

UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY

OU_216135

UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY

OSMANIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

Call No.

Accession No.

Author

Title

This book should be returned on or before the date
last marked below.

THE PHILIPPINES : A NATION IN THE MAKING



By courtesy of "Philippine Magazine"

"GIRL WITH A JAR"

Painting by Fernando Amorsolo

Frontispiece

THE PHILIPPINES

A Nation in the Making

By

FELIX M. KEESING

*Issued under the auspices of the University of Hawaii and the
American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations*

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

LONDON- HUMPHREY MILFORD

1937

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

AMEN HOUSE, E.C. 4

LONDON EDINBURGH GLASGOW NEW YORK

TORONTO MELBOURNE CAPETOWN BOMBAY

CALCUTTA MADRAS

HUMPHREY MILFORD

PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY

First Published 1937

All Rights Reserved

Printed in China by Kelh and Walsh, Limited, Shanghai

PREFACE

A COUNTRY larger than Italy, and nearly the size of the British Isles; a people more numerous than the combined populations of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, and equal to one fifth the number of Japanese; a nation coming to birth under Occidental auspices in an Oriental setting—yet it is a rare Westerner who can recognize a Filipino!

A class of American university students was asked recently what was the population of the Philippines. The answers ranged from four thousand to one hundred and fifty million. Few could name any of the islands, and practically none could identify a city or town other than the capital, Manila

Much, it is true, has been written in recent years as to whether the Filipinos are ready for political independence, also whether Philippine goods and Filipino laborers should be admitted to the United States. Many older folk, too, can recall how Admiral Dewey took the islands from Spain in 1898, and how thousands of American soldiers went out to fight those among the "little brown brothers" who objected to United States rule. In a few special localities of mainland America, notably the Pacific Coast states, and also in the Territory of Hawaii, many thousands of Filipinos have come in as workers, and so there is opportunity for contact. They are also found in the universities. But on the whole, Uncle Sam's largest insular possession and its people are only vaguely familiar. Even

in the extensive literature on Philippine matters the Filipino himself tends to be a shadowy brown figure rather than a human being.

Because of this basic lack of knowledge concerning the Filipino and his life, the Hawaii Group of the Institute of Pacific Relations, as part of its educational program, asked the author to prepare this brief survey. It was written under the auspices of the department of anthropology and sociology in the University of Hawaii, where the author is professor of anthropology and head of the department. While intended primarily for use by senior high schools, colleges, women's clubs and similar organizations studying Philippine affairs, it is also designed to meet the needs of the general reader. The difficulties of trying to compass in so small a space the development and the experience of a people now numbering close to fourteen million are obvious. A bibliography is therefore appended which will enable those interested to delve further.

The writer acknowledges a debt to the Institute of Pacific Relations, under whose auspices he engaged in research work in the Philippines and was able to make many of the observations incorporated into this survey. Numerous friends in the Philippines, both Filipino and American, will be able to trace their ideas in various parts of the text, and notably so Professor H. Otley Beyer, head of the department of anthropology, University of the Philippines. A number of competent people, including Filipinos, have read over the manuscript, and made helpful suggestions. Mr. A. V. H. Hartendorp, editor-publisher of the *Philippine Magazine*, Manila, has graciously permitted the use of copyright material, and to him and to the various Filipino writers whose works are quoted, acknowledgment and thanks are due. The idea of the survey originated with Mr. C. F.

Loomis, secretary of the Hawaii Group, Institute of Pacific Relations. Mr. W. L. Holland, research secretary of the Institute, and Mr. Bruno Lasker of its American Council staff helped with publication plans. President David L. Crawford of the University of Hawaii gave aid likewise in opening the way to publication. The writer's wife, Marie M. Keesing, was a co-worker in Philippine research, and helped in preparing the manuscript. While the University of Hawaii and the Institute of Pacific Relations have issued the book under their joint auspices, the responsibility for all statements of fact or opinion contained in it lies solely with the author.

The word Filipino come? from the name the Spanish discoverers gave to the islands, *las Filipinas*—honoring their Crown Prince who later became Philip II. In English usage this became "Philippines" (note the one "l" and two "p's" and not vice versa). Following the Spanish mode, we speak today of any male among the local people as a *Filipino*, and of any female as a *Filipina*.

Though the country is often called the "Philippine Islands" its correct name is now the "Philippines", and its political designation the "Commonwealth of the Philippines".

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
PREFACE	iii
CHAPTER	
I. A LAND OF CONTRASTS	i
II. A "ROSARY OF GLOWING ISLANDS"	9
III. A PEOPLE IN THE MAKING	M
IV. AS THE SPANIARDS FOUND THEM	23
V. VASSALS OF SPAIN	29
VI. THE SPANISH HERITAGE IN THE PHILIPPINES	35
VII. ENTER UNCLE SAM	43
VIII. CROWDS AND EMPTY SPACES	53
IX. UNITY OUT OF DIVERSITY	59
X. RICH MAN AND TENANT	66
XI. CURRENTS OF RURAL LIFE	76
XII. COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY	85
XIII. WHAT OF SELF-GOVERNMENT?	94
XIV. THE CREATIVE SPIRIT	104
XV. SELECTIONS FROM THE NEW FILIPINO LITERATURE	111
XVI. THE TRENDS OF NATION BUILDING	122
A PHILIPPINE CHRONOLOGY	127
A SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY	132
INDEX	. . . 135

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

	<i>Facing Page</i>
"GIRL WITH A JAR*"—Painting by Fernando Amorsolo	<i>Frontispiece</i>
WITHIN THE WALLED CITY, MANILA	2
OUR BUS CROSSES A RIVER	3
A PYGMY NECRITO WITH BOW AND ARROW	18
MOHAMMEDAN MOROS OF LANA O, SOUTHERN PHILIPPINES	19
SEAWAYS OLD AND NEW: <i>Above</i> , A Vinta in the Sulu Sea <i>Below</i> , In the Pasig River, Manila	
CENTURIES-OLD RICE TERRACES OF THE NON-CHRISTIAN IFUGAOS, NORTH LUZON	25
THE VILLAGE HEADMAN AND HIS WIFE VISIT THE PARISH PRIEST— A Scene of early Spanish times modelled by Tolentmo	31
THE CHURCH IN A RURAL <i>Barrio</i>	33
HAT-MAKING: A FILIPINA WEARING COSTUME DEVELOPED IN SPANISH TIMES	38
CANOEING ON THE PAGSANGJAN RIVER	39
MEMBERS OF THE PHILIPPINE CONSTABULARY	48
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT—A GOLD MINE NEAR BAGUIO	49
CHILDREN OF NON-CHRISTIANS NOW GO TO SCHOOL: EDUCATION IS A POWERFUL UNIFYING INFLUENCE	61
A RURAL HOME	70
A CARABAO CART HAILING <i>PRODUCE</i>	71
THE ESCOLTA—MAIN BUSINESS STREET IN MANILA	81
STRIPPING ABACA (HEMP) IN BICOL	90
COCONUT PRODUCTS ARE PART OF THE LIFEBLOOD OF THE NATION	91
PRESIDENT MANUEL QUEZON AND VICE-PRESIDENT SERGIO OSMENA	98
THE LEGISLATIVE BUILDING	99

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

	<i>Facing Page</i>
A MORO GIRL DANCING.	108
GUILLERMO TOLENTINO, NOTED FILIPINO SCULPTOR, AT WORK	109
A NON-CHRISTIAN OF THE NORTHERN MOUNTAINS WITH GONG HUNG ON HUMAN JAWBONE	114
CAMPUS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF THE PHILIPPINES .	115

SKETCH MAPS

i. THE PHILIPPINES—A TRIANGLE OF ISLANDS	10
2. THE WESTERN PACIFIC	11
3. DENSITY OF POPULATION	56
4. TOWNS AND COMMUNICATIONS	57
5. LOCAL GROUPINGS OF THE FILIPINO PEOPLE	60
6. PRINCIPAL ECONOMIC FEATURES	80

THE PHILIPPINES : A NATION IN THE MAKING

CHAPTER I

A LAND OF CONTRASTS

THE Philippine Islands today are a place of remarkable contrasts. Our boat steams into Manila Bay past Mariveles Mountain, a verdant sentinel that is still a home for pygmy Negrito folk. Corregidor, grim island fortress of Uncle Sam, lets us past its guns. Upon the low coast that stretches away to distant mountains, the white docks and buildings of Manila take form.

