real talent of the sinamayera rested on her ability to induce desire, to identify and nurture the whims of those who wanted to be fashionable and for her textiles to penetrate people's wardrobes.

As native looms were limited to producing textiles with square plaid and stripe patterns only, there was that chance of homogeneity in the local population's clothing.[181] All other designs required embroidery by hand, hence, those who wished for unique patterns must employ a bordadora, or, they could simply buy embellished textiles from the designing sinamayera, who would conceive some one-of-a-kind design or combination her wealthier consumers may want. With a little suggestive wink to her admirer –a student of the *Academia de Dibujo*- she would turn her ideas into reality when he agrees to draw the patterns she wished to see embroidered. Once her designs were penned in ink, she would proceed to specify the technical details to the embroiderers of Sta. Ana, Paco, Tondo, Malate or Ermita, who would then patiently spend many sleepless nights stitching complex patterns of birds, trees and flowers under candlelight just to swiftly complete her order.[182] For the delicate and

[178] HANNAFORD, *History and Description of the Picturesque Philippines*, 49.
[179] SAWYER, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines (1900)*, chap. XIX: Life in Manila (A Chapter for the Ladies).
[180] HANNAFORD, *History and Description of the Picturesque Philippines*, 59–60.
[181] MILLER, *Interesting Manila*, 73.
[182] UN SOLTERON, "La Costurera de Manila," *La Ilustración del Oriente Revista Semanal* Año I, no. 6 (November 11, 1877): Noviembre 11, Num. 6, pp. 5–6; Ambeth OCAMPO, "Ads in the 19th Century,"

meticulous work they demanded from the bordadoras, the price they paid was more often than not, insufficient, especially considering that many of the former grew old half blind and with backs bent.[183] Taking into account also that the application of embroidery significantly enhanced the value of textiles, merit for such refined needlework was never given to bordadoras. Overworked and underpaid, they have largely remained unnamed, unacknowledged and unable to afford the pieces they have laboriously worked on for months.[184] In a business sense, embroiderers were perceived as cheap labor, working persistently in the background, constantly overshadowed by the capitalistic sinamayeras who discreetly stood in the forefront of colonial fashions.

As one can see, the *sinamayera* was a designer, entrepreneur, shopkeeper, salesperson and self-promoter rolled into one. While her primary occupation may appear to be shopkeeping, her real work, in fact, happened before the textiles even reached the shelves. Much of her work had to do with coordination and supervision, i.e. coordination with the weaver, artist and bordadora. As months of applied needlework in the hands of bordadoras could make textiles look sullied or worn out, she may even supervise the delicate washing of such fine pieces. Less emphasized, perhaps, was her silent role as tastemaker, her shrewd ability to introduce designs and influence fashion choices. Employing every skill and talent available in her employ, both as a woman and as an entrepreneur, she has often been maligned as exploiter of men (suitors and lovers) and of poor laboring women. Juxtaposing the bordadoras and the sinamayeras, one is exposed to the power of having capital and the tragedy of having no capital. The one with capital becomes the trader while the one without becomes the laborer. The sinamayeras found the means to give actual physical form to their artistic ideas as well as a venue to sell their wares. Bordadoras, meanwhile, skilled but low-paid, were often left with no room for creativity. They were merely expected to mechanically labor and execute the sinamayeras' designs. Both laboring, both industrious, both economical, divergence in the paths and circumstances of sinamayeras and bordadoras lie in their differences of fortune.

With the labor of bordadoras, sinamayeras profited greatly by transforming plain textiles, especially piña, into embroidered ones, to cater to the vanities of women, especially the archetypes of the rich native (*la india rica*), who endeavored to appear in *sui generis*

Philippine Daily Inquirer, June 23, 2006, http://opinion.inquirer.net/inquireropinion/columns/view/20060623-6106/Ads_in_the_19th_century; CAMAGAY, *Working Women of Manila*, 1, 39.

[183] B.A., "La Sinamayera."

[184] Eloisa May P. HERNANDEZ, *Homebound : Women Visual Artists in Nineteenth Century* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 2005), 75.

(one-of-a-kind) outfits, on both ordinary and special days.[185] When it came to fashion and appearances, insights into the competitive nature of people could contribute to the craft and trade of the *sinamayera*.

> This is the rich india, this is their type. Afternoons offer them a moment of vanity when they could present themselves as rich and beautiful. They compare themselves with others, endeavoring to be the best-dressed *dalaga* in the procession [translation mine][186]

It was precisely the appreciation of the vanities of people, especially local women, which formed the foundation of the trade of the *sinamayera*. It also seemed that while men of a certain class were geared towards uniformity, especially in the cut and fabrics of their Western attires, women on the other hand, conformed to 'traditional' yet contemporary silhouettes, but preferred to show individuality through material and textiles. To elaborate, the first order of business following the election of a provincial *Gobernadorcillo* [in Manila] usually entailed summoning the *sastre municipal*, the tailor who had for years been dressing the *Gobernadorcillos de Manila* with *trajes de etiqueta* (official attire, i.e. *frac* or frock coats). The experienced tailor would come to his house with a roll of textile and after congratulating the newly elect, proceeds to take his measurements. While the hat, frilled shirt (*camisa de chorreras*) and cane may be products of local manufacture, the *frac* for its debut to signify the new position, had to pass the standards of Manila tailors.[187] This could, in fact, imply that the *sastre municipal* was acquainted with the kind of fabrics that worked well with the *frac,* and that there were, in fact, only a limited range of fabrics suitable for this type of official garment. On the other hand, women, in occupying no "official" positions, could seek variety, show originality, display style and status through the use of unique and one-of-a-kind textiles, presumably sourced from one of these sinamayeras. While the silhouette and cut had to conform to Catholic norms of propriety, they were free and able to show distinction

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[185] In original Spanish: *las dalagas de Luchan imprimen un sello especial y 'sui generis' á todas sus fiestas, bien sean de carácter religioso, bien puramente mundane.* Juan ÁLVAREZ GUERRA, *Viajes por Manila à Tayabas*, Second edition (Madrid: Imprenta de Fortanet, 1887), chap. 3, sec. Las dalagas del Lucban, pp. 65–68.

[186] *esta es la india ricá, este es su tipo. Llegará la tarde y disfrutará un momento de vanidad al contemplarse rica y hermosa: se comparará con las demás y se verá la dalaga mejor ataviada de la procession.* ÁLVAREZ GUERRA, *Viajes por Filipinas de Manila à Marianas*, chap. 6, p. 111.

[187] In original Spanish: *La primera diligencia es llamar al sastre municipal. Este se presenta en la casa con un rollo de telas, hace su correspondiente cortesía al 'neófito,' le da la enhorabuena y 'el que se para mucha felicidad del pueblo,' se sonríen ambos, y acto seguido el maestro tira de regla, de jabón y de lapiz y cubica, mide y estira al pobre municipe que empieze á sudar al solo olor del reluciente paño que ha de convertirse en los faldones de un frac. El frac es tan indispensable para el Gobernadorcillo, como el sombrero de copa, el bastón y la camisa de chorreras. El sombrero suele legarse y servir en tres ó cuatro bienios; la camisa lo mismo que el bastón podrán ser 'manufacturas' de el pueblo, pero lo que es el frac necesariamente ha de estrenarse y pasar por el corte de los sastres de Manila.* ÁLVAREZ GUERRA, *Viajes por Manila à Tayabas*, chap. 20, p. 308.

through embroidered textiles. The sinamayeras' reaped rewards, by assuring themselves regular orders, including the continuing patronage of the rich and stylish, who valued the variety they offered, the novelty of their fabric patterns and the quality of their embellishments (*trabajos de abalorios*).[188]

There was one image of a native textile shop, presumably taken in the early 20th century in what appears to be a *nipa* hut in a provincial setting.[189] The two young women manning the shop do not look like the archetypal *mestiza sinamayera* of the 19th century. They appeared more like shopkeepers, rather than shop owners. Although the two women in the photograph were dressed beautifully, they did not have the air of gentility associated with the *mestiza* sinamayeras. Both women dressed in matching red and yellow sayas, camisa with butterfly sleeves and simple pañuelo, they come across as costumed or "uniformed," whose dresses were provided for wear when working in the shop. While the *mestiza sinamayera* of the 19th century were highly involved in the day-to-day operations of their little textiles shops, there were several possibilities at the turn of the century. It is possible that some operated and oversaw several shops, in which case, employing shopkeepers became necessary. Some of the shops may have been located in rented spaces and not in the ground floor of their homes. The *sinamayera* who was also a housewife could have hired assistants to run the shop while she took care of the needs of her family.

Chinese Entrepreneurs and Peddlers

There were also peddlers of cotton and silk textiles in standard cuts (piece-goods), ready-made clothes and small articles for sewing like buttons, needles, scissors and even knives and costume jewelries. The cloths they were selling could be locally-made or imported from China or Europe, particularly, Britain. English traders have in fact, used them as a distribution channel of the various products they imported from Manchester, including textiles.[190]

[188] During the Philadelphia *Exposición* in 1876, different types of native cloth made from diverse fibers were exhibited --knitted, embroidered in gold (*borda en oro*) or beaded (*hace trabajos de abalorios*). Ibid., chap. 3, p. 59.
[189] Jonathan BEST, *Philippine Picture Postcards, 1900-1920* (Makati, Metro Manila: Bookmark, 1994); Ma. Corazon ALEJADO-HILA, Mitzi Marie AGUILAR-REYES, and Anita FELEO, *Garment of Honor, Garment of Identity* (Manila: EN Barong Filipino, 2008), 50.
[190] SAWYER, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines (1900)*, chap. XXXI: The Chinese in Luzon.

Balancing heavy *pingas* (carrying pole)[191] either in *bales* or in large *tampipes* (woven baskets) on their shoulders, these hardworking and patient men were common figures in the street scene. As suggested in Lozano's *A Burial* (Nyssens-Flebus Album, 1844-1846, Fig. 137B), they were practically everywhere, even in the most unlikely of places or events, like burials. In that Lozano image, a Chinese textile vendor is seen distinctly in the foreground, carrying a pile of checkered textiles over his shoulders.[192] A similar image appears in between the letters T & O in the *letras y figuras* of Fr. Juan Tombo (1850-1860) by an anonymous artist.[193] Lozano's depiction of a barefooted *Chino corredor* (Chinese carrier, Fig. 131A) in another album, dressed in all-blue loose trousers and patched or tattered long-sleeved shirt was countered by Gervasio Gironella's description, saying that "normally, they are not as well-dressed as the one featured in the drawing, as they wear only short blue trousers and collarless, sleeveless white or blue shirts."[194] Most of the time, they even just go shirtless, with only a multi-purpose cloth for wiping sweat or covering their heads, which they usually hanged over their shoulders. Not visible in drawings and photographs were the fact that some go in groups of two or even, three. The first one, perhaps the barker, usually walked ahead and called out to passersby to attract customers, followed by one or two more "bringing cloth hanging from their *pingas*."[195] Groups like these could represent a seasoned street dealer proficient enough in the local dialect to show the newcomers how things were done.

There were also Chinese peddlers who brought the market conveniently right to the doorstep of the ladies who wished to avoid the mid-day heat and the dusty streets of Manila.[196] Chinese shop owners, for example, have in their employ, young and friendly adolescent boys, ages ten upwards to peddle cloth and clothes, knocking door to door or

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[191] These types of carrying pole were seen among indio aguadors, zacateros, panadero, vendiendo leña or firewood vendors, and among chino corredors, chanchauleros, pansiteros. LOZANO, Gervasio Gironella Album (1847), fig. 28, 44, 47, 49, 51, 57, 61; CARIÑO, José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847, 166, 204, 212.

[192] José Honorato LOZANO, *Nyssens-Flebus Album: Album de Manille et ses environs*, Watercolor, 1844 to 1846, fig. A Burial, Christie's London 2002, http://www.christies.com/lotfinder/LotDetailsPrintable.aspx?intObjectID=272493.

[193] According to Cariño, Fr. Juan Tombo was an Augustinian priest assigned in Bulacan in the 19th century. ANÓNIMO, *Fr. Juan Tombo*, Letras y Figuras, Watercolor on paper, 1850 to 1860, Museo Oriental de Valladolid, Spain; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 46–47.

[194] LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 51: Chino corredor; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 212–213.

[195] LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, 51: Chino corredor; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 212; Edgar WICKBERG, *The Chinese in Philippine Life, 1850-1898* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2000), 108; Francisco Javier de MOYA y JIMENEZ, *Las Islas Filipinas en 1882: Estudios Históricos, Geográficos, Estadísticos y Descriptivos* (Madrid: El Correo, 1883), 188; SAWYER, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines (1900)*, 186.

[196] SAWYER, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines (1900)*, chap. XIX: Life in Manila (A Chapter for the Ladies), pp. 173–187.

stationing themselves in busy locations.[197] The 19th century equivalent of today's catalogue, television or internet shopping, women were able to save time by purchasing goods they needed –or they may not know they needed—within their own homes. Sources were in conflict with regards to the prices at which these Chinese hawkers sold their wares. As retailers who made house calls, their products were naturally thought of as more expensive;[198] however, without rent, they were operating with very little expenses. In addition, many of these small-scale ventures were, in fact, part of or attached to larger, wholesale enterprises, which meant that goods were procured in bigger quantities. This in turn gave retailers greater price latitude. As Sawyer observed, they sold remarkably cheap.[199] Meanwhile, the strategy of independent peddlers with no or little capital was to approach Chinese wholesalers to supply them with batches of their outdated (*démodé)* stocks on consignment. The hawkers generally settled their accounts weekly, either every Sundays or Mondays, which explains why they tend to sell the cheapest on Saturdays.[200]

Aside from the trade in textiles, the trade in ready-to-wear clothing was also very much alive in the streets of Manila. In a photograph, a Chinese vendor with the usual Manchu-style haircut can be seen squatting while showing checkered textiles to two *indio* women (Fig. 216).[201] In Lozano's Karuth album (1858, Fig. 217, Fig. 218), a man can be seen trying on a pair of trousers as the street clothes vendor looks on. Hanging in the arms of the vendor were several trousers.[202] There was no sign of *balutanes* or *tampipes* (containers, Fig. 122) anywhere nearby, which suggests that it must have been common for them to use their arms as display racks. Their identities as street clothes vendors were, therefore, unmistakable. What is equally interesting also was how unabashedly people tried on the

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[197] These peddlers were called *corredores.* Wickberg mentioned that to avoid competing with one another, Chinese retailers would agree amongst themselves the minimum prices their *corredores* could give to bargaining customers. LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 42: Chino comerciante; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 194–195; WICKBERG, *The Chinese in Philippine Life, 1850-1898*, 108.

[198] "Those who called on people's houses were retailers and were therefore, selling their products at higher prices." LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 62: Mercaderes Ilocanos; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 235.

[199] SAWYER, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines (1900)*, chap. XIX: Life in Manila (A Chapter for the Ladies), pp. 173–187.

[200] LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, 51: Chino corredor; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 212–213.

[201] Photo source: Lopez Museum. Reproduced in Maria Serena I. DIOKNO, "Chapter Three: The Rise of the Chinese Trader," in *Kasaysayan: The Story of the Filipino People*, ed. Maria Serena I. DIOKNO and Ramon N. VILLEGAS, vol. 4: Life in the Colony (Manila: Asia Publishing Co., 1998), 52; MORENO, *Philippine Costume*, 50.

[202] José Honorato LOZANO, *Karuth Album: J.A. Karuth Album on the Philippine Islands*, Watercolor, September 2, 1858, fig. Male Native Trying on Ready–Made Trousers, Filipinas Heritage Library, http://www.retrato.com.ph/list.asp?keyword=Carl+Karuth&searchby=OR&searchwhere=title.

clothes right in the open, something the well-to-do would, most probably, never do. Bazars, sastrerías and camiserías in Escolta with more affluent clienteles must have had cubicles where customers could try on the garments in privacy. Less privileged customers were seen trying on pants over the pants they were already wearing, which lead us to wonder how accurate his assessment of the fit would be. From the same album, almost exactly the same characters appeared but this time with *cigarreras, cocheros*, and *guardias* in the background.[203] This image shows the timing when vendors appeared in the scene. They usually scheduled to situate themselves in strategic areas in time for the egress of day laborers.

Although the clothing items featured in these artworks and photographs were limited to cloth and trousers, it can be assumed that other types of garments were sold as well.

From Cloth to Clothes

The elite favored handwoven luxurty fabrics and handsewn clothes. Fabrics as fine and as delicate as piña had eluded mechanization and they may only be turned into clothes by hand sewing. Such was the reality in 19th century Philippines. The process of transforming cloth to clothing was literally in the hands of costureras or sastres (female tailors or seamstresses) in the same way the task of embellishing both textiles and sewn garments were in the hands of bordadoras (embroiderers). *Piña* were produced in Iloilo, then the center of weaving, and sent to the retailers in Manila,[204] specifically Tondo, Binondo, and Escolta for distribution and sale. Sinamayeras, wishing to increase the value of their merchandise, would send the textiles to the bordadoras, who were working either in the house of Chinese mestizos or in the convents. There were many bordadoras in the different arrabales surrounding Manila, but the best ones were reported to be concentrated in Malate and Ermita.[205] It was quite understandable considering Ermita was the enclave of Chinese-mestizo communities.[206] Presumably, many bordadoras worked to embroider or make lace in the houses of these Chinese-mestizos as payment for money they borrowed.

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[203] Ibid., fig. Exit of girls from a cigar factory in Manila where around 12,000 girls used to work.
[204] Charles WILKES, "Manila in 1842," ed. Austin CRAIG (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1917), sec. Industries.
[205] There were also some bordadoras in Tondo. Tondo was known as an area where many tailors were concentrated in the same way that Ermita was known for its bordadoras, Mandaluyong for its typesetters, San Pedro, Makati for its potters, Sta. Cruz for its sculptors and silversmiths and Paco for its seamstresses. UN SOLTERON, "La Costurera de Manila"; OCAMPO, "Ads in the 19th Century."
[206] José Ma Bonifacio Minguez ESCODA, *Warsaw of Asia: The Rape of Manila* (Quezon City: Giraffe Books, original from University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2000), 8.

Com. Charles Wilkes of the United States Navy (1842) visited one of the embroidery houses in Manila.[207] He recalled entering a house with creaking bamboo stairs and entering two apartments, the size of each was around thirteen by twenty-five feet, which could further be subdivided using screens. There were a total of about forty women cramped in that workroom, embroidering under the supervision of a young lady, who took the time to show the American guests the operation of working with threads and patterns. Wilkes remarked on how closely seated the women were that it must have been cramped and difficult especially when they were working with their hands.

Embroideries were applied on textiles, sewn dresses, pañuelos and handkerchiefs as well as on individual pieces like collars, cuffs, even hats and slippers. Wilkes commented on how hard it was to imagine the beauty of the finished work when seeing all these unfinished embroidery pieces, looking rather sullied "from too much handling," some of which has been worked on by the bordadoras for the past six months. But, when the finished garments were shown to him, all washed and pressed, he finally understood the elegance and the refinement that made such items so expensive and covetable. Realizing the amount of handiwork that needs to be applied, some of the wealthy already placed their orders one year ahead of time. Wilkes recounted that:

> the fabric is extremely expensive, and none but the wealthy can afford it. It is also much sought after by foreigners. Even orders for Queen Victoria and many of the English nobility were then in hand, at least I so heard in Manila. Those who are actually present have, notwithstanding, the privilege of selecting what they wish to purchase. For, with the inhabitants here, as elsewhere, these embroidered fabrics were too tempting for those with ready money.[208]

A dress of embroidered piña, especially dedicated to the Queen Regent Maria Cristina *(un vestido de piña bordado, dedicado á S.M. la Reina Regente)* by Don Epifanio Rodriguez from Lucban, Tayabas appeared in the catalogue of the 1887 Madrid exhibition.[209] Although the value of the piece was not indicated, it is assumed to be an artistic work – well-made, intricate and valuable enough befitting royalty.

The piña textile itself was already expensive because of the extreme care and patience it takes in weaving them. Piña may be bought per vara (0.836 meters) or per piece (4.2-19.6

[207] WILKES, "Manila in 1842," sec. Industries.
[208] Ibid.
[209] (-), *Catálogo de La Exposición General de Las Islas Filipinas 1887*, sec. Septima, Grupo 51, # 17, p. 528.

meters or 3.5-15 varas).[210] The size of the pieces varied, some were adequate for one men's baro, one women's camisa or one pañuelo, while others were good for both camisa and pañuelo. In 1887, plain piña may be bought, on the average, at one peso per vara.[211] Piña mixed with silk (jusí) were slightly cheaper at 0.9 pesos per vara. By the American period, depending on the size and quality, some high-quality pieces were sold for as much as 5 to 10 dollars per piece in 1899, which means it must be worth double in pesos (10-20 pesos).[212]

Prices of piña pieces increased exponentially with the addition of embroideries. As a reference point, sewn piña baros for both women and men, without any embroidery, cost, more or less between 3 to 7 pesos,[213] inclusive of the price of textile and sewing labor. With the application of embroideries, a 7 pesos men's shirt could go for as much as 50 to 100 pesos, according to Bowring (1859).[214] There were piña textiles, which were already sold with embroideries. Small *piña bordada* pieces (embroidered textiles only, not yet sewn into clothing), adequate material for only one camisa, were priced between 2 to 9 pesos in 1887[215]while bigger pieces, good for matching camisa and pañuelo, were between 12 to 14 pesos.[216] The prices were influenced by the intricacy of the embroidery. Mixed textiles for whole dress ensembles, comprised of silk for a skirt, embroidered nipis for a camisa and a pañuelo were priced at around 55 pesos.[217] Some large pieces of heavily embroidered piña, good for an entire dress ensemble, were reported to have fetched for more than 1400 dollars

[210] According to Professor Xavier Huetz de Lemps, the vara as a unit of measurement was made official in 1814 before becoming mandatory in 1843. Alfred W. and Ed. C. de Jesus McCOY, *Philippine Social History: Global Trade and Local Transformations* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1982), 455.
[211] Piña prices varied: there were 0.62 per vara, 1.62 per piece (cut enough for 1 women's camisa) and 3 pesos per piece of sewn camisa. (-), *Catálogo de La Exposición General de Las Islas Filipinas 1887*, sec. Septima, Grupo 50, #70: Doña Trinidad Coto, p. 502; #83: Fr. Gerardo Diez de la Concepción, p. 504, #261: Don Bonifacio Servando, p. 521.
[212] There was a devaluation of silver in 1873, which resulted to the devaluation of the Philippine peso to half of a United States dollar at the end of the 19th century. YOUNGHUSBAND, *The Philippines and Round about*, 59.
[213] Villegas, quoting Bowring (1859) mentioned that men's shirts without embroidery costs 7 dollars and 50 to 100 dollars with embroidery. During the time of Bowring, figures quoted in dollars would have been the same as pesos, unlike during the American period when a dollar was worth double in pesos, i.e. 1 dollar=2 pesos. This was consistent with the quotation of Martínez de Zúñiga that a good camisa cost around 3-4 pesos (in the first two decades of the 1800s). (-), *Catálogo de La Exposición General de Las Islas Filipinas 1887*, sec. 7, Grupo 50, #83, p. 504; #305, p. 526; #148, p. 509; VILLEGAS, "Chapter Eleven: Costumes and Adornments," 278; Joaquín MARTÍNEZ DE ZÚÑIGA y DÍAZ DE ILARRAZA, *Status of the Philippines in 1800* (Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, 1973), 420; CASTRO, "Dissecting Dress," 64.
[214] VILLEGAS, "Chapter Eleven: Costumes and Adornments," 278.
[215] (-), *Catálogo de La Exposición General de Las Islas Filipinas 1887*, sec. Septima, Grupo 51, #21: Subcomisión provincial de Bulacan, p. 529.
[216] Ibid., sec. Septima, Grupo 51, #20: Subcomisión provincial de Batangas, p. 528; #21: Subcomisión provincial de Bulacan, p. 529.
[217] a certain Doña Pilar from Madrid made a submission of a *traje de mestiza*, comprised of a silk skirt, *camisa* and *pañuelo de nipis bordado* (embroidered shirt and kerchief made of sheer fabric) and velvet slippers. The total cost of the entire ensemble was indicated to be 55 pesos.
Ibid., sec. Segunda, Grupo 16, #121, p. 272.

or 2800 pesos.[218] This price is consistent with Ramon Reyes Lala's estimate that the cost of a finished (sewn) evening dress of opulent piña camisa with matching pañuelo and a heavily embroidered silk skirt could not be less than 1500 dollars or 3000 pesos.[219] A Madrid-based Doña Micaela Merino de López Berges had a sewn dress set, made up of embroidered piña shirt (*cuerpo*), skirt, frills, which was valued so much less at 600 pesos.[220]

The profit margins were huge considering that the cost of labor remained low even if the prices of goods went up as a result of the American occupation at the end of the century. Women weavers, regardless of the quality of cloth they were weaving, generally received a quarter to half a real per day, including food. Women who were weaving coarse cloth like *guinara*, generally received a quarter of a real per day, including food. A piece of *guinara*, which would averagely take two days to weave, cost a total of half a real or 0.063 peso in labor.[221] It was then sold for double the cost at 1 real or 0.125 peso. Depending on the size, larger pieces of piña (usually between 4.2 meters or 3.5 varas to as much as 19 meters or 15 varas), which took an average of twenty-four to thirty working days, costing 12-15 reales or 1.5-1.875 pesos in labor, would earn the skilled weaver only half a real per day (6.3 centimes de peso) and her food.[222] Plain piña pieces, depending on the quality, would then be sold at 1 peso per vara,[223] which means a piece measuring 5 varas, for example, went for 5 pesos. Embroidered piña fabric for ladies' camisas went for around 1.5 pesos or more per vara.[224]

In the 1850s to 1860s, the cost of a provincial weaver's labor was approximately 1-2 pesos a month,[225] the bordadoras and sastres would each cost 7.50 pesos a month (provincial rate) or 12 pesos a month (Manila rate).[226] Even if it took the weaver up to 3 months to produce a really fine piece of piña, the bordadora another 3 months to embroider, the sastre

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[218] JAGOR, "Jagor's Travels in the Philippines," chap. 13.
[219] Ramon Reyes LALA, *The Philippine Islands* (New York: Continental Publishing Company, 1899), 64, http://dlxs.library.cornell.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?sort=datea;c=sea;cc=sea;type=simple;rgn=full%20text;q1=pi%C3%B1a;view=reslist;subview=detail;start=1;size=25;didno=sea212.
[220] The exact listing states: *"vestido de piña bordado, compuesto de falda, volante, tela para cuerpo y chal."* Precisely what type of *volante* or frill is not known, it could be possibly be a tapís. (-), *Catálogo de La Exposición General de Las Islas Filipinas 1887*, sec. Septima, Grupo 51, #13, 528.
[221] JAGOR, "Jagor's Travels in the Philippines," chap. 14.
[222] Those who knot the fibers of the piña fibers, the process of which is called *sugot,* were only paid 1/8 of a real per day plus food. Ibid.
[223] CASTRO, "Dissecting Dress," 64; (-), *Catálogo de La Exposición General de Las Islas Filipinas 1887*, sec. 7, Grupo 50, #144 exhibit by Don Juan Insay from Molo, Iloilo, p. 509; #178 exhibit by Doña Eugenia Langosta from Oton, Iloilo, p. 513; #193 by Doña Lucinda Madrones from Oton, p. 515.
[224] (-), *Catálogo de La Exposición General de Las Islas Filipinas 1887*, sec. 7, Grupo 50, #285 exhibited by Don Mariano Tejico from Molo, Iloilo, p. 525.
[225] Rate for 1859. JAGOR, "Jagor's Travels in the Philippines," chap. 22.
[226] Estimated rates between 1892 and 1910. SAWYER, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines (1900)*, 180; CAMAGAY, *Working Women of Manila*, 53; FEE, *A Woman's Impression of the Philippines*, chap. XVII.

another month or two to sew (by hand) the cloth to produce a pañuelo or camisa, the total cost of labor (excluding food) would only amount to 21.75 to 36 pesos. Still to be factored in were the costs of raw materials (i.e., piña fibers), maintenance of equipments, transport and space rentals (if any).[227] If some pieces were reported to have been sold for as much as 1,400 dollars (2,800 pesos) or even more, the majority of the profits, in fact, went to the middlemen.

Table 7: Cost of Labor

	Cost of Labor, excluding food (in pesos per month)	**Cost of Labor, excluding food (in pesos for 3 months)**	
Weaver	1-2	x 3 months	= 3-6
Embroiderers	7.50-12	x 3 months	= 22.5-36
Seamstresses	7.50-12	a 2 months (maximum)	= 22.5-36
Total	**16-26**		**= 48-78**

These rates were based on the reports of foreign employers and computed by multiplying the daily rates with the maximum thirty working days per month. Assuming they worked a minimum of 24 days per month, they would have earned 25% less than the above values (total of 12-20 pesos, instead of 16-26 pesos).

Weavers, embroiderers, seamstresses, generally, received lower wages also under native or mestizo employers. Provincial rates were also around half of that in Manila, since rents, wages and overall standard of living were generally lower than in the metropolis. With less cafés, theaters, there were also proportionately less leisure pursuits and diversions; therefore, less spending. Clothing and footwear also tend to be more modest than in Manila. Thus, the cost of a single or a family was significantly reduced to about half of that in the capital.[228]

Wages increased at the turn of the century when the Americans took over. Seamstresses who earned 12 pesos per month in the 1890s began earning 30 to 45 pesos per month in 1910. All domestic employments came with meal provisions. Those who lived in the house had all their meals provided for. Day laborers who lived out were only provided with one meal, usually lunch. Regular work hours varied between employers, but typically,

[227] The bamboo looms, which they make themselves, usually cost them nothing. JAGOR, "Jagor's Travels in the Philippines," chap. 22.
[228] Jaime ESCOBAR y LOZANO, *El Indicador del Viajero en Las Islas Filipinas* (Manila: Tipo-Litografía de Chofre y C.[a], 1885), 91.

they worked between nine to ten hours, from six in the morning to twelve noon and from one to five or two to six in the afternoon.[229]

Sastres and Costureras

Many consumers purchased cloths from the sinamayeras and consequently, employed sastres to handsew them into clothing. If the cloths they purchased were plain, embellishments and embroideries would be added either before or after they were sewn into camisas, pañuelos or sayas. They either employed bordadoras or embroidered and personalized their clothes themselves. After all, there were many well-to-do convent-educated women who were well-trained in sewing and embroidery. Some even developed needlework skills that allowed them to replicate and even surpass the best European laces.

In most households, the role of a seamstress (sastre or costurera) was understood to be a "maid to mistress," whose duties were similar to that of a personal assistant. A sastre would help the lady of the house dress up, fix her hair, and mend her garments. There were also those who served male employers. Many native women, especially the poor ones, would enter the employ of Castilian colonial employees as servants or as seamstresses (sastres or costureras), despite the fact that it was a low-paying job. Some of the ambitious ones admitted their weakness for the *Castila* so they would try very hard to please him, sewing shirts for him and embroidering his handkerchiefs.[230] Remarks such as female servants proving to be "great assets to men living alone" were in many cases loaded with suggestions of intimacy.[231] Foreman wrote about the poor parents who offered their girls to Europeans for a loan of money, and how these girls would be "admitted under the pseudonym of seamstress or housekeeper."[232]

Probably hoping for proposals of marriage one day, there would be some presumptuous ones who behaved as the mistress of the house, often appropriating the master's bedroom balcony as her workspace. As Barrántes narrated, her parents would bring her to the young Castilian's house every morning, to which they would already demand from him payment in advance for the day's work of their daughter. Time and again, her parents would also help themselves to the gentleman's cigarettes and *morisquetas* (boiled rice).[233]

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[229] JAGOR, "Jagor's Travels in the Philippines," chap. 14.
[230] MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1846, 65.
[231] "Quica," in *Ilustración Filipina Periódico Quincenal*, Año 1,, Num. 3 (Manila: Imprenta y litografía de Ramírez y Giraudier, 1859), 17.
[232] FOREMAN, *The Philippine Islands*, chap. XI.
[233] D. Vicente BARRÁNTES, "Spanish, Portuguese, and American Women: As They Are in Their Home, in the Fields, in the Cities, in Church, during Festivities, in the Workshop, and in Salons: Descriptions and Pictures of

While this situation lasted, all parties seem to have benefited in some ways. For him, she was cheap labor.[234] For her, he represented hope. Mindful that he would never marry her and bring her back to Spain, he simply enjoyed the presence of his native 'girlfriend' while ensuring himself a steady supply of embroidered clothing. To quote Barràntes,

> For men, there is a very large and transcendental difference in having a woman from one race or another. He cannot return to Spain with an india or a mestiza de sangley because their distinct color and features would embarrass him and only his children would look good in the Retiro.[235]

Unfortunately for her, when his tour of duty ends, he would simply pass on his furniture, along with his servants and sastre, to his successor. [236]

Ilustración Filipina (1859) had a feature story on a young sastre by the name of Quica (Fig. 219).[237] The article is a representation of the plight and frustrations of many poor sastres back then. The writer mentioned that what drew him to feature the 19 or 20-year old Quica over the other sastres was her pretty face, big eyes, lustrous hair and her sweet demeanor. Interestingly, he did not allude much to her talent in sewing.

Quica's story points to the reality of child labor rooted on the mentality of many poor families to make money out of their children, often appearing the moment employers disburse their salaries. With their children working, poor parents manage not only to avoid the duties of feeding, clothing, educating and rearing them but manage to profit from their births as well. The nature of debt servitude was also dealt with in this article when Quica was, to begin with, sent to work as payment for the 25 pesos her parents borrowed.[238] This amount was equivalent to the gobernadorcillos' annual salary of 24 pesos. If, as a young criada, she earns a stipend of half a peso per month, it would take her about four years to pay off this debt.[239]

Quica was the sixth child of a poor indio couple and who, at the young age of 8, was to the "big house," which was how the common *tao* referred to the homes of well-off

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the Character, Customs, Typical Dress, Manners, Religion, Beauty, Defects, Preoccupations, and Qualities of Women from Each of the Provinces of Spain, Portugal, and the Spanish Americas [Translation]," 1876, 52, http://scholarship.rice.edu/jsp/xml/1911/20705/494/aa00030tr.tei.html.

[234] Sastres abound in Manila and its suburbs. Their services were, therefore, cheap. See CAMAGAY, *Working Women of Manila*, 42.

[235] Retiro in Madrid. BARRÁNTES, "Spanish, Portuguese, and American Women (1876)," 40–41, 52.

[236] Ibid.

[237] "Quica."

[238] *Tú fuiste la hipoteca de aquel contrato; tu sangre, y un trabajo sin tregua ni descanso, los réditos, y la absoluta pérdida de tu libertad, la cláusula de aquel monstruoso pacto. Desde aquel momento tuviste una despótica señora.* ÁLVAREZ GUERRA, *Viajes por Filipinas de Manila à Marianas*, 118.

[239] salary of a child worker was media peso. *See* FEE, *A Woman's Impression of the Philippines*, chap. XVIII.

families. She entered the household as a servant, expected to do various random tasks for the family, ranging from keeping the rooms and clothes of the master's children orderly, to playing with them, carrying their books and even going to school with them. The little servants, whose numbers usually corresponded with the number of children the employers had, were at the beck and call of the young masters.

The racial background of Quica's employers was not clearly stated, but they were most likely Europeans, if not some well-to-do natives bent on living out the European way of life. The first things she must learn, after all, were the habits and European ways of her masters. The family she served may also be members of the colonizing elite for they showed disapproval over Quica's alleged 'intimacy' with their eldest son. The exact nature of this relationship was not elaborated, but it did prompt them to send Quica back to her parents at the age of twelve.

She acquired her knowledge in sewing informally as she went about her duties as a servant, often enduring a few slaps from her mistress' *chinellas*. It was also in that household where she learned how to maintain proper hygiene especially since she was expected to be clean as she interacted with her master's children. Being nearly the same age as the young *señoritos* and *señoritas*, she enjoyed wearing nice clothes - and even jewelries- that once belonged to them. For a child whose salary went straight to her parents, those cast-off things presumably gave Quica's kind, joy and some semblance of pride. Upon her dismissal though, the clothes and jewelries were away from her by her parents, greatly reducing her appearance to one of austerity and simplicity.

Quica, overcoming many years of work without pay, then went on to join a guild of domestic seamstresses,[240] which must have offered workers like her the opportunity to be in between two extremes: servitude and independence. She was too proud to be a maid but too poor to establish her own workshop.

In an era when clothes were mostly hand-sewn and custom-made, there was unmistakably a demand for sastres to cater especially to the fickleness and the whims of the wealthy. What the guilds' existence somehow conveyed was that there were enough supply of sastres to form a guild, which is understood traditionally as groups of independent and skilled workers who bonded together to protect their common interests. Being part of a trade-based association also showed that they were skilled workers, unlike household cleaners and servants.

[240] "Quica," 17.

At that time, it was an advantage to possess skills in sewing but the profession did not accord sastres good wages. In the 1890s, those working for foreigners earned around 6 dollars or 12 pesos per month, plus one meal.[241] Manila-based foreign businessmen generally offered higher wages while native employers in other parts of the country usually paid less. As Camagay pointed out, "all the suburbs of Manila had a significant number of costureras."[242] There were so many of them that even with the presence of guilds, they could not command higher wages. The guilds dispatched them to different households, where they would report everyday. Since sastres lived out, they must also pay for rent, unlike the criadas (house servants), who may have only been paid between two to three pesos a month but whose food and lodging were provided for.[243] In a lithograph by C.W. Andrews in *Ilustración Filipina* (1858, Fig. 219), Quica, looking pensive, was dressed in very simple clothes composed of checkered saya, striped tapís, plain baro with straight, loose sleeves and a handkerchief hanging around her neck.[244] She looks clean but her clothes look rumpled, even made more so with her loosely tied tapís. She looks shabby and almost downtrodden, but with good reason since Quica could not invest much on her appearance with her meager earnings, with rent to pay and with a mother to provide and care for. Rent for day laborers, like Quica, was estimated by José Felipe del Pan (1878) to be four pesos a month or one-third of their salary.[245]

Through her story, one could catch a glimpse of the musings, motivations, and behaviors of sastres. When they reported in the morning, they worked with other sastres in the same room. To break the monotony of sewing, they would bring their *tampipes* (which functioned as a toolbox) and lay out their tools on the floors of the "coolest part of the house," in this case, the corridor.[246] It was interesting how they found ways to amuse themselves by singing or chewing betelnut, often spitting through the windows while secretly wondering if they had hit anybody with their red saliva.