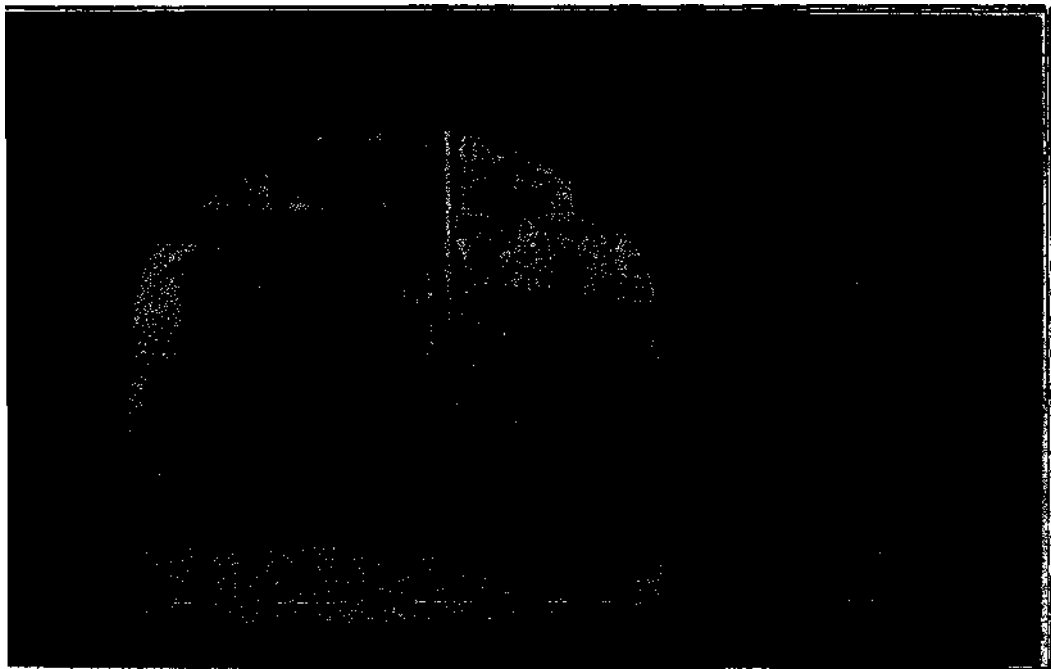
Vessels from the seven seas are tied at the busy piers. Ashore, we have the choice of modern automobiles or older-fashioned horse-drawn cabs. Leaving the waterfront by way of wide concrete roads, and dodging electric street-cars and here and there a slow-moving cart drawn by a water buffalo, we come to the ramparts of the historic walled section of the city. Presto! We enter a picturesque corner of old Europe invaded, so to speak, by the changing Orient.

A maze of narrow streets with Spanish names threads this part of Manila. The houses join side to side, with barred windows, overhanging second stories, and stone-flagged courtyards. Among them are many churches and monasteries, also government bureaus, colleges, hospitals, small stores and restaurants. In the varied throng that passes leisurely along, or lolls and gossips, are sedate monks in their lengthy cassocks; youths with fighting-cocks tucked under their arms or held beak to beak in order to rouse

their spirits; students with books and papers; American "gobs" on shore leave; dapper Filipino officials in tailored clothes; Chinese with eyes agleam for a customer; and tourists fingering their guidebooks or buying souvenirs.

Outside the bastioned walls, the foundations of which were laid by the first Spanish conquerors, stretch grassy parks and flower gardens. What before was the moat is now a sports ground of greensward. Wide boulevards are traversed, and great modern buildings in western classical styles appear, attesting to the handiwork and teaching of American engineers and architects. Passing the columned legislature, public library, and post office, we cross a bridge over the Pasig River and plunge again into narrow streets and a jam of traffic.

Once more we are in an older part of Manila, though not quite so old as the walled city. Here is the Escolta, the main business street. Its climbing skyscrapers house modern stores and offices. Back of it a block, starts a honeycomb of streets and alleyways where live, work, buy and sell, the great mass of the city's thousands, Filipino and Chinese. In there, if we have a guide, we can find huge markets selling cloth stuffs, slippers, baskets, hats, pottery-ware, salt, books in the native dialects, fruit, vegetables, meat, fish, and other products. We can see tobacco made into cigars by expert hands, fine metal working, carving of religious figures from life size to small amulets beloved of the Catholic Filipino, and other skilled crafts under way in the little open shops. Movie houses are there aplenty, and in the squares that front the numerous time-worn churches may be fairs where the devout can combine their worship with some cheap purchases or games of chance, or else make sure of their luck by buying some magic native charms that will back up the power of the candles burnt before the



By courtesy of "Philippine Magazine"

WITHIN THE WALLED CITY, MANILA



OUR BUS CROSSES A RIVER

altar. Away out, at last, the stone and wood homes yield place to brown bamboo huts on stilts. Open rice fields appear between the clustered suburban settlements. The town becomes the country.

#

Let us save the fare of a taxi by climbing aboard one of the autobuses that ply along the main roads. We may touch at a coastal *barrio* (village). Bamboo huts form the homes of most of the population. They stand among coconut palms and other useful trees, and have a bamboo fence around to keep domestic animals from roaming. Several houses are more elaborate, perhaps of sawn wood with shingle or iron roofing. They belong to the rich folk, owners of the fishing boats and gear. A *plaza* forms the center of the settlement. Facing on to it are a half-ruined church still in use, a trim schoolhouse, a government office, several Chinese stores, and a little market in which the folk buy and sell, especially on a Sunday. Nets are hanging up to dry. Shallow troughs are filled with seawater from which the sun draws out the moisture leaving gleaming white salt crystals to be collected and used or sold. Some large canoes with outriggers are pulled up on the beach, or sail out to the fishing grounds. Pigs and chickens are nosing along the shore, for all garbage is disposed of there. With much cheerful jabbering in the local dialect, several ladies climb from the bus, distributing their town purchases into the hands of the children who swarm around. In the Philippines, as a survival of an older division of labor between men and women, it is the wife who holds the purse strings and more or less organizes the economic life of the household. A man who failed to turn in his earnings to her would be ridiculed by his community.

We now pass inland through the rice fields. These look like a great checkerboard. Here and there are rolling hills left uncultivated, hence clothed in tropic growth; but otherwise the countryside is densely settled, as witness the close succession of *barrios*. We see the laborer thigh deep in the fertile ooze, plowing behind his water buffalo, or along with his whole family, transplanting from the seedbeds. At a later season they will be cutting stalk by stalk the golden harvest, with their neighbors lending a hand. Some may have their little huts in the fields, where they live at least during planting and harvesting. But here in this older settled country it is more usual for the people to live in the *barrios* even though they have to go far afield to their work. The *barrios* are much alike in general appearance, though they vary in size from small hamlets to large towns. Subtract the nets, salt pans, and boats from the fishing village, and put rice fields rather than these as the source of wealth among the rich men, and our earlier description will do.

Fellow passengers may now catch our attention awhile. One up front with the driver is in a smart khaki uniform. He is a member of the Philippine constabulary, a highly efficient force trained by Americans but with an almost entirely Filipino personnel. It is the backbone of law and order in the islands. Another passenger is dressed in a neat white suit. His folio case indicates that he is some kind of government official—perhaps an agricultural inspector or a school teacher. A youth similarly garbed is evidently a student on his way home. He has the airs of Manila, or may even be answering vociferous questions about some of his adventurings overseas in the United States. The rest of the people, coming and going as the stops are made, are obviously peasant folk. The men are dressed in cotton trousers and bright colored shirts not tucked in at the waist

but worn loose like the old European smock. The women have puffed gauzy sleeves, and full skirts that are hitched up at one side to show gay underskirts. Some are barefoot, while others have slippers. Both men and women may puff cigars. Piled on the bus there will surely be a pig, some chickens with legs tied, vegetables, and other goods that the passengers are taking to the market, or as a present for the wedding, birthday, or christening feast among the relatives whom they are visiting. Someone, too, will have a fighting rooster.