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[241] Rates were for those working under foreign employers. Those who work for indios and mestizos were paid less. SAWYER, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines (1900)*, 180; CAMAGAY, *Working Women of Manila*, 53.
[242] Many of the sastres and costureras were based in Sampaloc and Paco. CAMAGAY, *Working Women of Manila*, 42; OCAMPO, "Ads in the 19th Century."
[243] 2-3 pesos was the rate in 1892. It must be noted that the wages of criadas varied in different parts of the country. Rates in Manila were usually higher and foreign businessmen generally also gave higher wages. CAMAGAY, *Working Women of Manila*, 51–52.
[244] According to author Eloisa May P. Hernandez, female artist Petrona Nakpil de Bautista, whose pseudonym was Ana Capili or Ana Kapili (b. 1861-d. 1948) made an unsigned and undated painting titled *The Sewer*, showing a woman sewing inside a room. The painting is now with her descendants. "Quica," 19; HERNANDEZ, *Homebound : Women Visual Artists in Nineteenth Century*, 57.
[245] José Felipe DEL PAN, *Las Islas Filipinas: Progresos en 70 Años.* (Manila: Imprenta de la Oceania Española, 1878), 397–399.
[246] Tampipes were either square closed baskets or cloth with four corners tied together to hold one's tools or personal items. CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 234–235, 244–245.

During their first few weeks in the new house, sastres would show a great deal of enthusiasm. They would start out punctual, helpful and meticulous but would later become difficult to manage, often carrying out hidden sewing projects when left unsupervised, sometimes even leaving the house in the middle of the day for one personal reason after another.

How they were paid, whether per day, per week, per month or per piece, was made clear by Barrántes' account. He mentioned that they were paid daily and this was confirmed by American travel accounts, which further added that wages were calculated based on an average workday of nine hours. What was also evident was that most domestic employments came with provisions of food, usually one midday meal. During the early American period in 1910, their daily wage for nine hours of work was fifty to seventy-five cents gold (equivalent to one to one-fifty pesos), plus a meal.[247] There were some sastres who complained about the meals and the servants, many of whom were males at that time. Knowing the exact nature of their complaints would be essential to understanding the wider dynamics of servant-sastre relationships within the same household. Considering that sastres would sometimes be the only female among the household staff,[248] many have developed relationships with the houseboy, *mayordomo* or *cochero*. In other cases, she refused "to remain alone in the house while the mistress run into a neighbor's on an errand without bolting herself in the room and, if the lady is gone any length of time, she will not stay there at all, simply because she is afraid of the men servants- and justly so."[249] Personal problems between staff working for the same household had also created awkward situations that, on many occasions, resulted to one party leaving. There were several other reasons why sastres left their jobs, some claimed fatigue, others wanted to join their lovers in a different city, while others were fired for theft.[250]

There was a big difference between the two cases of in-house sastres. In the first case, the *sastre*-cum-girlfriend, having brazenly used the balcony of the master's bedroom as her workspace, demonstrated close access, intimacy and blurred master-servant relationship. In

[247] Within a 10-year period, between 1900-1910, their wages actually doubled or even tripled - from 20 cents gold or 40 centimes de peso per day plus dinner in 1900 to 50-75 cents gold or 1 to 1.50 pesos per day plus dinner in 1910. If they work every day for 30 days, they could make as much as 30 to 45 pesos per month, especially under American employers. FEE, *A Woman's Impression of the Philippines*, 240; CAMAGAY, *Working Women of Manila*, 43.
[248] Felice Prudente STA. MARIA, *The Governor-General's Kitchen: Philippine Culinary Vignettes and Period Recipes, 1521-1935* (Manila: Anvil Publishing, 2006), 27; SAWYER, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines (1900)*, 180; CAMAGAY, *Working Women of Manila*, 53.
[249] FEE, *A Woman's Impression of the Philippines*, chap. Filipino Youths and Maidens, pp. 119–129, 262.
[250] "Quica," 19.

the second case, sastres like Quica, who were most likely supervised by the lady of the house could not have easily accessed the private quarters of her employers, unless she was summoned. While the first case epitomized the presumptuous, impertinent yet hopeful *sastre*, the second case merely illustrated the monotony and frustrations that came with straightforward employment of sastres. Both cases touched on how sastres were perceived by their employers, by their peers and by the society at large.

There were also male sastres, with names such as Nengoy, who, with a little bit of luck, prevailed through their low social background. Informally, the likes of Nengoy learned to baste (*hilvanar*) and later, to sew (*coser*), by first working as a *bata* (child laborer) to sweep the floors of the sastrerías and to run errands for its *maestros y oficiales* (instructors).[251] Amidst the jeers and taunts that characterized life as the *sastrería's* errand boy, the young Nengoy learned to make well-made pants with fringes and edgings *(pantalon de pistón, con pestañas y todo*). He learned about fashion, often making no distinctions of class, by observing and admiring people during *emprantadas* (serenades) and during cockfights. He learned about the excitement that came with wearing beautiful clothes on such festive occasions. He observed the cuts that set apart good tailoring, but more importantly, he observed the people who wore them.

Nengoy, despite being poor, learned to associate good tailoring with proper grooming and accessorizing. In Félix Martínez' *El official de sastre*, the image of the Nengoys of this world come alive, vivified by objects particular to his craft.[252] Sitting on the floor with a pair of scissors and a *tampipe*[253] containing the tools of his trade, a bare-footed young man placidly and patiently sewed on a pair of pants. Unlike most working men and women who would roll their sleeves for more ease when working with their hands, this young male *sastre* kept his shirt cuffs fastened (Fig. 220A). By and large, he looks poor but clean, tidy, well-dressed, even dignified.

How then does one recognize a tailor? They say a tailor could be recognized mainly by his fingers and not by his clothing and appearance. Chipped fingernails and calloused fingers often offered insights into their craft, although it must be noted that such characteristic also prevailed with other types of working men and women. One could see that the constant pushing and pulling of needles that came with sewing by hand had taken its toll

[251] Félix MARTÍNEZ y LORENZO, "El Oficial de Sastre," in *La Ilustración del Oriente Revista Semanal*, Año II,, Num. 14 (Manila: De J. Oppel, 1878), 159, 162.
[252] Ibid.
[253] Sawyer reports that these *tampipes,* being handy and functional travel carriers, were apparently being exported to London. SAWYER, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines (1900)*, chap. XVII: Manufactures and Industries.

on their fingers. Hand sewing would remain the norm for majority of the population for the remainder of the 19th century. Although there were already sewing machines being sold since the 1870s, the hefty price tag that came with the new technology counted as among the reasons why tailoring by hand did not become obsolete.

Singer sewing machines were sold by various distributors like *Catalino Valdezco* since the early 1870s. However, it was only in the 1880s, when Singer established their own showroom in No. 9 Escolta. They also began a more intense marketing campaign, offering free home demonstrations and staggered payment schemes. With Singer's promotions, one may acquire these sewing machines for only ten reales per week.[254]

If many embroiderers were from Ermita, many of the male tailors were from Tondo and many female seamstresses were from Paco. In *La Ilustración del Oriente*'s (1877, Fig. 221A) feature article on "*La Costurera de Manila*," it was mentioned how the real costureras hailed from Paco, with "real" referring perhaps to skillful or experienced.[255] Following the introduction of sewing machines in Manila in the early 1870s, a new type of costureras began to emerge, the *maquinistas*. Succinctly, costureras began to be subdivided into either *maquinistas* or hand sewers. As reported in the article, hundreds and hundreds of sewing machines found their way into Manila households in the last four years. Working with sewing machines required a completely new type of training and skill, previously unknown to the hand-stitching costureras.

The costurera as *maquinista* may have drawn more men to the profession. In a rare 19th century image of a *maquinista*, a disheveled old man sits behind a sewing machine, while three other people, who were either sewing or embroidering, were seated on the floor beside him (Fig. 221B).[256] This image indicates that *maquinistas* worked in tandem with costureras and perhaps, even bordadoras. This image, appropriately captioned "native tailor-shop" shows how labor was consolidated into one workroom. That little space was microcosm of an assembly or production line, where different workers progressively made and adorned clothes. It is likely that these types of initiatives were set up by enterprising mestizos, who wished to make production more efficient. Having both *maquinistas* and

[254] Ads may be found in ESCOBAR y LOZANO, *El Indicador del Viajero en Las Islas Filipinas*, 257; Pedro GROIZÁRD, *Manila Alegre: Periódico Festivo Ilustrado*, Año 1 (Escolta 18: Imp. La Industrial, 1885), December 6, Num. 1, p. 4; Pedro GROIZÁRD, *Manila Alegre: Periódico Festivo Ilustrado*, Año II (Escolta 18: Imp. La Industrial, 1886), Marzo 16, Num. 11, p. 7.

[255] Quoting from the article: *"Esta es la costurera de verdad: la costurera de Paco; legitima de Paco, como el buen garbanzo ha de ser de Fuentesauco."* UN SOLTERON, "La Costurera de Manila," Noviembre 11, Num. 6, pp. 5–6.

[256] *Native Tailor-Shop, Manila 1900* (Ohio: The Crowell and Kirkpatrick Company, 1900).

costureras in the same workroom would allow them to cater to the evolving clothing needs of the upper classes. The hand-stitching costureras remained relevant especially since the local genteel classes continued to use native luxury textiles, like piña, which were best sewn by hand. Among elite women, in particular, luxury textiles were local, not imported. Men in business and politics, on the other hand, utilized both imported and local textiles – imported for their Western suits and local for the fiesta or gala wear. Their Western suits were best sewn by machines while their *piña barong* were best stitched by hand. Sewing machines, in general, offered the advantage of decreasing the amount of time to be spent on making clothes. While previously, the average housewife had to spend a large amount of time in hand sewing and repairing clothes, sewing machines could potentially grant them more leisure hours. It is likely that a significant number of rich housewives invested in sewing machines and set up workrooms such as this, with both *maquinistas* and costureras to make different types of clothes for the different family members, all under their close supervision. With sewing machines, *maquinistas* would be able to make clothes much faster, greatly reducing the number of days the rich housewife need to employ them. It may also be inferred that as work became faster, the turnover of employments for these day workers (*maquinistas*) became much more frequent as well.

The Scrupulous and Unscrupulous Tailors

There was also another type of male tailor, one who learned to supplement his income by engaging in the "flesh" trade. The unscrupulous tailor exposes us to the darker side of his profession. Some prostitutes were being handled by pimps, referred to as *amos* and *amas* (master and madam) in the Philippines. Although most pimps were female *indios*, there were a few indio and Chinese males who managed prostitutes and arranged clients for them in return for a percentage of their incomes. While some *amas* declared themselves as costureras (dressmakers) or cigarreras (tobacco factory worker) by profession, some amos declared themselves to be sastres (tailors). Camagay conjectures that "it is not surprising that this tailor would act as an *amo* considering that he did have access to the male population who might desire the services of a prostitute."[257]

It is clear that there is legitimacy and dignity in this profession. Rizal accorded to his fictional character, Sisa, the profession of a sastre. Maria C. Castro, the wife of the esteemed

[257] CAMAGAY, *Working Women of Manila*, 109.

artist, José Honorato Lozano, was registered on the 1871 *vecindario* as a *costurera*.[258] Alongside the noble and "good," were the worst kinds, the lazy and exploitative ones who became weary of the tedious work, who wanted to get out of the profession but who could not afford to do so. One tailor, a certain Ceferino Fernández, was deported to Mindanao by order of the *gobernadorcillo* and the *principales* of Tondo. It was discovered that he stopped working as a tailor after coercing his wife to be a prostitute so he could live off from her earnings.[259]

It is interesting to ponder whether these costureras or sastres were tailors first before they became pimps or they were indeed pimps who simply covered their activities by declaring legitimate occupations. The same with some prostitutes, the *expedientes* (files) of those taken into custody show that they indicated costureras, lavanderas, cigarreras and tenderas as their occupations. Were they really costureras or lavanderas who saw opportunities to make extra money by working as prostitutes or were they prostitutes who, for one reason or another, could not declare themselves as such, opting instead to write more "acceptable" occupations in their files?

Quite possibly, the unscrupulous tailor was really a tailor first before he became a pimp. Seeing chance and opportunity in and among his customers, and by the strength of his 'connections,' he revolutionized the trade by setting up introductions at a fee. Unbeknownst to his customer, he incidentally collected fees from the exploited prostitute, the lesser of the two parties. In the eyes of his customer, this tailor was a worthy retainer –worthy both for his services as a tailor, who was already well acquainted with his measurements and for his services as a procurer of 'other services.' When the professional carried over to the personal, the commercial relationship was either enhanced or endangered by these, for a lack of better term, closet transactions.

Meanwhile, Elena Gabriel was recorded as a lavandera from Mariquina in her expediente (file).[260] She moved to Manila hoping to find a better-paying job, only to find herself as a prostitute. In this case, by need and circumstance, the lavandera was transformed into a prostitute, which reportedly began with a change of dress and appearance. Some young dalagas who were misled into believing they were to be employed as criadas (servants) reported how they were "made to wear elegant clothes and jewelry, made to put on make-up

[258] The vecindario was the list of residents of the Philippines, prepared annually based on barangay and cabeceria records. The vecindario lists Maria C. Castro, as age 43, costurera (dressmaker). CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 19.
[259] CAMAGAY, *Working Women of Manila*, 111.
[260] *Philippine National Archives*, n.d., bk. Prostitucion 1881–1879; CAMAGAY, *Working Women of Manila*, 108.

and made to wear perfume" to meet a group of men.[261] The new clothes, jewelry and makeup marked the beginning of their transformation – and their suspicions. Their use of the word elegant to describe the clothes their illegal recruiters made them wear was, unquestionably, inaccurate. While the clothes must be more 'elegant' than what they were used to, it is unlikely that they were tasteful and fashionable.

Then, there were the scrupulous Chinese tailors whose careful manners and unparalleled attentiveness drew return customers of varying racial and economic backgrounds. They prevailed despite lack of proper tools. Improvised platforms made of cardboard boxes, measuring tapes made out of torn newspapers, "making sundry tears along its borders to indicate the length of sleeve or breadth of chest, and sending you off with his most placid smile and a guarantee" was the unassuming charm of the Chinese tailor.[262] He would reassure his clients by saying, "I already made for some people today, no fitting, no taking [translation mine]."[263] Most likely, the suit the Chinaman made, "of thin tweeds, English style, will altogether surpass your expectations as a newcomer."[264] With honest prices and his word of honor, all those who loved a good deal --from the richest to the poorest to the pretentious ones between these two extremes --were assured of customer satisfaction. Through the art of the deal, Chinese tailors have made themselves "fashionable." Such was the foundation of the success and consequent wealth of the 'John Chinaman' of 19th century Philippines.[265]

The Maintenance and Upkeep of Clothes

Cost of Hygiene

What was the cost of hygiene at that time? While the poorer classes washed their own clothes, people from the elite and intermediate classes, like Doña Consolación in Rizal's *Noli me tangere* (1886), could very well afford to spend for lavanderas (laundress) to regularly care for their clothes. Doña Consolacion is viewed here as a cultural example of a poor lavandera who became a member of the well-to-do class by virtue of her marriage to the *Alférez*. If the Doña wanted to, she could even have lavanderas and sastres (seamstresses) live

[261] CAMAGAY, *Working Women of Manila*, 51.
[262] HANNAFORD, *History and Description of the Picturesque Philippines*, sec. John Chinaman, Millionaire and Pariah, p. 68.
[263] *me makee allee same ploppel tlee day-no fittee, no takee*. Ibid., 68.
[264] Ibid.
[265] The term John Chinaman has been used in various sources to refer to the quintessential model of a hardworking, unassuming and diligent Chinaman. Ibid., sec. John Chinaman, Millionaire and Pariah, pp. 66–68; SAWYER, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines (1900)*, chap. XXXI: The Chinese in Luzon, pp. 288–294.

in the same household as her to maintain her family's clothing. It was common for the better classes at that time, especially among those who invested in high-value inner and outer wears to employ in-house retainers. Some after all owned finely embroidered camisas made of light and delicate materials like piña, which needed to be taken apart before each wash and sewn together afterwards.[266]

For the elite, pristine outfits meant more than just hygiene and bodily cleanliness; it reflected their civilization, cultural standing, education, and even status. All of which did not seem to concern the likes of Doña Consolación. Unlike many wealthy women who often had multiple copies of the same shirt, she wore and re-wore the same shirt to the point of discoloration. While others, due to the country's warm climate, tend to bring an extra baro to change on during parties so they could maintain clean and fresh appearances as they dance through the night,[267] the Doña was content with her raggedy flannel camisa. Some well-bred women took great pride in the workmanship of their camisas that they would even show them off by leaving the first one hanged in the ladies' dressing room.

If her husband the *Alférez* earned about 125 pesos per month, they were already considered well-to-do. To live comfortably, one needed to have an income of 60 pesos a month if he lived by himself. If he had a family of two to four people, he would need probably at least 100 pesos a month.[268] The services of the lavanderas of Manila in the1870s would only cost them three pesos monthly, to be paid in advance upon the first pickup of dirty clothes. Since Doña Consolacion only wore her "favorite" flannel camisa, the bulk then should just be her husband's clothes and lavanderas at that time may be paid by number of pieces per washing, a detail a former *lavandera* like her should already know. The calculation was based on the rate of three pesos for one hundred clothing pieces, excluding socks and handkerchiefs.[269] It is not clear whether this rate included ironing as well. The washing of

[266] CRUZ, *The Terno*, 5.
[267] Mina ROA, J.R. JAYME-FERNANDEZ, and Bert HERNANDEZ, *The Evolution of the Elegant Philippine Costume. Pamphlet.* (Manila: M. Colcol and Co., 1947), 5; CRUZ, *The Terno*, 5.
[268] Since the American occupation, prices was said to have doubled so it can be surmised that during the late Spanish period, figures were approximately 30% less that these figures: In the early 1900s, a single person could already live comfortably with an income of 80 pesos a month, if he lives in the provinces and around 120-160 pesos if he lives in Manila. With that, he could already afford a few servants and a carriage. Single foreigners might need a little bit more since they tend to spend for luxuries from their homelands. Depending on his location, he may need between 120-200 pesos per month. FEE, *A Woman's Impression of the Philippines*, chap. XVII.
[269] Ramon GONZÁLEZ FERNÁNDEZ, *Manual del Viajero en Filipinas* (Manila: Estab. Tip. de Santo Tomás, 1875), sec. Tarifas Cargadores, p. 100; Félix LAUREANO, "Lavando La Ropa," in *Recuerdos de Filipinas: Álbum-Libro: Útil Para El Estudio y Conocimiento de Los Usos y Costumbres de Aquellas Islas Con Treinta y Siete Fototipias Tomadas y Copiadas del Natural*, ed. Felice-Noelle RODRIGUEZ and Ramon C. SUNICO, trans. Renan PRADO (Mandaluyong, Filipinas: Cacho Publishing House, 2001), 93–95.

clothes constituted five percent of an average, single middle-income person's monthly expense of 53 pesos.

In the 1880s, the cost of washing was quoted at four pesos per month, but this already included the cost of ironing. Escobar y Lozano, in his *El indicador del viajero en las Islas Filipinas* (1885), grouped ironing together with washing but included a separate category for the maintenance of shoes and clothes, both inner and outer wears, which would require an additional eight pesos (see table). Maintenance could mean mending of clothes and polishing of shoes. Altogether, the costs related to the upkeep of one's appearance were estimated to be, more or less, twenty percent of a middle-income, single person's basic monthly expense of 61 pesos.

Table 8: Average Household Budget, for a Single Person, 1885[270]

		Pesos/Month
Por la parte de alquiler que le corresponde de casa, siendo cuatro los que vivan juntos y costando el alquiler 40 pesos	40 Pesos rental of a home shared by 4 people	10
Gasto diario á razón de medio peso	Average daily living expenses	15
Por la parte de almacen que le corresponde, suponiendo el gasto habido en el mes en 40 pesos	Grocery approximately 40 pesos per month, for a household of 4 people	10
Sueldo y manutencion de su criado	Salary and support to servant	5
Lavado y planchado de ropa	Washing and ironing of clothes	4
Por alquiler de vehiculos en comandita	Transport Expense altogether	5
Reposicion de calzado y ropas interiores y esteriores	Maintenance of shoes and inner and outer clothing	8
Gastos de correo, escrito y fumar	Postage, writing and smoking	4
Total	**Total monthly expense**	**61**
	Total yearly expense, with 20% leeway	**878**

If a single, middle-income person living in Manila at that time would spend around 61 pesos per month for rent, food, clothing upkeep and recreation, wealthier expatriates like British engineer Frederick Sawyer (1892), would spend the same amount on servants alone.[271] Of course, the cost of a single person's clothing upkeep was higher than the costs of a family of at least two. From among Sawyer's seven servants, two were specifically involved in the maintenance of their clothing and appearance. Apart from having a 6 pesos

[270] ESCOBAR y LOZANO, *El Indicador del Viajero en Las Islas Filipinas*, 91.
[271] SAWYER, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines (1900)*, 180–181; CAMAGAY, *Working Women of Manila*, 53.

per month male personal attendant for himself and another 6 pesos per month maidservant for his wife, both of whom were involved in dressing and grooming them, he specified the costs of washing and ironing of clothes, bed- and table-linens at 12 pesos per month, for a family of 3 adults and 3 children. Sawyer may have reorganized the roles of his servants. It is likely that instead of employing three separate people with mediocre skills and paying them three pesos each, he just hired two skilled people at six pesos each. The average Manila-based *criada* (maid) was paid around three pesos per month and Sawyer paid six pesos to one servant who performed multiple roles. His wife's maidservant must have been a *criada* and a *sastre* rolled into one, taking charge of dressing her, as well as the pick up and delivery of laundry and the mending of the family's clothes. Meanwhile, his valet's tasks must have included assisting him in dressing, polishing his shoes, etc. Meals were always provided for servants.

It is assumed that the rates for lavanderas were cheaper by half in the provinces. In the 1890s, in the towns and provinces outside Manila, the rates for washing and ironing for a hundred pieces was two and a half to three *pesos fuertes*, around 40 percent less than Manila's four pesos rates.[272]

Laundry and the Lavanderas

The elite's financial capacity to employ servants spared them from the rigors of washing, ironing and mending clothes, which preoccupied the lower classes. With lavanderas, planchadoras and costureras, hygiene and bodily discipline looked effortless. From an economic point of view, the investments they made in the proper care of clothing would save them the cost of having to constantly buy new clothes. The late 19th century magazine, *El Bello Sexo* (1891), ran a series of articles on the proper care of clothes made of different materials. Under *Conocimientos Utiles* (Useful Knowledge), they offered guidance on how to wash black lace (*lavado de encajes negros),* white lace (*lavado de encajes blancos*), colored wool (*lavado de las telas de lana de colo*) and silk ribbons (*limpieza de las cintas de seda).*[273] These articles were presumed to have been addressed to affluent female readers who would then impart care instructions to their servants. Particularly interesting was the use of beer (*cerveza*) as a soaking solution for cleaning silk and the boiled solution of nettle leaves mixed with rosewood or oakwood soap to wash and enhance the color of black

[272] LAUREANO, "Lavando La Ropa."
[273] "Conocimientos Utiles: Lavado de encajes negros, Lavado de encajes blancos, Lavado de las telas de lana de color, Limpieza de las cintas de seda," *El Bello Sexo* 1, no. 40 (October 18, 1891): 628–30.

wool.[274] For washing unstitched lace pieces, they were to be placed in *bolsitas de tela blanca* (white cloth bag) and soaked in a boiled solution of *aceite* (oil) mixed with soap and water for twenty four hours.

Many of the lavanderas were from outside of Manila, namely San Pedro (now Evangelista Street, Sta. Cruz), San Pedrillo or Guadalupe, San Juan del Monte or Mandaluyong and Sampaloc.[275] Most of them were not part of the regular household staff. While some households had in-house lavanderas, many would simply go to their customer's house to pick up and deliver the clothes, with their *tampipes* or *balutanes* over their heads. *Tampipes* were square closed baskets, usually made of *buri*, which were also used by *sastres* and traders in transporting clothes, laundry, textiles or any personal items. A makeshift one using a large cloth with all four corners tied together was also used as a *balutan* (bundle). An image of two *lavanderas* appeared in *Ilustración Filipina* (1860, Fig. 222).[276] C.W. Andrews captured them in a moment of waiting, waiting most likely to turn over garments or waiting for payment. One was sitting on the *balutan* while the other was standing while resting her elbow on the *balutan* laid on top of the table beside her. Some families would ask their houseboys or criadas to meet with the lavanderas for the turnover of clothes, which certainly must have been done with consistent regularity, most likely, weekly.

Lavanderas were usually indias or mestizas de sangley, from the poorer classes. Many of them were said to have remained poor, having spent most of their lives working and later on, growing old with neither savings nor strength. Other than the fact that she was young, there was really nothing special about the *lavandera* from Sampaloc represented in the engraving found in *La Ilustración del Oriente* (1878, Fig. 223).[277] She was dressed no differently from the other women of her class depicted in various iconographic sources. If she was lucky, she may have been able to find herself a *catipan* (boyfriend) or a husband, who could be both her companion and helpmate in life. There were not too many slender and attractive lavanderas, since, as old wives' tales would have it, the beautiful ones would rarely

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[274] Ibid.

[275] Waters within Manila were polluted, hence, many lavanderas did their washing outside of Manila. "La Lavandera," in *La Ilustración del Oriente Revista Semanal*, Año II,, Num. 2 (Manila: De J. Oppel, 1878), 16, 18; OCAMPO, "Ads in the 19th Century."

[276] *Ilustración Filipina Periódico Quincenal*, Año II (Manila: Imprenta y litografía de Ramírez y Giraudier, 1860), Mayo 1, Num. 9; MORENO, *Philippine Costume*, 158.

[277] The image was a photograph by Señor Enrique Schuren. He ran ads for his photography studio in No. 79 Dulumbayan, Sta. Cruz in 1875. In 1877, he advertised that he transferred to a new location in No. 9 Escolta. "La Lavandera, La Ilustración del Oriente, 1878 Enero 13"; GONZÁLEZ FERNÁNDEZ, *Manual del Viajero en Filipinas*; *La Ilustración del Oriente Revista Semanal*, Año 1 (Manila: De J. Oppel, 1877), Oct 7, Num. 1, p. 11.

devote themselves to work in this type of industry.[278] Those with *catipans* would often be seen in the company of a man while she did the washing. If she did the washing at home or in their backyards, he obliged her by fetching water for her and when she did the rounds, he helped her in carrying her *balutane*s (bundle) and *tampipes* (square baskets) to and from her customer's homes.

In contrast, in a photograph by Félix Laureano (1895) titled *Lavando la ropa* (washing clothes), a man who does not appear to be a *catipan* was seen washing clothes with three young dalagas (young maidens) by the river. The annotations described him to be an *agui* (homosexual) based on his *inagui* or *binabayi* (effeminate) appearance, stance and purported gestures.[279]

While most iconographic sources show women doing laundry either by the rivers or in their backyards, there were also male *lavanderos* (washermen). Mary Helen Fee, an American schoolteacher, had employed a *lavandero*, whom, when he died, she discovered to have been a false one. It was actually his wife who did the washing. Acting merely as a broker, he collected the garments for his wife to wash and later, delivered them to his client. He gave his wife only a pittance of what was paid to him in advance, appropriating most of the money in order to support his vices, particularly cockfighting.[280]

It is interesting how the care and upkeep of clothing, especially washing, has traditionally been ascribed as part of women's roles. Men have shown tendencies to shun or avoid these types of activities, for the most part, associating them with the feminine -- and as seen above, the effeminate.

Lavanderas in general have been described to be more prudent with their money, unlike the more indulgent criadas and sastres. They were reported not to have really lavished their income on expensive clothes, skirts and shirts. They would much rather put their money into bringing to Manila rice or *ilang-ilang*, which they could resell at a profit. For their clothes, comfort and modesty was deemed more important than aesthetics. Considering that in carrying out their task, they tend to get wet, it was enough for them to wear a white or blue skirt, a large *tapís,* wide and loose *camisa* and *pañuelo de chambray*.[281] Others, especially the

[278] "La Lavandera, La Ilustración del Oriente, 1878 Enero 13."
[279] LAUREANO, "Lavando La Ropa."
[280] FEE, *A Woman's Impression of the Philippines*, chap. XX: Sickbeds and Funerals, pp. 262–269.
[281] Their *tapís* were mentioned to be made in Tambobo or Tambobon, Malabón. In 1825, the textile manufacturers from the towns of Batangas, Tambobon (Malabón) and Las Piñas received much impetus from the *Sociedad Económica de Amigos del Pais* to counteract the effects of increased textile imports from China. "La Lavandera, La Ilustración del Oriente, 1878 Enero 13"; Felipe Ma. de GOVANTES, "Tejidos," in *El Oriente*, Num. 15 (Manila, 1877), 10; HERNÁNDEZ, *Iloilo, The Most Noble City*, 114; Policarpo HERNÁNDEZ, "Los Agustinos y su Labor Social en Filipinas," in *Archivo Agustiniano: Revista de Estudios*

ones from the countryside, would only have a tapís wrapped around their bodies (Fig. 179). They were hardly seen without the essential scapular of the Virgin of Antipolo and the rosary worn like a necklace. Riverside scenes teeming with groups of women in wet clothes that hugged their bodies led Daniel R. Williams, the secretary to the Second Philippine Commission, to comment on how "every river and stream was the site of promiscuous laundry work and bathing. While the mothers of the household thrash and beat the family linen upon the stones, their numerous progency, clothed only in sunlight, swim and splash about beside them."[282]

Unlike the lavanderas in Madrid, who washed indoors and in enclosed areas (*encajonadas*), the culture of clothes washing in the Philippines developed outdoors and in the open.[283] As such, local lavanderas were more social and convivial than the ones in Madrid whose isolation led them to have been described as somewhat withdrawn and uncommunicative. Convening in rivers to meet and socialize, women who made a living out of washing clothes performed their tasks alongside women who washed their own clothes and their family's clothes. Professional laundresses point to a highly unequal society with a wealthy population trained in the domestic arts but who were not really compelled to labor.

Professional lavanderas were accustomed to getting up early. Since they did the washing in rivers outside Manila, where water was clean and readily accessible, they would start their days before the sun gets too hot. Many would be seen laundering in shaded areas, protected by banana trees. Others would wear large, wide-brimmed hats, such as the one in the engraving in *La Ilustración del Oriente* (1878).[284] For the professional lavanderas, life happened at work. The *morisquetas* or boiled rice in the morning and the *sumans* (sweetened sticky-rice cake) in the afternoon shared among friends made their burdens a lot less lighter. River scenes have also been romanticized and the washing of clothes became an allegory for the washing away of life's sorrows.

In another illustration by C.W. Andrews (1860), a group of four women were captured in different stages of washing (Fig. 227).[285] One seems to be entering the scene

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Históricos Publicada por Los PP. Agustinos, vol. XCIV, 212 (Valladolid: Editorial Estudio Agustiniano, 2010), 230.

[282] Daniel R. WILLIAMS, *The Odyssey of The Philippine Commission, by the Secretary to Hon. Bernard Moses of the Second Philippine Commission* (Chicago: McClurg, 1913); Excerpt from William's book appeared in Jonathan BEST, *A Philippine Album: American Era Photographs, 1900-1930* (Makati City: Bookmark, 1998), 83.

[283] LAUREANO, "Lavando La Ropa."

[284] "La Lavandera, La Ilustración del Oriente, 1878 Enero 13."

[285] It is interesting to note that C.W. Andrews made 3 illustrations in Ilustración Filipina of women in acts of washing or drying clothes in 1860 alone. In this particular illustration, there is a man in the scene whose activity

balancing a basket of clothes over her head, another was washing in squatting position with her legs were exposed, another was flailing the clothes in preparation of hanging them, while the last was already hanging clothes. There were also women who did the washing of clothes in tandem with bathing at the *batalan*, an enclosed part of the home where people bathe. Women would undress and cover themselves with a dark *tapís*, a piece of cloth, which they would wrap around themselves and secure by the chest with a knot (Fig. 176B). They would be seen hanging clothes afterwards wearing the same thing, with their luxurious long hair left loose until dry. This type was depicted in the *letras y figuras* of Petrona Guerrero by Marcos Ortega y del Rosario (1878), *the letras y figuaras* of Edward A. Westley (1858) and Manuel E. Co-Gefue (1880) by José Honorato Lozano.[286] Despite the busyness of the *letras y figuras*, the woman who just bathed and did her laundry was recognizable by her long wet hair, dark *tapís,* and her overall scanty clothing, which fascinated many artists and foreign observers. In a studio photograph of three lavanderas by American photographer, W.W. Wood, the woman in the center with floor-length hair distracts the viewer from the activity represented in the photo.[287] The photograph recorded not only the ordinariness of both their chore and appearance, but also their natural beauty and sensuality as well.

There were also others who washed clothes in the backyards using a *palanggana (*metal basin), in which case there would always be a *tinaja*, a clay earthenware jar with a capacity of around twenty gallons of water and a *tabo*, a dipper or a water scoop usually made of polished coconut beside them.[288] Majority of the images of lavanderas depicted them doing their tasks in squatting positions while wearing comfortably loose *camisas* and *sayas.*[289] In an oil painting from Museo Oriental aptly titled *Tendiendo Ropas* (Hanging Clothes, 1887, Fig. 224) in what appears to be a rural setting, one woman was washing clothes while squatting with her saya gathered and clipped between her legs while another woman can be seen in the background hanging clothes with a baro't saya, tapís and a hat on.

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is rather indistinct given the poor rendering of the image. It is assumed that he is a *catipan* (boyfriend or suitor) of one of the four ladies. *Ilustración Filipina Periódico Quincenal*, Febrero 15, 1860, Num. 4; MORENO, *Philippine Costume*, 157.

[286] Marcos ORTEGA y DEL ROSARIO, *Petrona Guerrero*, Letras y Figuras, Watercolor on paper, Enero 1878, Ayala Corporation; José Honorato LOZANO, *Edward A. Westley*, Letras y Figuras, Watercolor on paper, 1858, Private Collection; José Honorato LOZANO, *Manuel E. Co-Gefue*, Letras y Figuras, Watercolor on paper, 1880, Manuel Yan Collection.

[287] W.W. WOOD, *Tipos Populares: Lavanderas*, Postcard, 1865 to 1880, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid; Reproduced in Sara BADIA VILLASECA, ed., *Mujeres Filipinas: Un Camino Hacia Luz* (Madrid: Fundación Mapfre and Universidad de Alcalá, 2007), 93.

[288] SAWYER, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines (1900)*, chap. XIX; FEE, *A Woman's Impression of the Philippines*, chap. VII.

[289] ANÓNIMO, *Tendiendo Ropas (Hanging Clothes)*, Oil on canvas, 1887, Museo Oriental; *Ilustración Filipina Periódico Quincenal*, Oct 1, Num. 19.

In a print rendering in *Ilustracíon Filipina* (1860, Fig. 225), an *india lavandera* was depicted squatting with the usual *tinaja* and *palanggana* while balancing some dry clothes on top of her head.[290] Many of the lavanderas before the 1870s had long sleeves, which they rolled for more comfort and ease; however, as fashion changed and shorter bell sleeves became popular, many lavanderas like Miguel Zaragoza y Aranquizna's *La Lavandera* (1875, Fig. 226) began to be seen with this more relaxed type of sleeves as well. She also wore a towel turban over her head, as most women do after they shower. Zaragoza, in fulfillment of a requirement in the live modeling class (*dibujo al natural*) at the *Academia de Dibujo y Pintura* in Manila, painted this based on real people doing everyday ordinary chores.[291]

Ironing and the Planchadoras

Pressed clothes gave the impression of pristine appearance. At that time, clothes were pressed either using a charcoal-heated flatiron or some sort of foot press, called *prensa de paa*. Cloth was rolled around a cylindrical shaped wood and placed in between two rectangular wooden planks.[292] People applied pressure by standing on top of the upper plank and moved from side to side. A stereographic photograph labeled *Ayudando a mamá a planchar ropa* (Helping mama to iron clothes, 1906, Fig. 39), two little girls were shown hugging their mother to add weight to the planks.[293] Although they looked clean, they were most probably a family of poor background. The mother was wearing a saya and a sheer baro with a visible camiseta underneath. Her large, puffed, butterfly sleeves were typical of the baro worn by women at the turn of the century. One of the young girls was wearing a baro and saya while the other was wearing sleeveless one-piece house dress or *duster*.

The iron used by the lavandera/planchadora in Lozano's *Washerwomen* in the 1840s looks like it was made of clay and was heated using flaming charcoals.[294] If clothes now were now ironed using narrow, ironing boards covered with soft padding and having foldable legs, women at that time ironed clothes in low wooden beds with foams on top. A bare-breasted

[290] *Ilustración Filipina Periódico Quincenal*, Octobre 1, Num. 19; Reproduced in José MORENO, *Philippine Costume* (Manila: J. Moreno Foundation, 1995), 157.
[291] Miguel ZARAGOZA y ARANQUIZNA, *La Lavandera (The Laundry Woman)*, Oil on canvas, 1875, Museo del Prado on loan to the Ayuntamiento de las Palmas de Gran Canaria; Reproduced and captioned in *Discovering Philippine Art in Spain* (Manila: Department of Foreign Affairs and National Centennial Commission-Committee on International Relations, 1998), 260.
[292] ALVINA, "Technology," 52–53.
[293] KEYSTONE VIEW COMPANY, *Ayudando a mamá a planchar ropa*, Stereographic photograph, 1906, Museo Nacional de Antropología.
[294] LOZANO, *Nyssens-Flebus Album (1844-1846)*.

Ilocano woman was shown ironing by laying out a *banig* (native woven mat) and foam the size of a pillow in her kitchen floor (Fig. 228).[295]

Advancements in the Clothes Trade

A Taste for the Imported

Colonial societies were characterized by a strong preference for imported goods by the local elite. *Elzinger Hermanos* in No. 27 Escolta and the *Sastrería de Ernesto Meyer* in No. 18 Escolta never failed to include the fact that they carried items manufactured in Europe and that they have the latest novelties from Paris, London and Germany. The *Tiendas de los Catalanes de Millat y Marti*, also in Escolta, advertised that they imported and sold different items from Europe at competitive prices.[296] *Catalino Valdezco* in No. 23 Calle Real in Intramuros sold "*principales fabricas de Europa y America* (items manufactured in Europe."[297] They were also the main supplier and distributor of Singer sewing machines until 1885 when Singer set up their own showroom at No. 9 Escolta.[298] Advertisements for shoe stores had to include the words "Frances" or "Europa" to attract customers and patrons. Emporiums, hat and watch stores, restaurants, cafés and drug stores had names like *Villa de Paris, Dulceria de Paris, Confitería Española, Café El Suizo, Panadería Isla de Mallorca, Relojería Suiza de Greil Sammer, Sombrería Española and Botica Inglesa.* Other shops made sure to carry the foreign names of their owners, like *La Fotografía de Rodolfo Meyer* (German), *El Fotografico Francisco Van Camp* (Belgian), *Fotografo Pertierra* (Spanish), and *Perfumería de Enrique Grupe* (German).[299] Other photographers, like J. Tobias, with

[295] Otto van den VAN DEN MUIJZENBERG, *The Philippines through European Lenses: Late 19th Century Photographs from the Meerkamp van Embden Collection* (Manila: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2008), chap. 4, fig. 36, pp. 210–211.
[296] The *Tiendas los Catalanes de Millat y Marti* was located in No. 18, Escolta in 1875 but they closed shop. By 1877, their store space was taken over by the *Sastrería de Ernesto Meyer*, which was previously advertised as located in #21, Escolta. GONZÁLEZ FERNÁNDEZ, *Manual del Viajero en Filipinas*, 590, 634, 657; *La Ilustración del Oriente Revista Semanal*, 1877, Oct 7, No. 1.
[297] Catalino Valdezco, which sells different types of sewing machines, was also a *relojeria* (watch store). In their 1878 advertisement with *La Ilustración del Oriente*, they indicated No. 16, Calle Real. It is not clear whether they transferred location or set up a second store in the same street. GONZÁLEZ FERNÁNDEZ, *Manual del Viajero en Filipinas*, 566; *La Ilustración del Oriente Revista Semanal*, Año II (Manila: De J. Oppel, 1878), Enero 20, No. 3; *La Ilustración del Oriente Revista Semanal*, 1877, Nov 25, No. 8.
[298] GROIZÁRD, *Manila Alegre: Periódico Festivo Ilustrado*, 1885, Dec 6, No. 1, p. 4; GROIZÁRD, *Manila Alegre: Periódico Festivo Ilustrado*, 1886, Enero 16, No. 3, p. 4; ESCOBAR y LOZANO, *El Indicador del Viajero en Las Islas Filipinas*, 257.
[299] Country of origin of the various photographers indicated in Otto van den VAN DEN MUIJZENBERG, *The Philippines through European Lenses: Late 19th Century Photographs from the Meerkamp van Embden Collection* (Manila: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2008), 8.

shop at No. 16 Escolta, made sure to advertise his prestigious associations, that, for example, of being the "*fotografo del Excmo. Sr. Gobernador-General*."[300]

Despite the fact that there is no winter in the Philippines, different types of fabrics and accessories for cold climates were sold at the various shops along Escolta in the 1880s -- from *telas para invierno* (fabrics for winter), *alpacas* (camel hair), *terciopelos* (velvets), *brocadas* (brocades), *lanas and merinos* (wool) to *guantes* (gloves). Mallat (1846) observed how "for a long time, customs underwent no variation; today the fashions of Europe are beginning to be introduced among the *señoras* and *señoritas* of Manila" that even if "the climate is not suitable for hats, silk goods from France, gloves, corsets, he is nonetheless convinced that articles of French fashions would be in great favor if arrivals were regular and the market is furnished constantly: unfortunately, this is not so and often a whole year passes by without a French boat appearing in the port of Manila."[301] The presence of these impractical items in European-owned shops meant that their market was not exclusive to Europeans. Their markets included the well-to-do members of society who developed European tastes as well as those traveling abroad, who genuinely needed some woolen shirts, coats and gloves. After the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, which revolutionized the traffic between Europe and the Far East, a more direct route was established, bringing Manila within thirty days to Barcelona via steamships.[302] As travel time was significantly shortened, the number of travelers to and from Europe increased. The economic prosperity brought about by the cash cropping industries (tobacco, coffee, sugar, hemp, etc..) also created a new middle class, which had the financial means to travel abroad and to pursue the highly-regarded European way of life. The demand for different types of Western clothing began to increase and shops started to carry different varieties of coats, from *chaqués* (morning coats) to *levites fracs* (frock coats) to *chaquetas de punto* (cardigans).[303]

The demand for rain gear, on the other hand, is understandable especially since from June to September, the islands experience a great deal of rainfall.[304] A look at the product

[300] ESCOBAR y LOZANO, *El Indicador del Viajero en Las Islas Filipinas*, 260.
[301] Jean-Baptiste MALLAT, *The Philippines: History, Geography, Customs, Agriculture, Industry and Commerce of the Spanish Colonies in Oceania* (Manila: National Historical Institute, 1983), 351.
[302] SAWYER, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines (1900)*, chap. VI; HANNAFORD, *History and Description of the Picturesque Philippines*, 51.
[303] *Tienda de los Catalanes* had a straightforward ad in Manila Alegre, which indicated the availability of *chaquetas de punto*, presumably knitwear, in their shop. *See* GROIZÁRD, *Manila Alegre: Periodico Festivo Ilustrado*, 1886, Marzo 2; Gran Bazar de Ropa Hecha y Sastrería de Lorenzo Gibert had an advertisement with a list of some of their products in ESCOBAR y LOZANO, *El Indicador del Viajero en Las Islas Filipinas*, 213.
[304] Sawyer indicates that the Philippines has three seasons. February to May marks the hot season, June to September the rainy season and October to January the cool season. Foreman, meanwhile, refers to the months of March to May as the period of oppressive heat, June to September as the period of heavy rains and tolerable

listings of shops like the *Gran Bazar Puerta del Sol,* however, exposed the fact that the better classes in the Philippines indulged in a superfluous amount of garments and accessories. There were *capotas de goma* or *capotas impermeables* (waterproof jackets), *chanclos de goma* (rubber over shoes), which costed 1.75 dollars (3.50 pesos) per pair, *botas altas de goma* (rubber boots) at 7.25 dollars (14.50 pesos) per pair and *paraguas de merino* (woolen umbrellas) at 0.85 dollars (1.70 pesos) each.[305] The *capotes de goma* which were sold at 8 dollars (16 pesos) each in 1899 must have been too expensive for the common *tao*, many of whom had, since time immemorial, ingenuously made rain coats out of *anajao* leaves (Fig. 88, 215). The necessity of these items, such as the *chanclos de goma* (rubber over shoes) is questionable considering that many of the well-to-do had carriages to take them to places during rainy days.[306] If the prices were lower, these were actually items more useful to people who worked the streets.

Many foreigners were also fascinated with the corsetless women of the Philippines, who were more often than not, dressed in transparent *camisas* (shirts). The ease with which they moved without the rigid constraints of the corset imposed on the women of Europe were thought to be very alluring. The corsetless women were envied for their freedom in dress, unlike the European women who were described as "morally obliged to be slaves of the European dress."[307] Despite the fact that corsets were not commonly used in the country, there were at least three emporiums in Escolta and one in Letran, Intramuros that advertised corsets in the 1880s.[308] Along with corsets, they also sold ready-made *trajes de noche* or

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heat, October to November as the wet or dry season and December to February as the tropical equivalent of spring. SAWYER, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines (1900)*, chap. XIX; John FOREMAN, *The Philippine Islands: A Political, Geographical, Ethnographical, Social and Commercial History of the Philippine Archipelago, Third, Revised and Enlarged with Maps and Illustrations* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1906), chap. XXI, http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/22815.

[305] La Puerta del Sol, owned by J.F. Ramirez, was located at No. 11 Escolta in 1899. In 1875, it was located at No. 14 Escolta. *La Liga Comercial de Manila Revista Mensual*, Año 1, Num. 2 (Carriedo: Imprenta de Santa Cruz, 1899); GONZÁLEZ FERNÁNDEZ, *Manual del Viajero en Filipinas*, 587.

[306] According to Foreman, Sir John Bowring reported in 1858 that the number of vehicles passing along Escolta (the principal street of Binondo) daily numbered to 915; across the bridge, between Binondo and Manila City(where the river is 350 feet wide), 1,256. In 1885, an official computation stated that the average number of vehicles passing through the main street of the city (Calle Real) per day was 950; through Escolta, 5000; and across the bridge connecting Binondo with Manila, 6000. In 27 years since the time of Bowring, the number of vehicles in use had increased by about 5 to 1. FOREMAN, *The Philippine Islands*, chap. XXI: Manila under Spanish Rule, pp. 343–360.

[307] (-), "Brisas del Oriente," La Moda Filipina, 1894 October 10, pp. 2–3.

[308] GROIZÁRD, *Manila Alegre: Periódico Festivo Ilustrado*, 1885, Deciembre 6 and 11, sec. Tiendas los Catalanes ad; GROIZÁRD, *Manila Alegre: Periódico Festivo Ilustrado*, 1886, October 1, sec. Bazar la Puerta del Sol ad; GROIZÁRD, *Manila Alegre: Periódico Festivo Ilustrado*, 1887, Marzo 2, Num. 9, sec. Bazar Oriental ad, p. 7.

trajes de baile (evening dresses)[309] as well as the *polisones* (bustle) and *medias de seda bordadas* (hosiery).[310]

It is, thus, interesting to ponder the demand for such items. Who wore them and on what occasions were they used? Certainly, they could not be part of women's *traje de diarios* (everyday wear), not even for European women. Corsets were used mainly for formal balls that had European dress codes, such as the *bailé* at Salon Circulo Hispano in 1875 and the *bailé* at Palacio de Malacañang in 1878 (Fig. 165).[311]

This taste for the imported could also be traced to the quality of some of the locally manufactured goods. The rich, in favoring high quality shoes made in Europe-- French and German footwear were especially popular--[312] placed the quality of the local products into question. Despite the protective tariffs[313] on the local clothing, tailoring and shoemaking industries, many products, especially leather shoes, produced and tanned in the country mostly by the Chinese, reportedly remained of poor quality.[314] Unlike the rich who could afford supplementary gears like *chanclos de goma* (rubber over shoes, priced at 3.50 pesos per pair in 1899),[315] the poor whose shoes were unable to withstand rain and mud were, as Bowring reckoned, "detriment to public health."[316] In spite of the higher taxes,[317] many foreign shoemakers had established lucrative businesses, selling shoes or *calzados* en *raso* (satin), *saten* (patent finish) and *piele* (leather), especially in Manila.[318] Alejandro Martínez had his "taller de calzado or zapatería," *Ciudad de Vigo de Alejandro Martinez* at No. 7 San Jacinto while M. Secker y C.a had his *Calzado de Viena* at No. 35 Escolta, both in Binondo.[319]

The seemingly deluxe shops that lined especially Escolta may be well stocked with "the finest American and European goods,"[320] but, it is well worth considering that the goods

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[309] *Trajes de baile, de visita, de paseo y de casa*, as indicated in the ad of *La Madrileña Modista,* Isla del Romero, No. 46, Sta. Cruz, Manila. ESCOBAR y LOZANO, *El Indicador del Viajero en Las Islas Filipinas*, sec. 248.
[310] GROIZÁRD, *Manila Alegre: Periódico Festivo Ilustrado*, 1885, Deciembre 6 and Deciembre 11.
[311] *La Ilustración del Oriente Revista Semanal*, 1878, Enero 27, Num. 4, p. 41.
[312] SAWYER, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines (1900)*, XIX: Life in Manila (A Chapter for the Ladies), pp. 173–187.
[313] Tariffs of 1832-1869, and tariff of 1871. Benito J. LEGARDA, *After the Galleons: Foreign Trade, Economic Change and Entrepreneurship in the Nineteenth-Century Philippines* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1999), 197, 201.
[314] BOWRING, *A Visit to the Philippine Islands*, 296–297; LEGARDA, *After the Galleons*, 196.
[315] As mentioned in the ad of *La Puerta del Sol* found in *La Liga Comercial de Manila Revista Mensual*.
[316] BOWRING, *A Visit to the Philippine Islands*, 296–297.
[317] 40 to 50 percent taxes were paid on foreign boots and shoes. Ibid.
[318] GONZÁLEZ FERNÁNDEZ, *Manual del Viajero en Filipinas*, sec. Bazar la Puerta del Sol ad, pp. 587–588.
[319] *La Ilustración del Oriente Revista Semanal*, 1877, Octobre 7; ESCOBAR y LOZANO, *El Indicador del Viajero en Las Islas Filipinas*, 263; GONZÁLEZ FERNÁNDEZ, *Manual del Viajero en Filipinas*, 284.
[320] FOREMAN, *The Philippine Islands*, chap. XXI: Manila under Spanish Rule, pp. 343–360.

they were selling could either be old-fashioned or even leftover inventories European stockists may have been eager to rapidly dispose of. Why not dispatch them to the colonies, where the natives who have been described as pretentious imitators with a "snobbish weakness for display," would eagerly indulge in them, no matter how overpriced?[321] Sawyer observed how "the goods in the jewelers' shops and in the fancy bazaars are all of a very florid style, to suit the gaudy taste of the wealthy Filipinos."[322] Foreman corroborates that the French jewelries that made it to the colonies, irrespective of the exquisite ones circulating in metropolitan France, were gaudy.[323] Four-fifths of every trade imaginable in the Philippines – from wholesale, retail to street trade to the service industry- were said to be in the hands of the Chinese and the mestizos de sangleys.[324] Interestingly, most Chinese shops did not even sell Chinese goods, they sold European things, both the luxurious and the common. [325]While most were *bazares de tejidos de Europa* (not necessarily Chinese-owned),[326] there were bazars that sold specifically Chinese and Japanese products. The *bazares de tejidos de chino* sold mainly handkerchiefs and shawls (*pañuelos de mano como en pañolones*).[327]

[321] Ibid., XI; FEE, *A Woman's Impression of the Philippines*, chap. XVII.
[322] SAWYER, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines (1900)*, chap. XIX: Life in Manila (A Chapter for the Ladies), pp. 173–187.
[323] FOREMAN, *The Philippine Islands*, chap. XI.
[324] "There were hardly any shops that do not belong to the Chinese," Gironella remarked. According to Cariño, Gervasio Gironella was *Superintendente y Intendente del Ejercito y de la Hacienda* (Superintendent and Quarter Master General of the Armed Forces and the Treasury or the second highest ranking Spanish official in the Philippines, after the Governor-General. HANNAFORD, *History and Description of the Picturesque Philippines*, sec. John Chinaman, Millionaire and Pariah, p. 68; LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 51: Chino corredor; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 95, 212.
[325] In the original Spanish, Gironella stated, *siendo que notar lo que menos se encuentran en ellas son articulos de China*. Among the varied items were table clocks, vases, glasses, mirrors, dressmaking and sewing tools, etc.. LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, 42: Chino comerciante.
[326] Among the shops that sold European goods were *Bazar de la Bota Oro, Bazar Español, Bazar Filipino, Elzinger Hermanos* (established 1852), *La Puerta del Sol, Villa de Paris de Castillo Hermanos, Dalia Azul, Bazar Oriental by Juan Muñoz* and *Casa de Berlin*. Most of them were located at Escolta in Binondo and at Intramuros. French naturalist Alfred Marche stayed, in December 1870 and in July 1880, at the home of *Bazar Filipino* (Binondo) owner, Leopold Warlomont, a Belgian trader who was often mistaken as French. Warlomont's home in Escolta was said to be the meeting point of the French residents of Manila. Bazar Filipino was mainly a depot for stationaries and paper products, periodicals and books. For more detailed product listings, see *Bazar Filipino* ad in *La Ilustración del Oriente Revista Semanal*, 1877, Octobre 28, Num. 4, p. 11; GONZÁLEZ FERNÁNDEZ, *Manual del Viajero en Filipinas*, 263, 270, 533, 657; Antoine-Alfred MARCHE, *Luzon and Palawan*, trans. Carmen OJEDA and Jovita CASTRO (Manila: The Filipiniana Book Guild, 1970), 28, 92–103, 196; VAN DEN MUIJZENBERG, *The Philippines through European Lenses*, chap. 3, fn # 35, pp. 101, 336.
[327] possibly the likes of the famed *mantones de manila*. *El Mantón de Manila (Exposición, Ateneo Municipal de Madrid, 4-27 Junio 1999)* (Madrid: Fundacion Loewe, 1999); ESCOBAR y LOZANO, *El Indicador del Viajero en Las Islas Filipinas*, 223.

Imported Textiles, Half-made and Ready-made Clothing

The emergence of prêt-à-porter or ready-to-wear clothing in Europe influenced and modified the clothing industry in the Philippines. The introduction of new technologies also had an impact on the nature of the retail and distribution sectors -- from their product and service offerings to their payment schemes. Companies that sold sewing machines had to devise payment installment plans and organize product demonstrations to market and sell these expensive new technologies. Sastrerías began to be integrated with department stores to provide quick alterations to imported half-made and ready-made garments.

The retail of imported cloth and clothing in Manila could be simplified into two categories. First, there were department store types that sold wide assortments of imported textiles, half-sewn and ready-made apparel and other related items. These types of establishments were categorized as *Comercios de tejidos, Bazares de tejidos de Europa, Bazares de tejidos de chinos or Almacenes de ropa hecha* (RTW or ready-to-wear store). Some were organized to be a collection of specialty stores. *Bazar Oriental de Juan Muñoz* in No. 3 Letran, Intramuros, for example, had a specialized section on white clothing for men and was therefore, frequently visited by the hispanized native elite, especially by those occupying government positions.[328] *Casa de Londres* by Spring y C.ª in No. 23 Escolta sold everything related to men's and ladies' wear.[329] They had an extensive collection of *camisas* (shirts), *cuellos* (collars), *corbatas* (ties), *pañolones* (large, square shawls) and *mantillas* (shawls). They also had a collection of items related to *trajes de noche* (evening wear). They had *enaguas* (petticoats), *corsés* (corsets) and *camisetas* (undershirts), which, except for the corsets were usually worn with both European-style and native dresses. They also sold textiles, the finish or texture of which were suitable for use in semi-formal or formal wear, i.e. *glasé* (glazed or silky finish), *terciopelos* (velvet), and *rasos* (satin). Silks imported from China[330] were embroidered locally to produce new designs. Machine-made drill cotton for use as trouser materials imported from Glasgow and Manchester, England were fast

[328] Detailed product listings may be found in their ad with *La Ilustración del Oriente Revista Semanal*, Año 1 (Manila: De J. Oppel, 1877), Noviembre 11, Num. 6, p. 11; Pedro GROIZÁRD, *Manila Alegre: Periódico Festivo Ilustrado*, Año II (Escolta 18: Imp. La Industrial, 1886), Enero 16, Num. 3, p. 4; Marzo 2, Num. 9, p. 7; Juan ÁLVAREZ GUERRA, *Viajes por Manila à Tayabas*, Second edition (Madrid: Imprenta de Fortanet, 1887), chap. XX.

[329] Ramon GONZÁLEZ FERNÁNDEZ, *Manual del Viajero en Filipinas* (Manila: Estab. Tip. de Santo Tomás, 1875), 631.

[330] Sir John BOWRING, *A Visit to the Philippine Islands* (London: Smith, Elder and Co.,65, Cornhill, 1859), 160, 395, http://books.google.fr/books?id=Je1GAAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=sir+john+bowring+a+visit+to+the+philippine+islands&hl=en&sa=X&ei=Zf6IUdzlJeeL7Ab4toHwCw&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=sir%20john%20bowring%20a%20visit%20to%20the%20philippine%20islands&f=false.

becoming more popular than locally-made textiles. Sewing threads and weaving colored yarns from Lancashire[331] and Germany were combined with local textiles, creating new patterns for the young *dalagas* who wished to stand out during fiestas and other religious celebrations.[332]

European-owned bazars and emporiums like *Bazar Oriental, La Puerta del Sol* and *La Madrileña Trajes Modas* also started selling clothes in standard sizes in the 1880s.[333] These ready-mades (*ropa hecha*) were more convenient alternatives to tailor-made garments. Another example would be *Villa de París de Castillo Hermanos*, located in No. 37 Calle Real, an emporium, which sold an assortment of imported goods, from Spanish *abanicos* (fans), 18-karats *alhajas* (jewelries), to *juguetes* (toys for children), musical instruments, and even furnitures.[334] They also sold *hilós* (threads), *agujas* (needles) and other sewing or dressmaking *(articulos de costura)* and embroidery essentials (*ramo de sastrería y artículos para border)*,[335] like *bastidor*, the wooden frame used to stretch fabrics to be painted, quilted or embroidered. *Tiendas de los Catalanes de Echevarría Pérez y C.ª* in No. 9 Escolta had a wide variety of textiles and ready-made clothing for men, women and children.[336] They also carried special items used as details for clothing, like *botones* (buttons), *encajes* (laces), *golas* (ruffs), a type of starched frill used for standing collars, *gazas* (chiffon), *corbatas* (neckties), etc.[337] *Bazar de la Bota de Oro*, meanwhile, was listed as a *lencería, pasamaneria* and *bisuteria*, which mean they concentrated on clothing supplements, like lingerie and inner wear (*ropa interior*), trinkets and other decorative trimmings.[338]

Many of these shops also sold half-made clothing, cut and basted in preparation for sewing. European shirts and pants, which still needed to be sewn, were temporarily tacked with long, loose stitches.[339] There were also some clothing pieces, which were already hand-

[331] Ibid.
[332] ÁLVAREZ GUERRA, *Viajes por Manila à Tayabas*, chap. 3, p. 65.
[333] GROIZÁRD, *Manila Alegre: Periódico Festivo Ilustrado*, 1886, Marzo 2, Año II, Num. 9; Jaime ESCOBAR y LOZANO, *El Indicador del Viajero en Las Islas Filipinas* (Manila: Tipo-Litografía de Chofre y C.ª, 1885), 238, 248.
[334] Ads for Villa de París may be found in various issues of Manila Alegre from 1885-1887. Pedro GROIZÁRD, *Manila Alegre: Periódico Festivo Ilustrado*, Año 1 (Escolta 18: Imp. La Industrial, 1885), Dec. 11, 17; GROIZÁRD, *Manila Alegre: Periódico Festivo Ilustrado*, 1886, Julio 24, Agosto 1, Nov 1, 16, Oct 1, Dec 1, 24; Pedro GROIZÁRD, *Manila Alegre: Periódico Festivo Ilustrado*, Año III (Escolta 18: Imp. La Industrial, 1887), Feb 1, 24.
[335] ESCOBAR y LOZANO, *El Indicador del Viajero en Las Islas Filipinas*, sec. Sastrería de Lorenzo Gibert ad, p. 213.
[336] GROIZÁRD, *Manila Alegre: Periódico Festivo Ilustrado*, 1885, Deciembre 6, Num. 1, p. 4.
[337] Ibid., Deciembre 11, Num. 2, p. 4.
[338] Owned by José Bermudez. ESCOBAR y LOZANO, *El Indicador del Viajero en Las Islas Filipinas*, 263.
[339] GONZÁLEZ FERNÁNDEZ, *Manual del Viajero en Filipinas*, 231.

or machine- embroidered.[340] *Bazar La Puerta del Sol* ran a two-page ad with their major product lines in González Fernández' *Manual del Viajero* (1875). One of the items they advertised was *pechera bordadas*, which must be referring to the embroidered front panel, which would be attached to the central portion of the native men's baro.

These ready-made and half-made clothing could easily be altered and fitted in several ways. In department stores that had their own sastrerías, like *Gran Bazar de Ropa Hecha y Sastrería de Lorenzo Gibert*, problems with the fit could be assessed immediately. The frock coats used by the gobernadorcillos, for example, would be subjected to a number of fittings, for as Álvarez Guerra remarked, "its reproduction could not be left to chance for the future head of the municipality."[341] Swift alterations were possible using the new technology at that time. Sewing machines, which were increasingly becoming popular in the last two decades of the 19th century, were also sold in many of these grand bazars. Quick and convenient customization served to promote and market these "modern" devices. Those with sastres on retainer could have adjustments made at home, while others could go to the nearby, native and foreign-owned sastrerías to be outfitted.

The core business of these larger establishments were the sale of clothes, tailoring implements and related items. However, to keep up with the times, including increasing competition, new clothing items, new technologies and more importantly, new consumer requirements, it was likely that, based on the integration of the word *sastrería* to the names of their shop, they began to offer services like alterations as well. In incorporating services, the extent of which is unclear (i.e. after-sales service like repair), they, inadvertently, paved the way for a new customer experience. The shop becomes a physical, social space favorable to members of the leisure class, especially among those who viewed shopping as a recreational --and even, as a social activity-- that may be done alongside gossiping with friends. From the richest to the poorest, gossip, like cock-fighting, was said to have been "the country's favorite pastime."[342] The European residents of Manila already had a history of convening in the Chinese-owned shops along Escolta to gossip between sundown to nine in the evening when shops regularly closed. When Gervasio Gironella (1847) said that, much to the dismay of the

[340] Ibid., 587–588.
[341] The text in its original Spanish: *El uso del frac es objeto de una serie de ensayos difÌciles de enumerar, no habiendo espejo una legua la redonda que no lo haya reproducido, colgado por supuesto de los hombros del futuro jefe del municipal*. ÁLVAREZ GUERRA, *Viajes por Manila à Tayabas*, chap. XX.
[342] José Honorato LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album: Album Vistas de Las Yslas Filipinas y Trages de Sus Abitantes 1847 (View of the Philippine Islands and Costumes of Its Inhabitants)*, Watercolor, 1847, fig. 42: Chino comerciante, BNE Sala Goya Bellas Artes; José Maria A. CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847* (Manila: Ars Mundi, 2002), 194.

shop-owners, their presence "discourages lady shoppers from entering the store and even more discouraged are the natives," the Europeans he must be referring to were most likely males.[343]

The second type were shops that made customized clothing according to the client's measurements and choice of cut, design and fabrics. These smaller boutiques, which functioned both as showrooms and as workshops or *atelier* were categorized as camiserías (shirt-store), sastrerías (tailoring shops) and modistas (dressmaker and/or milliner). In some texts by British and American expatriates, these cloth merchants (mainly for clothing, not for home linens and beddings) were referred to as drapers or haberdashers, with the latter more of a dealer specializing in men's clothing.[344] These shops had a more specific, but at the same time, more extensive price and product range. They were reported to keep a stock of "silks, muslins and piece-goods (fabrics in standard sizes) with all the necessary fixings."[345] Some also had a limited range of *ropa hecha* or ready-made clothing, which they could then customize according to measurements. *Camisería Española de Manuel Sequera* in No. 2 Carriedo, Sta. Cruz, for example, specialized in *ropa blanca para caballeros* (white clothing for men). It is likely that they had a wider selection of carefully selected white fabrics, at different prices, for their clients to choose from.

Some *sastrerías* either developed niche markets or concentrated on specific clothing genres. *La Madrileña Modista*, for example, specialized in fine gowns – elegant gowns not just for going out (*trajes de baile, de visita, de paseo*) but also for staying in *(trajes de casa)*, i.e. lingerie and dressing gowns (*batas matinés y peinadores*).[346]

In Binondo alone, there were around fifteen sastrerías, six of which were concentrated in Escolta, five in Calle San Jacinto (now Tomas Pinpin St.), one in Calle Nueva, one in Barraca and another one in front of the Bridge of Spain. In Intramuros, there were six sastrerías, five were in Calle Real and one in Calle Cabildo. There were at least six more sastrerías in Sta. Cruz and four more in Tondo. Many were ran by foreign sastres, like Frasquita Borri, who owned *Taller de Modas de Frasquita Borri* in No. 12 (altos.) Escolta, Pedro Lejarza of *Sastrería de Pedro Lejarza*, also in No. 12 Escolta and A. de Murnaga of

[343] LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 42: Chino comerciante; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 194.
[344] Frederic Henry Read SAWYER, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines* (London: Sampson Low, Marston and Company Limited, 1900), chap. XIX: Life in Manila (A Chapter for the Ladies), http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/38081.
[345] Ibid.
[346] ESCOBAR y LOZANO, *El Indicador del Viajero en Las Islas Filipinas*, 248.

Sastrería Bilbaina in No. 40 Escolta.[347] Among the foreigners with clothing *ateliers* in Intramuros were Rafael del Castillo (No. 14 Calle Real), Justo Reyes (No. 17 Calle Real), Pedro Félix (No. 11 Calle Real) and Simeon Félix (No. 21 Calle Real).[348] In Malate and Sta. Cruz, there were, among others, Joaquin Carracedo (Bajos de San Juan de Dios), Deogracias Velarde (No. 51 Calle Dolores) and Hilarion Mola (No. 22 Dalumbayan).[349] The sizable number of clothing stores and the rising number of men and women dedicated to the craft of making and customizing clothes attest to the importance of clothing for people.

Business must not only be good but also improving for the *Sastrería de Juan Serra*. Apart from the two shops he already had in Binondo, he expanded with a branch in San Fernando, Tondo. Interestingly, he was the only sastrería that advertised the availability of local textiles in his shop. The rest of the sastrerías all advertised imported fabrics. This is indicative of the increasing popularity of native textiles, in connection with the increasing number of events like *saya bailes* that called for the wearing of *traje del país*.[350] The *Sastrería de Ernesto Meyer* must also be doing well with his two shops strategically located in Escolta (Binondo) and in Goiti (Sta. Cruz).

Apart from these *sastres de paisano*, there were also sastres that specialized in military dressing (*sastres de militares*), like *Sastrería del Palacio de Malacañang* by Yáñez.[351] The *Gran Ropa Hecha y Sastrería de Lorenzo Gibert* also sold military effects, from ribbons, sashes and stars.

There were also French *modistes* (dressmakers) and *passementiers* (artisans specializing in creating decorative trimmings for clothes, including lace and tassels) who worked in Manila, although it was not clear whether they had their own workshops or they worked in people's homes. Considering colonial mindsets, employing foreign *modistes* and *passementiers* to work within the premises of one's home was a mark of status. A *passementier* born in Dijon, Jacques Guittet, together with his three children, were among the

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[347] *Manililla Periódico Semanal: Ilustrado, Cómico y Humorístico*, Año VII (Manila: Se Publica Los Sábados, 1893), Enero 7, p. 7; *La Ilustración del Oriente Revista Semanal*, 1877, no. 12; GONZÁLEZ FERNÁNDEZ, *Manual del Viajero en Filipinas*, 283; ESCOBAR y LOZANO, *El Indicador del Viajero en Las Islas Filipinas*, 210.

[348] GONZÁLEZ FERNÁNDEZ, *Manual del Viajero en Filipinas*, 282–283.

[349] Ibid.

[350] Ebenezer HANNAFORD, *History and Description of the Picturesque Philippines, with Entertaining Accounts of the People and Their Modes of Living, Customs, Industries, Climate and Present Conditions (over 150 Illustrations)* (Springfield, Ohio: The Crowell & Kirkpatrick Co, 1900), 49, http://dlxs.library.cornell.edu/cgi/t/text/pageviewer-idx?c=sea&cc=sea&idno=sea192&q1=Philippines&node=sea192%3A1.2&view=image&seq=9&size=50; SAWYER, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines (1900)*, chap. XIX, sec. Amusements; (-), "Brisas del Oriente," in *La Moda Filipina Periódico Quincenal Ilustrado*, vol. 2, 33 (Quiapo: Redaccion y Administracion, 1894), 2–3.

[351] This *sastrería* was located at Calle de Solana, esquina á la del Beaterio. Ads may be found in ESCOBAR y LOZANO, *El Indicador del Viajero en Las Islas Filipinas*, 209.

23 French residents of the Philippines recorded in the 1863 census. His two sons, Henri Jacques Guittet and Eugène François Guittet, 20 and 18 years old respectively, were also registered *passementiers*.[352] The older Guittet died in Manila in 1857, at the age of 57. Another *modiste* working in the Philippines was Marie Duhalde, a Frenchwoman born in Béhobie. Based on the *Archives du ministère des Affaire étrangères* (1854-1870), she was single with one child, age not specified. For how long and under what circumstances did these foreign artisans worked in the colony is not known.[353]

By the American period, foreign travel writers remarked on how the local market was saturated with cheap manufactures of ready-to-wear clothing, furnitures, and transportation.[354]

Imported Ready-Made Clothing for Provincial Orders

Many imported cloths and clothing were still transported to the provinces by way of Manila distributors and retailers. For example, in a survey of ads, there were two shops, *La Madrileña Modista* in Santa Cruz and *Camiseria Española de Manuel Sequera* in Carriedo, which accepted orders for shipment to the provinces.[355] *La Madrileña* advertised its prompt and inexpensive service, with this line "*los encargos para provincias se sirven con prontitud esmero y economia.*"[356]

There were also some Manila shops, which were represented in the provinces, mainly in Iloilo. Aldolfo Roensch, for example, opened a branch of his *sombrería* there. In his 1875 ad, it was stated that "*los mismos articulos encontrara el publico en su sucursal de Iloilo,*" which meant that the same items would be available at his branch in Iloilo.[357] The fact that *Bazar La Puerta del Sol* opened also in Iloilo shows that one, there was an increased market demand for imported goods presumably among the well-heeled Iloilo residents.[358] Second, although lifestyles in the provinces were supposedly simpler and standard of living was lower, prosperity in Panay must have incited improvements in the fashion and appearances

[352] Henry Jacques Guittet, 20 years old, was born in La Haye. "Correspondance Consulaire et Commerciale, Manille," in *Archives du Ministère Des Affaire Étrangères*, vol. 3, 1854to1870, f. 139 and 163.
[353] Ibid.
[354] Fee observed how "with no factories of their own, their land was deluged with cheap, manufactured goods." Mary Helen FEE, *A Woman's Impression of the Philippines* (Chicago: A.C. McClurg and Co., 1910), chap. XI: Social and Industrial Condition of the Filipinos, pp. 130–149, http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/13392.
[355] Ad for *Camiseria Española* may be found in ESCOBAR y LOZANO, *El Indicador del Viajero en Las Islas Filipinas*, 260.
[356] *La Madrileña* was located in Isla del Romero, Num. 46 in Sta. Cruz. *See* Ibid., p. 248.
[357] GONZÁLEZ FERNÁNDEZ, *Manual del Viajero en Filipinas*; ESCOBAR y LOZANO, *El Indicador del Viajero en Las Islas Filipinas*, 239.
[358] ESCOBAR y LOZANO, *El Indicador del Viajero en Las Islas Filipinas*, 238.

among well-to-do provincials.

Hatter Adolfo Richter, with shop in No. 15 Escolta, also advertised in *La Liga Comercial* in July 1899 that he had a branch in Cebu.[359] What is interesting about the ad was that it was written in Spanish, but with English translations beside it. The ad also showed that the *sombrería* expanded their product lines, to include hosieries and shoes for men, women and children in their second shop at No. 24, Escolta.

New Shopping Experience

There were many different areas for shopping in the capital city of Manila and in its suburbs. Foremost were Binondo's Calle Escolta, Intramuros' Calle Real (now M.H. del Pilar St.), Tondo's San Fernando and Sta. Cruz's Carriedo.

Binondo was described to be the "city of pleasure, luxury and activity."[360] There were around two hundred shops, mostly Chinese-owned, selling both local and imported fabrics, accessories, etc. Of the three main shopping streets of Binondo (*Calles* Nueva, Rosario and Escolta), Escolta was the most frequented especially since shopping began to be viewed as a leisure activity by the new native upper and middle classes.[361] "On the Escolta mingled wealth, fashion and official dignity in elaborate shopping tours, ending in lavish purchases for the maintenance of style or the gratification of tastes."[362]Eager to distinguish themselves through their clothing and appearance, the new "elite" patronized the various European establishments and workshops that set up shop in Escolta. European craftsmen, tailors, retailers and importers eager to "dress" -- and profit from -- the European tastes of the people, made, sold and customized garments, hats, footwear and accessories for them. There were also Belgian sugar confectioneries, American and British photography salons, German pharmacies and Spanish doctor's clinics.[363]

If Escolta, with its expensive shops, was the fashionable street, the adjacent Calle Rosario, where one Chinese- or mestizo-owned shop after another lined its wide

[359] *La Liga Comercial de Manila Revista Mensual*, Julio 1899, Año 1, Num. II.
[360] Paul Proust de la GIRONIÈRE, *Adventures in the Philippine Islands, Translated from the French, Aventures D'un Gentilhomme Breton Aux Iles Philippines of Paul de La Gironiere, Chevalier of the Order of the Legion of Honour...Revised and Extended by the Author, Expressly for This Edition* (London: Charles H. Clarke, 13, Paternoster Row, 1854), chap. 2, pp. 34–35, http://name.umdl.umich.edu/AHZ9187.0001.001.
[361] Calle Nueva is now called E.T. Yuchengco St. while Calle Rosario is now Quintin Paredes St. MARCHE, *Luzon and Palawan*, 30–31; Racquel A.G. REYES, *Love, Passion and Patriotism: Sexuality and the Philippine Propaganda Movement, 1882-1892* (Singapore: NUS Press in association with University of Washington Press, 2008), 9.
[362] HANNAFORD, *History and Description of the Picturesque Philippines*, 60.
[363] Ibid., 59.

thoroughfare, was said to be the "great mart of the common people."[364] This was not entirely true because the different types of small specialty establishments –the *abaserías, quincallerías*, and *sinamayera* shops- catered to a far wider range of customers. Their "cramped, crowded and dingy" appearance should not be confused with destitution or misfortune; on the contrary, they drew in a great deal of traffic.[365] From imported satin and silk to native hemp-cloths, from furnitures to small metal objects like scissors, pins and needles (*quincallería*), and from oil, rice, vinegar to imported hams (*abasería*), the volume of business carried out in this street should not be underestimated for it has enriched many of the merchandisers.[366] From the essential to the superfluous, one would always find something to buy at Calle Rosario.