Now we enter a *barrio* where the people are in festive mood. The fields are deserted, and everyone wears his best clothes. It is probably the annual *fiesta* of the village patron saint. We are sure of a courteous and hospitable welcome should we decide to stay over. In the morning a solemn procession winds through the streets. It is led by the Filipino priest, accompanied by his choir and bearers of sacred objects. The chief men of the community may follow, also the school children, perhaps a boy scout troop, and all the devout. After the patron has been thus invoked to bless another year, there is visiting and feasting. The cockpit is crowded with eager gamblers. Then, perhaps to our great surprise, everyone throngs to an open field where amid enthusiasm the local baseball team pits its skill against that of a neighboring community. Volley ball is also in favor among the schoolboys, and boxing and ping-pong enlist their following. As evening falls, dancing and music may be in order. The older folk-dances are perhaps interspersed with modern dances to the music of a jazz orchestra or a victrola. Itinerant musicians and players, or members of the community itself, entertain with favorite verses and simple theatricals. Old stories that come down from the ancestors are told with gusto, and applauded with never

failing interest. Native wine makes the elders garrulous though usually not drunk, while the youths seize their chance to court or flirt with the maidens.

*

If our ears are attuned, we have probably noticed three or four distinct changes of language from district to district since leaving the city. There are also differences in dress and in custom. Gradually the country becomes wilder in appearance. The jungle-clad hills loom near. Instead of clustered *barrios*, there are scattered homesteads. The huts may show signs of hasty construction, as of a pioneer who, at the end of a weary trek, cannot waste a moment in realizing his dream of claiming rich productive fields from the wilderness, or having land that he can call his own whatever the sacrifices of comfort and congenial company. There is little indolence, gambling, or easy dependence on relatives here. The homesteader and his family are hard at work from daylight to dark. There is strength of character in his face. Perhaps, too, there is a hint of fear at this wrestling of his with stark nature, and with the spirits he believes to haunt isolated places.

#

Now we are on a lonely road indeed. Perhaps we have had to leave the narrow automobile track and wend our way on horseback or afoot. "No man's land" must be crossed—that is, the more or less empty belt of country between the Christian settlements and those of non-Christian folk who until recent decades remained apart. Today, however, this area is being gradually broken into use. Christian settlers are pushing in, while the non-Christians, sensing the benefits of peace and trade, are gradually lowering their barriers of exclusiveness. We pass several groups

of pagans, clad in "gee-strings" (loin cloths) and **blankets**. They are making their way out to a market town with rattan, tobacco and other goods to sell. Or they may be returning to their forest or mountain homes after a period of work in the lowland fields, bringing back their wages in the form of bundles of salt, water buffalos, pigs, dogs, or metal to convert into tools and weapons.

The forest folk whom we encounter may live in tiny groups of three or four houses beside a stream. The men hunt and fish, while the women grow dry rice, beans, and other produce in clearings cut from season to season in the dense jungle. Food comes plentifully in normal times. Their main struggle seems to be with the dread malaria that keeps the population scanty. Knowing practically nothing as yet of modern medicine, they seek to appease the malignant spirits of disease by sacrificing dogs and by making other offerings. Deeper yet in the jungle, may be encountered people who have their huts high up in the forks of trees. We may even come upon some band of timid pygmies, roving with their bows and arrows, though it is unlikely that we will actually see these folk unless we have a guide who is on friendly terms with them.

Going higher and higher, we come at last above the jungle belt. Great peaks and ranges soar up to nearly ten thousand feet above sea level. They are scarred by gorges and river courses. The gentler slopes are clothed with pine and oak trees and even grassy meadows. In this isolated and not altogether hospitable region live perhaps the most hard-working of Filipinos, the pagan "highlanders". Through the centuries they have built stupendous terraces fed by elaborate irrigation systems, in which to grow rice and other foods upon the mountain sides. All life for them is bound around the annual cycle of agriculture. Women work in

the fields along with the men. The gods and ancestors, too, are invoked with sacrifices of pigs, chickens and other valued goods to do their part in warding off the starvation that comes with a bad season. Almost every village was formerly a self-contained unit, hostile to all others. Its thousand or so people have intermarried closely through the centuries, and each group may have many customs which even neighbors do not share. But today, conditions are changing. The people, especially the young folk, are commencing to mingle among themselves and with the Christian lowlanders. They are Filipinos in the making, even though it may take a long time to assimilate them into the general life of the country.

If, instead of striking inland, we had sailed to the southern coasts, we would have come to the country of Mohammedan folk called Moros. They are essentially a people who live by the water. Some have their houses on piles over the sea, and all are at home in the slender canoes that once engaged in pirate raids. Their clothing is elaborately ornamented. Gay red and yellow colors predominate. Those who can afford it have more than one wife, as the Koran allows this. The folk of each district look to their own *dato* or petty sultan. Until recently the Moros were linked more closely with other Mohammedans across the straits in Borneo than with the Christian Filipinos but, as with the pagans, hostility toward the Christian is slowly but surely passing. They, too, are Filipinos in the making.

CHAPTER II

A "ROSARY OF GLOWING ISLANDS"

npo fathom the life of the Filipino or of any other people, it is essential to know the land in which they dwell. Men have needs for food, clothing, shelter, tools, and the like which make them directly dependent on Nature, or, as the scientist calls her, the *physical environment*. The climate, type of country, and natural resources affect not only the physique of the inhabitants but also their customs and ideas. True, humans have learnt to counter somewhat the effects of heat and cold, to control soil and water for agriculture, to breed plants and animals, work minerals, and harness electricity. That is, they have fashioned for themselves a "secondary environment" in which to live more comfortably and safely. This, however, is no conquest of nature as some are wont to boast. Rather it is developing team-work with nature; ordering her in details by learning and obeying her larger rules. We cannot know the Filipino without examining at the start the physical environment of the Philippine Islands.

As with any visitor to an unfamiliar place, the best rule is to look at a map. Could we draw a map of the Philippines from memory? It would not be easy, for there are estimated to be 7,083 islands large and small in the archipelago. **The** most convenient way to remember the group is to see it first as a rough triangle, within which the

islands appear not unlike the bony skeleton of some squatting animal (see sketch map i). This triangle or squat skeleton falls into four main parts.

- i. In the north is the largest island, Luzon. Off its west coast is a smaller one named Mindoro, while northernmost of all are two groups of tiny islands called the Babuyan and Batanes.

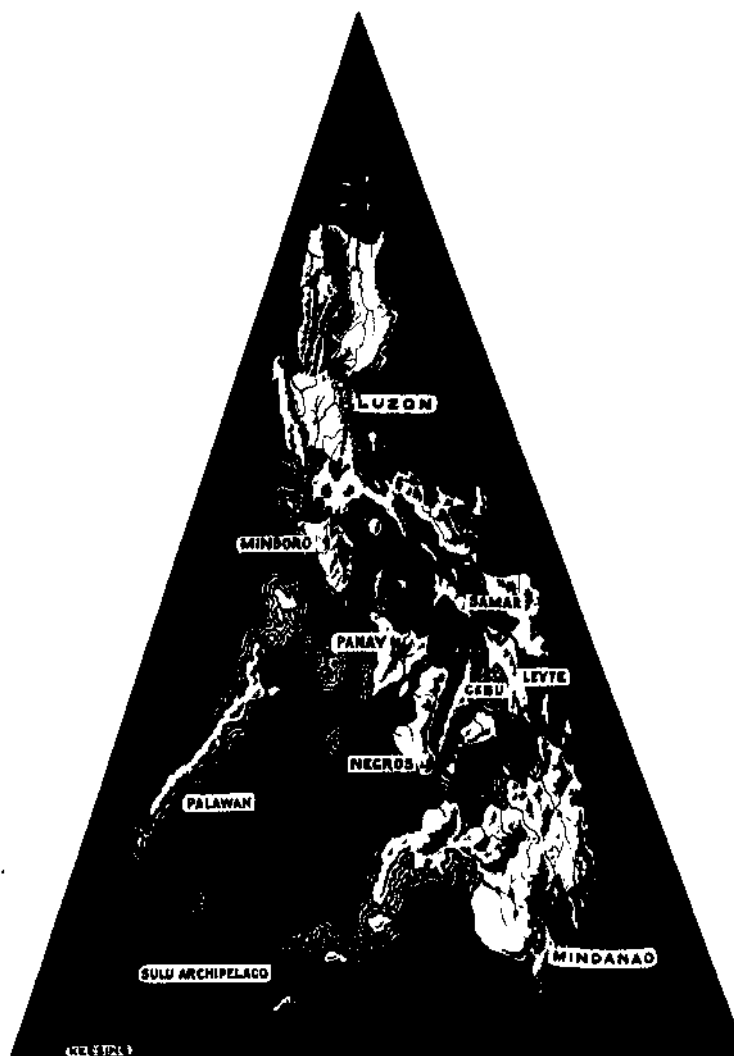
2. In the southeast is the second largest island, Mindanao. A string of islands running southwest from it toward Borneo is known as the Sulu Archipelago.