Calle San Fernando in neighboring Tondo was another main outlet for all types of native textiles. Shops of sinamayeras lined the two sidewalks that made up San Fernando's wide street.[367] Here one may find unique or one-of-a-kind and embroidered *tejidos del país* (native fabrics or materials), including the celebrated piña and jusí fabrics.

Many ladies from well-to-do families began to see shopping as a leisure activity.[368] Observing their appearance and the way they spent their days going from one store after another, one could tell that they have the luxury of time and money in their hands. Although, they perused over the goods sold mostly by the Chinese merchants, many of them actually do not buy anything. In the modern vernacular, this was called window-shopping, which back then was the privilege of those who had money. For the ladies of leisure, this was among their favorite activities. For them, it was enjoyable to browse through the different textiles and clothing, much to the consternation of the patient Chinese shopkeepers.[369]

Piecing together information from various 19th century sources, there were two types of rich women in the colony – those who worked and those who were idle. Visually, clothes served to demarcate between social classes and clothing disparities were often reflective of deeper social issues and inequalities. What fine clothes, impractical to the rigors of daily life,

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[364] Ibid., 60.
[365] Ibid.
[366] LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. Chino comerciante; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 213.
[367] Calle San Fernando was a wide street that led to Calle Rosario in Binondo. In original Spanish: *De la calle de San Fernando, se encuentran establecidas las tiendas llamadas de Sinamayeras con tejidos elaborados en el país y en ellos los celebrados bordados en piña y jusí*. GONZÁLEZ FERNÁNDEZ, *Manual del Viajero en Filipinas*, sec. Index, p. 283; MARCHE, *Luzon and Palawan*, 30; Juan ÁLVAREZ GUERRA, *Viajes por Filipinas de Manila à Marianas*, First (Madrid: Imprenta de Fortanet, 1887), chap. 6, p. 112, http://www.gutenberg.org/catalog/world/readfile?fk_files=1484164.
[368] Robert ROSS, *Clothing: A Global History, Or The Imperialists' New Clothes* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2008), 10.
[369] GIRONIÈRE, *Adventures in the Philippine Islands*, chap. 2, p. 34–35.

implicitly convey is one's membership to the leisure class. American sociological economist Thorstein Veblen, in his *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899), introduced this idea of an indolent and idle elite, whose idleness made it favorable for them to constantly participate in the status game, prevalent in many colonial societies. Veblen discussed the idea of "conspicuous consumption," of how people of this class are motivated by prestige and often pursue opportunities to demonstrate their status.[370] They were, therefore, generally oriented towards spending, not saving.

While there may be women who were truly idle, there were also ladies of leisure who were, in fact, active and enterprising. The archetype of the rich native woman who worked, whether india or mestiza, was described as strong, decisive and industrious.[371] They do like clothes, shopping and gossiping, all of which they sometimes did socially with friends. While shopping, they would laugh about some rich mestizo, some old cunning person, or some incompetent *señora* from their circle, while at the same time picking up laces, fans, combs, cloths in Manila to sell in their hometowns.[372] They did work in different ways, depending on the phases of their lives. When single, their type would take care of their parents by bringing them honor through their talents in music, painting, sewing and embroidering. When married, they took care of their home and family by supervising food, clothing, cleaning, and accounting of household budgets, not to mention, securing trustworthy and faithful labor. They were both the *dueña* (boss) and the *reyna* (queen) because of their unwavering devotion to their family. They would, hence, reward themselves by indulging in a little bit of caprice by way of pretty clothes and jewelries.[373]

As Álvarez Guerra detailed, while the working rich, in managing their businesses, employed their minds and senses to think, look and see, come and go with purses full of bills, claims and papers, the idle divided their time between the bathroom, the mat, the parties and the moonlight drives (*el baño, el petate, las fiestas y los paseos á la luz de la luna).*[374] Among people of the same social or economic status, this brings to the fore the enduring contrast between the industrial and the leisure class. The activities of the striving, hardworking and diligent differs from the idle, whose time were whiled away in laziness.[375]

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[370] Thorstein VEBLEN, *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions* (New York: B.W. Huebsch, 1912).
[371] "La India Rica," *La Ilustración del Oriente Revista Semanal*, Año II, no. 3 (January 20, 1878): 28 (text), 30 (engraving).
[372] Ibid.; FEE, *A Woman's Impression of the Philippines*, chap. XVII.
[373] FEE, *A Woman's Impression of the Philippines*, chap. XVII.
[374] ÁLVAREZ GUERRA, *Viajes por Filipinas de Manila à Marianas*, chap. 6, p. 116.
[375] Ibid.

Chapter Conclusion

1. Manila was the economic and cultural capital, the center of commerce, where everything imported and local were available. Manila may not have been the center of cloth and clothing production but it was definitely the hub. Imported clothing entered Manila and were supplied to the provinces. Local cloths were produced in the provinces and brought to Manila for embellishment, for transformation, for local sale and redistribution or for export.
2. The tedious work involved in weaving local luxury textiles like piña attest that labor was clearly worth far more than their cost. While similar studies in Europe have quoted worker's wages to be roughly five percent of the total cost of the outfit, labor costs (inclusive of weaving, sewing and embroidering) in the Philippines during the 19th century constituted only about one percent, or less, of the cost of women's native evening gowns and roughly five percent of their informal attires. Textiles for whole ensembles were estimated to have been around two percent for formal wear and nine percent for informal wear.[376] The cost of labor must have been significantly higher at the sastrerías and camiserías owned and operated by foreign tailors and dressmakers along Escolta.
3. Since the upper garments favored by wealthy native men and women at that time were made of locally-produced luxury fabrics, their social status called for not only quality but also quantity and diversity in their wardrobes. Mestizas and indias with capital quickly realized that to save on costs, they could hire laborers to work at their homes to do each piece of garment separately. Partly because of the structure of colonial rule, which created a society hugely divided by wealth and/or color, labor came very cheap and workers were usually paid per day or per month, not per piece. In this regard, savvy women with capital were able to dress themselves and their families exquisitely and with variety, at low cost, mainly because of cheap labor, which is in fact, characteristic of a divided society.
4. The low cost of labor indicated that different types of workers labored to produce a single piece of clothing. This clearly demonstrates that the production of clothes involved

[376] Tapís made of cotton were valued at 0.5 pesos per piece, while those made of silk cost three to six times as much at 1.6-3.3 pesos per piece. The same goes with the patadiong. The price range of those made of cotton or combined cotton and silk was between 1-3 pesos while those made of pure silk were between 3.5-5 pesos. (-), *Catálogo de La Exposición General de Las Islas Filipinas 1887*, sec. 7, Grupo 50, #26, p. 521; #109, p. 506; #103, p. 506; #93, p. 505; #92, p. 505, all from Igbaras, Iloilo; tapís de seda entry by Subcomisión Provincial de Iloilo, sec. 7, Grupo 50, #272, p. 523; patadion de algodón entries, see sec. 7, Grupo 53, #37, p. 536; patadion de seda, see sec. 7, Grupo 53, #100, p. 540, #24, p. 535; patadion de algodón y seda, see sec. 7, Grupo 53, #35, p. 536.

specialization of tasks, quite similar to assembly lines. Unlike in the modern day, production lines were not organized in factories but in homes.

5. There were evidences to suggest that enterprising elite women who were skilled in the traditional arts trained and employed poor skilled workers, from weavers to various types of needleworkers to work in their homes. Many mestizas capitalized on the low cost of labor by organizing workrooms, where costureras, maquinistas, and bordadoras could make and adorn clothes both for sale and for personal use. In the homes of these enterprising mestizo families, there was often a high concentration of both skilled (*i.e.* costureras, maquinistas, bordadoras) and unskilled labor (i.e., lavanderas and planchadoras). By turning bedrooms into workrooms, they were able to manage their commercial undertakings alongside their familial obligations. Such informal arrangements allowed them to fulfill their roles as wives and mothers while exercising their talents in design or business.
6. Due to the assembly line nature of workrooms, whole ensembles did not represent any individual member of the collective. As the work was done by teams, the finished garment could not be credited to the weaver, the sewer or the embroiderer.
7. Some historical accounts, like Barrántes and Fee, suggested that there was often no separation between the professional and personal lives of upper class female entrepreneurs. Those who were in the business of selling textiles or clothes wore garments for pleasure as well as for display and publicity. Some also set up shop in the ground floor of their homes.
8. Exquisite ensembles made up of varied textiles indicate that materials were sourced from different places. The upper garments of most women's clothing were typically made of local fabrics, like piña or jusi for the rich and sinamay for the poor. The former's lower garments were usually made of imported fabrics, like silk and satin in patterns, which were not limited to stripes and checks.
9. Limitations in the textile designs and patterns produced in native looms contributed to the appreciation of fine embroideries, application of which significantly increased the prices not only of local luxury fabrics but also of sewn clothes, by approximately seven hundred percent, or even more. As prices multiplied roughly seven hundred percent with the sale of sewn, embroidered garments, the bulk of the profits were traced to the middlemen, like the *sinamayeras*, for example, who sold embroidered textiles – the embroideries and patterns of which they have designed themselves.

10. In the business perspective, embroidery as an adjunct to the textile and clothes trade was particularly vital in adding monetary value to an otherwise plain and common merchandise.
11. Beginning in the second half of the 19th century, a new order in the clothes trade was signaled by the emergence of (1) *maquinistas*, which followed the invention and distribution of sewing machines in the last two decades of the 19th century; (2) prêt-à-porter or ready to wear garments in standard sizes, which made the procurement of clothing convenient; (3) the entry and proliferation of Chinese traders of imported textiles whose perspicuous distribution strategies allowed them to drive many sinamayeras out of competition and to penetrate the mass market, which formed the majority of the population; and (4) European tailors and craftsmen, who had their own standalone ateliers or studios. While cheap labor, represented by the hand-sewing costureras and sastres who worked in the homes of their employers was prevalent in the old order, expensive labor in the form of Western skilled workers who set up shop along Escolta attests to the evolving notions of prestige. These also showed the island's growing connection to global trends and fashions.
12. The availability of imported clothes and things, especially in Manila, meant that sourcing for European textiles, accessories and shoes was not a problem in the second half of the 19th century. Along with booklets (*las libretes*), periodicals and illustrated magazines from the West, the availability of corsets (*corsés*), bustles (*polisones*), frock coats (*frac*), leather goods (*pieles*), rosettes or ribbons (*escarapela*) and kid gloves (*guantes de cabritilla*) in the market were all, according to Álvarez Guerra, material signs of progress.[377] They attest to the commercial and cultural dynamism of the era. At a place where temperatures ran high, gloves and frock coats bestowed éclat upon the men and women who hanged out in Manila's fashionable saloons.

[377] Juan ÁLVAREZ GUERRA, *Viajes por Filipinas de Manila à Marianas*, First (Madrid: Imprenta de Fortanet, 1887), 12–13, http://www.gutenberg.org/catalog/world/readfile?fk_files=1484164.

Conclusion

Clothing has a long and meaningful history in the Philippines. The multiplicity of influences arising from race, class and culture has contributed to the complexity of the colonial world of appearances. To understand clothing of the 19th century, this study explored the world that created them. Guided by the thought that clothes could reveal a great deal about the era, the influences, the tastes, the values and the psychology, more than a thousand artworks, photographs, newspapers, foreign accounts, novels and garments were collected and reviewed for analysis, comparison and cross-referencing.

A study on clothing proved to be complex for it inherently hosts tensions of different kinds, one of which was between the individual and the collective. Interpretation required the dissection of stereotypes and clichés while evading the stormy waters of speculation and generalization. Clothing as depicted in individual stereotypes had to be consistently analyzed in relation to the collective and to the wider society -and in the context of the socio-cultural and economic changes that took place during the period of study. This work endeavored to use clothes to come up with realistic profiles and historical narratives that were grounded on colonial ethnic, class and gender hierarchies.

These are the results of the study:

1. Giving vivid descriptions of the clothing culture of the main racial groups in the country does not mean that they were existing in mutually exclusive cultural, political and economic enclaves (and by enclaves, meaning, cultural and physical enclaves); rather, this study underlined the fact that racial, cultural and class boundaries were porous, intersecting and influencing each other by force of coexistence, interaction and observation.

   This study established that clothes have been used during the colonial period as flexible and adaptable tools to demarcate racial and class boundaries. As history unfolded, the propensity and financial capacity of the upper class among the colonized (indios and mestizos) to imitate and adapt the culture, attitude and styles of the colonizing white minority confused or disturbed the established system of segregation on grounds of race.

2. The colonial economic structure, from the galleon trade to the various government monopolies, resulted to the unequal growth in the whole archipelago. There were disparities in the economic and socio-cultural lives between the rich and the poor. Furthermore, legal segregation on grounds of race, which influenced taxation, economic and cultural practices, even places of residence, laid the ground for white supremacy. The Spanish community and their descendants were glorified, in the sense of being perceived as more superior, more beautiful and more tasteful.

   The culture of appearances that took root in the Philippines was strongly influenced by this notion of white supremacy, wherein beauty was associated with those who were fair and who shared the physical features and culture of the Spanish and by extension, the Europeans. The brown-skinned among the colonized had to work hard to keep up appearances. When skin and facial features were not subject to modification, clothing was manipulated and deployed creatively and intuitively in order to establish status. Acquired prejudices influenced how clothes were perceived on certain people. A beautifully-embroidered piña was thought to have been enhanced by a fair-skinned Spanish or a beautiful mestiza. The same attire could, however, be potentially diminished when worn by a dark-skinned india, unless she was beautiful, hispanized, well-mannered and came from a good family, in short, the archetype of *la india rica*. The complexity of the study was heightened by the fact that not every well-dressed woman on the street was wealthy; in the same way that not every wealthy, beautiful woman was well-dressed. This, in fact, supports Roche's study that "the most costly and abundant clothes were not automatically found where there was the greatest of wealth."[1]

3. This study highlights that the complex relationship of clothing and appearance with race, class and culture was not always causal. But, they were correlated. By and large, this work analyzed how this correlation played out in the different social and private contexts.

   In Philippine colonial history, clothing as an evolving story of vanity and inequality was managed as events unfolded. The complexity of discerning the culture of appearances was rooted on the fact that poverty was often masked, if not momentarily forgotten, as

[1] ROCHE, *The Culture of Clothing: Dress and Fashion in the 'Ancien Regime*, 107.

some of the poor prioritized style over sustenance.[2] Delving into the "Filipinos" unique relationship with labor and clothes, it was discovered that many of the common folks sacrificed in order to make themselves look rich. Poverty was not an excuse to look miserable, which explains why low income, low status, clothing and appearance were not always directly linked.

The value system of the colonized was influenced by the social and economic realities at that time. Having without laboring was associated with privilege, power or having the right connections, in essence, associations with the colonizers, who were exempted from taxes (*tribute*) and forced labor (*polos y servicios*). Meanwhile, laboring without having was associated with hard work, sweat and low-income and was therefore perceived as distasteful and degrading. With the main industries in the hands of the wealthy and well-connected, many members of the mass of *tao* from the rural areas, who saw no possibility of enrichment under their agricultural overlords, led them to migrate to more urbanized areas, especially Manila. This movement contributed to the spread and convergence of urban clothing culture.

In societies where wealth existed and was displayed side-by-side with poverty, the appearance of the handsome and well dressed in strings of public events must have invited admiration, envy and a sense of eagerness for fashion. Seeing how the common classes sacrificed savings for style, the well dressed probably left people imagining what it would be like to be dressed like them. As audiences in regular street spectacles, participation would have, imaginably, required dressing the part.

4. Among males of a certain class, with regular interactions with foreign communities, projection of equal status required the inclusion of some Western clothing pieces to distinguish themselves from the rest of the colored, colonized people.[3] Since the 1700s, mestizos have been captured in silky, ruffled and embroidered outfits that incorporated clothing pieces, which, in a way, represented their racial makeup (European-indio, Chinese-indio or mestizo-mestizo). Juan Ravenet of the Malaspina Expedition (1792-

[2] Gaspar SAN AGUSTIN, "Letter on the Filipinas, 1720," in *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, ed. Emma Helen BLAIR and James Alexander Robertson, vol. 40 (Clark: Cleveland, 1903), chap. VII, #49, p. 235.
[3] Kristin HOGANSON, "The Fashionable World: Imagined Communities of Dress," in *After the Imperial Turn: Thinking with and through the Nation*, ed. Antoinette BURTON (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2003), 271.

1794) depicted the mestizos of Manila in silken jackets over untucked ruffled shirts, knee-length sayasayas, velvet shoes and beribboned hats (Fig. 1H). Dissecting mestizo attires suggested a period of experimentation, of combining jackets influenced by the West with sayasaya embroidered silk trousers presumably of Chinese origins and untucked shirts stemming most likely from the need for airiness and comfort under the tropical heat. The hybrid clothing and appearance manifests the complex fusion and convergence of cultures in Philippine colonial society. More importantly, the odd combinations worn by mestizos and indios betrayed the dissonant qualities of colonial fashions as part of the sartorial and cultural tendencies of the day.

By the 1850s, the better classes among the various races in the colony (mostly educated in schools run by European priests), hoping to distinguish themselves from the common *tao,* switched to sleek, dark Western suits or combined elements of both Philippine and Western styles. By doing so, they identified themselves with wealth and education and at the same time, distanced themselves from the mass of *tao,* who were mostly garbed in ordinary sinamay baros. Fashion's lack of subtlety heightened this visual divide between the classes. This sartorial display, which had the capacity to alienate the lower classes, must have engendered and nurtured aspirations, resulting to their, literally, following suit.

The lower classes followed suit, which explains why some writers remarked that "class distinctions among these people are few; with regards to dress, almost the only difference is in the quality of the material (with gaudier colors for the common folks), and on holidays, a less or greater assumption of European styles by the better off."[4] Fashion's lack of subtlety also helps explain why fluctuations in fortunes sometimes had sartorial bearing. Just as the polarity of poverty and prosperity was often perceptible through clothing and overall appearance, advancements in fortunes were, in many cases, signaled by improvements in appearance.

5. Class contradictions in dress existed but they were sparsely documented. Most of the sources encountered were stereotypes, which meant that the rich were usually portrayed

[4] Ebenezer HANNAFORD, *History and Description of the Picturesque Philippines, with Entertaining Accounts of the People and Their Modes of Living, Customs, Industries, Climate and Present Conditions (over 150 Illustrations)* (Springfield, Ohio: The Crowell & Kirkpatrick Co, 1900), 40, http://dlxs.library.cornell.edu/cgi/t/text/pageviewer-idx?c=sea&cc=sea&idno=sea192&q1=Philippines&node=sea192%3A1.2&view=image&seq=9&size=50.

with visual and sartorial symbols of wealth while images of the working class in common clothes were enlivened with distinctive tools of trade or signs of labor. In some of the artworks consulted, even the better off among the Chinese, who had a history of evading taxation and of appearing poorer than they actually were, were made to look rich, comfortable, confident, even happy.

In the upper-lower class continuum, there were more records of class contradictions in the form of the well-dressed poor than of the poorly dressed rich. There were people of means (e.g. some hacienderos or gentlemen farmers), who eschewed expressing *urbanidad* through dress, by virtue of age, personality, character or nature of trade or business.

Although living in the world of poverty, the attires of many members of the common class showed that they were not that far removed from the clothing culture of the elite. As Roche said, "clothing in its diversity, established a common language shared by the rich and poor…both men and women in different social milieus shared common habits which transcended social frontiers."[5] It cannot be denied that, regardless of disparities in wealth, wardrobes were composed of the same styles or basic types of garments. Women's dress consisted of basic items, which were widely found in the wardrobes of the different class categories. Absence of certain clothing items like the tapís did not intimate poverty, rather, they reflected tastes and by extension, family or cultural backgrounds.

The fact that some women from poorer backgrounds were recorded to have spent disproportionate amounts of their income on clothes and accessories is relevant in studies of colonial culture, since it reflects an unreasonable concern for appearances. The shaping of tastes, which influenced the clothing culture of 19th century Philippines, perhaps had its roots on the psychological need to become –or appear-- less vulnerable, even just through clothes, to the oppressions and prejudices that pervaded colonial society at that time. The poor among the colonized have been recorded to have used fashion, especially fiesta fashion, to accessorize the doldrums out of their miseries and to elevate themselves with displays of good taste. It was as if fine clothes, like fine masks, camouflaged their plight and provided them with opportunities to fit in and find validation. Even for just the

[5] ROCHE, *The Culture of Clothing: Dress and Fashion in the 'Ancien Regime*, 120, 219.

duration of the fiesta, they found refuge in the clothes they paid dearly for. In the same way that clothes protected them from nature's elements, clothes, in a sense, also protected them from human elements that included hollowed judgments and prejudiced looks.

The reality of a broad and divided lower class must also be emphasized. People that belonged to the lower social categories exhibited varying degrees of hispanization/ westernization and fashionability. Those who were employed by foreigners and the upper classes, often received the hand-me-down clothes and even jewelries of their employers. Others, like cocheros and houseboys, who had secondary roles of displaying their employers' status, were provided with clothes for wear in public or in the presence of guests.

This issue on class contradictions in dress is complicated due to so many intertwining elements (e.g., the context of when the attire was worn) that needed consideration. After all, almost every poor indio and india invested on, at least, one set of special attire for festivals and other celebrations. Matters were also complicated by racial factors, e.g. a rich peninsular dressed like a pauper, a poor indio or even an Aeta, like Capitán Toming, dressed like a wealthy Spaniard.

6. The 19th century was a time when changing clothes was a way to continually establish and re-establish who people were. As particular segments of the native population increasingly became wealthy, they were eager to demonstrate equal status with the colonizers. With clothes using embroidered local luxury fabrics like piña, natives expressed who they were or who they wanted to be, who they wanted to be associated with, what they wanted to highlight and what they wanted to hide as a result. Added to this, it was also discovered that in matters of dress, status was displayed not only through one's clothing but also through the appearance of their children, their wives, their employees and even their dead. Looking at the clothing of selected groups would show how children, cocheros and houseboys were influenced by their parent's or employerss' quest for social distinction.

7. From the 1850s onwards, the better classes adopted an urbanized clothing culture, which became rooted on something much broader than indigenized Spanish culture.[6] As Manila opened up to world trade, as certain groups were enriched by commercial cash cropping and as Europe became accessible after the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, *urbanidad* became linked with the sophisticated, cosmopolitan, hybridized culture that developed among the generally wealthier, educated and better-looking group of mestizos. *Urbanidad* was articulated by looking at how both the styles the upper class fashioned and the status they embodied were perceived, received and espoused by the wider society.

   With the changes that occurred in the second half of the 19th century, nuances in the colonial culture of appearances shifted from race to socio-cultural standing. Although there would always be an undercurrent of racial tension/prejudice as a consequence of centuries of colonization, emerging signifiers like education, talent and professional status began to transcend racial boundaries. Refinement in clothing tastes, when combined with finesse, attitude and language, became more important indicators of status, than one's blood, fair skin and sharp features. However, it must be noted that only when exquisite dress conformed to the wearer's attitude and fit in with other subtleties-- both sartorial and social-- could dress truly provide an accurate reading of a person's status.

   It must be emphasized that *urbanidad* was not based solely on dress. Among men and women, *urbanidad* found expressions in dress, appearance and actions in different ways. Among women, *urbanidad* was represented by the possession of completely Western-style garments in their wardrobes or by the integration of Western elements in their appearance. It was also based on how they embodied the Catholic virtues of piety, modesty and propriety not only through their dress and appearance but also through their manners and demeanors. Regardless of how unsuitable it was to the climate, they have, for example, taken to layering piña garments, wearing petticoats, and using booties. They negotiated pomp and pageantry with modesty and propriety in different contexts by wearing baros of sheer textiles and layering them with camisón as inner wear (*damit panloob*) and pañuelo as outer wear (*damit panlabas*). Among men, *urbanidad* was also signaled by layering, in addition to the wearing of leather shoes, bow-ties and cravats, in

[6] Edgar WICKBERG, *The Chinese in Philippine Life, 1850-1898* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2000), 131–133.

addition to a host of other indicators, including education, panache, language, social and professional affiliations. While in the early years of colonization, juxtapositions such as clothed and partially-clothed marked the difference between civilized and uncivilized, in the second half of the 19th century, the markers changed. Frocked and unfrocked men literally distinguished the urbanized and educated (*may pinag-aralan*) from those who were not. Clothing was a marker not so much of civilization as defined post-conquest but civilization as variably defined in the 19th century.

In embodying *urbanidad*, individuals and groups distinguished or distanced themselves from the rest of the colonized. In the process, they became the cultural models for the common classes, who, as part of a discriminated colonized population, shared similar susceptibility to foreign influences. Those returning from Europe, the likes of Rizal and the character of Crisostomo Ibarra he created in *Noli me tangere*, became one of the mediators of urbanized culture. Returning students, along with North European and North American merchants living in Manila[7] became models for the younger generation and for the common *tao*. Inadvertently, they became relevant in the transmission of nuanced sartorial conventions, contributing to the growing convergence of vestimentary paths between the races and between the classes.

8. The prosperity that came about in the second half of the 19th century saw the emergence of an urbanized hybrid culture that blurred ethnic distinctions in clothing. However, there were certain garment pieces that were polarizing, not only in terms of race but also in terms of class. The phrase "aristocracy of the tapís," for example, brings to light how this garment was a crucial piece in pageantry and social pretension. How and where it was tied, how long it should be were used by the mestizas to distinguish themselves from the indias. Taste in color also provided insights into the wearer's background. For example, black mantillas and black sayas originally conveyed castilian backgrounds. The male baro, even if hybridized by layering Western jackets over it, were also rather divisive. Baros were shown to have historically announced affiliation with the natives and with their causes. This led to its use by some colonial bureaucrats and diplomatic representatives, who were hoping to gain popular respect or support. Towards the end of

[7] North Europeans would include the British who first fashioned what came to be adapted as the *baro cerrada*, later on called the *american cerrada*. Ibid.; Nick JOAQUIN and Luciano P.R SANTIAGO, *Nineteenth Century Manila. The World of Damián Domingo* (Manila: Metropolitan Museum of Manila, 1990), 30.

the 19th century, the color of the stripes in the female saya also gained nominal distinctions, like *escuadra española* or *escuadra americana.* The terms *camisa chino, traje de mestiza, traje del país barong tagalog, americana cerrada* were also racially charged. But, times were changing. From around the 1880s, some terms like *traje de mestiza* no longer seemed appropriate. Changing sensibilities and growing sensitivity to the terms used to designate people and their clothing led to the use of 'politically correct' terms, like *traje del país* or the Filipino dress.

As colonial urbanization permeated the various racial and class sectors, local and regional variances in dress slowly disappeared. The clothing convergence that occurred between the regional groups (e.g., the Tagals, the Visayans) and between some of the racial groups (e.g. creoles, mestizo-españoles, mestizos de sangley, indios), supports Maria Serena I. Diokno's statement that the 19th century saw the indios --a term which came to encompass the various native inhabitants-- become Filipinos.[8]

9. A study of the evolution of 19th century women's fashions did not indicate a fashion revolution of epic proportions, in the sense that women's native attires, although exhibiting European influences, remained essentially native or traditional. Progressions in women's fashions were, in general, built on the same native styles, using the same basic pieces, but with reworked details, like enlarging sleeves, starching, raising the back portion of the pañuelo. Except for the dramatic ballooning of the sleeves and the various changes in the volume, cut, textile patterns of the skirt, many of the changes were quite subtle and even, far between. To truly see the modifications that occurred, one must be interested in nuance, like the mentalities associated with the length and opening of the tapís,[9] the the depth of the neckline, the manner of folding the pañuelo to best display the

[8] According to Wickberg, "Filipino as a term of national identification is a post-1898 usage." During the Spanish colonial era, the term Filipino, short for Español-Filipinos referred to the creoles or Spaniards born in the Philippines. The term indio was used to refer to the natives, majority of which were Malayan natives of the archipelago. WICKBERG, *The Chinese in Philippine Life, 1850-1898*, 7; Maria Serena I. DIOKNO, "Chapter Six: The Making of the Filipino," in *Kasaysayan: The Story of the Filipino People*, ed. Maria Serena I. DIOKNO and Ramon N. VILLEGAS, vol. 4: Life in the Colony (Manila: Asia Publishing Co., 1998), 134; Clarita T. NOLASCO, "The Creoles in Spanish Philippines," *Far Eastern University Journal* XV, no. 1 and 2 (September 1970): 201; Antoine-Alfred MARCHE, *Luzon and Palawan*, trans. Carmen OJEDA and Jovita CASTRO (Manila: The Filipiniana Book Guild, 1970), 33.

[9] While most women tied their tapís in the front-side, the tapís with back opening (*con la abertura atrás*) was, according to Álvarez Guerra, an innovation associated with the urbanized elite (the *taga-bayan*). According to English engineer Frederick Sawyer, many of the *taga-bayan* were mestizos of considerable wealth and status, which explains why the three paintings that clearly showed this style [of securing the tapís at the back] were typified by mestizas. This insinuates that the mestizas were more fashionable and trendsetting than the indias.

elaborate embroideries, the height with which to raise its back portion, etc. Other daily decisions that confronted the fashionable in the 1890s must have included how wide should the pañuelo open in front, how high or low should the brooch be positioned, and how stiff (starched) should the pañuelo be?[10]

10. Clothing styles changed in response to the changing sensibilities, changing notions of propriety, changing technologies, etc. There were indirect links between improvements in women's needlework skills and the style of their baros' sleeves, which gradually changed from straight, long sleeves to airy and wide to stiff and puffed. Since women were also excluded from the main avenues of power available to men, they displayed their status in other ways, e.g., through well-organized households, through embroidery works either worn in their persons or displayed on their walls, etc.

    The introduction of new technologies like sewing machines also called for new types of clothes workers. *Maquinistas* complemented the works of the handsewing *costureras* and *sastres*. New types of looms also allowed for the production of bigger textile panels, which allowed for new styles like *saya de cola* (skirts with trains) to be developed. The acquisition of new construction techniques also paved the way for changes from square to rounded necklines. New textile imports also modified the clothing of the various sectors. As the influx of cheaper, machine-made textile brought the checkered cambayas within reach of the poor, imported silk with celestial and floral patterns became popular among the upper classes who were eager for new measures of distinction.

11. From a fashion perspective, evolved forms of women's attires defined that era. Explosions of colors, silhouettes, patterns and textures of divine proportions led to the establishment of new traditions in feminine dress. Despite the integration of European elements and accessories (i.e., petticoats, booties, etc), women's dress, particularly their

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Juan ÁLVAREZ GUERRA, *Viajes por Manila á Tayabas*, Second edition (Madrid: Imprenta de Fortanet, 1887), chap. 3, pp. 65–68; Frederic Henry Read SAWYER, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines* (London: Sampson Low, Marston and Company Limited, 1900), 31, http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/38081; José Honorato LOZANO, *Nyssens-Flebus Album: Album de Manille et ses environs*, Watercolor, 1844 to 1846, fig. Mestizas in Promenade Attire; Mestizos in Churchgoing Attire, Christie's London 2002, http://www.christies.com/lotfinder/LotDetailsPrintable.aspx?intObjectID=272493; José Honorato LOZANO, *Karuth Album: J.A. Karuth Album on the Philippine Islands*, Watercolor, September 2, 1858, fig. Clothes of Natives and Mestizos, Filipinas Heritage Library, http://www.retrato.com.ph/list.asp?keyword=Carl+Karuth&searchby=OR&searchwhere=title.

[10] Eric V. CRUZ, *The Terno: Its Development and Identity as the Filipino Women's National Costume* (Quezon City: The U.P. College of Home Economics, 1982), 6, 43, 46, 48.

upper garments, retained their oriental character. Although it must be mentioned that inasmuch as men and women's baro in colonial Philippines were reveled for their charm and unique oriental character, they were, however, not originally native. Suffusing European austerity with the tactile material richness of the tropics, the result was an exuberant play of textures. Among women, the lightweight fabrics *(ligerias telas)*[11] used for the upper garments contrasted with the volume and layers of their lower garments (i.e., full, petticoated skirts). The sheer and short baros were veiled with another sheer layer of pañuelo. The pañuelo, which draped softly and gracefully over women's shoulders, were often fashioned from the same filmy fabrics as the baro. Literally and symbolically, the pañuelo functioned as a veil of modesty, intended to fulfill the requirements of propriety. Among men, the construction of the men's baro, with their folded collars, long, cuffed sleeves, were European-inspired, but acclimatized or reworked using nipis fabrics—and were consistently worn untucked.

Whether original or not, indigenized, hispanized or both, the Filipino's penchant for imitation must be understood in the larger context of people's tendency to sample. To a lesser extent, the period's educational system and how practical and technical skills were diffused must be taken into account. Since, education was predominantly in the hands of Western priests and nuns, the technical and structural details of cloth and clothes were essentially European. As fashion publications that were European in outlook were growing more popular in the colony, it was likely that accessories and embellishments were added in order to appear up-to-date or more urbanized, which was essentially more hispanized, or westernized.

12. From the discussions in the preceding chapters, the racial, the economic and the cultural were shown to have intersected in the material form of clothing. Clothing was, in fact, caught in the middle of people's ongoing confrontations with issues relating to money, skin color and sexuality, yet, its study have long been ignored.

    In 19th century Philippines, it was women's clothing, more than men's, which reflected the dominant features of colonial and Catholic programming: modesty, propriety and

[11] Juan ÁLVAREZ GUERRA, *Viajes por Filipinas de Manila à Albay*, First edition (Madrid: Imprenta de Fortanet, 1887), chap. 4, pp. 69–70, http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/12275.

subservient femininity.[12] But, the overt expansion of male wardrobes to include native, European and other types of hybrid styles demonstrate what Finnane had mentioned that "in dress as in other respects, a society was more commonly represented by reference to its male members."[13] The dress and appearance of women and children, at least of a certain class, were usually discussed with reference to the interests of men --on how attractive they would be to the opposite sex, on how they could graciously complement their men's status, etc. Fashion advertisements marketed narratives on how clothes could contribute to, for example, marriageability.

Philippine women's clothing may not be as diverse but their dress, along with their overall appearance and conduct, was even more historicized than men. Looking at how fashion was discussed in 19th century periodicals and novels, women's clothing, in particular, sat at the intersection of cultural discussions on wealth and poverty, excess and lack, pomp and propriety. Women's dress, tastes --and frivolities-- as well as their consumption habits were all worldly issues dealt with to stimulate reflections on the evolving meanings of modesty and propriety, in both social and private contexts. They were mostly presented in moralizing novels and periodicals using male voices, sometimes from the perspective of the male religious.

A study on colonial clothing culture was even made more fascinating, as the economic functioning of clothes depended in part on recognizing from whose perspective did standards relating to fashionability and propriety emanate from. This raised basic questions such as, who set the trends? Who defined what was fashionable and more importantly, what was proper?

The various sources consulted showed that throughout the 19th century, broad measures of status and particularized measures of fashionability, were continually changing. Looking at the changing images of men and women in 19th century periodicals, which featured Spanish, mestizos and indios of certain talents, skills and family backgrounds revealed that measures of *urbanidad* began to transcend racial lines. As shown in the

[12] subservient in the sense of secondary relative to men's position in society. Elizabeth Uy EVIOTA, *The Political Economy of Gender: Women and the Sexual Division of Labour in the Philippines.* (London, UK and New Jersey, USA: Zed Books Ltd, 1992), chap. 2, p. 170.
[13] Antonia FINNANE, *Changing Clothes in China: Fashion, History and Nation* (New York, Chichester, West Sussex: Columbia University Press, 2008), 35.

proposed sartorial structure, diffusion was top-down (class) but the setting of trends could not be attributed to one racial group alone. As a class, the mestizos were generally perceived –and portrayed-- as wealthier, better-looking and well dressed, which may have led to the idea that urban culture was mestizo in origin. But, the reality was there were well-dressed among the different races. The archetype of the rich india (*la india rica*) was, for example, lauded for being like the mestizas.

Furthermore, definitions of what was fashionable, elegant and proper were discovered to have been rooted on the male gaze. Discussing fashion in relation to the feminine character demonstrated how male opinion influenced the potency of fashion and revealed how women could be judged based on their outward appearance, not only in public but also in private. This essentially reflects how the *labas* (outward appearance) was linked to the *loob* (inner state).

Accounts have shown that clothes had a bearing on how people, especially women, were perceived. For example, women were either 'good' and proper or 'bad' and vulgar. The propriety-vulgarity dichotomy was an insidious double standard that has been unfairly placed upon women, but not really upon men. Even the regularity by which women changed clothes has also been linked to licentiousness, and in a society under the grips of friars, it carried with it strong moral judgments.

13. A staunchly Catholic colonial society such as the one that took root in the Philippines nurtured a culture with deeply ingrained gender norms. Women were expected to be outwardly modest and decent, while at the same time, alluring and attractive. It was unfathomable that an intelligent, educated woman raised Catholic by a proper family would purposely choose to appear indecent, filthy and lewd.

    The fact that beginning in the 1840s, men, for certain occasions, began to appear in Western suits next to women in baro't saya, pañuelo and tapís also showed the gender-based image of modernity. The visual contrast of women's "impractical" attires next to men's pragmatic and streamlined outfits patterned after the Western model was rooted on the tangents their professional and socio-cultural lives have taken. Since women were excluded from achieving distinctions through careers in law, ecclesiastics, politics and military, clothing, accessories and displays of talent in needlework and art were their

symbols of status. The gender disparity in clothing serves to reinforce the "dominance of men and the subordination of women."[14]

It was not unthinkable for the men to be adamant about preserving their women's native dress. After all, "according to the nationalist line of thought in the late 19th century, women's bodies should delineate national differences." [15] Just as the nation was associated with the feminine, women's bodies were expected to embody nationhood. To fulfill their desire for fashions originating from Paris, native women were guilty of limited hispanization/westernization, in the same way European women were guilty of what Hoganson termed as "limited orientalism" –of adding decorative touches of other culture's embroideries and accessories to their attires.[16]

Furthermore, against the backdrop of a conservative Catholic society, women also bore the burden of the entire family's hygiene, honor and respectability in dress and in matters of the home. Textual discourses brought to light issues relating to overspending on the clothing of children, a call usually attributed to women as guardians of the domestic sphere.

14. How people dressed as recorded in colonial photographs and documents revealed how values relating to hygiene, propriety and modesty strongly influenced the local clothing culture. In terms of hygiene, almost everyone, regardless of wealth, spent time in grooming themselves. The ones from the leisure classes certainly spent more time, in the mornings upon waking up, in the afternoons after their siesta, before they went on afternoon strolls and again in the evenings, before going to bed. It was also recorded that the convent school girls of the different beaterios were given an hour each day for grooming. The preoccupation of the natives with bathing have also been documented in almost every type of historical source. Their bathing were often portrayed as done in conjunction with washing clothes and other responsibilities.

    The customary rules on hygiene, propriety and modesty also guided-- despite some miscalculations and exceptions --how people chose to dress during paseos, tertulias,

[14] EVIOTA, *The Political Economy of Gender*, chap. 12, p. 170.
[15] HOGANSON, "The Fashionable World: Imagined Communities of Dress," 261.
[16] Ibid., 270.

bailés and funerals. Clothing choices were found to have been influenced by whether they would be viewed in close proximity or not. Paseos and tertulias, were among the events that represented the continuum between dressing to be watched, usually from afar, and dressing to be seen through, usually within closed quarters and in relation to other subtle signifiers like the details of the dress, manners, grooming, diction, etc. The connection between women's clothing and proximity was also based, in part, on the reported volubility of men in social situations: the men were described to be as voluble as the women were silent. Women, who were described during tertulias as seated in front of each other but hardly speaking to one another, were reckoned to be inclined to pay more attention to clothing and appearance.

While there were certain locales and events, which were dominated by people of certain backgrounds, there were also *sociabilités,* which drew people of varied classes and races. Private tertulias and balls generally drew in mixed race groups from the upper class while the common folks dominated the roadside pansiterías (Fig. 52), carenderias and tiendas (Fig. 99). But churches, cockfighting arenas and the Luneta, in attracting mixed crowds, allowed for the observation of not only human but also clothing diversity.

In studying clothes to show how the 19th century inhabitants of Philippine colonial society engaged in cultural dialogues relating to privacy, morality, vanity, pageantry and pragmatism, it was also recognized that in matters of the individual vis-à-vis the collective, there would always be individuals dressing and marching to their own tunes. The dandies, for example, were scrutinized to show how pomp challenged propriety. Their clothing and appearance, which nevertheless bore the imprints of their time, were quirky but in a way that still fell within societal boundaries. In incorporating feminine elements, not only in dress but also in swagger, they still displayed masculinity but, in a different way – a masculinity that was not emasculating. In an unlikely comparison, colonial society fixtures in the characters of dandies and gobernadorcillos were juxtaposed on account of their rather dissonant clothing choices. Dressed in ensembles built from almost the same garment pieces, the dandies represented the playful sophistication of society iconoclasts, while the gobernadorcillos represented the earnest fashion of society conformists.

The motivations behind dress were also explored by juxtaposing the attires of gobernadorcillos and Ilustrados. The distinctive hybrid ensembles of the gobernadorcillos were discovered to have represented power and authority, no matter how restrained, based on the old ethno-social categories, while the Ilustrados, who as students were already clothed in western style garments, represented potential power based on expanded socio-cultural class categories. Like in the *sainete* of Capitán Toming, some garment pieces had culturally acquired transformative powers. For example, the tailored frock coats the gobernadorcillos wore and the accessories they used had specific meaning and significance. By donning a Western suit over a native baro, suddenly one had transformed himself into a native, colonial bureaucrat. As Rizal also demonstrated in the transformation of Ibarra to Simoun in his two successive novels, clothing was also a critical tool in acts of self-reinvention.

15. With regards to Spanish sartorial prohibitions in the form of sumptuary laws, many of which were regarded as historical, despite the lack of sources, the pulse of the colonial production did not really necessitate any massive sartorial intervention. As exemplified in the attires of the frocked gobernadorcillos, the costumed cocheros and the executioners garbed in all-red, the idea of privilege fed on itself, with minor intercessions taking only the form of clothing etiquettes or notions of official dress (*trajes de etiqueta*).

16. The 19th century was also a time of experimentation and change. Experimentation followed by the inspired idea of expressing some semblance of national pride through clothing. Even if the "revolution against Spain was political, not cultural,"[17] during the decade that led to the Philippine Revolution of 1896, the idea of a nation was beginning to show itself in dress. Since the 1840s, men began to negotiate their public and private lives by expanding their wardrobes. Sartorially, things unfolded in an elegant note with Western suits increasingly becoming the favored professional form and the native baro as their favored festive attire. This dichotomy between male professional and leisure wear reveals how they unrelentingly kept their connections to their people and community, in the face of increasing societal expectations of how educated and wealthy Filipinos should look.

[17] WICKBERG, *The Chinese in Philippine Life, 1850-1898*, 131.

The clothing culture that developed among one of the forerunners of urban culture, the Ilustrados, was in part, a consequence of life in a predominantly white milieu. Their donning of the Western suit while in Europe was, in fact, essential to their everyday life as foreign students or expatriates. Adversely, the white minority's retention of their own clothing habits in a predominantly brown milieu like the Philippines throughout the 19th century manifests notions of colonial superiority. This attest to the sartorial gap between a dominant white minority and an inferior brown majority – a rift, which was blurred by the emergence since the 1850s of this prosperous and educated class of indios and biracial mestizos, who had the capacity to dress, accessorize and present themselves as persons of status.

17. In analyzing contents of wardrobes, almost everyone, rich or poor alike, had separate clothes for special occasions, mainly for church-related activities. The pervasive presence of clothes, mirrors, closets, *armoires*, suitcases of varying qualities in almost every household showed a concern for clothing and appearance. In the unequal world of 19th century colonial Philippines, where social gaps clearly existed, such objects and furnishings were replaced in lower class households with *tampipes* and *balutanes*, if not improvised cabinets made out of cardboard boxes. This is to say nothing of private spaces like *boudoirs*, which practically did not exist in common class homes.

18. There were also major socio-cultural and economic changes beginning in the second half of the 19th century, which affected the clothing consumption of the native population. This study showed how the reclothing of educated native men *(may pinag-aralan)* began in schools, where they were expected to wear European attires. The reclothing of some types of male workers (i.e. coachmen, houseboys) began with jobs under foreign employers. This reclothing, in creating new demands, which required for the local industries to either produce new types of textiles or to import textiles appropriate to the new styles, clearly had consequences on the economy.

    The early 19th century Philippine clothing industry encompassed textile weaving, embroidery, distribution, retailing and marketing of different types of textiles, which were then turned to clothes by hired seamstresses, tailors and embroiderers. The late 19th century saw the expansion of the industry to include fashion advertising and provincial distribution of all types of local and imported ready-made or half-made apparel and

accessories for men, women and children, from ordinary, everyday clothing to evening wear, which were fashioned in either the Philippine or European styles. It also broadened to a myriad of services that employed not only weavers, embroiderers, tailors, seamstresses, laundrymen and women but also *maquinistas* to operate new technologies. It also hosted a variety of related industries, such as the production or importation of mirrors, dressers, armoires, suitcases, etc. This study likewise acquainted us with the different aspects of the local luxury trade, which attracted genre painters, foreign photographers, tailors, fashion merchants and different kinds of European skilled workers, particularly, French dressmakers, German hatters, Spanish shoemakers, etc.

19. With regards to clothing made of sheer native textiles, people generally knew where their textiles were sourced from and how their clothes were produced. It was mentioned that textile-producing households in Panay were distinguished by flags made of piña hanged outside their homes. At that time, it was also quite common for people with means to invite skilled and unskilled workers inside their homes to make, embellish and maintain their clothes for them. Some bedrooms have been converted to workrooms to host teams of seamstresses, embroiderers, and *maquinistas* to work on clothes in succession. Similar to assembly lines, it allowed for clothes to be progressively made, embellished, altered and washed. Enterprising housewives were able to control the quality and the costs of their clothing projects.

    Given the low cost of labor, it must be considered that elite women were able to dress themselves and their families exquisitely and extensively, at little cost. The best way to keep clothing expenses down at that time was to break down the process and buy plain rather than embroidered textiles, hire costureras to turn cloth into clothes and employ bordadoras to apply embroideries and other embellishments. Apart from savings made on the fabric and on actually making the garment, they further reduced labor costs by paying daily or weekly wages instead of paying per piece. Those who paid per piece were spared from incurring costs relating to supply and food provisions by working with seamstresses or embroiderers that worked from their own homes. Elaborate embroidered attires, hence, signified acumen or wealth. In some cases, it meant access to exclusive labor and the financial stability to keep skilled workers on retainer.

20. Beginning in the mid-19th century, the Philippines also enjoyed global connections in terms of trade, literature and fashion. Manila offered a great diversity of choices, from imported silk from China to velvets and lace from Europe. Residents from major provincial cities, particularly Iloilo and Cebu, were also able to purchase clothing items from Manila shops without having to travel to Manila. Some Manila stores had branches in major islands while others were accepting orders of imported ready-made clothing for provincial deliveries.

This study showed that the 19th century was a period in history when clothing pervaded different aspects of Philippine life. Those were exciting times when clothing delivered intriguing prominence to the colonial world. Intrinsically, clothes are neither benign nor belligerent but as shown in this work, it could inspire and evoke a range of emotions, interpretations and responses, from envy and sympathy to intimidation and lust. Gaining insights from the novel, *Si Tandang Bacio Macunat* (1885), it was observed that clothing could, in a way, make the clergy and by extension, the colonial government, "tremble." Frock coats on non-elite, brown-skinned indios began to be seen as subversive acts (*nakikipantay*), especially when viewed against late 19th century developments. On the decades leading to the Philippine revolution against Spain's colonial regime, individuals and small groups of people had achieved socio-economic and cultural power in a way that they never had in the early days of colonization. Styles like frock coats --originally adopted by emerging groups of indios and mestizos enlarged by wealth, education and urbanized culture-- seen among the mass population would prove to be disconcerting for the colonial authorities. Western clothes, especially on people "of less social dignity"[18] were perceived as signs of deculturation or degradation, instead of acculturation, assimilation or progress.

This research amply demonstrated that massive amounts of narrative power could be generated by reconciling clothing silhouettes and styles with culture and context. In examining clothing in the context of the parade, the charade and everything else in between, it was recognized as visible, compelling and lucrative in 19th century Philippine colonial society and economy.

In conclusion, while clothing may be frivolous, its study is never trivial.

[18] John FOREMAN, *The Philippine Islands: A Political, Geographical, Ethnographical, Social and Commercial History of the Philippine Archipelago, Third, Revised and Enlarged with Maps and Illustrations* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1906), chap. XI, http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/22815.

Recommendations

Recommendations

This study could still be expanded and extended

1. to a comparative study of the culture of dress in other colonial societies, e.g. French Vietnam, Spanish Americas, Dutch Indonesia.
2. to delve further into local history by studying clothes using documents and photographs from regions with active social scenes. It would be interesting to study clothing in the context of the glimmering social world of places like Negros and to see if the growth and success of particular industries within that region had impacts on clothing and appearance.
3. to include revolutionary clothing. Macario Sakay y de Leon, a Filipino General during the Philippine Revolution of 1896 and during the Philippine-American war of 1898 wore clothing that bore talismans and Latin inscriptions, believing that they would bring him some sort of invincibility. In effect, these pseudo-religious symbolisms were viewed as symbols of folk religiosity, which were then interpreted as manifestations of nationalism.
4. to the succeeding American Colonial Period, when there was a conscious effort to eradicate the memories of the revolution by the process of Westernization, including the Westernization of clothing. Despite the hot tropical climate of the Philippines, there was an increasing use of, and demand for, Western suits and vests. The researcher recommends that future researchers would explore the role of clothes in imaging and in projections of modernity.

Children's attires, for instance, may be studied in the context of the ensuing American colonial period. Representations of Filipino schoolchildren and their clothing, in relation to their American counterparts as they appeared in the primers distributed in schools were one of the issues that confronted the teachers. In contrast to the jackets, suits, heeled shoes and scarves worn by American pupils, depictions of native children, wearing sheer camisas, checkered sayas and if not barefooted, in chinelas, created much confusion and distress to the latter.[1]

[1] FEE, *A Woman's Impression of the Philippines*, chap. VIII, pp. 86–106.

5. to survey stage costumes and investigate how these costumes affected the lives of ordinary men and women who were invited to play lead roles in 19th century theater productions
6. to a more detailed of items related to clothing, like shoes and accessories. This study could also be expanded to other genres of clothing, like the *traje de boda* (wedding dress).

Sources

Philippine Material Culture in Europe

Various embodiments and incarnations of Philippine textiles, generally known as *nipis*, have appeared in various 19th century publications. The subject is often found embedded on almost every type of text or iconographic source. In fact, there are a variety of 19th century periodicals, artworks and photographs, which have not yet been used as sources to reconstruct the clothing practices of 19th century colonial Philippines for the following reasons: First, many of the primary sources relating to 19th century Philippines were written in literary Spanish. Since Spanish language is no longer compulsory in schools and universities, many researchers have difficulty studying Spanish sources. Secondly, exploring iconographic archives and clothing inventories must be done across Europe and the United States, specifically Madrid, Valladolid, Paris, London, Leiden, Chicago and New York. After all, the Philippines, in its current state of wide social division, apparent class consciousness, confused morality has seen 400 years of its treasures scattered all over the world. It is imperative that to know its history, one must leave the archipelago and search for its treasures in the land of its "colonizers" and its economic and social superiors. To quote José Maria A. Cariño,

> "The Philippines, a tropical country where artworks are prone to destruction due to the constant humidity, rains, typhoons, earthquakes, fires, termites and the ignorance of man, not many artworks from the early Spanish colonial period until the late 18th century have survived. Because of this, most of the surviving *tipos del país* painted of Filipinos either by native painters or foreigners have been found in overseas collections rather than in the country where they originated."[1]

Just as the piña fabric was incredibly hard to make as any breeze could snap its thread, such is the fragility in rediscovering the "fabric" of Philippine colonial life. One must go beyond its shores to comprehend why, to begin with, much of the Philippine treasures had to be sought elsewhere.

Many significant evidences on Philippine material culture cannot be found in the Philippines. Historically, economically more powerful countries sanctioned voyages that

[1] José Maria A. CARIÑO, "Tipos Filipinos," in *La Piña: El Tejido del Paraíso* (Madrid: Madrid Vive la Moda, 2005), 82–109.

served dual purposes of diplomatic mission and scientific expedition to systematically collect data, samples and likewise, explore possible commercial opportunities. For example, Théodore de Lagrené, led a French diplomatic delegation between 1843-1846. He was accompanied by a trade delegation tasked to explore the various textile industries in China and its neighboring countries. Taking inspiration from the Chinese artists who produced paintings for sale as souvenirs, his colleague, Isidore Hedde, came up with the idea of documenting the silk and cotton industries of the different countries through artworks. In the Philippines, Antonio D. Malantic, a local artist who was once a student of Domingo's *Academia de Dibujo*, was commissioned to paint a series of watercolors that depict *abacá* and *piña* textile production.[2] As the French sanctioned this collection of 12 watercolors, they are rightly French possessions and can now be found at the *Cabinet des estampes* of the *Bibliothèque Nationale de France.*

In a country characterized by corruption and poverty, collection of antiquities has not been high in the government's agenda for reform. As seen in the trend of the antiquities market of the 1970's, it seems that local collectors could neither compete nor outspend the international collectors.[3]

In terms of conservation, fabrics and garments have been preserved better due to climate-controlled environments in well-funded museums abroad. The tropical and humid climate of the Philippines had shown to be a major proponent in the early disintegration of fabrics.[4] Adjutant Ebenezer Hannaford, who published his work on the *History and Description of the Picturesque Philippine*s in 1900, also mentioned how wardrobes in the Philippines were often vulnerable to being "devoured by white ants."[5]

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[2] According to Claudine Salmon, "nothing is known about the painter, but judging from the style of his paintings, one may assume that he was a Chinese Filipino." In an article by Luciano P.R. Santiago on the Philippine Academic Art, Antonio Malantic was mentioned as one of the students of the *Academia de Dibujo*, which was founded in 1821 and closed down in 1834. See Claudine SALMON, "Les Dessins Industriels Philippins d'Antonio D. Malantie: Une Commande de La Mission de Lagrené en Chine (1843-1846)," *Archipel* 67, no. 67 (2004): 57–76; Luciano P.R. SANTIAGO, "Philippine Academic Art: The Second Phase (1845-1898)," *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society* 17, no. 1 (1989): 67.

[3] "Since World War II, the Philippines has increased its holdings of Filipino-made art from overseas. Private collectors have been particularly active, providing with new acquisitions when government priorities must center on social welfare, education, security and infrastructure." Foreword by Felice Sta. Maria in Nick JOAQUIN and Luciano P.R SANTIAGO, *Nineteenth Century Manila. The World of Damián Domingo* (Manila: Metropolitan Museum of Manila, 1990).

[4] Interview with Marian Pastor-Roces last July 2011. PASTOR-ROCES, *Sinaunang Habi: Philippine Ancestral Weave*.

[5] Ebenezer HANNAFORD, *History and Description of the Picturesque Philippines, with Entertaining Accounts of the People and Their Modes of Living, Customs, Industries, Climate and Present Conditions (over 150 Illustrations)* (Springfield, Ohio: The Crowell & Kirkpatrick Co, 1900), 45, http://dlxs.library.cornell.edu/cgi/t/text/pageviewer-idx?c=sea&cc=sea&idno=sea192&q1=Philippines&node=sea192%3A1.2&view=image&seq=9&size=50.

Manila has likewise been destroyed in World War II. The National Museum was completely destroyed. As such, many of the country's key material evidences that were once found in the Philippines had vanished.

Primary Sources

There were eight types of primary sources used for this study: iconographic, material and written. The two iconographic sources were artworks (*tipos del país, letras y figuras,* portraits) and photographs. Actual garments were material evidences treated as documents in this work. The other four were written sources, including travel accounts, periodicals, advertisements, novels and catalogues. Assembling a good combination of records made it possible to trace the evolution of both individual clothing pieces and whole garments.

Primary Iconographic Sources

While traditional historians focused on written documents, iconographic sources such as artworks and photographs as well as actual cloth and clothing were integrated and were treated as documents in this study. More than one thousand iconographic sources were surveyed and analyzed for this research. In the use and study of paintings and photographs, the focus was redirected to what the subjects are wearing and the context with which the clothes were chosen and worn. The subject of clothing was also approached with the *raison d'etre* of the collections or albums in mind.

Most, if not all of the main sources were made during the 19th century or published just shortly after the turn of the century. Many were original sources that have not been used previously for studies on the history of Philippine clothing. Since many of the *tipos del país* and vignettes were limited to the generic Philippine "types" (betel nut vendors, washerwomen, mestizas, chinese peddler, etc), the use of varied sources allowed the author to cross-reference information derived from illustrations and pictures with the actual garments. Artworks were particularly relevant to the study of apparel before the advent of photography. Travel accounts and periodicals were then used for the reconstruction of clothing contexts. Making use of artworks made by both native and Spanish artists were used to balance local and foreign viewpoints and approaches. Since many were dated but not signed, the artworks were selected, after careful research, on the basis of established authenticity. Aware of the value of credibility and scholarship, the author has judiciously specified her sources and the location where the collections may be found.

On account of the historical nature of this work, the fieldwork done was primarily in the archives, libraries and museums in Madrid, Valladolid, Paris and Manila.

In Madrid, the Biblioteca Nacional de España, Paseo de Recoletos Branch (BNE) holds volumes of underutilized 19th century periodicals, manuals of etiquette,[6] travel accounts[7] and travel guides[8] as well as original albums of watercolor art and photographs. Particularly important were the *Gervasio Gironella Album* (ca. 1847) of José Honorato Lozano, the photographic *Álbum-Libro: Recuerdos de Filipinas* (ca. 1895) of Félix Laureano and the *Álbum de Filipinas* (ca. 1870) a deluxe album of studio photographs, by an unknown photographer, which contains 60 photographs, 17 of which were studio photographs of indios and mestizos of varying classes and occupations.

From the Hemeroteca Municipal, digitized copies of 19th century periodicals, particularly *Ilustración Filipina* (1859-1860), *La Ilustración del Oriente* (1877-1888), *Manila Alegre* (1885, 1886, 1887), *La Moda Filipina* (1893-1894), *Manililla* (1893), *El Domingo* (1890) and *Guia Forasteros* (1845-1846) would prove invaluable in this research.

Museo Nacional de Antropología holds not only the original *tipos del país* paintings of Félix Martínez (b. 1859-d. 1916) and the sculptures of Bonifacio Arévalo (b. 1850-d. 1920) but also important sets of stereographic photographs, albums and more importantly, actual garments. Its library also had the original copy of the *Catálogo de la Exposición*

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[6] *Nuevo Manual de Urbanidad, Cortesanía, Decoro y Etiqueta O El Hombre Fino Contiene Todas Las Reglas del Arte de Presentarse en El Mundo Según Las Prácticas Que La Civilizacíon Ha Introducido en Todos Los Casos Que Ocurren en La Sociedad, Como Visitas Convites, Reuniones Filarmónicas, Matrimonios, Duelos, Lutos Etc., Con Un Tratado Sobre El Arte Cisoria* (Madrid: Librería de Hijos de D.J. Cuesta, 1889); Esteban PALUZIE y CANTALOZELLA, *Tratadito de Urbanidad Para Los Niños (diminuto)* (Barcelona: Paluzie, 1842).

[7] Guillaume Joséph Hyacinthe Jean Baptiste LE GENTIL DE LA GALAISIERE, *Voyage Dans Les Mers de l'Inde, Fait Par Ordre du Roi, a L'occasion du Passage de Vénus Sur Le Disque du Soleil, Le 6 Juin 1761, & Le 3 du Même Mois 1769* (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1779); Francisco Javier de MOYA y JIMENEZ, *Las Islas Filipinas en 1882: Estudios Históricos, Geográficos, Estadísticos y Descriptivos* (Madrid: El Correo, 1883); Pedro Alejandro PATERNO, *Ninay [Texto Impreso]: (costumbres Filipinas)* (S.l.]: [s.n.], 1885); Carlos RECUR, *Filipinas. Estudios Administrativos y Comerciales.* (Madrid: Imprenta de Ramón Moreno y Ricardo Rojas, 1879); Carlos RECUR, *Filipinas. El Comercio Nacional y El Desestanco del Tabaco* (Madrid: Imprenta de Fortanet, 1881); Fernando FULGOSIO, *Crónica de Las Islas Filipinas*, Crónica General de España, O Sea Historia Ilustrada y Descriptiva de Sus Provincias, Sus Poblaciones Más Importantes de La Península y de Ultramar (Madrid: Rubio, Grilo y Vitturi, 1871); Juan ÁLVAREZ GUERRA, *Viajes por Filipinas de Manila à Albay*, First edition (Madrid: Imprenta de Fortanet, 1887), http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/12275; Juan ÁLVAREZ GUERRA, *Viajes por Filipinas de Manila à Marianas*, First (Madrid: Imprenta de Fortanet, 1887), http://www.gutenberg.org/catalog/world/readfile?fk_files=1484164; Juan ÁLVAREZ GUERRA, *Viajes por Manila à Tayabas*, Second edition (Madrid: Imprenta de Fortanet, 1887).

[8] Ramon GONZÁLEZ FERNÁNDEZ, *Manual del Viajero en Filipinas* (Manila: Estab. Tip. de Santo Tomás, 1875); Jaime ESCOBAR y LOZANO, *El Indicador del Viajero en Las Islas Filipinas* (Manila: Tipo-Litografía de Chofre y C.ª, 1885).

General de las Islas Filipinas (1887) and a large selection of secondary sources relating to Philippine culture and arts.[9]

Museo del Traje has a rare two-piece baptismal garment, which once belonged to the Spanish Bourbon monarch, Alfonso XIII. They also have actual 19th century pieces of *pañuelos* (shawl), *vestidas* (dress) and *limosneras* and *bolsos* (little bags), which have not been used as sources for Philippine historical studies.

In Valladolid, the researcher read through all nine of the available issues of the illustrated women's magazine, *El Bello Sexo* (The Beautiful Sex, 1891) at the Biblioteca de Estudio Teólogico Agustiniano de Valladolid (BETA). This Augustinian library holds one of the largest collections of rare 19th century periodicals. Other materials consulted were the *La Ilustración Española y Americana* (1887) and *Panorama Nacional*.[10] The adjoining Museo Oriental also has a few oil paintings and *letras y figuras* by anonymous artists, depicting scenes of everyday Philippine life.[11]

In Paris, the rare books section of the Bibliotheque François Mitterande (BNF) has the original work of French scientist, Jean Mallat (1808-1863), which included an atlas depicting sketches by Juan Transfiguracion Nepomuceno of the varied classes of indio and mestizo inhabitants of the Philippines.[12] The BNF also has the photo collection of Alfred Molteni, who accompanied the expedition led by anthropology Professor, Dr. Joséph Montano between May 1879 and June 1881. Musée du Quai Branly has a very large collection of English language books on Philippine arts and culture.

In Manila, Ayala Museum and Filipinas Heritage Libraries has the collection of José Honorato Lozano's *Ayala Album* and *Karuth Album*. Ateneo de Manila University Rizal

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[9] In a personal account by the Pilar Romero de Tejada, the Director of MNA, she recounted how the "collections had arrived in Spain at different times, and for different reasons." The museum's inventory consisted of over 4,000 objects on the Philippines, including 19th century photographs and diverse fabrics woven from different kinds of fibers. Pilar ROMERO DE TEJADA, "Las Islas Filipinas en El Museo Nacional de Antropología. Un Relato Personal (The Philippine Islands in the National Museum of Anthropology: A Personal Account)," in *La Piña: El Tejido del Paraíso* (Madrid: Madrid Vive la Moda, 2005), 127; *Exposición Filipina: El Globo Diaro Ilustrado* (Madrid: Establecimiento tipografico de El Globo á cargo de J. Salgado de Trigo, 1887).

[10] *Panorama Nacional*, Madrid, n.d., Estudio Teológico Agustiniano de Valladolid, Call #: SA 1554.

[11] Fr. Juan Manuel Tombo was an Augustinian friar. On *El Periodismo Filipino*, Wenceslao Retana reveals that Corene was the alias of Fr. Juan Tombo. An article on "La Buyera" written by Corene appeared in *Ilustración Filipina* (1859 Junio 15). ANÓNIMO, *Niños Jugando (Children Playing)*, Oil on canvas, 1887, Museo Oriental de Valladolid, Spain, Call #: 177; ANÓNIMO, *Fr. Juan Tombo*, Letras y Figuras, Watercolor on paper, 1850 to 1860, Museo Oriental de Valladolid, Spain; ANÓNIMO, *Chino Limpiando Las Orejas a Un Tagalo (Chinaman Cleaning a Tagalog's Ears)*, Oil on canvas, 1887, Museo Oriental de Valladolid, Spain, Call number: 177; ANÓNIMO, *Tendiendo Ropas (Hanging Clothes)*, Oil on canvas, 1887, Museo Oriental; Wenceslao Emilio RETANA y Gamboa, *El Periodismo Filipino: Noticias Para su Historia (1811-1894)* (Madrid: Viuda de M. Minuesa de los Ríos, 1895), sec. Tabla I: Pseudónimos, p. 584, internal-pdf://weretana-2567687936/weretana.jpg.

[12] PILAR, "The Loving Eye for Detail: A 19th Century Manila Burgher Records the Faces of His People," 20.

Library also has many photos pertaining to the 19th century, particularly the Pardo de Tavera family.

Primary Iconographic Sources: *Tipos del País*

Tipos del país or *tipos filipinos*, which translates to Philippine types, are watercolor paintings and photographs of the inhabitants of the Philippines from varying social backgrounds, occupations, and ethnicity doing various tasks, wearing distinct attires and accessories and carrying different tools of trade.

This classification by "types," which were, more often than not, identified by clothing and appearance, was particularly valuable for two reasons: one, it helped establish links and connections, which makes for an organized reading of society; and second, the stereotypical images contributed to the formation of a structure that people could relate to and identify with. The presence, significance and even power of dress in imageries cannot be denied. Collectively, in presenting human diversity-- in terms of ethnicity, professions and political ranks-- they offered an introduction to the clothing variety of the period.

Through the survey and study of a mass sample of these *tipos del país*, one becomes acquainted with the changing dress styles and aesthetics, which may be observed in the colors, shapes, materials, sleeves, collars, trimmings, fabric designs, etc. One is also oriented to spot visible tokens of prosperity and poverty, in the process becoming more and more familiar with the details that set apart noble from ordinary clothing.

Tipos del país before the 19th Century

The earliest known pictorial record of *tipos del país* and their distinctive costumes was the *Boxer Codex*. Dated in the 1590s, this manuscript by an unknown author, contained 270 pages of Spanish texts, including seventy-five colored drawings of the inhabitants of China, Philippines, Java, the Moluccases, the Ladrones and Siam. Fifteen of these seventy-five illustrations showed the regional groups that made up Philippine society during the early years of Spanish colonization. It was speculated that this manuscript originally formed part of the report that Spanish Governor-General Luis Pérez Dasmariñas submitted to Spain during his term of office between 3 December 1593 and 14 July 1596.[13]

[13] Alfredo R. ROCES, ed., "Boxer Codex," in *Filipino Heritage: The Making of a Nation, Vol. 4* (Philippines: Lahing Pilipino Publishing, Inc., 1977), 1003–1004.

Named after Professor Charles Ralph Boxer,[14] the illustrious English historian of Dutch and Portuguese colonial history, who purchased the volume in 1947 from an auction of the possessions of the 6th Earl of Ilchester, this is among the world's earliest books of fashion.[15]

The *Boxer Codex* is a remarkable source for costume studies because in showing the *Tagales* or *Naturales* from Luzon, the *pintados* from Visayas, the *Zambales* and *Cagayanes* from Mindanao and the unassimilated *Negritos* in varied states of dress, it revealed how society was divided by region and by class. It also illustrates the characteristics that sartorially defined and distinguished the nobility (*timawa* in the native language) from the slaves (*alipin*). Through this work, one could trace some clothing pieces, which became common in the 19th century to this period. For instance, seen among 16th century *naturales* women was the *lambóng*, a long shawl or wrap, usually in dark colors like crimson. In the 19th century, women typically used the *lambóng* for church while men used it for mourning.

Another important pictorial source on Philippine clothing before the 19th century was Fr. Pedro Murillo Velarde's 1734 *mapa de Filipinas*.[16] Well-known Jesuit cartographer Fr. Murillo Velarde (1696-1753) commissioned local engraver, Nicolas de la Cruz Bagay, to carve images, along the map's borders, of people around him as they go through life's day-to-day activities. In doing so, the engraver documented the different Philippine types and their varied forms of dress, acquainting viewers with contrasts not only between races but between classes as well. As Sandra B. Castro pointed out in her article, *Dissecting Dress*, "though not meant to illustrate costume types, these vignettes still provide a general idea on the silhouettes of local dress and the foreign types of dress to which locals were exposed."[17] In this 1734 map, the *lambóng* once again made an appearance and for the first time, there is a

[14] Between 1967 and 1969, Charles R. Boxer (b. 8 March 1904- d. 27 April 2000) served was an advisor of the Lilly Library of Indiana University. This manuscript is available for downloads at the Lilly Library website. *Boxer Codex [manuscript]*, 1590, The Lilly Library Digital Collections, Indiana University, http://purl.dlib.indiana.edu/iudl/general/VAB8326.

[15] What historian's think is the world's first book of fashion was a personal album of watercolors commissioned by an accountant from Augsburg, Germany named Mattheus Schwarz. Schwarz, who was working as the chief accountant for the wealthy Fugger family. Schwarz started to document his attires and appearance in 1520, at the age of 23. Throughout his lifetime, he commissioned a total of 137 watercolors of himself, until he reached the age of 63. What became known as *Schwarz Book of Clothes* was rediscovered at the Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum in Braunchweig, Germany by Dr. Ulinka Rublack of the University of Cambridge. Denise WINTERMAN, "The Accountant Who Created the First Book of Fashion," *BBC News Magazine*, June 8, 2013, http://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-22766029.

[16] In 1898, Gabriel Marcel published an article in French about Fr. Murillo Velarde's oversized map. Pedro MURILLO VELARDE, *Map of the Philippines*, 1734, Edward E. Ayer Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago; Gabriel MARCEL, *La Carte Des Philippines du Père Murillo Velarde* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1898), https://archive.org/details/aja6374.0001.001.umich.edu.

[17] CASTRO, "Dissecting Dress," 46.

sketch of the knee-length coats made from the leaves of a species of palm called *anahaw*. This evinces that in the 18th century, just as it was in the 19th century, only the outdoor laboring classes, commonly used this bulky raincoat. Another interesting thing about the images are the clothing similarities between the Spanish (creoles and peninsular), indio and mestizo men. All depicted wearing European-style clothing, it can be inferred that the upper class native indios and mestizos sought to bridge the gap between the colonizing group and themselves by dressing in European styles.

In the 18th century, the colored drawings produced by Juan Ravenet (b. 1766- d. 1821), the artist from Parma, Italy, who accompanied Alejandro Malaspina during the scientific voyage sanctioned by Spain between 1792 and 1794, is invaluable to this study. Out of the 65 documented artworks in the collection, 10 to 12 out of the 32 sketches representing the different races found at the Museo de América in Madrid, was assessed as relevant to this study.[18] The objective of the voyage was three-fold: "scientific research, the study of man and his environment, and the study of the political and economic status of the places visited."[19] In fulfilling the purpose of the expedition, Ravenet documented the costumes and customs of a place of many racial mixtures and cultures. Differences in status could be discerned by juxtaposing the complex ensembles of the mestizos and the *señoras* and *señoritas* of Manila with the simple garments of the ordinary indias from Sorsogon.[20] One could get a sense that the clothing diversity -which paralleled the population diversity- captured by Ravenet was a reflection of the multiplying contradictions and inequalities of an urbanizing society.

José Cariño and Sonia Pinto Ner, in their book *Álbum: Islas Filipinas, 1663-1888*, put forward the idea that Ravenet's portraits may have inspired later artists in their creations of *tipos del país* and may have facilitated the secularization of Philippine art.[21]

[18] The 65 artworks in this collection were made by the two principal artists of the expedition, Fernando Brambila and Juan Ravenet. Apart from the Philippine "types," there were botanical and drawings of marine life in the collection. Four are lost, 29 may be found at Museo Naval in Spain. CARIÑO and NER, *Álbum: Islas Filipinas, 1663-1888*, 47.
[19] Ibid., sec. Philippine Drawings from the Malaspina Expedition, p. 43.
[20] Juan RAVENET y BUNEL, *Mestizos de Manila, Yslas Filipinas*, pen and ink and colored gouache on paper, 1792 to 1794, Museo de America; Juan RAVENET y BUNEL, *Native Women from the Port of Sorsogon*, pen and ink and sepia gouache on paper, 1792 to 1794, Museo de America.
[21] CARIÑO and NER, *Álbum: Islas Filipinas, 1663-1888*, sec. Philippine Drawing from the Malaspina Expedition, p. 49.

Tipos del país in the 19th century

Among the 19th century artworks used for this research are the *tipos del país* or *tipos filipinos* painted by, among others, Damián Domingo (1790-1835), Espiridíon de la Rosa, Justiniano Asuncíon (1816-1896), Antonio Malantic, José Honorato Lozano (1815-1885), Félix Martínez (1859-1916), Juan Luna (1857-1899), Miguel Zaragoza(1842-1923),[22] Lorenzo Rocha (1837-1898) and Esteban Villanueva (1859-1920). Some works by Spanish artists living in the Philippines, like Agustín Sáez y Glanadell (1829-1891) and José Taviel de Andrade, were also consulted. Due to the poor representativeness of women in the arts, only one work by one female artist, Granada Cabezudo (1860-1900), was included in this work. Their works are scattered in different overseas collections in Madrid, London, Paris and Chicago.[23] It is important to note that not all of their works have been accounted for.[24]

Tipos del país paintings and photographs were made for various personal and commercial purposes. While some were used as forms of business catalogues for textiles. Others served the same function as modern-day postcards.[25] Many were made for sale souvenirs to tourists, business travelers, foreign missionaries and government officials who were about to end their tours of duty.

There were also *tipos del país* embedded in *letras y figuras*. *Letras y figuras* was a form of miniaturist painting, pioneered in the Philippines by José Honorato Lozano, wherein names were spelled out in ornamented letters.[26] Various Philippine types were included in order to form the contour of the alphabets. Periodicals like *La Ilustración del Oriente* (1877-1878), and *Ilustración Filipina* (1859-1860) also ran articles that included sketches of the different Philippine types like *cocheros, gobernadorcillos, beatas, buyeras, lecheras, mestiza españolas, la india elegante, la india rica, chino de la escolta*, etc.