3. Between Luzon and Mindanao are a cluster of large and small islands known collectively as the Visayas. The most important in terms of size are Samar, Negros, Panay, Leyte, Cebu and Bohol.

4. The west side of the Philippine triangle is made up of a long narrow island, Palawan, and a cluster called the Calamian islands.

The total land area of the Philippines is about 114,400 square miles. It is thus larger than some of the European nations. Of the states in the Union, only Texas, California, Montana and New Mexico exceed it in size. The island of Luzon covers some 40,814 square miles, Mindanao 36,906, Samar 5,124, Negros 4,903, Palawan 4,500, Panay 4,448, Mindoro 3,794, and Leyte, 2,799. In all there are thirty islands more than 100 square miles in extent, and 6,522 that are not even one square mile, being merely rocky or coral islets. The distance from the northernmost to the southernmost point in the group is about 1,120 miles, or somewhat more than from Washington, D. C. to Kansas City, or Chicago to Galveston, Texas.

The Philippine Islands are often spoken of as part of Malaysia. That is, they form one section of a semi-circle of island groups lying off the southeast coast of Asia, which



Sketch Map 1.
THE PHILIPPINES—A TRIANGLE OF ISLANDS



together with that coast is inhabited mainly by peoples called Malay or Malayan. Sumatra, Java, Borneo, the Celebes to the south of the Philippines and Formosa to the north make up the rest of the semi-circle (sketch map 2).

At one time, indeed, there were direct land connections between the Philippines and the Asiatic mainland by way of Borneo and Java. The earliest settlers were able to come across dry-shod. This happened during the last of the great Ice Ages, when much more of the earth's water was frozen around the Poles than now and the ocean level was consequently lower. About twenty-five thousand years ago the melting of this extra ice caused these pathways to be engulfed, and left the Philippines as a group of islands. All later comers, including the visitors of today, have had to travel in boats.

The climate of the islands is tropical. To the north they reach only twenty-two degrees above the equator, that is, about the latitude of Cuba or Bombay, while the southernmost parts are only about five degrees north of the equator. Yet there are some high mountain ranges cool enough to have a touch of frost at night, and peaks soar here and there to about ten thousand feet above sea level. The coastal and lowland areas are mainly hot and humid. The Philippines are subject to occasional destructive typhoons, especially in the northern regions, the "typhoon season" being from June to October. Some parts have well marked wet and dry seasons annually. The brown-skinned Filipinos are well accustomed to torrid sun and rainy dampness, though to the person from temperate zones they are enervating.

Plant and animal life in the Philippines is abundant. Wherever men have not broken in the soil, lush jungles grow in their primeval splendor. Where clearings are left

untended, they soon are reclaimed by the forest. It is calculated that two-thirds of the total area of the islands is still forested today. Many of the trees and plants are of high commercial value. Most of the Filipino people live by the coast, where they can catch the plentiful fish, and where also they can as far as possible avoid the dread disease of malaria which is the scourge of the jungle. Nevertheless some of the Filipinos, we shall see, count the forests and the high mountains as their home. Deer, wild hog, monkeys, snakes, hundreds of different kinds of birds, and other wild life abound in the inland districts, while there are crocodiles in the streams. The Filipinos have as domestic animals the large lumbering *carabao* or water-buffalo, likewise pigs, dogs and chickens, all brought in early times from Asia. Cattle and horses have been introduced more recently.

The native flora and fauna of the Philippines have proved especially interesting to scientists as the islands stand between two great botanical and zoological regions: that of Asia and that of Australia. Thus, Asiatic animals such as elephants and tigers are known as far east as Java and Borneo, and Australian ones such as the kangaroo occur the other side in New Guinea. The Philippines have neither the one nor the other; but the plants and animals they possess appear to be related to those of both areas. Several species, including a wild buffalo of Mindoro Island called tamarau, are not known elsewhere.

Once broken into cultivation, the lowland regions are richly productive in supplying human wants. Rice, sugar cane, tobacco, and all other tropical crops can be grown in abundance. On the higher slopes, fruit and vegetables of more temperate lands thrive. The Philippines are especially known for their *abaca*, or hemp, out of which rope and other products are made. Of minerals, gold has so far

proved the most profitable. Chinese merchants came to trade for it in early days, and American capitalists now own mines in northern Luzon that are yielding millions of dollars worth of the yellow metal annually. Iron, coal, copper, chromite, petroleum, and other useful minerals have been found in considerable quantities, but as yet they have been little exploited, mainly for lack of means to work them or markets for the products. Several swift and dependable rivers can be harnessed for hydro-electric power.

This physical environment has, as we shall see, played a large part in the making of the Filipino people. Sea-coast, jungle, and mountains have each stamped its separate mark upon the local groups dwelling there. Communities tended to be isolated from one another by the ruggedness and broken character of the country, and so developed along their own lines. Their members came to know most intimately and to have deep feeling for their particular territory. Their economic life, lore, and story, and to some extent religious beliefs, became bound up with it. The Filipino of today, though he may move to the city or to another district, still regards his ancestral locality as home.

CHAPTER III

A PEOPLE IN THE MAKING

THEN, long ago, the Philippines were connected by
* * land with Asia, bands of early humans wandered out
into their mountains and jungles.

Possibly there were some whom scientists label "Australoid". Numbers of these people passed through Malaysia to become the ancestors of the present Australian aborigines. The Australoids or related groups appear to have been wide-spread in the ancient world. The white peoples of Europe, some scholars believe, developed from this general racial strain.

Another land migrating people were dark-skinned, frizzy-haired pygmies, or, as the Spanish called them, "Negritos". Not much over four feet high when fully grown, they roved the forests in bands of about twenty-five to thirty individuals, hunting game and gathering the wild products of the jungle. A remnant of the Negrito people still survives in the Philippines, mainly in the north of Luzon. Later comers have pushed them back into the deeper forests and swamps, and they number now perhaps thirty thousand.

If, today, we go out upon certain hills inland from Manila, we can pick up many hundreds of glass-like obsidian flakes and arrow heads which appear to have been the first tools of the Negritos, or the chips left where they made tools. In later days, they took over metal knives and a few other

useful objects from the peoples who came after them. But in most respects they kept apart. Though among themselves they were a kindly and merry folk, until recent years any stranger would be met by a shower of poisoned arrows. All attempts to get the Negritos to settle down as agriculturalists have failed. It seems that as the jungle is cut back and the game dies out they, too, will disappear.

Another group of very short-statured people living in the Philippines are lovers of colder weather than is found in the tropical lowlands. Of more Mongoloid appearance than the Negritos and with straight hair, they live on misty mountain heights. Their numbers today are not accurately known. They, too, keep apart and live a roving existence as hunters. Probably there are thirty thousand, nearly all living in the islands of Mindanao and Mindoro, notably the Mangyans and the Atas. Some say that such short folk came across to the Philippines after the Negritos, and apply to them the name "proto-Malay", that is, early Malay. Others think they may have developed in the Philippines from the mixing of pygmies with the tall peoples who arrived later.

The importance of these early folk lies not in any extensive contribution of knowledge or custom they have made to the modern Philippines, but rather in the fact that, through intermingling with subsequent migrants, their blood has spread widely within the Filipino people. It appears to explain why so many Filipinos are short in stature. A similar mingling has apparently marked other Asian and Malaysian peoples such as the Japanese, Indo-Chinese, Siamese and Javanese.

Perhaps eight thousand years ago, long after the submergence of the land bridges between the Philippines and Asia, there began to arrive by canoe groups of settlers who

may be called "Indonesians". As their name indicates, they came by way of India; literally, it means "Island Indians". Their affiliations were with the white races rather than the yellow-brown or Mongoloid, though they also were mingled to some extent with black or Negroid folk. Some of these Indonesians, after mixing considerably with Mongoloid people, headed their canoes into the open seas further eastward than the Philippines and other Malaysian lands. Heroic voyagings of discovery brought them to island after island of the Pacific, where their descendants are known to us as Polynesians, or people of the "many islands". The Indonesians were tall, well built and brown of skin. Their racial origins and their epic travels are subjects of fascinating study. Many theories have been woven about them, but the evidence is scanty, and we must await further research before any one of these can be fully accepted.

When the Indonesians arrived in the Philippines, they were a stone age people. Numbers of their rough or polished adzes are being picked up on the fertile plains, and some of their old time village sites can be traced. They seem to have been farmers and fishermen, also great warriors. Probably many of them came without womenfolk, so that they took wives from the short people already there. They also mingled extensively with Mongoloid Malaysians who came later, and who were medium or under medium size. Nevertheless, in many parts of the Philippines today, there are individuals to be found who are very tall, with European-like features. Thousands of the "pagan" hill people seem to show Indonesian affiliations not only in their physical characteristics but also in their family and village organization and life. The Indonesians have thus left a strong imprint on the modern Philippine people, both physically and culturally.

To understand the next scene in the drama of Filipino history, it is essential to know something of what was happening at the time in the surrounding Eastern world. Early in the Christian era, a number of Malayan states took form in southeast Asia and in the islands of Sumatra and Java not far from the Philippines. Little is said in history books of these, or of the great empires into which they were welded between the fifth and fifteenth centuries, for only recently have scholars been bringing their story to light; yet they played a most important role in the early history of the Philippines.

A glance at sketch map 2 will show why Sumatra and Java could become important. They were situated on a great traffic and trade route of the ancient world. Historians of Greece and Rome tell of them, for at the time of the dominance of these nations in the Mediterranean area an extensive commerce was developing between Europe and the Orient by way of India and Malaysia. Rakish Arab dhows, Chinese junks, and swift Malayan canoes carried rich cargoes back and forth, and traded with the people of the local islands. Some of the Arabs and Chinese settled and married with the Malaysians. From India, too, came numbers of Brahmins who in time formed a ruling and priestly caste. Besides organizing the scattered and mixed population of parts of Sumatra and Java into feudal states, they brought to the Malayan folk with whom they had contact their religious ideas and mythology, a knowledge of syllabic writing (that is, writing based not on an alphabet but on symbols each of which represents a syllable), and new arts and crafts including weaving, pottery-making and working bronze and some other metals.

In the early centuries of the Christian era, this Eastern world was shaken by a great religious struggle between

older religions such as Brahminism, and a new religion which we now know as Buddhism. Buddhist missionaries followed the Brahmins into Malaysia, but there, unlike practically all other places, something of a compromise seems to have been worked out between the two religions. In the old temple ruins of Sumatra and Java, Siva and Buddha are often found together, and it appears that both religions went on more or less side by side.

Among the Hindu-Malayan states, one called Sri-Vishaya with its capital in what is now Palembang, Sumatra, rose to pre-eminence. This was about the fifth century A.D., or the time the Roman Empire was falling before the white "barbarians" of northern Europe. Its dominion extended at times even to the coast of Asia.

As with empires before and since, its subjects traveled overseas to conquer and colonize new lands. Settlements were founded on the coasts of Borneo, and from them Malaysians moved over into what were then remote and savage islands, the Philippines. Early records and local traditions indicate how boat after boat landed there. Each would be in charge of a Malayan *dato* or chief, perhaps of part Hindu, Arab or Chinese blood, who would have with him his wives, his sons and their families, perhaps his brothers and their families, and attendant slaves. As they settled in this and that river-mouth and spread along the coastal lowlands, each called his own more or less independent settlement a *barangay*, which could be translated boatload. The earlier peoples were not in a position to withstand these Malayan folk with their metal weapons and superior knowledge. Some Indonesians probably boarded canoes and moved east in search of other lands. Many took to the hills and remoter places, or else gradually intermarried with the newcomers. The Malaysians were clever agricul-



By courtesy of "Philippine Magazine"
A PYGMY NEGrito WITH BOW AND ARROW



By courtesy of "Philippine Magazine"

MOHAMMEDAN MOROS OF LANA O, SOUTHERN PHILIPPINES

turists, fisherfolk, and artisans, and they form the dominant element in the Filipino population today, particularly in the closely settled lowlands.

By the twelfth century, Sri-Vishaya was on the decline. In the island of Java a former tributary state called Madjapahit rose to supremacy and established an even greater empire. Careful research by Dutch and other scholars is revealing the glory of this old time Javanese civilization. Madjapahit was predominantly Buddhist. At the height of its power even the neighboring Emperor of China, lord of most of Asia, could not claim it as tributary.

Again, however, by way of India, came a struggle of religion. Mohammedanism, arising in Arabia, swept east on a tide of missionary fervor—just as it likewise pushed into eastern and southern Europe, arousing the opposition of the Crusaders. Interestingly enough, the Chinese, while only rarely accepting the faith themselves, encouraged its spread in Malaysia. They carried the followers of Allah on their ships, apparently with the idea of over-throwing Madjapahit's power. At last, in 1478 the empire capital fell, and the rulers fled to the little island of Bali. Today this picturesque place is the remaining Buddhist stronghold in Malaysia. Sumatra, Java, and coastal Borneo became Mohammedanized and controlled by more or less independent sultans.

In the Philippines, the people of the Sulu archipelago and much of Mindanao likewise became followers of the prophet, while converts were gained at several points further north, notably around the present city of Manila. They were organized along Mohammedan lines, with the missionaries and their descendants as local sultans. Even today the Sultan of Sulu remains supreme in religious matters, though his earlier secular powers as a ruler have

been greatly curtailed in recent decades. This Mohammedanization of the southern islands will be seen as playing a most important part in subsequent Philippine history. Undoubtedly, the whole archipelago would in time have come under the sway of the Crescent, had not fate introduced a new episode.

From the other side of the world, in the course of the westward sweep of European empire, the Spaniards appeared on the scene. The Cross was raised along with the flag of Spain. The people of the northern and central lowlands were Christianized, including those newly Mohammedanized. Yet the south remained staunchly Mohammedan. Likewise, the "pagans" of the interior, whom the Spaniards largely failed to conquer, held for the most part to their ancestral faiths.

In the subsequent three and a half centuries, mixing has continued among all these peoples of the Philippines. The distinctions between pygmy, Indonesian, Malayan, and the minor strains of Hindu, Arab, and early Chinese have become increasingly blurred. Furthermore, there has been a constant infusion of new blood into the Filipino racial *melange*. Thousands of southern Chinese have come into the islands to live in modern times, taking Filipino women as wives. Japanese have settled, too, but they have not mingled to any extent, preferring to bring their Japanese wives and children with them. The Spaniards took Filipino women as consorts from the first, very few white women having made the long and perilous journey across the world to what was then an isolated and unhealthy frontier. The Spaniards also brought in soldiers and sailors from Mexico who married Filipino women. Finally, there is a recent infiltration of American and other white blood. Where Filipinos have recognizable Chinese or white

racial characteristics, they are often called *mestizos* or mixed blood folk. As the generations pass, however, the *mestizos* tend to marry other Filipinos and so their foreign ancestry becomes submerged. It is a mistake to separate out the *mestizos* as a very distinct group, for, scientifically speaking, the great majority of Filipinos (as with peoples the world over) are of heterogeneous racial descent.

Here we see clearly why the Filipinos can be spoken of as racially, that is, biologically, a people in the making. With every generation, a further step is taken toward a more complete fusion. A typical Filipino people is emerging somewhere between the early Negritos and Indonesians and the *mestizos* of Manila. Dr. H. Otley Beyer, the greatest authority on the Philippine people, and head of the department of anthropology of the University of the Philippines, has estimated that the proportions of different racial strains now represented in the Filipinos are about as follows: Negrito and Proto-Malay, 10 per cent; Indonesian, 30 per cent; Malayan, 40 per cent; Chinese, 10 per cent; Hindu, 5 per cent; European and American, 3 per cent; and Arab, 2 per cent. The Japanese and Mexican strains comprise small fractions.

By nature's biological laws such mingling tends to produce, at least for a very long time, a great diversity of physical types. While we can speak of an average Filipino, and construct him in imagination out of the mass of the people, we must expect to be constantly surprised at the variety in size, skin color and physiognomy among Filipinos we meet.

Is this intermixture bringing into being a vigorous people? The population statistics would certainly indicate so. When the Spaniards arrived, they reported that there were about a half to three quarters of a million people in the islands.

Today, there are some thirteen million Filipinos, and they are continuing to increase rapidly. As the study proceeds, we shall see that this physical vigor has been accompanied by intellectual and social achievement.