Tipos del país before the 1860s

There are three images, *Indumentaría Filipina* (Philippine Apparel, 1815), kept in the Archivo General de Indias in Sevilla, Spain, which, until now, has not been used as a source

[22] The artist/writer was featured on the cover of Manila Alegre. Pedro GROIZÁRD, *Manila Alegre: Periódico Festivo Ilustrado*, Año II (Escolta 18: Imp. La Industrial, 1886), fig. Nuestros–Pintores–Miguel Zaragoza, 24 Junio 1886, Num. 24; Ramon N. VILLEGAS, "Chapter Seven: Images of a New Nation," in *Kasaysayan: The Story of the Filipino People*, ed. Maria Serena I. DIOKNO and Ramon N. VILLEGAS, vol. 4: Life in the Colony (Manila: Asia Publishing Co., 1998), 163.
[23] Javier FERNÁNDEZ DE ANGULO and Yolanda GARCÍA VILLALUENGA, "Balikbayan," in *La Piña: El Tejido del Paraíso* (Madrid: Madrid Vive la Moda, 2005), 12–13.
[24] PILAR, "The Loving Eye for Detail: A 19th Century Manila Burgher Records the Faces of His People," 22.
[25] Ibid., 20.
[26] Santiago A. PILAR, "Letras y Figuras: The Charm of Illustrated Letters - A Witty Inventive Artist Captures the Times and the People," *Archipelago* III, no. 30 (1976): 18.

for Philippine costume studies.[27] They have been studied in connection with Philippine art history but, surprisingly, not for its value in the history of clothing. Dated 13 February 1815, these colored illustrations predated the works of Damían Domingo. Painted in the naïve style by an unknown artist, this featured the distinctive attires worn by the native women, the gobernadorcillo, the male laborers and farmers. This was part of a general report on regional language, culture, traditions and beliefs from the colonies sent by the Bishopric of Cebu. Showing that the natives of Cebu and the nearby Visayan islands were dressed no differently from their Manila counterparts illustrates the blurring of regional diversities in clothing.

Particularly significant in reconstructing the clothing culture of the 1820s and 1830s are the watercolors of Damián Domingo (1790-1835) and Espiridión de la Rosa. Many of the drawings of people dressed in native costumes of that period can be ascribed to these two artists. Domingo was described to be the most popular of the early 19th century Filipino painters. He was also the founder and sole teacher of the *Escuela de Dibujo* (1821-1834), the first public academy of drawing in Manila.[28] He was of mixed Filipino-Chinese ancestry who was further known for being the official portrait painter of the Spanish Governor-Generals. Much has been written about his life and works,[29] however, the focus of this research is neither on the artist nor on the style of his art. The focus is on the manner of dress of his subjects and the types of textiles used.[30] He was, after all, commissioned by an Indian textile businessman by the name of Don Rafael Daniel Baboom to paint Filipinos --representing the major islands of the Philippines-- from the various social classes dressed in different costumes. Baboom was a "pioneer not only in the textile industry but also in collecting *Filipiniana*."[31] The partnership of Domingo and Baboom was a fusion of their artistic and commercial interests. It is understood that Baboom was a collector who, with the artistic hands of Domingo, methodically documented Philippine costumes mainly in the 1820s and

[27] These images were brought to my attention by José Maria Cariño. *Indumentaría Filipina (Philippine Apparel)*, Handdrawn, watercolor on paper, February 13, 1815, Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla, Spain; CARIÑO, "Tipos Filipinos," 87, 107; CARIÑO and NER, *Álbum: Islas Filipinas, 1663-1888*, 12–13.
[28] PILAR, "The Loving Eye for Detail: A 19th Century Manila Burgher Records the Faces of His People," 20.
[29] Federico Licsi ESPINO, "Damián Domingo: The Master with a Photographic Eye," *Archipelago* II, no. 13 (1975): 20–22; Fr. José Maria CLOTET, "The Lives of Damián Domingo and Simon Flores," trans. Florentino H. HORNEDO, *Philippine Studies* 40, no. 1 (1992): 83–98; JOAQUIN and SANTIAGO, *The World of Damian Domingo*; SANTIAGO, *The Life, Art and Times of Damian Domingo*; ibid.
[30] "Since Doming made his album for Rafael Baboom whose main interest were textiles of the country, he had more combination of textile foe each figure." CARIÑO and NER, *Álbum: Islas Filipinas, 1663-1888*, 131.
[31] Luciano P.R. SANTIAGO, "Don Rafael Daniel Baboom: Collector of Rainbows," *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society* 18, no. 2 (1990): 118–121.

1830s. These watercolor paintings also served as catalogues for Baboom's successful textile business in Manila – the *Factoria de Baboom*.[32]

Following Baboom's directives to Domingo, it is important to ask in this research whether the subject of Domingo's artworks embodied certain colonial stereotypes? It is interesting to analyze Domingo's portrayals especially since he had been known for advocating equal opportunity for everyone at the *Escuela de Dibujo* he administered, stating that the school welcomes students whatever their ethnicity may be -- whether they are Spanish, Indio or mestizo. The notion of racial and social equality was exceptionally progressive considering Domingo's time and setting,[33] especially when disparities existed in varying levels in Philippine colonial society – from colonizers and colonized, white and brown, to Christianized and non-Christianized.

Domingo, along with his contemporary, a lesser known artist named Espiridión de la Rosa, would be invaluable in the study of costumes of the 1820s and 1830s. It was worth studying how they differentiated between rich/poor, indio/mestizo, gala/ordinary, gobernadorcillo/alguacil (mayor/bailiff) because through this, one is introduced to the notion of a colonial society categorized by class, by race, by events and by occupations. Studying how the artist depicted class differences in his art also acquaints viewers with the reality of a society greatly divided by wealth.

Based on the fact that by the 19th century, illustrations and art had evolved from being mere embellishments to becoming more journalistic in nature, much value can be placed on Damián Domingo's works.[34] Luciano P.R. Santiago wrote that the products of the Domingo-Baboom collaboration went on to become a "thesaurus of Philippine costumes for all time."[35] More importantly, they were also instrumental in setting the trend for other artists to put together similar *tipos del país* or *tipos filipinos* illustrated albums.

Fifty Damián Domingo[36] and thirteen Espiridión de la Rosa[37] artworks were analyzed for this work. Many of Domingo's works were repetitive, which means, he could have created several drawings of the same subjects.

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[32] CARIÑO, "Tipos Filipinos," 82–109; SANTIAGO, "Don Rafael Daniel Baboom: Collector of Rainbows," 119.
[33] SANTIAGO, "Philippine Academic Art: The Second Phase (1845-1898)," 67; Luciano P.R. SANTIAGO, "Damián Domingo and the First Philippine Art Academy (1821-1834)," *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society* 19, no. 4 (1991): 264.
[34] "As late as 1880s, Philippine prints were still largely illustrative in context, or simply a medium for reproduci ng pictures." Quoted from ENDAYA, "Genre in Graphic Arts," 28–29.
[35] SANTIAGO, "Don Rafael Daniel Baboom: Collector of Rainbows," 118–121.
[36] Damián DOMINGO, *Colección de Trages de Manila Tanto Antiguos Como Modernos, de Toda Clase de Yndias [art Original] / Dispuesta por D. Rafael Daniel Babon y Dibujado por D. Damián Domingo, Director*

Justiniano Asunción (b. 1816- d.1896), the son of the gobernadorcillo of Santa Cruz, Mariano Asunción, became a student of Damián Domingo when he was just 17 or 18 years old.[38] This explains why the style and color palette bears a striking resemblance to the works of his mentor.

His *tipos del país* album, which bears the title of *Manila Costumes*, was discovered in London in the 1990s.[39] The set of 23 watercolors in this collection did not have descriptions or captions. As the title suggests, the album carefully recorded the attires of the inhabitants, including the fine embroideries that distinguished the well-off from the lowly. Except for a bit of foreground and certain tools of trade, the subject was painted with not much context. Nonetheless, one can still deduce the status of the subject by looking at the clothing material, style and accessories.

Asunción was also known for the portraits he made, which depicted what art historian Santiago Pilar referred to as the "actual and symbolic nuances of mundane prosperity" --a nuance familiar to someone who belongs to the local nobility.[40] The works of Asunción must, however, be studied with care and prudence. Gallery of his works found at the Peabody Essex Museum in Salem, Massachusetts and Firestone Library in Princeton University was recently confirmed to have been forgeries made by Tingqua, a Chinese export watercolor artist based in Guangzhou, China.[41]

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de La Academia de Dibujo de La Real Sociedad de Manila, Watercolor, 1827 to 1832, Edward E. Ayer Art Collection; Special Collections 4th Floor, Newberry Library, https://i-share.carli.illinois.edu/nby/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?v1=1&hd=1,1&CallBrowse=1&SEQ=20140516080131&PID=cUeMeR0_drx5yD2WSqT0v&SID=2; Damián DOMINGO, *Damián Domingo Colección de Trajes de Manila y de Las Provincias Inbentado por D. Rafael Daniel Baboom y Dibujado por D. Damian Domingo Director de La Academia de Dibujo por La Real Sociedad Económica de Estas Islas Filipinas No. 3.o*, January 1833, Mr. Paulino Que Collection, Dr. Eleuterio Pascual Collection and Ayala Museum and Library, Makati, Metro Manila.

[37] Of the thirteen, six signed ones belong to a private collector in Manila, seven signed Rosa, belong to a private collector in Spain. Espiridión DE LA ROSA, *Tipos del País*, between 1820 to 1840, Private Collection, Manila.

[38] There seems to be a discrepancy with the exact government position of the Asunción's. Cariño wrote that the position of Don Mariano Asunción was gobernadorcillo, Pilar wrote that he became cabeza de barangay in 1805. Justiniano himself would assume the same position as his father, earning him the nickname of Capitán Ting. PILAR, "The Loving Eye for Detail: A 19th Century Manila Burgher Records the Faces of His People," 19; CARIÑO and NER, *Álbum: Islas Filipinas, 1663-1888*, sec. Justiniano Asunción: Manila Costumes, p. 126.

[39] Justiniano ASUNCIÓN, *Justiniano Asunción Album of Philippine Costumes*, Watercolor, 1841, Stephen A. Schwarzman Building / Art and Architecture Collection, Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs, New York Public Library, http://digitalgallery.nypl.org/nypldigital/dgkeysearchresult.cfm?parent_id=573817&word=; Florina CAPISTRANO-BAKER, "Justiniano Asuncion's Album of Watercolors Mirrors 19th Century Philippine Life," *Philippine Star*, December 15, 2003, http://www.philstar.com/arts-and-culture/231734/justiniano-asuncion%C2%92s-album-watercolors-mirrors-19th-century-filipino-life; CARIÑO and NER, *Álbum: Islas Filipinas, 1663-1888*, sec. Justiniano Asunción: Manila Costumes, pp. 126–131.

[40] PILAR, "The Loving Eye for Detail: A 19th Century Manila Burgher Records the Faces of His People," 21.

[41] Florina H. CAPISTRANO-BAKER, "Embroidered Multiples: Nineteenth-Century Philippine Costumes and Images," in *Embroidered Multiples: 18th-19th Century Philippine Costumes from the National Museum of*

Another student of Damián Domingo, José Honorato Lozano (1815-1885), popularized a European-inspired form of art known as "*Letras y Figuras*," wherein every letter of a person's name was embellished with Filipino designs of native fauna, flora, trees, local objects, architecture and human figures. With this type of art, Philippine's elite found a way to immortalize their names in a whimsical, fanciful manner. The names of the people that Lozano painted reveals the identity and occupations of the people who could afford to commission art at that time.[42] Among some of his affluent native and foreign clients was Magistrate of the Royal Audiencia, Don José Feced y Temprado, American Consul to the Philippines, William P. Peirce and Manuel E. Co-Gefue, the grandfather of General Manuel Yan, the Philippine Ambassador to the Court of St. James in London.

Through the *letras y figuras*, he also captured the multiplicity of characters as they went through their daily lives. In doing so, he documented the appearance and attires of the *lavanderas* (washerwomen), the *chino pansiteros* (Chinese noodle vendor), the gobernadorcillos, the bathers etc. In almost all of his *letras y figuras,* he also customarily inserted an image of his patron in one of the letters. With the help of the compendium on Lozano's works put together José Maria Cariño, one of the tasks of this researcher is to identify the artist's patron in the vast number of characters embedded in this type of artwork.

Considering that by the mid-nineteenth-century, the style of painting that developed in the Philippines used scenes or events from everyday life as subjects. Depictions of market, urban and domestic scenes, fiestas, parties, baptisms and other religious celebrations were becoming more realistic portrayals of urban and provincial customs and lifestyles. Imelda C. Endaya wrote that the "nineteenth-century genre artists are most concerned with content and subject matter and their works were faithful, true-to-life illustrations of the commonplace, elevated to the beautiful through the engraver's craft."[43] This explains why the recent

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Ethnology, Leiden, The Netherlands (Makati, Metro Manila: Royal Netherlands Embassy and Ayala Foundation, Inc., 2007), 23–29.

[42] The main Lozano works consulted for this study are his *letras y figuras* of Charles D. Mugford (1845), Diego Viña y Balbin (1850), William P. Peirce (1854-1855), Andres Sanchez (1858), Edward A. Westley (1858), José Manuel Aparici (1865), José Feced y Temprado (1878) and Manuel E. Co-Gefue (1880). Letras y figuras by both unknown and lesser known artists, like C. Laforteza, was studied as well. José Honorato LOZANO, *Charles D. Mugford*, Letras y Figuras, Watercolor on paper, 1845, Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Massachussetts; José Honorato LOZANO, *Diego Viña y Balbin*, Letras y Figuras, Watercolor on paper, 1850, UNILAB Collection; José Honorato LOZANO, *William P. Peirce*, Letras y Figuras, Watercolor on paper, 1854 to 1855, Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Massachussetts; José Honorato LOZANO, *Andres Sanchez*, Letras y Figuras, Watercolor on paper, 1858, Private Collection; José Honorato LOZANO, *Edward A. Westley*, Letras y Figuras, Watercolor on paper, 1858, Private Collection; Marcos ORTEGA y DEL ROSARIO, *José Manuel Aparici*, Letras y Figuras, Watercolor on paper, March 4, 1865, UNILAB Collection; José Honorato LOZANO, *Manuel E. Co-Gefue*, Letras y Figuras, Watercolor on paper, 1880, Manuel Yan Collection; C. LAFORTEZA, *James Sloan*, Letras y Figuras, Watercolor on paper, 1880, UNILAB Collection.

[43] ENDAYA, "Genre in Graphic Arts," 30.

rediscovery of the *Gervasio Gironella Album* (1847) containing seventy of Lozano's works on *tipos del país* and on various panoramas of Manila's streetlife was useful in their portrayal of street spectacles and some of life's harsh realities.[44] The graphic portrayal of everyday life in the colonies, the different modes of transportation and more importantly, the different apparels worn by the locals from various sectors of society could only be ascribed to the artist's careful observation of types, clothing and settings.

The *Gervasio Gironella Album* (1847) consisted of a combination of watercolor paintings, calligraphy,[45] and music sheets. As the label suggests, this was commissioned by the Gervasio Gironella, who, as Superintendent General and Quartermaster General of the Spanish army assigned to the Philippines in the 1840s, occupied the second highest position in the colony. Belonging to the Spanish nobility, Gironella was originally from the town of Gironella in the province of Barcelona. The purpose for the creation of this album was obvious in its title, *Vistas de las Yslas Filipinas y Trajes de sus Abitantes* (View of the Philippine Islands and Costumes of its Inhabitants).[46] One major reason why this was not used in previous studies on Philippine costumes, many of which were undertaken in the 1990s, was because no one knew about its existence until the year 2000. When this album, which included dates but no signatures, was presented by the Director of the *Bellas Artes* section of the Biblioteca Nacional de España to Philippine heritage expert, Regalado "Ricky" Trota José, Jr., the latter identified it as the work of Lozano, and not by Spanish artist, Francisco Prieto, as indicated in the library records.[47] The album apparently came to the library's possession when a certain Don Manuel Lopez sold it to the library for 125 pesetas close to the end of the 19th century.[48] How the unsigned artworks came to the possession of Don Manuel was unclear. What is known was that Gervasio Gironella brought it back with him to Spain after his tour of duty.

Lozano's keen attention to details when painting the pineapple fabric and shirts worn by his figures are of great significance especially in showing the evolution of Philippine fashion. An analysis of the ethnicity of the artist's subjects also provided insights into the lifestyles of the various inhabitants at that time.

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[44] José Honorato LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album: Album Vistas de Las Yslas Filipinas y Trages de Sus Abitantes 1847 (View of the Philippine Islands and Costumes of Its Inhabitants)*, Watercolor, 1847, BNE Sala Goya Bellas Artes.
[45] The calligraphy part, bearing descriptions to contextualize the paintings were not Lozano's work. Ibid.
[46] CARIÑO, "Chapter IV: The Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid Gervasio Gironella Album," 95.
[47] José Maria A. CARIÑO, "The Discovery of the Gironella Album," in *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, ed. José Maria A. CARIÑO (Manila: Ars Mundi, 2002), 97.
[48] CARIÑO, "Chapter IV: The Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid Gervasio Gironella Album," 98.

Lozano's contribution to Philippine historiography through art has led filipiniana collector and author, José Maria A. Cariño to describe him as the "most important visual chronicler and the best ethnographic painter of 19th Century Philippines."[49] Cariño, a former Cónsul General of Spain to the Philippines and a member of the Academía Filipina de la Lengua Española, published a few hardcover books and articles on the works of Lozano. His painstaking organization of the loose copies of Lozano's paintings found in the *Gervasio Gironella Album*, his translation of the descriptions of each artwork from Spanish to English, his writings on the history and context are invaluable to this research.[50]

Apart from the *Gervasio Gironella Album* (1847), there were five other Lozano albums consulted for this work: *Nyssens-Flebus Album* (1844-1846), *Broken Album* (1848), *Ayala Album* (1850-1851), *Karuth Album* (2 September 1858) and *José de la Gandara* (1867-1868).

The *Nyssens-Flebus Album* (1884-1846) was a set of twenty-five watercolors, mostly signed but not dated.[51] Of the twenty-five images depicting six landscapes, fourteen street scenes, and five figures in costumes, the researcher was able to analyze seventeen. The varied scenes encapsulated the attires of students, *lecheras* (milk vendors), *lavanderas* (washerwomen), as well as mestizos and mestizas on their way to church, promenade and fiestas. It also showed the natives pursuing various forms of leisure activities, like playing *sipa* (native football) and *panguingui* (card game, Fig. 96C). This album was commissioned by Gérard-Théodore-Emile Nyssens,[52] a Belgian tobacco trader, who came to Manila in the 1840s and again in the late 1860s. His purpose was to capture the scenes and spirit of his travels as well as to educate his children about cultures other than their own.[53] Based on the

[49] CARIÑO, "Tipos Filipinos," 82–109.
[50] CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*.
[51] Lozano signed his works in different ways. Of the 25, 21 were signed José Honorato Lozano, 1 signed José Hozano, 2 signed José H. Lozano, and 2 others were simply signed José Lozano. For the complete list of the contents of this album, *see* CARIÑO and NER, *Álbum: Islas Filipinas, 1663-1888*, sec. Appendix III: List of Watercolor Paintings, Nyssens–Flebus Album, p. 283; Sonia Pinto NER, "The Nyssens-Flebus Album," in *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, ed. José Maria A. CARIÑO (Manila: Ars Mundi, 2002), 68–74.
[52] Emile Nyssens was born in 1815 but there is a discrepancy on his year of death. Sonia Pinto Ner indicated that he died in Belgium in 1893 at the house of his daughter and her husband, Rene Flebus, while Jun Terra, who prepared the description for the Christie's auction, indicated 1906. Based on the memoir that Mr. Nyssens wrote which ended with 1906, it was likely he died in 1906 and not 1893. Emile NYSSENS, *Souvenirs de Ma Vie 1815-1906* (Bruxelles, 1907); NER, "The Nyssens-Flebus Album"; José Honorato LOZANO, *Nyssens-Flebus Album: Album de Manille et ses environs*, Watercolor, 1844 to 1846, Christie's London 2002, http://www.christies.com/lotfinder/LotDetailsPrintable.aspx?intObjectID=272493.
[53] Quoted from the blog of Jun Terra: "In a letter to Angel Arando of *The Filipino*, a London-based newspaper, Jean Flebus says: "the drawings were commissioned by my ancestor, Emille Nyssens as a memento of his travels and as an educational reminder for his children. The book was part of the heritage to me by a sister of my grandfather Ivan Flebus (whose mother was a daughter of Emille Nyssens). The heritage was divided in my absence (I was 15 years old), so I suppose the volume came in my possession by chance or due to the fact that

landmarks found on some of the images, like the pontoon bridge, *el nuevo paseo de Magellanes junto al puente de Barcas,* which would be destroyed in the earthquake of 1863, the album was dated to have been commissioned sometime in the mid-1840s.[54] The album remained with the Nyssens family until his great-grandson's child, Jean Flebus, brought it to be appraised in the hit television production of the British Broadcasting Company (BBC), *Antiques Roadshow*, on April 16, 1995. Valued between 200,000 to 300,000 British pounds, it was the most expensive item featured on the show. Its present owner, Jean Flebus, ultimately decided to auction it off through Christie's in London, where it eventually sold for 265,500 British pounds.

Considered as the most important discovery in Philippine art in the 1990s was the *Ayala Album* (1850-1851), which contained sixty signed and dated watercolors by Lozano, Diego de la Fuente, a Spanish artist, and Ciriaco Molina.[55] Unlike the other albums, what became known as the *Ayala Album* was not a commissioned work. Based on the subject of some paintings included, this appears to have been a personal album that belonged to Lozano and his wife, Maria Castro. The album was found in the possessions of a wealthy family in Madrid in the 1990s and was thereafter acquired by the Zóbel de Ayalas in 1992. More than half of the sixty images in this album were analyzed for this study.

The *Broken Album* (1847) was a set of eight unsigned Lozano watercolors found by its present Spanish owner at the *Rastro* flea market in Madrid. As the label suggests, this album, which includes two *tipos chinos* paintings that seem to be unrelated to the other six Philippine scenes, could be part of a bigger collection. The six paintings were particularly relevant to the reconstruction of clothing contexts. For example, two scenes, which showed the interior and exterior of a cockfighting arena, also illustrated the clothing of the spectators, the bystanders and the food vendors. One could begin to associate locales with the types of people it drew in. In an image of a feast, *mahabang dulang*, the hosts and their guests were captured in what may be interpreted as their Sunday's Best. In a courtship scene, a buyera looks coyly at a man, presumably a fellow vendor, who was offering her sweets.[56]

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nobody else wanted it!" Jun TERRA, "Lozano In Brussels: A Special Report for The Filipino by Jun Terra," Blog, *Euro Filipino*, accessed June 25, 2014, http://www.eurofilipino.com/wordpress/?page_id=63.

[54] LOZANO, *Nyssens-Flebus Album (1844-1846)*, fig. The new Magellan's Drive alongside the puente de Barcas.

[55] The album includes one graphic painting of women fighting by Ciriaco Molina, an unknown artist. For a complete list of the contents of this Ayala, *see* CARIÑO and NER, *Álbum: Islas Filipinas, 1663-1888*, sec. Appendix II: List of Watercolor Paintings, Ayala Album, p. 281; José Honorato LOZANO, *Ayala Album*, Watercolor, 1850 to 1851, Ayala Museum.

[56] José Honorato LOZANO, *Broken Album*, Watercolor, 1847, fig. india buyera y jugando a sipa (betel nut vendor and playing sipa or football, Private Collection-Spain.

The *Karuth Album*,[57] dated September 2, 1858, was a collection of around seventy unsigned images, with captions in German and Spanish. Interspersed in the album's seventy-five sheets were three signed works by Spanish artist Juan Ribelles. This album has been used in a number of art studies but was not sufficiently used for the study of historical clothing. There had been some confusion surrounding the authorship of the watercolors; in addition, the album was long thought to have been lost or destroyed. For the longest time, many authors thought Carl Johann Karuth was a German artist, primarily because what was known as the *J.A. Karuth Album* had no signatures and had titles and captions in German.[58] As historians clarified, Karuth was a German who visited the Philippines in the 1900s. Cariño reports that he worked as a chemist under Jacobo Zóbel Hinsch before marrying his employer's daughter, Carmen Zóbel Zangroníz. Considering how some images were particular to the Zóbel family suggests that this album was customized by Karuth to be presented as a gift to the family patriarch. The cover page written in German, which translates to "to the incomparable Mr. Zóbel, 2 September 1858," is further proof of that. One can imagine that the artist was invited to the Zóbel home to make a visual record of the family's pharmacy warehouse, courtyard, bedroom, hallway, capturing details like billiard tables, four-poster beds and attires of personnel, etc. Although the album remained in the possession of the Zóbel family, it was presumed to have been burned along with the Zóbel residence during World War II. It was only rediscovered in 1952 when Don Fernando Zóbel (b.1924- d.1984) came upon the book while sorting through old family things.[59]

Out of the seventy images, forty-eight were perused for this research. Of particular interest are the contrasting image of two native women (one from the city and one from the province), the clothes of mestizos for various occasions, the massive exit of *cigarreras* and more importantly, the appearance and circumstance of not only the street vendors of cloth, clothes and clothing materials but also their customers. Through the image of a man trying on trousers on the streets, one could likewise envision the beginnings of the mass propagation of ready-made clothing.[60]One could also make out how the promenades in Manila at that time

[57] José Honorato LOZANO, *Karuth Album: J.A. Karuth Album on the Philippine Islands*, Watercolor, September 2, 1858, Filipinas Heritage Library, http://www.retrato.com.ph/list.asp?keyword=Carl+Karuth&searchby=OR&searchwhere=title.
[58] In Pilar's article, Karuth was identified as a German artist. PILAR, "The Loving Eye for Detail: A 19th Century Manila Burgher Records the Faces of His People."
[59] CARIÑO and NER, "Karuth's Album on the Philippine Islands," 152.
[60] LOZANO, *Karuth Album (1858)*, fig. Street Vendors of Clothing Materials; fig. Male Native Trying on Ready–Made Trousers.

began to be dominated by carriages, which would then help explain the function of the attires of *cocheros* (coachmen).

The three signed paintings of Juan Ribelles, showing Spanish mestizas in street clothes and church veils, indios training their cocks, and natives from a Manila suburb, further illustrates how the locals were dressed. In doing so, he captured the differences between urban and country life and between the wealthy and the destitute.

With Lozano's extensive body of work, juxtaposing the Karuth Album with his Ayala, Nyssens-Flebus, Broken and Gervasio Gironella albums would yield an important fact: the *Karuth Album* is another unsigned work by José Honorato Lozano.[61]

The *Gándara Album* (1867-1868),[62] the biggest and the most spectacular of Lozano's work, was a collection of 27 watercolors, commissioned by no less than the Spanish Governor-General of the Philippine, José de la Gándarra y Navarro, during his term of office, between October 26, 1866 and June 7, 1869. Almost all of the 27 images were reviewed for this study.

Titled *Álbum de Tipos de Filipinas para el Excmo. Sr. Dn. J.G.* (Album of Philippine Types for His Excellency Mr. J.G.),[63] the purpose was plainly to document the rich variety of Philippine life. Combining *miniaturismo* and *costumbrismo,* Manila was presented as a city of variety and contrasts, where people of varied races and classes converged. Through these vignettes of everyday life, one could conceive alongside colors, activities and lifestyles, the unsuitability of the layered attires of the caucasians and the petticoated dresses of the women to the warm tropical climate. Political bigwigs like potbellied gobernadorcillos may be pictured receiving people in their offices, while seated under a picture of Spain's Queen Isabella II. Chinese peddlers with *pingas* over their shoulders could be seen walking next to their well-off compatriots with their thick Manchu-style shoes. A billiard hall with people playing *panguingui* reveals the class of people that converged in these types of places (Fig. 95, Fig. 96C).

[61] Authorship of the album was assessed by National Artist for Literature, Nick Joaquín and art critic Carlos Quirino. CARIÑO and NER, "Karuth's Album on the Philippine Islands," 152–153.
[62] The pieces were dated either 1867 or 1868. This now belongs to a private collector. José Honorato LOZANO, *Gándara Album: Álbum de Tipos de Filipinas Para El Excmo. Sr.Dn.José Gándara y Navarro*, Watercolor, 1867, Private Collection.
[63] Cariño and Ner calls our attention to the title Excelentísimo, which denotes rank of the highest level in the Spanish system. José Maria A. CARIÑO and Sonia Pinto NER, eds., "Filipinas 1887-1888, José Taviel de Andrade," in *Álbum: Islas Filipinas, 1663-1888* (Manila: Ars Mundi, 2004), 184.

Tipos del país after the 1860s

Another artist whose works were consulted is Félix Martínez y Lorenzo (1859-1916).[64] His style reflected some of the significant developments in the Philippine art scene, which began in the 1850s. By the second half of the 19th century, Filipino artists ceased to paint anonymously and started to be recognized individually, primarily because forgeries and reproductions became quite common. They also began to expand their subjects – from religious to secular themes, from unrealistic to realistic portrayals of people, their daily activities, local scenes and customs. It is therefore important to note that the painting style of the early nineteenth century was different from the late nineteenth century.[65]

Félix Martínez was one of the late 19th century locally trained Filipino artists who digressed from the style of his predecessors. He may have been a product of Domingo's *Academia de Dibujo*, but by the mid-19th century, the *Academia* had painters, sculptors and engravers from Spain teach the aspiring artists.[66] This explains why his subjects' clothing were less meticulous and their stance more relaxed and lifelike. Their pañuelos, barong tagalog, and skirts show less detailing as compared to Domingo and Lozano's more articulate works.

Martinez' watercolors are key sources for this research as they also reflected themes of *tipos del país*, depicting different types of people of various trades, occupation and social class, dressed in their everyday clothing. The watercolors have been labeled, for example, as "*campesina* (woman in the farm)," "*zacatero* (grass vendor, Fig. 94)," "*indio banquero* (indio boat rowe, Fig. 93)" and "*india vendedora* (indio vendor)." His subjects were also often portrayed with their distinct tools of trade and accompanying accessories such as fans, guitars, hats, even animals, like chickens and dogs. The local landscape is identifiable by the native *bahay kubo* houses in the background. The labels or captions, the attire and accessories of the subjects, as well as the landscape are all interesting points of analysis, especially when understood within the framework of colonial history.

Many of his watercolors, which can now be found in the collection of the Museo Nacional de Antropología in Madrid, were produced in Manila and dated 1886. The artworks categorized as "Grupos Cristianos" was relevant to this study. His other subjects labeled as

[64] Félix Martínez was a recognized artist at that time. A caricature of him appeared on the cover of *Manililla Periódico Semanal: Ilustrado, Cómico y Humorístico*, Año VI (Manila: Se Publica Los Sábados, 1892), fig. Félix Martínez (Pintores), 23 January 1892, Num. 196.
[65] SANTIAGO, "Philippine Academic Art: The Second Phase (1845-1898)," 67–89.
[66] CARIÑO, "Tipos Filipinos," 108.

Aeta Warrior, Igorota, Muslim Warriors are examples of Philippine ethnic minorities, which are not within the scope of this research.

Considering that he also contributed illustrations to 19th century periodicals like *La Ilustración Filipina del Oriente* and *La Moda Filipina,*[67] it is unclear how many works of art did Félix Martinez produced in his lifetime. For this study, more or less, thirty images were gathered by the researcher.[68]

José Taviel de Andrade was an artist as well as a military officer.[69] He was probably best known for his association with Dr. José Rizal. After Rizal arrived from Spain in August 1887, Taviel de Andrade was assigned to keep a close watch on this subversive character behind the novel, *Noli me tangere* (1886). The researcher was able to gather seven of his unsigned works, many of which were discovered only in the 1990s. His sketches, *Studies of Women* and *Studies of the Terno (*Fig. 96A, Fig. 96B), were used for the first time as a source for the study of the evolution of Philippine women's fashion. As the titles suggest, the artist manifested some interest in the fashions or appearance of local women. The collage layout of Taviel de Andrade combined drawings of faces and full body, literally creating a bigger picture. The practice of having multiple images -- separated by circles and rectangular borders-- in one sheet corresponds with the artistic course illustrated journals and magazines have taken in the last quarter of the 19th century to widen circulation. Despite the multiplicity of images, his collage was "clear, detailed, accurate and objective."[70] The artist's mental process and military background was clearly reflected in the way he documented what he saw.

Employing a different medium and technique, his *panguingue* (1895, Fig. 96C)[71] oil on canvas painting is a masterpiece. It captured a moment inside what is presumed as a gambling saloon, where people gathered around a table to play cards. The image is powerful insofar as it draws viewers in with questions of what types of people frequent gambling saloons? How did they relate to one other? There is no denying that to find answers in an art, which featured so many clothed figures, one could only begin by looking at apparel.

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[67] *La Moda Filipina Periódico Quincenal Ilustrado*, Año II (Quiapo: Redaccion y Administracion, 1894), Junio 30, Año II, No. 29, fig. Hermanas de Corazon de Jesus y Maria saliendo de la Iglesia by Félix Martínez.
[68] MNA has 19 pieces. They were part of a set brought to Spain for the 1887 Exposición General de Filipinas held at the Palacio de Cristal in the Parque del Retiro in Madrid. Félix MARTÍNEZ y LORENZO, *Mestizo Español*, Watercolor, 1886, Museo Nacional de Antropología, Call #: CE3796.
[69] Taviel de Andrade was 22 years old when he arrived in the Philippines in 1879. He went back to Spain on May 1888 and came back again in 1891. CARIÑO and NER, "Filipinas 1887-1888, José Taviel de Andrade," 246–247.
[70] Ibid., 250.
[71] TAVIEL DE ANDRADE, *Panguingue*.

Much has been written about the works of the artistic masters of the late 19th century, but some will be used for the first time to analyze clothing contexts. Juan Luna, Félix Resurreccíon Hidalgo, Simon Flores and Miguel Zaragoza's impeccable execution of the translucent piña fabrics against the skin were unmatched in evoking both the femininity and power or determination of high-born women. A good sample of their works was studied as illustrative representations of 19th century Philippine lifestyles. In capturing scenes of daily life, these artists inadvertently documented how clothing were fashioned and by whom. The identities of their subjects revealed how clothing varied depending on one's circle, associations and types of activities. As many of them were *Ilustrados* themselves, their works reflected their familiarity with the nuance and taboos of appearances, for example, the kind of masculinity and image those who belonged to 'society' would appreciate. Their skillful renditions of the softness and delicate flow of high-quality *nipis* fabrics and the fine details of the embroideries complemented and accentuated the status of conservative families, glorious wives and proper daughters.

Photographs

The 19th century photographs used for this research were mainly from the *Álbum de Filipinas* (ca. 1870), *Álbum-Libro: Recuerdos de Filipinas* (ca. 1895) of Félix Laureano, the stereographic photos of the Keystone View Company and the photos of Jean Laurent during the 1887 Madrid Exposition. The researcher also managed to find some photographs taken at the Manila studios of W.W. Wood, Albert Honiss, and Francisco van Camp. There were also photos taken by Western travellers between 1870s and 1890s, who came to the country for trade or for official diplomatic or scientific missions. John Foreman, Frederic H. Sawyer and James Earle Stevens, for example, integrated photos with their writings. The photos of Alfred Molteni and Paul Rey, who accompanied the expedition led by French History and Anthropology Professor, Dr. Joséph Montano between May 1879 and June 1881, was used alongside the writings of another Frenchman, zoologist Alfred Marche.

The photographic collections, which were mostly from 1870 onwards were from the Museo Nacional de Antropología and Biblioteca Nacional de España in Madrid, Retrato Photo Archive of the Filipinas Heritage Library in Manila, Philippine Photographs Digital Archive of the University of Michigan in the United States and more importantly, the Meerkamp van Embden collection of the Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies (KITLV) in the Netherlands. In using photographic collections as a source for this study, the focus is redirected from the study of colonial photographs to a study of the

way people dressed as depicted within those images. This explores and analyzes the context and meanings of the evocative vignettes of the types of people in different dresses (functional, everyday or festive) in various social situations. This study on Philippine clothing culture represents a new way of using and reading existing sources as well as another way of seeing Philippine colonial society and its activities.

A major limitation of black-and-white photography was the loss of color. Color was fundamental to a society fond of display and the multiplicity of colors once admired by travellers and artists alike vanished with the introduction of this 'new' technology. With this shortfall, it would be difficult to gauge the refinement of the wearer's tastes as well as to identify the colors associated with both festive and mournful occasions. In addition, coarse fabrics and holes are often camouflaged in monochrome images. Apart from the most obvious signs of wealth and poverty, like bare feet, grimy and oversized baros, one could not easily make out whether the textiles used were rough *sinamay* or supple piña, whether the embroideries were high quality or not.

In the study of colonial photographs, there is also the problem of bias in terms of the choice of subjects, social representation, and purpose all have which were pertinent in matters of dress. Although most images were probably not intended to document the clothing of the inhabitants, street photography nonetheless captured the beautiful attires of that era, as well as some features of the clothes trade, like shop signage, location, shopkeepers, textile peddlers, etc. Then, there was studio photography. Posed images of generic working and provincial "types" like *tejedora*s (weavers), *buyeras (*betel nut vendors), *aguadores* (water carriers) were favorites of foreign photographers. In registering Philippine "types," some studio photos, which were meant to be sold as postcards, consciously or unconsciously, propagated stereotypes. One must approach studio photographs with the full awareness that posturing and imaging may be involved and that the image one is seeing could be the constructed identity of an aspiring individual or group. Prudence and a discerning eye is imperative in distinguishing between actuality and fantasy and between real and created status. The clothing worn by some of the better off who wanted to immortalize themselves with a studio snapshot must, hence, be reconciled with their identities, body language, posture and other additional markers and references.

There were also family albums that were meant to be personal and private. Such photographs provide clues into what people generally wore in their everyday lives and on time spent with family in private. They gave glimpses of family homes, furnitures and possessions. They also revealed a wealth of other information like what their domestic

servants wore and what clothes were deemed stylish among certain fashionable circles. The twelve albums of Meerkamp van Embden[72] was particularly revealing of how expatriates lived in the colony, what they did for entertainment, who they socialized with, what they wore for breakfast, what their houseboys wore when serving them their morning chocolate, how they dressed to go hunting and swimming, how they dressed their children, etc. A family album done to record their experiences abroad may have partly been assembled to project images of success and prosperity to family and friends back home.