CHAPTER IV

AS THE SPANIARDS FOUND THEM

THE earliest known mention of the Philippines is in a * Cantonese commercial document dated A.D. 982. This reports the arrival of an Arab ship at Canton with a cargo of goods from "Ma-i", a trade center on Mindoro Island. Students have found a number of subsequent references in Chinese, Arab and Hindu-Malayan records. Marco Polo sailed past the Philippines on his journey from China to Europe, and no doubt some of the names he gives of strange islands and people could, if we had the clues, be traced to them. Chao Ju-kua, a Chinese geographer of the thirteenth century, tells how traders took porcelain, metal objects, silk fabrics, jewelry and other goods to the Philippine coasts, and brought back bees-wax, coconuts, sweet potatoes, fine mats, pearls, shell and other local products.

In the Philippines today, hundreds of specimens of old pottery, porcelain jars and plates, amber, cornelian and other beads, and objects of iron, bronze and gold are being found that attest to the extent of this early trade. As rivers cut away their banks, or former village sites and burial places are discovered by archaeological workers, these precious relics are coming to light from beneath the soil of centuries.

The Chinese and Arabs were the great traders. Indeed, the former continue even nowadays to have the commerce of the islands largely in their hands. But Japanese ships

also came south to trade, and little Japanese colonies were formed in Luzon. From China, and sometimes from India, there came into the Philippines, besides the goods mentioned above, cotton cloth, gunpowder, ivory, metal basins and kettles, bells and gongs, and painted tapestries. Japan supplied spears and other metal weapons, cloth goods, wooden boxes, jewelry, and foods of the temperate zone. By way of Borneo were brought jars, mats, camphor, sago, and human slaves. In return, the traders took from the Philippines the products mentioned earlier, also rice, Luzon pottery-ware, animal skins, unworked gold, honey, and rattan. Such commerce was stimulated with the coming of the Spaniards, for they bought goods of all kinds from these Asiatic traders to send on to Europe.

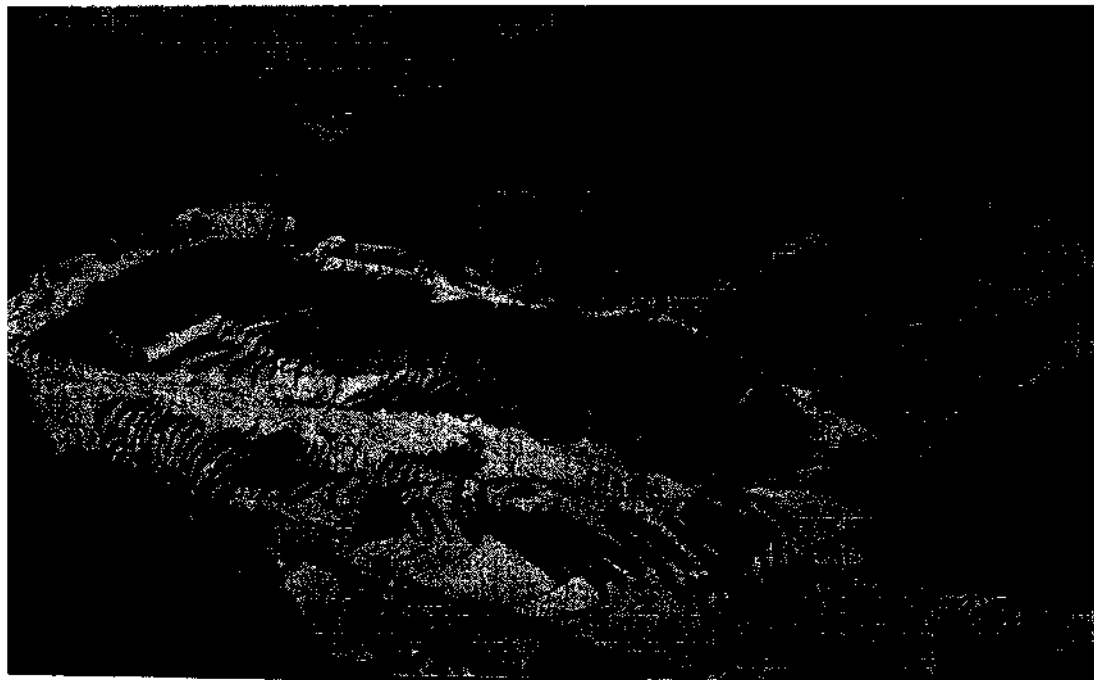
Caught so early into the currents of world commerce, it is perhaps no wonder that the native Filipinos have had a strongly developed sense of individual property rights. The early visitors noted that there was a keen commercial spirit which caused many of those in the more advantageous position to exploit their fellows, keeping their debtors as tenants and servants, charging what by modern standards are exorbitant rates of interest, and in former days owning slaves. The later example of the Spaniards further stimulated them in this. The new rulers exacted tribute and forced the Filipinos to work for them. Richer individuals were used as officials, often to extort goods and services from their less fortunate countrymen for the benefit of the Spaniards. On the other hand, the Filipino people had become accustomed to leave the business of commerce almost entirely to outsiders. Only nowadays are they beginning to think about taking the trade of their country more fully into their own hands.

Food, clothes, and houses were easily obtained by these



By courtesy of "Philippine Magazine"

SEAWAYS OLD AND NEW:
Above, A Vinta in the Sulu Sea
Below, In the Pasig River, Manila



CENTURIES-OLD RICE TERRACES OF THE NON-CHRISTIAN IFUGAOS, NORTH LUZON

early folk, the first records show. "All know how to raise cotton . . . spin and weave . . . they catch fish . . . wine is made from the palms . . . also oil and vinegar . . . (there are) wild boars, deer, and buffalo . . . Rice grows in abundance. Therefore they are afflicted by no poverty." Hardly any clothes were worn—a condition of affairs which the Spaniards set out to remedy. Of their social life one writer tells:

"The nobles were the free-born. . . . They did not pay tax or tribute to the *dato* (chief), but must accompany him in war. . . . If he built a house, they helped him, and had to be fed for it. The same was true when the whole *barangay* went to clear up his lands for tillage. . . .

"The commoners . . . serve their master, whether he be a *dato* or not, with half of their cultivated lands . . . They live in their own houses, and are lords of their property . . .

"The slaves . . . serve their master in his house and on his cultivated lands, and may be sold . . . some are slaves because their fathers and grandfathers were such; others sold themselves . . . either to make use of the money or to pay their debts; others were captured in war; others became slaves because being orphans, they were held in that condition for food and expenses; others were sold in times of famine by their fathers, mothers, or brothers; others bear that name because of loans, for interest multiplies rapidly . . . and thus a poor man becomes a slave."

Other records show that the *dato* or chief usually held his position by hereditary right. He was customarily the oldest living man of the settlement, the head, so to speak, of an enlarged family such as we pictured arriving in boats. He and the other elders, or "nobles" as the Spaniards thought of them, organized the life of their dependents, interpreted the customary laws of the community, and defined the punishments for those who might break them. It seems that they had few external symbols of their rank to distinguish them from their fellows. This led a number of early observers,

contrary to the above quotation, to say that the Filipino had no "headman or great lords" to whom they looked up. The community system here pictured is still in full working order among most of the pagan peoples. To quite an extent it continues among the Christianized groups of the lowlands.

Many writers tell that each district, often each village, was politically independent of the others. Some groups of villages were friendly because of marriage ties or the common need for defense. Others were "warlike", continually fighting on land and sea and "considering it a great triumph to cut off one another's heads and take captives". Head-hunting was continued among the pagan groups into the period of the American occupation, and the Mohammedans indulged in warfare and piratical raids; but the Spanish arms brought peace to the lowlands. A main problem of our study is to see how far all these many hundreds of local units, with wide differences of language and custom, have now been welded into a unified nation.

To the Spanish mind, the Filipinos were either "Mohammedan infidels" or "superstitious pagans". The latter had no temples, but they consulted ancestral and other spirits through male or female seers. They sacrificed pigs, dogs and chickens to placate the *anito* (spirits), and interpreted good or bad fortune from the entrails of animals, the flight of birds, and from other manifestations of nature much as the old time Greeks did. Religious ceremonies were held for

"the recovery of a sick person, the prosperous voyage of those embarking on the sea, a good harvest, . . . a propitious result in wars, a successful delivery in childbirth, and a happy outcome in married life."

Such religious ceremonies were accompanied by plenty of feasting, dancing, and gossip among the relatives and

friends. In fact, these times provided the year's holidays. They were equivalent to our week ends, though coming irregularly except in the case of seasonal ceremonies of agriculture. All these religious beliefs and activities are in full swing among the pagan Filipinos today, varying only in detail from group to group. How far the Christian and Mohammedan Filipinos still retain them, or have now given them up, will be seen later.

The Filipinos, everyone agreed, were very loyal to their family and kin groups, and dutiful to their elders. Right to the present day, this family cooperation has been a main characteristic of Filipino life. Women had a respected place, though to their lot fell most of the routine of economic activity other than the heaviest labor. At marriage, the family of the bridegroom had to give a dowry of valuable goods to that of the bride, partly to compensate them for the loss of a useful worker.

In early days, apparently, the Filipino clothing was very scanty. It consisted of a loin-cloth, or gee-string, for the men and a short wrapping of skirt for the women, with perhaps a robe pulled over the shoulder in cooler weather and higher places. But trade with China and other lands, and the example of the traders, made fashionable among the coastal peoples who could afford them more elaborate garments that were patterned on those of China and India.

We thus see the Filipinos at this time as in a transitional stage of culture. The stone age had given place to an age of metals. Trade was bringing them into touch with the wider world. From India had come arts and crafts like pottery-making and weaving. By way of the Hindu-Malayan empires, too, had come the *dato* system of leadership, elements of law, weights and measures, use of the calendar, many religious and mythical ideas, Sanscrit

words, and among some at least a system of writing. China had great commercial influence. Mohammedanism was giving a somewhat different political system, and a religion bound around the Koran and obedience to the sultans. Now, upon these, was to be super-imposed a number of revolutionary influences coming in turn from Spain and the United States.

CHAPTER V

VASSALS OF SPAIN

TN 1521, the Spanish voyager Magellan rounded Cape Horn, and, crossing the Pacific with his little fleet of caravels, reached the Philippines. We cannot dwell here upon the story of European expansion into the "New World" of which this was a part, nor of the rivalries between the Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, and later the English and French, for the rich trade of the spice islands and the Orient. By this time, middle and south America were part of the Spanish domain. It was from there that the newly "discovered" *Islas Filipinas* were conquered and colonized.

Magellan lost his life when assisting in a faction fight between warring Filipino groups. Nearly a half century passed before Spain occupied the islands permanently. Then, in an almost unbelievably short time, a small handful of soldiers and priests led by a Spanish officer, Miguel Legaspi, acquired the submission of the great majority of the people. Most of the work of conquest was done by a youth twenty-two years old, Legaspi's grandson Juan de Salcedo, who, with forty-five men in his command, ranged a large part of Luzon compelling the scattered Filipino settlements to yield allegiance. The lack of wider political unities made the Spanish task easy.

Legaspi soon established his capital at the busy trading port of Manila. A fortress was built there, and expeditions

moved over the country organizing the districts, collecting tribute, concentrating scattered families and isolated *barangays* into larger units (to which the name *barrio* was applied), and building churches that became community centers as the people were Christianized. Within a quarter century of Legaspi's arrival, only the Mohammedans of the south and the pagans of the wild interior remained independent and unconverted.

Yet Spain's hold on the Philippines was for many years precarious. Her rivalries with the other European powers—the Portuguese, Dutch and English—brought a succession of open clashes. In 1762, indeed, the English captured the Philippines and held them for two years until they were restored by the Treaty of Paris, the same treaty that transferred Canada from France to England. This English occupation of the islands is considered important by historians as showing to the Filipinos that their Spanish conquerors were not invincible.

Spain had to contend, also, with the Chinese and Japanese for possession of the islands. Chinese pirates even attacked the Manila fortress. At one time thousands of Chinese who had settled around Manila revolted, and on this and several other occasions fear of the rising power of the Chinese caused them to be massacred in great numbers by the Spaniards and their Filipino adherents. The Japanese had small settlements in the islands when Spain took control. In 1582 a Spanish force expelled a Japanese war expedition from north Luzon. Yet ten years later they thought it wise to send a tribute in the form of gifts to Japan when this was demanded by the great shogun Hideyoshi. Had the Japanese at this time moved at all vigorously with their apparent plans to conquer the Philippines, the history of the islands might possibly have been different. Shortly

after this, however, the Dutch occupied Formosa, and Japan, expelling all Christian missionaries, shut her doors upon the outside world—an exclusion that was to last for two centuries.

Yet Spain's chief difficulties came from the Filipinos themselves. More than thirty major revolts took place among the Christianized lowlanders during the Spanish period. These showed the exasperation of the people at having to pay heavy tributes or taxes in the form of goods and labor services, at government monopolies of commerce, and at domination either by local Spanish officials or by the church. From the deeper jungles and mountains, too, the pagans sallied forth on headhunting raids. Expeditions of white or lowland soldiers had little success in subduing these people, for such outsiders did not know the country, and travel there was very difficult. Not until the last fifty years of their rule were the Spanish forces able to build trails and forts, and establish military control to any extent in these interior places. Their greatest trouble, however, came from the Mohammedans of the southern islands.

It was a strange trick of fate that the Spanish, having barely succeeded in expelling the Mohammedan Moors from their own home nation in Europe, pushing these fierce warriors back into Africa, should find themselves face to face with Mohammedanism in their new colony on the opposite side of the world. To the Filipino Mohammedans they applied the name Moors, or Moros. They are called by the latter name today. The Moros, led by their sultans, were encouraged by the Dutch in Java and Borneo to attack the Spaniards, and this they did fiercely. Their swift canoes raided the Christian coasts right to the walls of Manila itself. Several times the Spanish forces secured a foothold in Moro country but had to withdraw again. Not until war vessels

of iron, using steam, were able to patrol the southern waters were the Moros brought to some extent under control. It remained for the Americans, led by men like Generals Wood and Pershing, to pacify them and make possible the establishment among them of civil rule. Even today, from time to time, small groups of Moros under the spell of religious frenzy defy the constabulary and, hiding in some well-placed fortification, resist to the death capture by the Christians.

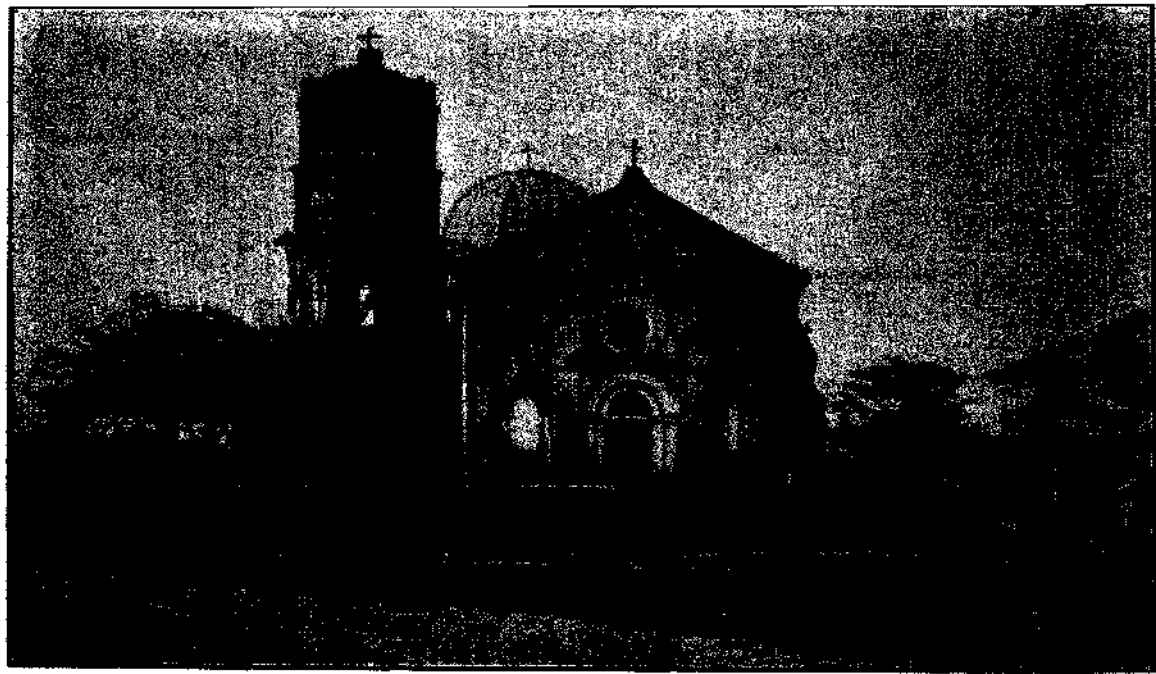
We have to picture the Philippines in the earlier centuries as a distant colonial outpost controlled by a few hundred Spanish officials, soldiers, priests, and traders. For most of the time the country was ruled from Mexico, which was a kind of Spanish field headquarters in the New World. Once the first glory of conquest and Christianization was over, there came a period of decline. Because of Spanish trade monopolies, Manila lost its place as one of the great centers of traffic in the western Pacific. Quarrels developed between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities. Various religious orders—Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians and others—which had sent workers to the islands under the impulse of missionary fervor, acquired rich holdings of land and waxed fat at the expense of the Filipinos. Indeed, the "friars" as their members were called, became in large degree the rulers of the country. Today, in the rural districts of the Philippines, the huge fortress-like churches they built can be found, sometimes as overgrown ruins. The Spanish officials filling the posts of central and provincial government depended largely upon the friars to see that the local native officials carried out their appointed tasks and that order was maintained and taxes were collected in the *barrios* (villages).