Primary Material Source: Garments

In this study, clothing was used, like documents, as records of meaningful political, economic and socio-cultural changes that occurred over time. Using clothes as indicators of social realities, conventions and adherences is another way of reading past societies. Exposure to surviving 19th century Philippine apparel gives one the privilege of being able to reflect on the silhouette, materials, patterns and textures of today. The privilege was also an invitation to ponder on the modes of existence of "Filipinos" in the past, relative to how Filipinos live in the present.

The importance of comparing artworks with preserved cloth and clothing could not be emphasized enough. The study of historical apparel could help in the analysis of silhouette, cuts, and techniques featured in paintings and engravings and read in periodicals and traveller's accounts. At the same time, they could be used to approximate the date --and sometimes, even place-- of some of the artistic representations. It was vital to this research to see if the fineness of the embroideries, the quality of the textiles, the vividness of the colors would fulfill or disappoint expectations put forward by 19th artists, travellers and writers.

There is no denying that garments offer tangible, historical access to how people in past societies used these fabrics and clothes in real life. In feeling them against the skin, in seeing how they fall, flow and drape, one could imagine the comfort or discomfort people may have felt. It answered many questions on how design and functions evolved, how angular were the cuts, how breast supports or *tapa pecho* looked, how they were attached and

[72] It was a surprising discovery when Dr. Otto van den Muijzenberg contacted the grandson of P.K.A. Meerkamp van Embden, a Dutch businessman who for more than 40 years worked as cigar manufacturer and import-export trader in Manila. Van Embden was honorary consul of the Netherlands from 1889 to 1927. Dr. Muijzenberg needed a picture to illustrate a commemorative volume on the occasion of 400 years of Dutch-Philippine Relations in 2000. The consul's grandson presented Dr. Muijzenberg a stack of 12 albums with papers and papers collected by his grandfather. The album was soon after generously donated by the consul's descendants to the Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies (KITLV). Dr. Muijzenberg published a book in 2008, which provided context to the photographs. VAN DEN MUIJZENBERG, *The Philippines through European Lenses*.

how short women's baro really were. To know and comprehend the level of quality in the clothing possessions of native elite women, which were well-represented in museum collections, it was imperative to touch, feel and see the suppleness or stiffness of the fabrics, the hand stitchings, the seams, the embroideries, and the presence or absence of buttons or strings. The privilege extended by museum curators to interact and handle the rare and delicate garments in their collection greatly contributed to the understanding of novelty, practicality and extravagance. They were also particularly useful in documenting the evolution of textiles, colors, and silhouettes.

The embroideries on piña handkerchiefs, some of which employed the use of human hair as thread, were emotional, sentimental and were often mementos of bonds shared between family, friends and lovers. There were a few pieces, which provoked fascination, like the piña handkerchief at the Victoria and Albert Museum, which bear the words *Memoria de Fernanda*. A pañuelo with the same name, Fernanda, embroidered also with human hair, found at the Museo del Trajé in Madrid induced the question of: who is Fernanda? It is questions like this, which would propel the curious historian to search for clues on the identity of the owner of such exquisitely personal pieces. It must be noted though that embroidered pieces usually marked the name of the person who owned them, and not the person who gave or embroidered them.

Original 19th century textiles and clothing from the collection of Museo Nacional de Antropología and Museo del Traje in Madrid were used in studying the texture, flow, silhouette, embroidery and details to validate the distinction of *nipis* as luxury products. They were viewed as records of the major innovations in techniques and technologies that occurred over time. Since extant materials from museums were used, the researcher was guided with the question of how to reckon with the possibility of "disappearances" in clothing representations of some groups, given conditions of class, ethnicity, etc?

Many museum collections are, in fact, dominated not by the garments of lowland, Christianized Filipinos but by the textiles and clothing of tribal and cultural minorities, like the Tibolis, Bagobos, Moros, which, in being non-European were perceived as indigenous and therefore, more oriental and exotic.[73] Their comparatively "unusual" silhouettes and bold combination of colors, elaborate textures and patterns, not to mention, their opacity, stood in contrast with the relatively delicate ensembles made of sheer textiles fashioned using organic

[73] Álvarez-Guerra, in fact, made it a point to know more about indigenous and non-European ways. The customs, dances, and even theater productions of lowland, Christianized were, in general, reminiscent of European culture, including drama. ÁLVAREZ GUERRA, *Viajes por Filipinas de Manila à Albay*, chap. 4, pp. 66–67.

colors by the lowland groups. To give a specific example, sixty percent of the *Bréjard Collection of Philippine Costumes* stored at the RMV in Leiden, Netherlands, was, for example, made up of magnificent headdresses, armor plates, costumes and embroideries, which originally belonged to the Muslims and Malay groups along the southern coast of Mindanao. The other twenty percent were weapons, clothing, utensils and ornaments of the Igorots of Benguet Valley in Northern Luzon and the remaining twenty percent were the embroidered silk and pineapple clothing of the inhabitants of Manila and the surrounding areas (central Luzon), which were culturally identified as Tagalog or mestizos.

In the three main museums surveyed for this study, inventories pertaining to the 19th century Christianized population was dominated by four main items: paño (handkerchief), pañuelo (shawl), baro or camisa (shirt) and *limosnera* or *bolso* (small handbags) --in short, female upper garments and accessories. While there were many from the 19th century, most were dated from the twentieth century. The high quality cloth and embroideries on the gorgeous hand-sewn *nipis* upper garments and accessories reflected the material and social circumstance of its original owners. The less exceptional wardrobes of the lower classes were not well represented in these collections. This offers some insights into the acquisition and preservation priorities and interests of cultural institutions.

In Daniel Roche's study of Parisian clothing culture in the 17th and 18th centuries, peasant clothing only account for 10% of the collections. The reality --and problem--of poor social representativeness of the lower classes in the inventories of museums and cultural institutions was addressed by looking for signifiers elsewhere, particularly descriptions from travel accounts, periodicals, novels, photographs, genre paintings. This explains why eight types of primary sources had to be used for this study.

Primary Written Sources

The primary written sources used were travel accounts, periodicals and literary works such as novels, most of which were from the second half of the 19th century. The researcher worked with sources written in Spanish, French, Filipino, and a few in German. With prudence and patience, 19th century newspaper articles, captions, advertisements were translated one-by-one for them to be rendered comprehensible.

Travel Accounts.

In writing this work, travel accounts by German, French, British and American visitors to the Philippines in the 19th century were consulted to discover the foreign

perception and prejudices relating to the costume and appearance of the mixture of races in the islands. Some were consulted in their original language, while others were consulted in their translated versions. The writings of standard authors as Tomas de Comyn,[74] Paul Gironière,[75] Gabriel-Pierre Lafond de Lurcy,[76] Jean Mallat,[77] Fedor Jagor,[78] Dr. Joséph Montano,[79] Alfred Marche,[80] John Bowring,[81] John Foreman,[82] Vicente Barrántes,[83] Juan Álvarez Guerra,[84] Frederic H. Sawyer[85] and others of equally high reputation.[86]

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[74] Tomas de Comyn was the Spanish head of the *Compania Real de Filipinas*. According to Fr. Policarpo Hernández, he was also the editor of *Revista de Filipinas*. Tomas DE COMYN, "State of the Philippines in 1810," in *The Former Philippines Thru Foreign Eyes*, ed. Austin CRAIG (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1917), 357–458; Ramon N. VILLEGAS, "Chapter Eleven: Costumes and Adornments," in *Kasaysayan: The Story of the Filipino People*, ed. Maria Serena I. DIOKNO and Ramon N. VILLEGAS, vol. 4: Life in the Colony (Manila: Asia Publishing Co., 1998), 275; HERNÁNDEZ, *Iloilo, The Most Noble City*, n. 53, p. 209.

[75] Paul Proust de la Gironière (b. 1797-1862) was a French naval surgeon originally from Brittany, France. He lived in the Philippines between 1820 and 1840. Gironière has hosted a few compatriots, like Captain Gabriel Lafond de Lurcy, at his home in Jala-Jala, Morong (present-day Rizal). His writing style was said to have inspired French scientist Alfred Marche, who came to the Philippines much later, between 1879-1883. German ethnologist Fedor Jagor, also mentioned meeting him in the Philippines when the latter returned to the Philippines in 1858. GIRONIÈRE, *Adventures in the Philippine Islands*; Gabriel-Pierre Lafond LURCY, *Travel Accounts of the Islands (of the Philippines): 1832-1858* (Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, 1974), http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k5804506c.

[76] Gabriel-Pierre Lafond de Lurcy (b. 1802-d. 1876) was a French naval captain from Nantes, who came to the Philippine several times in 1818, 1819, 1820, 1828, and between 1829 and1832. He was a friend of Paul Gironière, who stayed at the latter's home in Jala-Jala, Morong (present-day Rizal) for six months. He was a *membre de la Commission centrale de la Société de Geographie.* His work was first published in 1840. LURCY, *Travel Accounts of the Islands (of the Philippines): 1832-1858*.

[77] The work of French scientist, Jean Mallat (b. 1808-d. 1863), has been widely used as a source. The atlas of his work included illustrations by Juan Transfiguracion Nepomuceno. Based on the strong parallelism, it was surmised that the Spanish writer Fernando Fulgosio based his work, *Crónica de las Islas Filipinas*, on Mallat. MALLAT, *Les Philippines*, 1846; Jean-Baptiste MALLAT, *The Philippines: History, Geography, Customs, Agriculture, Industry and Commerce of the Spanish Colonies in Oceania* (Manila: National Historical Institute, 1983); MONTINOLA, "Piña, La Reina de Los Tejidos Filipinos," 71; PILAR, "The Loving Eye for Detail: A 19th Century Manila Burgher Records the Faces of His People," 20.

[78] Fedor Jagor (b. 1816-d. 1900) was a German ethnologist/naturalist who stayed in the Philippines for 18 months, beginning on March 1859. He first published his work on 1875. He bequeathed the materials he gathered in the Philippines to the Ethnological Museum of Berlin. Andreas Fedor JAGOR, "Jagor's Travels in the Philippines," in *The Former Philippines Thru Foreign Eyes*, ed. Austin CRAIG (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1917), 1–356.

[79] Frenchman Dr. Joséph Montano (b. 1844- d.?) was *membre de L'Institut Professeur d'Anthropologie au Muséum D'Histoire Naturelle*. He was in the Philippines at around the same time as French zoologist Alfred Marche, between Mai 1879-June 1881. Dr. Joséph MONTANO, *Voyage Aux Philippines et en Malaisie* (Paris: Librairie Hachette et Cie, 1886), https://archive.org/details/voyageauxphilipp00mont.

[80] Alfred Marche (b. 1844-d. 1898) was commissioned by the Ministry of Public Instruction (and Fine Arts) to make a broad scientific mission not only on the main field of ethnography but also botany, mineralogy, zoology. Alfred MARCHE, *Luçon et Palaouan, Six Années de Voyages Aux Philippines* (Paris: Librairie Hachette et Cie, 1887); MARCHE, *Luzon and Palawan*.

[81] Sir John Bowring (b. 1792-d. 1872) was the 4th Governor of Hongkong (13 April 1854; retired in March 1859) and Honorary Member of the *Sociedad Economica de las Islas Filipina.* He visited the Philippines near the end of 1858, a year before he retired. Sir John BOWRING, *A Visit to the Philippine Islands* (London: Smith, Elder and Co.,65, Cornhill, 1859), http://books.google.fr/books?id=Je1GAAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=sir+john+bowring+a+visit+to+the+philippine+islands&hl=en&sa=X&ei=Zf6IUdzlJeeL7Ab4toHwCw&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=sir%20john%20bowring%20a%20visit%20to%20the%20philippine%20islands&f=false.

These sources were gathered from the Southeast Asia Visions Collection (A Collection of Historic Travel Narratives) of Cornell University Library (online), Museo Nacional de Antropología and Biblioteca Nacional de España (Madrid), Carlone Library (Nice, France) and Ateneo de Manila University (Manila).

Textiles and clothing was prominent in almost all accounts. They discussed the varied attires of the inhabitants, alongside their theories on dress, especially in connection with labor, race and class. Admittedly, most of their works reflect the typical point-of-views of white men in the colonies, many of whom have not been in the islands long enough to give fair assessments. Most if not all of them wrote as outsiders writing for a foreign audience. They often wrote about clothing using terms familiar to them.

From a survey in which native clothing was described by foreign travelers in the 19th century, they were found to have been largely complimentary of women's attires but not of men's, often describing the latter as caricatures of Europeans.[87] While they were fascinated with the tapís, which hugged the bodies of women and their very short baros (or camisas),

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[82] John Foreman was an Englishman who "lived and travelled around the Philippines in behalf of British manufacturers of machinery for tropical agriculture." See James A. LeRoy's review of his work. John FOREMAN, *The Philippine Islands: A Political, Geographical, Ethnographical, Social and Commercial History of the Philippine Archipelago, Third, Revised and Enlarged with Maps and Illustrations* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1906), http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/22815; James A. LEROY, "Review of The Philippine Islands by John Foreman," *The American Historical Review* 12, no. 2 (January 1, 1907): 388–91, doi:10.2307/1834075.

[83] Vicente Barrántes was the Spanish Secretary-General. He also appeared on the cover of the 1st issue of *Manila Alegre* on 1885 Deciembre 6 (Año I, Num. 1), with this caption: *Nuestros Escritores* (Our Writers), when he triumphed with laurels in literature. D. Vicente BARRÁNTES, "Las Mujeres de Filipinas," in *Las Mujeres Españolas Portuguesas y Americanas: Tales Como Son en El Hogar Doméstico, en Los Campos, en Las Ciudades, en El Templo, en Los Espectáculos, en El Taller y en Los Salones: Descripción y Pintura del Carácter, Costumbres, Trajes, Usos, Religiosidad, Belleza, Defectos, Preocupaciones y Excelencias de La Mujer de Cada Una de Las Provincias de España, Portugal y Américas Españolas [Digital Version]* (Madrid: Miguel Guijarro, 1876), 34–71, http://scholarship.rice.edu/jsp/xml/1911/20705/494/aa00030tr.tei.html.

[84] Juan Álvarez Guerra (b. 1843-d. 1905) was the Spanish Alcalde of Albay and Tayabas. ÁLVAREZ GUERRA, *Viajes por Filipinas de Manila à Albay*; ÁLVAREZ GUERRA, *Viajes por Filipinas de Manila à Marianas*; ÁLVAREZ GUERRA, *Viajes por Manila à Tayabas*.

[85] Frederic Sawyer was an Englishman who worked in the Philippines as an engineer for 14 years, from 1879 to 1892. Frederic Henry Read SAWYER, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines* (London: Sampson Low, Marston and Company Limited, 1900), http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/38081.

[86] John WHITE, "Manila in 1819 by An American Naval Officer," in *The Former Philippines Thru Foreign Eyes*, ed. Austin CRAIG (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1917), 530–35; Charles WILKES, "Manila in 1842," ed. Austin CRAIG (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1917), 459–529; Robert MACMICKING, *Recollections of Manilla and the Philippines During 1848, 1849 and 1850* (London: Richard Bentley, 1851), http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/20189; Ramon Reyes LALA, *The Philippine Islands* (New York: Continental Publishing Company, 1899), http://dlxs.library.cornell.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?sort=datea;c=sea;cc=sea;type=simple;rgn=full%20text;q1=pi%C3%B1a;view=reslist;subview=detail;start=1;size=25;didno=sea212; Murat HALSTEAD, *The Story of the Philippines and Our New Possessions, Including the Ladrones, Hawaii, Cuba and Porto Rico* (United States: Our Possessions Publishing Co., 1898), http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/12409; HANNAFORD, *History and Description of the Picturesque Philippines*; Mary Helen FEE, *A Woman's Impression of the Philippines* (Chicago: A.C. McClurg and Co., 1910), http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/13392.

[87] JAGOR, "Jagor's Travels in the Philippines," chap. 3.

they were perplexed with the untucked shirts worn by men on festive occasions. Their remarks might be perceptive, at times admiring, but they had to be read with prudence.

Many of the travel accounts were also critical and even condescending towards native customs and habits. For example, the *Gervasio Gironella Album,* the illustrated compendium of the different costume types created by Lozano for the colony's second highest official, came with texts that held the observations and judgments of a white colonial official.[88] It resonates with the commentaries made in his book by Spanish Secretary-General, Vicente Barrántes. Many of the terms they used were also inaccurate and confusing. Textile and clothing terms were often used interchangeably, making no clear distinctions between saya and patadiong,[89] piña and other types of textiles.[90] Apart from verifying the terms, the researcher also spent a great deal of time testing some of the author's theories about clothes, in relation to labor, race and class

Periodicals

The six main 19th century periodicals used as literary evidences for this study were as follows: *Ilustración Filipina* (1859-1860), *La Ilustración del Oriente* (1877-1888), *Manila Alegre* (1885, 1886, 1887), *La Moda Filipina* (1893-1894), *Manililla* (1893) and *El Bello Sexo* (1891). They were gathered from the archives of Hemeroteca Municipal, Biblioteca

[88] Examples of discriminating comments would be: "They enjoy the music, which is usually good, despite the fact that all the musicians are natives," "the native' tastebuds must be unrefined as they indiscriminately mixed all kinds of food, whatever the taste" and "the indio's most beloved animal, the carabao has the same slowness as its owner." The texts were translated in Cariño's book. LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. Plaza Mayor de Manila; fig. Chino Pansitero; fig. indio con carreton; CARIÑO, *José Honorato Lozano: Filipinas 1847*, 116, 166, 168.

[89] Jagor may have confused saya with patadiong. His description of the saya sounds like a patadiong: "from the waist down, they are wrapped in saya in a brightly-striped cloth, which falls in broad folds." His description of a patadiong as "a gown reaching from the hip to the ankles," sounds like the description for a saya. Meanwhile, former Intramuros Adminstration curator, Sandra B. Castro, did not use the terms saya or patadyong in her article, *Dissecting Dress* (2007). Instead, she refers to the skirt or "sole lower garment of the Visayan and Pampango women" as tapis, not as patadyong. She based her use of the word tapis on the definition of Juan Francisco de San Antonio (1738), a Franciscan missionary, who identified the untailored wraparound skirt to be tapis, describing it as a "square piece of cloth wrapped tightly around the waist with one end tucked in to keep its place." Using the generic term "skirt" and the term tapis to refer to both the overskirt and the wraparound skirt of Visayan women, accurate distinctions between tapis, saya and patadyong were not made. In the conclusion, Castro writes that the "tapis was worn as a lower garment and later as a mere accessory to the Western skirt." JAGOR, "Jagor's Travels in the Philippines," chap. 3, 14; CASTRO, "Dissecting Dress," 51, 54, 70; COLIN, S.J., "Native Races and Their Customs. Madrid, 1663. [From His Labor Evangelica]," 328–330.

[90] Younghusband sounds like he confused piña with sinamay, when he wrote: "There is nothing of any local interest to be bought in the shops except cigars, which are of course, excellent, cigarettes which are moderately good and exceedingly cheap and "piña" cloth, a curious and very fine species of silk muslin, made either from pineapple or from hemp fiber. This "piña" cloth is worn by women of all classes, and varies in price from 50 cents to $10 a yard, according to texture. Many of the shades and patterns, are, I am credibly informed, exquisite." George John YOUNGHUSBAND, *The Philippines and Round about* (New York and London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1899), 58–59, http://ebooks.library.cornell.edu/cgi/t/text/pageviewer-idx?c=sea;cc=sea;idno=sea196;q1=pi%C3%83%C2%B1a;view=image;seq=9;size=50;page=root.

Nacional de España and Museo Nacional de Antropología in Madrid and the Philippine National Library in Manila. A useful guide to these periodicals was *El Periodismo Filipino: Noticias Para Su Historia (1811-1894)* by Wenceslao Retana, who devoted a chapter on the pseudonyms used by the various journalists and illustrators.[91]

With the careful translation and analysis of these periodicals written in Spanish, this work studies whether people's manner of dressing indeed reflected the colonial stereotypes and prejudices often propagated in publications circulated during the period of study. It was interesting to see what the role of media was in societal programming and how discourses on fashion made some levels of indoctrination possible.

The use of Spanish language in Philippine media was most telling of its niche, aimed at a growing market of literate, Hispanized readership. The propagation of illustrated magazines, combining texts, portraits, and even needlework patterns in the late 19th century was clearly a response to the widening base of native readers, much enlarged by prosperity and literacy. They likewise attest to the social, intellectual and commercial openness of the period.

Periodicals, especially the illustrated ones would be instrumental in the diffusion of latest patterns and styles as well as the propagation of values. It would be simplistic to say that readership was limited to a narrow group of privileged readers. It must be considered that servants who lived in close proximity to society elites may have had access to them, not to mention other members of the general public who may have managed to obtain them in an infinite number of ways. This acknowledges three main class groups: the society elites, the ordinary *tao* and the social climbing intermediaries, who were often mentioned in texts but not frequently conveyed in pictures.[92]

The spread of periodicals may also be attributed to the fact that *Filipinos* in general was an admiring public, enjoying newspaper notices and publicity as much as they loved being the center stage. In fact, travel writers have observed that almost all advancements in education achieved by individuals of means had to be inordinately announced.[93] The power of print media, which combined images, captions and textual discourses, to spark the

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[91] Elizabeth MEDINA, "Who Was Wenceslao Emilio Retana?," *Austrian-Philippine Website by Asian/Pacific Studies & Information Service at the Institut Für Völkerkunde (Institute of Social Anthropology), University of Vienna*, 1998, http://www.univie.ac.at/Voelkerkunde/apsis/aufi/rizal/retana1.htm; *Manililla Periódico Semanal: Ilustrado, Cómico y Humorístico*, Año IV (Manila: Se Publica Los Sábados, 1890), Febrero 8, Num. 95, sec. Cover and page 4: Nuestros Periodistas–Wenceslao Retana .

[92] Álvarez Guerra refers to them as *taga-tabi*, or literally on the margins, those who aspire to belong with the *taga-bayan*, an urbanized class of society elites. ÁLVAREZ GUERRA, *Viajes por Manila à Tayabas*, chap. 3, pp. 65–68.

[93] FEE, *A Woman's Impression of the Philippines*, chap. VIII, pp. 86–106.

curiosity of the various sectors of society should not be underestimated. They must have had impacts on the development of shared tastes and aesthetics, in the process, shaping new urban cultures, which extended far beyond the literate circles.

Male writers have often used these publications to express their opinions regarding the direction of feminine style and women's character, especially in relation to the transitory nature of fashion. Oftentimes, their tones were moralizing, informing and reminding with the objective to reform and transform. This is linked to two phenomenon that must be pointed out about censorship and authorship: that of male nationalist writers writing on women's publications under female pseudonyms and that of male writers writing about women's concerns and issues. Men's voices could still be distinctively heard even in publications specifically devoted to women. Given the strict rules on censorship[94] during the latter part of the 19th century, many of these men were assumed to have been nationalist writers, who found venues in the frivolous picture magazines of women, like *La Moda Filipina,* to be specific, in order to advance their ideals without being outrightly subversive.

Translated as Philippine Fashion, the illustrated bi-monthly magazine, *La Moda Filipina*, was an effort to capture the fashion milieu of the 1890s.[95] Published in the folio-style format with two columns, each issue consisting of about four pages of texts, included articles, for example, on the *sinamayera*, as well as a few advertisements on clothing. Based on Wenceslao Retana's opinion, this publication was intended to be read by the kind of women it featured. In its *Algo de Moda* section, it described subjects or objects, which would spark women's interests, like the gargantuan jewelries seen among the *mestiza* women of Lipa (Batangas) who were visiting Manila. These bejeweled mestizas were most likely scions of families that profited from the Lipa coffee boom, which spanned for two decades before the coffee blight of 1889.[96] A certain Margarita reports for *La Moda Filipina* (1894) that every once in awhile, these provincial *mestizas* would appear in the theater boxes of Manila

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[94] DIOKNO, "Chapter Six: The Making of the Filipino," 123; José RIZAL, *The Social Cancer: A Complete English Version of Noli me tangere from the Spanish of José Rizal*, trans. Charles DERBYSHIRE (Manila and New York: Philippine Education Company and World Book Company, 1912), xv, xxxii–xxxiii, http://www.gutenberg.org/catalog/world/readfile?fk_files=1647578.

[95] *La Moda Filipina*, first published on March 15, 1893, was only in circulation for over one year, between 1893-1894. Hemeroteca Municipal de Madrid has seven issues of 1894 (Año II). RETANA y Gamboa, *El Periodismo Filipino: Noticias Para su Historia (1811-1894)*, 507.

[96] MARGARITA, "Las Alhajas de las Lipeñas," *La Moda Filipina Periódico Quincenal Ilustrado*, February 28, 1894, 24 edition, sec. Algo de Moda, Hemeroteca Municipal de Madrid; Maria Rita Isabel SANTOS CASTRO, "Demythologising the History of Coffee in Lipa, Batangas in the XIXth Century" (Dissertation submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Gastronomy, Department of History, University of Adelaide, 2003), University of Adelaide Library.

with their sparkling diamonds, golds and pearls so profuse and extravagant their purpose could be nothing else other than to boast the luxuries and wealth of Filipino families.[97]

Ilustración Filipina (1859-1860) and *La Ilustración del Oriente* (1877-1888) ran many features on the generic "types," but their real value to this study were texts that discussed the lives of clothes workers.

Ilustración Filipina was a Spanish language magazine published in Manila, which ran from March 1, 1859 to December 15, 1860. It was an illustrated bi-weekly, the lithographs of which were among the best printed images at that time, owing to the contributions of artists like Baltasar Giraudier, who was recognized not only for his lithographic drawings but also for his writings found on other publications such as *Diario de Manila*. The sketches regularly produced for this publication by C.W. Andrews, an English illustrator based in Hong-Kong, was useful for this study. The researcher was able to gather thirteen out of the twenty issues (65%) of 1859 and all twenty-four issues of 1860. The collection assembled is a good and fair sample of publication. The range of characters and appearances presented mainly related to class or status, on characteristics of occupation (betel nut vendor, coachmen, seamstress, washerwoman, milkmaid, chinese cook), race (*indio Filipino, india elegante, chino de la escolta, mestiza española*), political positions (*el teniente de justicia*), age (*el indio veijo*), locales (india from Pateros), education (*beatas*) and others (*tulisan, Tinguianes*)

La Ilustración del Oriente (1877-1878)[98] was a weekly publication that came out close to two decades after *Ilustración Filipina*. Both journals were rather similar in style and content. They both showed regional, occupational and rank variations in dress. Alongside features on *bailés* (balls) and other festivities, the usual "types" were featured: tailors, seamstresses, washerwomen, cigarette factory workers, milkmaids, gobernadorcillos, the native from Malate, the rich native, etc. The researcher was able to collect eleven out of the forty-eight issues (23%) published on the magazine's first year and thirteen out of forty-eight issues (27%) for the second year.

In the satirical journals that flourished in the last two decades of the 19th century, clothing once again played a role in the stereotyped *tipos del país* images, carrying with it racial, social and even moral judgements. One such magazine was the *Manila Alegre*

[97] *La Moda Filipina*, February 28, sec. Algo de Modas por Margarita: Las Alhajas de las Lipeñas.
[98] *La Ilustración del Oriente* replaced an earlier publication called *El Oriente*. Carson TAYLOR, *History of Philippine Press* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan, 2005), 21, http://name.umdl.umich.edu/ACR6448.0001.001.

Periódico Festivo Ilustrado of Pedro Groizárd, a peninsular Spaniard.[99] Although not traditionally considered as a reliable source, one could still view them as a social critique of colonial life. The exaggerations could be perceived as deformed reflections of how Spaniards saw and characterized the clothing and appearance of the varied inhabitants. A good example would be the parody of juxtaposing a dark and a fair *criada* (maidservant) and labeling them España oriental and España occidental. They were distinguished not only by their color but also by their attire.[100] The bell sleeves and pañuelo of the *criada* representing España oriental contrasts with the narrow sleeves worn by the other. Another example shows the process of transformation of a Chinese, from an insect to a queue-sporting Chinaman, wearing the typical attire and shoes of their kind.[101]

Another satirical weekly was *Manililla*: *Ilustrado, Comico, Humoristico* (Miniature Manila). *Manililla* was first published in 1887 by, according to Atty. Dominador D. Buahin who wrote *The History of Philippine Publishing*, "Filipino intellectuals, who sympathized with the revolutionary cause but could not come out publicly."[102] Except for the one-page advertisements, the rest were dominated by the illustrations of Ignacio del Villar.[103] The cover featured caricatures of well-known persons from different fields, from painter Félix Martínez to journalists Wenceslao E. Retana and Rafael del Pan, to industrialist Salvador Chofre and poet Manuel Romero. Like *Manila Alegre*, it also included *tipós del país* images, which showed stereotypes of the appearance of garbage collectors, coachmen, women of Manila, etc. Under the heading "Faldas y Faldones (Skirt and Skirts)," it showed absurd clichés based on the lower garments of, not only women, but men as well. For example, the mestiza was shown with shoes and saya with train (*saya de cola*) while the betel nut vendor was shown gathering her skirt and barefooted.

El Bello Sexo (1891) was an illustrated women's magazine published weekly beginning on January 7, 1891. This pioneering work founded by Matilde Martín, a Spanish woman living in the Philippines, was primarily aimed at the increasing number of learned

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[99] The researcher read through the first three issues of 1885, 34 out of 48 issues of 1886 and 8 issues of 1887. Pedro GROIZÁRD, *Manila Alegre: Periódico Festivo Ilustrado*, Año 1 (Escolta 18: Imp. La Industrial, 1885); GROIZÁRD, *Manila Alegre: Periódico Festivo Ilustrado*, 1886; Pedro GROIZÁRD, *Manila Alegre: Periódico Festivo Ilustrado*, Año III (Escolta 18: Imp. La Industrial, 1887).

[100] The sketches were shown under the heading *Paralelos: Las Criadas*. GROIZÁRD, *Manila Alegre: Periódico Festivo Ilustrado*, 1887, 16 Abril 1887, p. 7.

[101] GROIZÁRD, *Manila Alegre: Periódico Festivo Ilustrado*, 1886, 24 Septiembre 1886, sec. Metamórfosis.

[102] Atty. Dominador D. BUHAIN, ed., *A History of Publishing in the Philippines* (Quezon City: Rex Bookstore, Inc., 1998), 22; Crispulo J. ICBAN, *Philippine Mass Media in Perspective* (Capitol Publishing House, 1967), 5.

[103] RETANA y Gamboa, *El Periodismo Filipino: Noticias Para su Historia (1811-1894)*, sec. Manililla, pp. 320–332, sec. Tabla II: Redactores, colaboradores, dibujantes, p. 619; Jesús Z. VALENZUELA, *History of Journalism in the Philippine Islands* (The Author, 1933), 56.

women, pious daughters, stylish housewives as well as producers and consumers. In its cover, it featured high society women who were not only fashionable but also accomplished. To present an attractive, obedient and talented woman on the cover was to pull her out of obscurity. Assuming this was intended to be aspirational, this must have provided all classes of citizens with models to emulate.

The publication included a wide range of articles, which were particularly relevant to the concerns of the female members of "good society:" cleaning metal buttons, washing silk belts, wool and laces in black and in white, etc. Many of the articles in the *El Bello Sexo* (1891) were reminders that dress is an integral part of a person, calling to mind the power of an attractive appearance, especially when combined with good manners and proper education. While it covered fashion, it also discussed child rearing -- of how mothers should raise sensible daughters, who would be able to renounce luxury and excess.

In *El Bello Sexo*, while women's achievements were announced, a reading of it would acquaint readers with the "shackles that impeded female mobility."[104] Despite the seemingly infinite variety of things, choices and opportunities, one could also get a sense that women of a certain class were limited by the roles conferred upon them by a colonial society, which was Catholic as well as Spanish or European in orientation. Free as they were, they were nonetheless bound indoors and at home.[105]

Advertisements

The main sources for advertisements used in this study were the following periodicals, mainly from the second half of the 19th century: *La Ilustración del Oriente* (1877, 1878), *Manila Alegre* (1885-1887)*, La Moda Filipina* (1893-1894) and *Manililla* (1893). Added to this were travel guidebooks by Ramon González Fernández (1875) and Jaime Escobar y Lozano (1885).[106] These print ads were interesting for this study for three main reasons – to identify the location of the "fashionable" shops, to determine precisely what their main product lines were, and to gain insights into the type of marketing shop owners employed in order to be more competitive. Overall, advertisements of photographers, hatters, pharmacists, mercers, shoemakers, tailors and dressmakers provide modern-day consumers an overview of the 19th century luxury trade. They were concrete evidences of the market for

[104] ROCHE, *The Culture of Clothing: Dress and Fashion in the 'Ancien Regime*, 411.
[105] Eloisa May P. HERNANDEZ, *Homebound : Women Visual Artists in Nineteenth Century* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 2005).
[106] GONZÁLEZ FERNÁNDEZ, *Manual del Viajero en Filipinas*; ESCOBAR y LOZANO, *El Indicador del Viajero en Las Islas Filipinas*.

imported textiles and clothing items, highly unsuitable to the tropical climate of the Philippines. Among the merchandise recorded in their ads were cufflinks (*gemelos de camisa*), gloves (*guantes*), corsets (*corsés)*, bustles (*polisones*), petticoats (*enaguas)*, terciopelo (*velvet*), lana and alpacas (*wool*). Advertisements were also instrumental in making new technologies, like sewing machines, known to the public.

Survey of advertisements showed that an incredible number of stores devoted to clothes, shoes, and hats were concentrated in three main areas in Manila: Binondo, Sta. Cruz and Intramuros. Several of these shops were accepting orders for provincial orders, which facilitated the convergence of fashions, gradually lessening the cultural differences between the urbanized residents of the capital city and the relatively more conservative provincials.

While previously, most of the ads enumerated their product lines, in purely textual form, through the years, they began to combine graphics or cartoons with text and jokes, which reflected how the commercial landscape had changed. Increasing competition must have required business owners to invest in more print ads as a form of marketing and illustrations and humor were found to have been effective tools to increase circulation. By 1898, advertisements were written in Spanish but with English translations. Some clothes stores like *Sastrería Lorenzo Gibert* closed down and were replaced with shops like Marcó & Co., located at No. 27 Escolta, which specifically mentioned in their ad that they were the "successors of Gibert and Palau."[107]

Catalogues

In 1887, Spain's Overseas Minister Victor Balaguer, organized the largest exhibition about Philippine life at the Palacio de Cristal at Retiro Park in Madrid,[108] with the objective of fostering stronger commercial and cultural relations between the Philippines and the motherland. Images and real people representing the racial and cultural groups of the Philippines arrived in Madrid shortly before the exhibition opened on September 22, 1887. The Philippine delegation dressed in varied native attires was received by the Queen Regent Maria Cristina at the Royal Palace.[109]

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[107] *La Liga Comercial de Manila Revista Mensual*, Año 1, Num. 2 (Carriedo: Imprenta de Santa Cruz, 1899).
[108] CARIÑO and NER, *Álbum: Islas Filipinas, 1663-1888*, 272; *Discovering Philippine Art in Spain* (Manila: Department of Foreign Affairs and National Centennial Commission-Committee on International Relations, 1998), 247.
[109] Juan GUARDIOLA, "The Colonial Imaginary," in *El Imaginario Colonial. Fotografia en Filipinas Durante El Periodo Español 1860-1898* (Barcelona: Casa Asia, National Museum of the Philippines y SEACEX, 2006), 223.

Textiles, clothes, jewelry, which identified the Christianized segment of the native population, were among the various items collected and showcased in Spain. A closer study of the 1887 *Catálogo de la Exposición de las Islas Filipinas* uncovered a wealth of information on the hierarchy of textiles, on pricing and place of manufacture as well as the identity of some producers and exhibitors. Particularly relevant to this study are section 2, numbers 16 to 18, which listed the following items on display during the exhibit: furnitures, adornments, and dress.[110] Section 7, which was about the commerce and industries of the islands included a significant volume of woven cloths, embroidery works, sewn garments (*vestidos confeccionados*), as well as items typically found in the dressing room (*articulos de tocador*).[111] The exhibit showcased framed handmade embroideries and sewn garments on mannequins, making distinctions between, for example, military[112] and farmer's clothing.[113]

The catalogue revealed the various combinations of textiles produced in the country,[114] what types of materials were generally used in skirts, tapís (overskirt) and pants, and what colors and patterns did they usually come in.[115] It also revealed that the prices of high-grade sinamay were comparable to jusi and piña and that the textiles were sold either plain or embroidered.

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[110] Section 2, numbers 16-18 covered *muebles, adornos, vestidos y trajes.* (-), *Catálogo de La Exposición General de Las Islas Filipinas: Celebrada en Madrid ... El 30 de Junio de 1887* (Madrid, 1887), sec. Segunda, # 16 to 18, pp. 234–272.

[111] Section 7, #49: *hilados*; #50 *tejidos;* #51 *colecciones de bordados*; #52 *trabajos manuales*; #53 *vestidos confeccionados*; #53 *articulos de tocador*. Ibid., sec. 7, #49–54, pp. 491–544.

[112] A mannequin dressed in the attire of a cuadrillero *(maniqui, vestido con traje de cuadrillero)* was displayed in the exhibition. Cuadrilleros were the municipal or rural guards in the Philippines during the Spanish period. For an idea of what their attires looked like, here is a description from Laureano: "The prototype subjects of this description represents the *cuadrilla* on the field of instruction. They wear uniforms consisting of a semi-striped shirt/battle-jacket (*saguin-saguin*), hats of buri or cane lined with a white cloth. The chief of the *cuadrilla* carries a white, closed jacket, black pants, perhaps of *guingon*, with a rapier worn on the waist, and on the cuff and arms are insignias of authority." Lozano also captured their appearance in his *Gervasio Gironella Album*. For complete citation, refer to the following: Ibid., Grupo 22, # 1, p. 299; Félix LAUREANO, *Recuerdos de Filipinas: Álbum-Libro: Útil Para El Estudio y Conocimiento de Los Usos y Costumbres de Aquellas Islas Con Treinta y Siete Fototipias Tomadas y Copiadas del Natural*, ed. Felice-Noelle RODRIGUEZ and Ramon C. SUNICO, trans. Renan PRADO (Mandaluyong, Filipinas: Cacho Publishing House, 2001), 73; LOZANO, *Gervasio Gironella Album (1847)*, fig. 41: cuadrilleros.

[113] Doña Epifania Rodriguez of Lucban, Tayabas submitted two camisetas woven from buri or cane fibers (*dos camisetas de la hoja del buri para trabajos de campo*) for exhibition. (-), *Catálogo de La Exposición General de Las Islas Filipinas 1887*, sec. 7, Grupo 52, # 30, p. 532.

[114] There were pure cotton, drill cotton, coyote cotton, cotton with silk, cotton with abacá or sinamay, jusi with cotton, jusi with silk, piña combined with abacá, sinamay, silk, or cotton. There were guingón (dungaree), chambrays (*chambray*), gauze or *gasa* such as muslin and chiffon, etc. Most of the gauze and linens were listed as imported (*crea importada*). Ibid., sec. 7, Grupo 49–51, pp. 491–529.

[115] The common colors were white (*blanca*), black (*negro*), deep red (*encarnadas*). The common patterns were stripes (*raya*), checkered (*cuadro)* or plain/ordinary *(llana/corriente)*. Examples would be a silk pañuelo of deep red color (*pañuelo de seda encarnada)* and a patadiong of black cotton with deep red stripes (*un patadion de india de algodón negro con rayas encarnadas*). Ibid., sec. 7, Grupo 50, #254 by Don Juan San Juan, p. 520; #267 by Subcomisión Provincial de Batangas, p. 522.

A survey of this catálogo show that problems in poor social representation were not limited to present-day museum collections. Among the different fabrics, very few were labeled *ordinaria* and low grade piña (4th or 5th grade). There were also very few representations of common class clothing. There were two shirts on exhibition that represented farmer's clothing: *dos camisetas de la hoja del buri para trabajos de campo* (shirts woven from cane leaves typically used by agricultural workers).

Novels

Historically, clothing has had a long tradition of being used to introduce, identify and distinguish characters in novels. Daniel Roche established that newspapers, periodicals, fashion magazines as well as works of fiction all provide "evidences of the culture of clothing."[116] The value of studying the role of clothes in fiction cannot be discounted especially since literary works often mirror social realities and clothing cultures. Studying the *Noli me tangere* (1886) and its sequel, *El Filibusterismo* (1891) would allow us to understand the extent and intensity by which social values, relating to aesthetics, modesty, hygiene and manners of behavior were transmitted to the colonized. It is assumed that if the colonial culture has indeed affected the colonized and has taken root in their psyche, it would, most likely, find expressions in styles of dress and ornamentation.

Noli me Tángere (Touch Me Not) is an 1886 novel by Dr. José Rizal that follows a cast of characters living in the last quarter of 19th century Philippines under the Spanish colonial administration. The story revolves around the young Juan Crisostomo Ibarra y Magsalin who, after 7 years of study in Europe, comes back and reunites with his betrothed, the beautiful and wealthy heiress, Maria Clara de los Santos. *Noli me Tángere* explores themes of idealism, hypocrisy, social inequality, friar power, colonial injustice, all of which creates a portrait of 19th century Philippines as a society clamoring for political and social change.

Partly set in cosmopolitan Manila, the *Noli me Tángere* provides within its narrative a critical socio-political history of the Philippines under Spain. That era, marked for its economic prosperity, population diversity and the rise of the middle class and educated native elite, was muddled with various social ills unique to Philippine society, from friar abuses and exploitations and various forms of social prejudices. The rich were depicted as practically drowning in revelries of imported luxury goods while the poor, the unnamed mass of "miserable indios" were struggling and barely surviving. Rizal utilized the societal

[116] ROCHE, *The Culture of Clothing: Dress and Fashion in the 'Ancien Regime*, 400–408.

developments to build on the world Ibarra and the rest of the characters were moving on, from simple details like parties, sermons, fiestas, to broader themes like the author's allusions to the idea of a revolution or the "murder of all Spaniards in the colony."[117] To substantiate his themes, Rizal's own experiences of life in the colony are reflected in the variety of street scenes, social customs and interactions he depicted in his novels. Rizal educated his readers about the gaudy, abusive, pretentious society of the colonial era by developing a relatable story line set within the context of Philippine history. The novel's enduring legacy rests on the fact that the story captures the spirit of the colonial system - its successes and failures - and the ultimate desire of the colonized for change. The story is particularly "Filipino" and the words exchanged between characters often serve to reflect popular opinion.

The story deals with human ambitions and self-delusions, social politics and its brutality, and the betrayal of one's own kind. Using elements of sarcasm, comedy and tragedy, the novel exposes the folly in human behavior. Inspired by real life people and events, Rizal's witty observations of life in a colonial society resonate in the social commentaries embedded within the novel. The novel was highly opinionated as expressed in comments like how fiestas are the "senseless orgies of every year," how the Chinese get baptized not so much for their faith but "to get a wife," [118] how it was insinuated that the indios are too ignorant to know anything about a revolution so the perpetrators can only be the creoles and how sons of Spaniards born in the islands tend to be reckoned as revolutionists.[119] Another major issue he emphasized in both *Noli me tangere* and its sequel, *El Filibusterismo* was the flaw in the colonial education system in withholding the teaching of the Spanish language from the majority of the population. It was to the best interest of the colonial administration that the mass of indios remained ignorant and silent. Many well-to-do families sent their children to study in Europe and a growing class of young, educated Filipinos well-positioned to become the new generation of native leaders emerged, much to the disconcertion of the friars. Through the words of one Franciscan in the novel, "the government ought to prohibit the sending of young men to Europe."[120]

In the two novels, clothing and appearance were used to underscore opposing themes of wealth and poverty, excess and lack, quality and vulgarity, pleasure and misery, pretention and transformation or social elevation. Without the aid of visuals and pictures, descriptions of

[117] RIZAL, *The Social Cancer: A Complete English Version of Noli me tangere from the Spanish of José Rizal*, chap. 54 Revelations, pp. 412–413.
[118] Ibid., chap. 29: The Morning, pp. 225–226.
[119] Ibid., chap. 42: The Espadañas, pp. 332–333; ch. 59 Patriotism and Private Interests, pp. 456–457.
[120] Ibid., chap. 3: The Dinner, pp. 23–24.

clothing and appearance also contribute in setting the tone for the emotions the author wish to evoke from the readers, whether they be fear, pain, sadness, sympathy, even lust. A survey of characters would show that the author began with the presentation of the diverse types of people in the Philippines at that time by describing their appearance and clothing. Rizal developed some of the characters' identities through the manipulation of various social markers, like class, race, age, gender and occupation, and enhanced them with descriptions of clothing and appearance. One can be introduced to the personalities and mindsets of the various fictional characters by assessing the value they invested on appearances and the impact and impressions that their clothing and appearance may have on the other characters.

Through the fictional characters of the affluent capitalist Capitán Tiago, the pretentious and haughty Doña Victorina, the cruel and filthy Doña Consolacion, the "Filipino" mind is shown to have been indoctrinated into believing that all things European is superior, resulting to confused ideas of what is cultured and uncultured, fashionable and unfashionable, patriotic and unpatriotic. It was also shown that in a colonial society, race was very much an issue, that for those among the colonized, any claims to the dominant race made one feel superior. Doña Victorina, for example, established her importance and affiliation with the dominant class of Spaniards through her clothing, conduct and speech. Her newfound "Spanishness" after her marriage to the impoverished Peninsular, Tiburcio de Espadaña, was certainly communicated through her false curls, European-style silk gowns as well as the multitude of laces and ribbons she piled on herself (Fig. 113).

Through the character of the lustful clergyman, Padre Salvi, one can get an insight on how clothing, no matter how conservative, could provoke lasciviousness. Maria Clara and her friends Victoria and Sinang became the object of Padre Salvi's lust when he saw them swimming by the river.[121]

> "From his hiding place, Padre Salvi saw Maria Clara, Victoria, Sinang wading along the border of the brook. Wet to their knees so that the wide folds of their bathing skirts revealed the graceful curves of their bodies. Their hair was flung loose, their arms bare, and they wore camisas with side stripes of bright hues...untired of staring at those white and shapely arms, elegant neck and bust, small rosy feet that played in the water..Padre Salvi intoxicated, staggering, covered with perspirated."[122]

Throughout the novel, clothes have been used as a metaphor to imply wealth and poverty. The value or significance of clothing for the rich, for the poor and for the

[121] Ibid., chap. 24: In the Wood, pp. 176–177.
[122] Ibid.

intermediate classes that emerged in this period was articulated in this study. Rizal also employed clothing and appearance to demonstrate a character's improved or degenerated state. Sisa's mental deterioration, for example, was concomitantly accompanied by physical and sartorial negligence. A number of times in the novel, clothing was also considered as a tool in searching and identifying people, i.e. criminals, escaped prisoners, etc. From the remark Elias made, "from the description they gave me afterward, of her dress, her ornaments, the beauty of her countenance, and her abundant hair, I recognized in her my poor sister," it was clear that clothing was a tool to identify both living and dead persons.[123] Bloodstained clothes may also signal pain or death, like when Sisa saw the remnants of Basilio's bloodied camisa, she knew he was hurt or worse, dead.[124] The novel also captured the feelings of fear that clothing may elicit from people, like when Sisa "gazed fearfully at the *Guardia Civil's* uniform."[125] This begs the question of what uniforms represent in a colonial society? Do they represent peace and protection or authority and abuse? Or, do they represent social biases, protection if one is rich and well-connected and abuse if one is poor?

In Chapter 16, an unnamed widow was contemplating between paying a peso for indulgences and buying a dress for her daughter but she is reminded by the words of a priest in the lectern – sacrifices must be made, "think of your daughter so poorly clothed," and heaven does not give away indulgences, they must be paid for. She must be poor since it was mentioned that a peso is her saving for a month. The image of a daughter's miserable appearance was used to petrify a mother into giving more to the church as sacrifices, leading her to the mistaken belief that in order to have more, one must give more. Then, there is the unnamed leper, whose isolation and dislocation from the novel's fictional society, was prompted by a description of his appearance, as "a man miserably dressed, wearing a broad salakot of palm leaves. His clothing consisted of a ragged coat and wide pantaloons, like those worn by the Chinese, torn in many places. His countenance remained hidden in the shadow of his white hat." Once again, worn out clothes were used to call attention to suffering and beggary. The fact that the articles of clothing he had on include a coat, wide pantaloons and a white hat indicates that they were clearly cast off attires of some affluent members of the population, since coats in a tropical country are more common among the wealthy. A leper's social isolation and lack of livelihood could barely afford him some food, it is thus unlikely that he would allocate his scarce resources on a coat and a white hat.

[123] Ibid., chap. 50: Elias's Story, pp. 388n.
[124] Ibid., chap. 21: The Story of a Mother, pp. 155–157.
[125] Ibid., chap. 21: The Story of a Mother, pp. 150–151.

The novels of José Rizal, whose life bears a striking resemblance with the protagonist he created, were approached with an assumption that the characters were, to some extent, founded on his observations of real people, real archetypes and real situations. In writing the two novels, he immortalized the ills and nuances of colonial society. Through his creation, Crisostomo Ibarra who managed to reinvent himself in the *El Filibusterismo* by literally refashioning himself as the mysterious jeweler Simoun, Rizal was able to live the life he would not able to fully realize. In *El Filibusterismo*, Ibarra returns three years after, as a saboteur whose real identity and motive was shrouded by the fact that he was as a close confidante of the Captain-General, the colony's highest authority. Styled with a beard and blue-tinted glasses, Rizal established Ibarra's disguise as Simoun. The alteration of Ibarra's appearance through sartorial metamorphosis was used as a tool in the character's acquisition of a new identity.

The other two major novels consulted were literary texts of a moralizing nature. Written by priests, fiction was used in a more instructive or pedagogical way. *Pagsusulatan nang Dalauang Binibini na si Urbana at ni Feliza* (1864) was an epistolary novel written in Tagalog by Fr. Modesto de Castro, a native priest born in Biñan, Laguna. A series of letters exchanged between two sisters was used as a platform to impart the ideals of feminine conduct. It was intended to educate and at the same, time remind or re-educate women on how dressing is an important element of modesty and the overall culture of the body.

Written at a time of growing political unrest a decade or so before the outbreak of the Philippine Revolution (1896), *Si Tandang Bacio Macunat* (1885) was a novel in Tagalog by Fr. Miguel Lucio y Bustamante, a Spanish priest of the Franciscan order, which used the point-of-view of an ordinary farmer to present the ideals of country life as opposed to the immorality and social perversions of urban life. Through some description of clothes, he called attention to the corrupted state of the modified, acculturated beings in western clothes widely found in the capital city. In a weak attempt to revert some symbolic assertions being made by the emboldened masses, he implored the restoration of Spain's indigenous subjects to their natural states of dress.

This novel was particularly controversial for its expression of Spanish unease with social and sartorial imitation. The donning of Western clothes by the urbanized *tao* – especially those with no business in the formal sectors of society -- brings to the fore anxieties arising from the gradual disappearance of social markers and what the Spanish perceived as confusion and usurpation of ranks. In both novels, dress played a major role in the portrayal of the polarity of urban and city life.

Oral Sources: Interviews

An interview with Marian Pastor-Roces, the curator of the *Sheer Realities Exhibit: Clothing and Power in 19th century Philippines* and the author of *Sinaunang Habi: Philippine Ancestral Weave* was conducted in July 2011. Ms. Pastor-Roces was particularly helpful in providing the researcher with leads on which museums in Europe have collections on Philippine textiles and clothing.

Alluding to museum collections, in many cases, answers to when and how the actual garments were used were not immediately obvious. The date and provenance of many of the pieces were undetermined or uncertain that interviews with Dr. Elvira González Asenjo of Museo del Traje and Ana Tomás and Ana Lopéz Pajarón of the Documentations Department of Museo Nacional de Antropología was conducted in January 2012 and November 2013 for clarification, especially with regards to the exquisite pieces of *nipis* garments that once belonged to the Spanish Royal family.

An interview with Fr. Policarpo Hernández, OSA, author of the book, *Iloilo, The Most Noble City: History and Development, 1556-1898* (2008) and several articles, including "Los Agustinos y su labor social en Filipinas"(2010), at the Estudio Teológico Agustiniano de Valladolid, Spain last November 2013 also clarified some aspects of the weaving industry in Iloilo City. Fr. Hernández, who lived in the Philippines for forty years, has both theoretical and practical understanding of local industries, calling to mind the efforts of the Augustinian missionaries in the cultural and economic development of some regions. He shared his expertise by providing pictures and sources on the street weavers of Panay.

GLOSSARY

abacá	hemp cloth
abanico	fans
abaserías	store that sells oil, vinegar, rice, imported hams
abel iloco, abel iloko	cotton textiles woven from Ilocos
abotonado	buttoned up, a feature of the European dress (Fig. 102, Fig. 110, Fig, 112)
achuete, achiote	roucou in French, used as a dye
aetas	flat-nosed, thick-lipped, kinky-haired aborigines of the Philippines, often disciminated for their very dark color (Fig. 1C, Fig. 1D)
agraciados pobres	beneficiaries (of scholarships)
aguador	water carriers (Fig. 92)
agujas	needles
alampay	triangular shawl, worn around a woman's shoulder; also referred to as pañuelo (Fig. 17, Fig. 21, Fig. 27, Fig. 57)
Alcalde or Alcalde mayor	provincial governor
alférez	local chief of the Guardia Civil
algodón	cotton
algodón en rama	patterned cotton
alguacil	bailiff
alpacas	camel hair
ama	mistress, i.e. employer
anajao	species of palm, the leaves of which grows shaped like an open fan, used as raincoat by the lower classes (Fig. 88, Fig. 215)
andas	wooden pedestal carried by two horizontal poles (tingas) used during the funeral procession
antesala	antechamber of people's houses
antiguo uso	old-fashioned, or vintage (Fig. 121)
anting-anting	tagalog for amulet made of caiman teeth or pipe of red cava, believed by natives to ward off diseases
aristocracia del dinero	aristocracy with money
arrabal, arrabales	outskirts of a town

atelier	workshop
babaharin	light fabric similar to tulle, typically used as material for inner wear
bahag, bahague	loincloth (Fig. 1I)
bailés	balls (Fig. 163, Fig. 164, Fig. 165)
bakyas	wooden clogs (Fig. 44A)
Baliuag	Bulacan, one of the centers of production of silk, fine petacas, sombreros of nito
balutan	bundle; makeshift carrier using a large cloth with all four corners tied together (Fig. 222)
banca	small wooden boat (Fig. 201)
banquero	boatman (Fig. 93)
bantayan	guardhouses typically made of cane and nipa, set up near bridges and on roads between towns. They were manned by volunteer civilians who were thus, exempted from polos y servicios
baro cerrada	shirt style with closed-neck collars; also referred to as americana cerrada (Fig. 122, Fig. 123)
baro or camisa	shirt or sleeved shirt (women, see Fig. 149, 150, 151; men's, see Fig. 152, 166)
barong mahaba	long baros popular in the early decades of the 19th century (Fig. 2A, Fig. 2B)
barong tagalog	literally, baro ng tagalog or dress of the Tagalog (Fig. 84, Fig. 85, Fig. 152, Fig. 25, Fig. 166)
baro't saya	blouse and skirt, from the Filipino words *baro at saya*
bastidores	embroidery frames
bastón	cane (Fig. 180, Fig. 181A, Fig.182B)
bata	child laborer (see child hanging at the back of Fig. 79B, Fig. 79C)
bata de baño	bathing robe (Fig. 176B)
batalan	enclosed part of the home where people bathe
batas	morning robes
batiste	batista in Spanish, cotton cloth resembling cambric, usually in checkered prints
bazar, bazares	department stores
beata	cloistered woman (Fig. 108D)
beaterios	convent schools
beatilla	a type of fine linen

béret	hat of French origins, which became associated with the stereotype of an artist
bisia	the term used by the natives to refer to the distinct blouse of the Chinese (Fig. 128, Fig. 132)
bisutería	costume jewelry
bolsos	small handbags, see also limosneras
borda, bordado	embroidery, embroidered (Fig. 151)
bordadoras	embroiderers
botitos	booties
botones	buttons
boudoir	a woman's dressing room
brocada	brocade (see pants in Fig. 121)
buri	type of palm used for making hats and cigarette cases
buyera	betel nut vendors (Fig. 44B)
buyo	betel nut, a commodity chewed by the natives
caballero	gentleman in Spanish
cabeza de barangay	village head or barangay captain
caciques	aristocrats, see also gente ilustrada
cajas de avios completos para cristianar	christening needs
calado	open work embroidery
calesa	two-wheeled carriage drawn by one horse, typically used by the common folk
calico	percal in Spanish, a type of cotton cloth, typically printed
calico anglais	type of white or unbleached cotton cloth imported from Britain
calzado	shoes
calzoncillos	shorts, drawers or slips
camarero	waiter
cambayas	checkered cotton fabrics (Fig. 5, Fig. 6)
camisa chino	generic term used to refer to the collarless, buttonled shirts seen among some of the Chinese (Fig. 128, Fig. 132)
camisa de niño	children's shirts (Fig. 194)
camisa sin mangas	sleeveless shirt (Fig. 28)
camisería	store specializing on shirts or upper garments

camisetas	t-shirts; also used to refer to undershirt
camisón	undershirt (Fig. 128)
capista	translated as copyists; Indio boys admitted to attend classes at local colleges and universities in exchange for domestic service
capitán pasado	former gobernadorcillos or cabezas de barangay
Capitán-General or Governor-General	supreme authority in colonial Philippines
capotas	cape without a hood
capotas de goma	raincoat made of water-resistant fabric, see also capotas impermeables
capotas de monte	poncho
capotas impermeables	waterproof jackets
cargador	porter
carinderia	roadside eateries
carromata	two-wheeled canopied carriage, typically used by the common folk
castila	Spaniards although the natives made no distinctions between Spaniards and other caucasians
catipan	boyfriend
cédula personal	identification card tax
cerda	cap of animal hair typically seen among the Chinese (Fig. 132)
cesante	unemployed
chaleco	vest
chamarreta	waist-length, round-necked, collarless, long-sleeved shirts
chambras	diaphanous white blouse (Fig. 125)
chanchao	round black jelly, otherwise known as gulaman
chanchaulero	chanchao vendor, generally Chinese (Fig. 131B, Fig. 143B)
chanclos de goma	rubber over shoes
changshan	one-piece long gowns for men in Manchu China
chaqués	morning coats
chaqueta	jackets
chaquetas de punto	knitted cardigans
chemise, chemisette	inner shirt under their baro; refer to camisón (Fig. 28, Fig. 29)
chicara de chocolate	hot chocolate
chichirico	beautiful

chignon	style of arranging the hair in a coil or knot (Fig. 6, Fig. 20)
chinelas, chinellas, tsinelas	slippers (Fig. 77)
chino comerciantes	Chinese merchants (Fig. 147)
cigarillos	cigarettes
cigarrera	tobacco factor worker (Fig. 48, 50)
cintas	ribbons
cobijas	the Spanish equivalent of the lambóng
cocheros	coachmen (Fig. 79D, Fig. 79A, Fig. 111)
cocinero	cook
cola	train (Fig. 18, Fig. 19)
colegios para niñas	school for girls
compadre	godfather, see also padrino
convento	building attached to the church, usually occupied by priests
corbatas	ties
corcho	slip-on shoes
corpiño	vest-like undershirt, sometimes with visible ruffle trims
corredor, corredores	ambulant vendors (Fig. 131A)
corsé	corsets
cortés	parliament
coser	to sew
costurera	seamstresses (Fig. 221A)
creoles, criollos	Spaniards born in the Philippines or in the Americas; otherwise referred to as insulares, hijos del país, Español-Filipinos, or simply, Filipinos
criada	housemaid
cuadrilleros	municipal guards during the colonial era
cuchillos, cinco cuchillos	panels, five panels (Fig. 4)
cuello	collar
dalagas	young single maidens
dalaguita	adolescent girls
damit mestizong tagalog	Tagalog mestizo clothes (Fig. 24, 166)

damit panlabas	may refer to clothes for going out or outer wear
damit panloob	may refer to clothes for staying in or inner wear
dapos	freeloaders or parasites
de suelta	loose
décolletée, décolletage	low neckline on a woman's dress or top
delantal	apron
démodé	outdated
déshabillé	state of undress
drill cotton	twilled cotton cloth, cotton woven to have the surface of diagonal parallel ridges
duck cotton	untwilled cotton cloth
dueña	boss
duster	loose, straight-cut, collarless and sleevelesss dress, typically used as housewear
elasticones	elastic waistbands
emprentada	serenades or harana in Filipino
en relieve	raised point embroidery
enagua	petticoats
escarpela	rosettes or ribbons
escotado	low-necked
escote cuadrado	square necklines (Fig. 9)
escuadra americana	skirts with red and blue stripes (Fig. 41)
escuadra española	skirts with red and yellow stripes (Fig. 20)
expositores	exhibitors
fiestas	feasts
Filipino	the term was used to refer to the Spaniards born in the Philippines. The native inhabitants were referred to as indio/india, naturales or Tagals,Tagalogs or as mestizos. Hence, when referring to the general population as Filipinos, the word was kept under quotation marks.
forro	lining attached to the women's saya, made usually of cheap and thinner sinamay
foulard	Scarves; soft, lightweight fabric of either silk or silk mixed with cotton, usually printed
franela	flannel, soft cotton or wool
gazas	chiffon

géneros de luto	merchandise related to mourning and funerals
gente de razón	superior race, used to refer to Hispanics
gente ilustrada	intellectuals or enlightened gentry, see also caciques
gente sin razón	inferior race, used to refer to non-acculturated natives
glasé	glazed, silky finish
gobernadorcillo	translates to petty governor, main authority figure on the municipal level
golas	ruffs
gorritos para recien nacidos	bonnets for newborn babies
grupos cristianos	Christianized, to distinguish from the non-acculturated, non-Christianized natives
guantes	gloves
guayaberra	national shirt of Mexican men
guinara	coarses of the abacá hemp cloth
guingón	local variant of the dungaree fabric
habe, habol, hablon	regional linguistic variations for the word weaving
hamaquero	hammock carriers
hanfu	layered and complicated style of dress of the Han Chinese
haranas	serenades or emprentada in Spanish
hatol	advice
hilos	threads
hilvanar	to baste
hubad	naked above the waist (Fig. 1C, Fig. 1D, Fig. 1E, Fig. 93)
hubo	naked below the waist
hubo't hubad	completely naked
idolatras	pagans, used to distinguish from the acculturated, Christianized natives
Igorot, Igorrot	used as a generic term to refer to individual communities considered different from the natives who were converted, hispanized and civilized enough to be fully and properly clothed (Fig. 1A, Fig. 1F, Fig. 188)
Ilustrado	used to refer to the pool of educated outh who played an active role in the rise of nationalism in the two decades of the 19th century; may also be used as an adjective to describe people from illustrious families (Fig. 65, Fig. 66, Fig. 208, Fig. 112)

inagi, binabayi	effeminate
indio, india	indigenous inhabitants of the Philippines; otherwise referred to as naturales or Tagalogs; the term did not refer exclusively to race or the purity of race; rather, the term was used loosely to refer to locals in general, some of who were partly of native blood, e.g. mestizos
indumentaría	attire, apparel
insulares	Spaniards born in the Philippines or in the Americas; otherwise referred to as Español-Filipinos, criollos, hijos del país or simply, Filipinos; refer also to entry on creoles
jabón	soap
jareta	the term used to refer to the wide, loose, drawstring pants by the natives and Chinese (Fig. 97, Fig. 133, Fig. 138C)
jeunesse dorée	French for young native elites, described to be in European attires
juguetes	toys
junquillo	rattan
jusi, husi	silk woven with cotton, abacá or piña fibers
kaguluhan	mess
kalinisan	cleanliness
karumihan	dirtiness
kimona	ensemble made up of light chemise and skirt
kundiman	moving love song of the Tagalog
la clase pobre	literally translates to the poor class; used to refer to the mass of people who occupied the lowest class in the colonial class hierarchy
la india rica, la india de clase	the rich india
la paloma	skirt with a short train, resembling the dove's tail (Fig. 18)
labas	outer appearance
lambóng	heavy mantles or cloaks, typically in dark colors, used for churchgoing or for mourning (Fig. 21, Fig. 167, Fig. 117)
lanas, merinos	wool
lancapes	cane stretchers
lanzadera volante	flying shuttle, a type of loom which made the production of larger textiles possible
lapisnon	textile woven from thicker abacá fibers, generally used for ropes and blankets
lavanderas, lavanderos	washerwomen, washermen (Fig. 222, Fig. 223, Fig. 225, Fig. 226)

lazos	bows
lecheras	milkmaid
lechón	roasted pig (Fig. 14)
lencería	linen
letras y figuras	style of painting embellished names (Fig. 105B, Fig. 116C, Fig. 123)
levita, levites frac	frock coats (Fig. 106, Fig. 207A)
libretes	booklets
limosneras	small handbags, see also bolsos
limpieza de sangre	purity of blood
listón de narra	small wooden measuring stick
lompotes	sheer but strong fabric woven from cotton, usually with checked or striped pattern
loob	essence or inner self
los indios bravos	literally translates to the brave filipinos; a term the Ilustrados used to refer to themselves
lucsa	mourning clothes, see also trajes de luto (Fig. 169)
Luneta or Paseo de Luneta	wide carriage driveway connected to the Luneta (Fig. 153, Fig. 154)
madres	nuns (Fig. 108D)
maestras	teachers; was also used to refer to the supervisors at tobacco factories
Manchu	nomadic group from the north who conquered and ruled China between 1644-1911
mandarin	government bureaucrats or scholars of imperial China (Fig. 129B)
mangas perdidas	airy angel sleeves (Fig. 20, Fig. 38, Fig. 60)
mantilla	veil (Fig. 18)
mantillas de bebe	baby blankets
maquinistas	a person who sews using sewing machines (Fig. 221B)
Maria Clara dress	hybrid attires of native and western elements, based on the traje de mestiza (Fig. 20, Fig. 38)
marlota or baquero	long-sleeved, v-neck, full-length robes, which were long and loose like the Indian *kurta*
matador	bullfighter
may pinag-aralan	literally means, with education
media cola	skirt with half train (Fig. 18)
medias	socks

medias de seda bordadas	embroidered hosieries
mediquillos	folk doctors
medriñaque	textile from different types of native fibers, like burí and abacá, generally used as sheathing or lining
merienda	snack break
mestizerías	mestizo towns
mestizo	offspring of mixed parentage
mestizo de español	offspring of Spanish and indio or mestizos
mestizo de sangley, mestizo chino	offspring of Chinese and indio or mestizos
miniaturismo	style of painting that involves attention to minute details
moda ingleses	English fashions
modas	fashion
modas filipinas	Philippine fashion
modiste, modista	dressmaker, milliner
morena	dark-skinned
morisqueta	boiled rice
moro	Muslim inhabitants of the Philippines
mujer	woman
nabuas	underskirt
narra	hardwood used for native furnitures, known for being termite resistant
naturales	indigenous inhabitants of the Philippines; otherwise referred to as indios or Tagalogs
negritos, aetas	flat-nosed, thick-lipped, kinky-haired aborigines of the Philippines, often disciminated for their very dark color (Fig. 1C, Fig. 1D)
nipis	As nipis was not a Spanish term but a local word for thin, nipis as a general term refers to a wide range of fine, transparent cloth (sinamay, piña, or mixed fabrics) produced in the Philippines; may be used in conjunction with other woven textiles, e.g. abacáng nipis, piña nipis (Fig. 10, Fig. 152, Fig. 189, Fig. 190)
Nito	type of fern or palm whose stems and vines have been used to make hats, cigar cases, baskets (Fig. 186)
ocioso	annoying, nosey person
padrino	godparent

panadero, panadera	bread vendor
panaderos	bread vendor
panguingui, panguingue	native card game (Fig. 96C)
pañolitos	small handkerchief
pañolones	long, square shawls
pansit	quick-cooking thick, long noodles
Pansitería	makeshift stalls that sold quick-cooking thick, long noodles called pansit (Fig. 51)
pansitero	noodle vendor (Fig. 51)
pantalón	pants (Fig. 217)
pañuelo	square kerchief folded to form a triangular shawl, worn around a woman's shoulder; also referred to as alampay in Tagalog or candongas in Visayas (Fig. 17)
pares	two-piece ensemble, which translates to pair or combination, although the term was more associated with the skirt, whose width was straight, narrow and close-fitting (Fig. 1H in contrast with Fig. 8)
pasamanería	decorative fringes; see passementiers
paseo	daily walks; promenade in French
passementiers	artisans specializing in creating decorative trimming for clothes; see pasamanería
patadiong, patadjung, malong	could mean one of two things: it could either be a versatile fabric, a kind of tapís sewn along the edges but larger, or it could be a tube garment (malong), with both ends sewn together (Fig. 13, Fig. 14A, Fig. 14B)
patente industrial	shop license tax
pechera	embroidery around the chest area
peinadores	dressing robes
peineta	ornamented comb
peninsular, peninsulares	Spaniards born in Spain; otherwise referred to as Español-peninsulares or Español europeo
perezosa	lazy chair
pescadores	fishermen
peso	one peso equivalent to 8 reales
petacas	cigarette cases
petate	native woven mat

piel, pieles	leather
piña	textiles made of pineapple fibers
pinga	shoulder carrying pole (Fig. 131A, Fig. 131B)
pintados	painted or tattooed men and women from Visayas
pinukpok	rough fabrics made out of beaten abacá fibers, typically used as material for the coats of the gobernadorcillos.
piqué	heavy and stiff cotton, woven in a ribbed pattern
plaza mayor	a town's main square
podong, putong, pudong	rectangular panel of cloth wrapped around the head; practical headscarf-cum-handkerchief (Fig. 3)
polisón	bustle skirt (Fig. 165)
Polistas	men who took turns in completing their mandatory 40 days of polos y servicios
polos y servicios	mandatory labor service of 40 days per year required by the colonial government from men between the ages of 16 to 60
prensa de paa	a crude contraption used to iron clothes (Fig. 39)
prêt-à-porter	ready to wear, see also ropa hecha
principalía	hereditary nobility made up of pre-colonial indigenous elite who evolved to become the gobernadorcillos and cabezas de barangay under the colonial administration
provinciano	used to refer to people from parts of the Philippines other than the metropolitan city of Manila
pueblos	towns
puños	cuffs
puntillas	lace edgings
pura de india	pure native woman
qipao, cheongsam	one-piece long gowns for women in Manchu China
queue	pig-tail coiled into a chignon (Fig. 51, Fig. 133, Fig. 138C)
quincallerías	stores that sold various things like scissors, pins, needles
raso	satin, e.g. calzados en raso (satin shoes)
rayadillos	rayas de azules y blancas; blue and white striped material
razas salvajes	savages or wild tribes (Fig. 1C, Fig. 1D)
repoussé	gilded (Fig. 186, Fig. 187B)
reyna	queen
ropa	clothes

ropa blanca	white clothing
ropa hecha	ready-made
ropa interior	underwear or inner wear
sabog	embroidery all-over the shirt (Fig. 25, Fig. 26)
sainete	Spanish-inspired one-act comic play, performed soulfully with music
salakot	mushroon-shaped hat (Fig. 185, Fig. 186)
salaual, salawal	generic term to refer to loose trousers, e.g. baro't salaual intsik (Fig. 113)
sana	light textile made in Iloilo, typically used as material for inner wear
sangley	Chinese merchant travelers
sarong	a versatile piece of cloth that is used as a garment by wrapping it around the body and tucking it at the waist or under the armpits
sastre	seamstresses, see also costurera
sastrería	tailoring shop
saten	patent finish, e.g. patent shoes
saya	skirt; faldas in Spanish
saya a la mascota	semi-billowy skirt that resembles the Western skirt; first seen around 1820 (Fig. 2B, Fig. 3, Fig. 8)
saya bailés	parties or balls that called for the wearing of trajes del país, at least for women
saya de cola	skirt with train (Fig. 18, Fig. 19)
saya de colores	colorful sayas
saya suelta	loose skirts
sayasaya	loose, knee-length, Chinese-style embroidered silk pants (Fig. 1H, 23, Fig. 181B)
semidesnudez	partially naked (Fig. 93)
servicios personales	obligatory labor service for the government
siesta	afternoon naps (Fig. 42B)
simbahan	church
sinamay	cheap and coarse abacá cloth
sinamayera	seller of textiles
sipa	type of football
sipit	chopsticks
sobrecamas	beadspread

sobrefalda	the tapís refashioned in the 20th century
sobrina	niece
sombra	shadow embroidery
sombrero	hats
sombrero de copa	European top hats (Fig. 23, Fig. 24)
sombrero de paja	straw hat (Fig. 86)
sombrero hongo	bowler's hat (Fig. 86)
tabo	water dipper or scoop
taga-bayan	literally, urban-dwellers; figuratively, urbanized, upper class citizens
taga-bundok	heathens from the mountainsheathens living in the mountains
taga-tabi	literally means, on the margins; figuratively refers to those eager to gain higher social status
Tagalogs	indigenous inhabitants mainly from central Luzon; this term was also used to refer to the indios
taller de modas	tailoring shop
tampipe	handy and functional carriers, usually woven square closed baskets made of buri
tao	literally means man or person; figurately, used to refer to the mass of people who occupied the lowest class in the colonial class hierarchy
tapa pecho	breast cover (Fig. 10)
tapís	overskirt; a rectangular piece of cotton or silk textile worn over the skirt (Fig. 11, Fig. 17, Fig. 18, Fig. 20, Fig. 21)
Tayabas	present-day Quezon
tejedoras	weavers (Fig. 53, Fig. 54)
tejido	textile or material
tejidos de Europa	textiles imported from Europe
telas para invierno	fabrics for winter
tenderas, tenderos	shopkeepers
tenor	singer
terciopelo	velvet
terno	Spanish for "matched," the terno is associated with its uniform material for both upper and lower garments
tertulias	intimate evening soirées, usually held at around six thirty or seven in the evening (Fig. 162)
testingues	a kind of gauze manufactured in Cebu

tiendas	roadside stores (Fig. 99)
tipos del país	Philippine types (Fig. 97, Fig. 30)
tipos populares de Filipinas	popular Philippine types
tocador	boudoir
traje á la marinera	sailor style (Fig. 195B)
traje antiguo	old-fashion
traje de boda	wedding dress
traje de fiesta	party dress
traje de luces	bullfighter's costume
traje de mestiza	hybrid attires of native and western elements, also referred to as the Maria Clara dress
traje de militar	military attire
traje de paisano	civilian clothing
traje de punto	knitwear
traje del diario	everyday dress
traje del país	dress of the natives, or the "Filipino" dress
traje del viaje	travel clothes
traje europeo	European dress (Fig. 109B, 110, Fig. 115A, Fig. 115B, Fig. 115C, Fig. 115D)
trajes completos	full ensembles
trajes de baile	evening dresses
trajes de bautismo, vestidos de bautizo	christening gowns (fig. 189, Fig. 190)
trajes de casa	house clothes
trajes de etiqueta	official dress (Fig. 83, 183, Fig. 184)
trajes de interior	clothes for staying in
trajes de levantarse, trajes de salir	clothes for going out
trajes de luto	mourning clothes, also known as lucsa (Fig. 169)
trajes de noche	evening dresses
trajes ingleses, la moda inglesa	English fashions (Fig. 115B)
tribunal, Casa Tribunal	city hall, town hall
tributante	taxpayer

urbanidad	refers to the characteristics and traits associated with urban life; connotes refinement and elegance in dress, manners, etc.
varas	1 vara equivalent to 0.836 meters
vecino	citizen
velorio	funeral wake
velos	veils
vendedor de periodico	newspaper vendor
vendedora	Vendor (Fig. 44A, Fig. 67, Fig. 198)
vestidas	dress
vestidos de bautizo	christening gowns (Fig. 189, Fig. 190)
viuda	widow
volantes	ruffles
zacate	grass feeds for horses
zacateros	sellers of grass feed for horses (Fig. 94)
zapatero	cobbler

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