Historians differ in their emphasis upon the good and



By courtesy of Philippine Bureau of Science

**THE VILLAGE HEADMAN AND HIS WIFE VISIT THE PARISH PRIEST—
A Scene of early Spanish times modelled by Tolentino**



By courtesy of Philippine Bureau of Science

THE CHURCH IN A RURAL Barrio

bad points of this church influence. On the one hand, the religious orders built universities, schools, and hospitals in Manila. One such university, Santo Tomas, was established in 1611, that is, a quarter century before the founding of Harvard, the oldest of American universities, and still continues in existence. In the rural villages, too, the church with its ritual, festivals, and elementary religious schools, became the center of community life. From time to time, individual members of the orders showed high courage in penetrating the pagan wilderness to make converts, and to study the people.

On the other hand, many of the friars were ignorant and domineering men of lax conduct. All were from Spain—Filipinos being admitted only to subordinate positions in the church. While in Europe the Catholic faith was developing along more modern and liberal lines, in the Philippines it remained shrouded in medievalism, and this influenced both religious and secular teaching. Churchmen seemed interested in enhancing their power rather than in training the Filipinos in citizenship. Long before the United States took over, both town and country became honeycombed with native religious sects and secret societies that were opposed to the church, and months before Dewey entered Manila Bay, the lowland Filipinos rose up practically everywhere, destroying churches and killing the friars or driving them in flight to Manila.

Early in the nineteenth century, Spain lost her main American colonies. The Philippines thenceforth were ruled directly from Madrid. This was made easier by the cutting of the Suez Canal, which brought the Philippines considerably nearer to Europe.

In this last century of Spanish rule revolutionary changes were taking place in the wider world: ideas of liberty and

democracy were abroad, inventions were reducing ocean distances and enabling rapid communication to be established between far lands, industrialization stimulated commerce and economic development. Spain, perhaps the most conservative of European nations, could not escape these influences. In 1837 the port of Manila was opened to foreign trade. The rich resources of the islands began to be developed. Population increased rapidly, and the standards of living of the people rose, in spite of continued Spanish exactions. Pagans and Moros felt the weight of Spanish arms. Under pressure of a growing Filipino nationalism and public opinion, emphasized by discontent and rebellion, the form of government became slightly more liberal. Numbers of Filipinos, especially *mestizos* from around Manila, went to America and Europe to get the broad and practical education that the Spanish would not provide. Returning, they became leaders of the Filipino people. Their writings and the movements of reform they espoused were regarded by the authorities as threatening to Spanish rule, and active measures were taken to suppress these. In 1896 began a final break between the Filipinos and Spain, of which more in the next section. Had the Spanish-American war not taken place, Manila itself might in time have fallen before the Filipino "insurgents", who had the city already fairly well ringed in. The Philippines might thus have had an earlier experience of independence.

CHAPTER VI

THE SPANISH HERITAGE IN THE PHILIPPINES

HP HE Filipinos of today still bear profoundly the marks •*• of these centuries of Spanish domination. To a person who did not know this phase of the island history, much of Filipino life and character would be incomprehensible.

Away in the future, historians will probably write that Spain's great contribution to the Filipinos was one she had no intention of giving. The Spaniards assumed control of a host of petty independent groups. They left a people well on towards nationhood. In spite of their policies of keeping the local communities in peaceful subjection, the inevitable fruit of their presence in the islands and of their exactions was to weld the population more and more into a whole. By opening up the country, they made the scattered groups aware of one another. Oppression gave a sense of unity on the basis of common grievance. Discontent emerged into patriotic organization. Pressure from above formed an increasingly solid native body politic beneath. It is, of course, an old story in the process of human development—seemingly nature's main way of nation building—but in the Philippines it is of special significance because of the varieties of races and cultures that existed there.

Spain also contributed in a more positive way elements from her own rich heritage of the past. An educated class

emerged among the Filipinos, especially among the rich land-owning groups around Manila, many of whom were of part Spanish or Chinese blood. These learnt the Spanish language, and adopted the living habits, courtesies, and artistic traditions of the ruling people. They built spacious houses in the European style, and surrounded themselves with such luxuries as the islands permitted, patronized music, the opera and other arts, sent their children to the local universities or even abroad, and generally freed themselves from both the old Malayan backgrounds and the medievalism of less educated Spaniards.

Today, after three-and-a-half decades of American influence, this class is still well represented around the cities. They consider themselves, in the words of one writer, "the successors to the Spanish heritage" in the islands. Numbers of the older generation among them cannot speak English. Spanish is still adhered to widely as the language of social courtesies; it is also used as a co-language with English in the law courts and the legislature.

Unfortunately, this rise of an educated group in Spanish times was made possible largely by the greater toil and poverty of the masses. The Spanish administrators used the chiefs and heads of families as local officials, without safeguards to see that they did not abuse their authority over their fellows. Copying their new masters, many accumulated land and wealth, at the same time reducing those less fortunate to the position of dependents, tenants, or virtual slaves. With passing generations, there developed what is known as a *cacique* class, comprising wealthy land-owners. These are still powerful in the modern Philippines. Numbers of the *cacique* families continued to feel responsible for the well-being and happiness of their feudal followers, just as the Malayan *datos* had in earlier days. But many

set aside the duties prescribed by the old customs of leadership. Through their stewards they exacted the utmost of work and goods from the common folk, the *tao* class as they are called. Such landowners could too often command the law-courts, and in American days their opinion has tended to dominate in the legislature, so that they have been in a very privileged position. Nevertheless, we cannot condemn all caciquism offhand, as many observers tend to do. As based on an old Malayan system of society it has had its uses, and under the best circumstances may still work well. The good *cacique* is much like the good owner or manager who organizes a modern business; but caciquism is peculiarly liable to abuse, and is nowadays in increasing disrepute.

Spanish influences upon the Filipinos other than members of these special groups have also been considerable. Though the mass of the people cannot speak the Spanish language, many Spanish words have been taken into their local dialects. Today, for example, the heads of Philippine municipalities are called *presidentes* and the local government office a *presidencia*; Filipinos have such names as *Juan*, *Miguel*, *Maria*, and *Conchita*; the all-important affairs of the church are bound up with a Spanish vocabulary. Every Christian village is laid out with a *plaza* or central place. The folk songs, dancing, and theatricals show Spanish influence strongly, while the guitar has become the main musical instrument. The romantic attitude of the Latin towards those of the female sex has affected the status of women and customs of courtship and marriage.

A Filipino scholar once wrote that, in dealing with his fellow countrymen, the Spaniards had turned "an active and enterprising infidel" into a "lazy and indolent Christian". Since any man who worked extra hard would almost

inevitably have the products of his labor confiscated, the people carried on only a minimum of industry. Again, the example of their white overlords indicated that a mark of being superior was not to engage in manual labor but to live on the work of others as a leisured and ruling class. The tradition that prestige and importance lay with the person who did not condescend to use his hands has carried over to the present. Indeed, American educational ideals have done little to counter it. In an agricultural country like the Philippines, this striving of the young people for an official or white collar job is bringing about much difficulty.

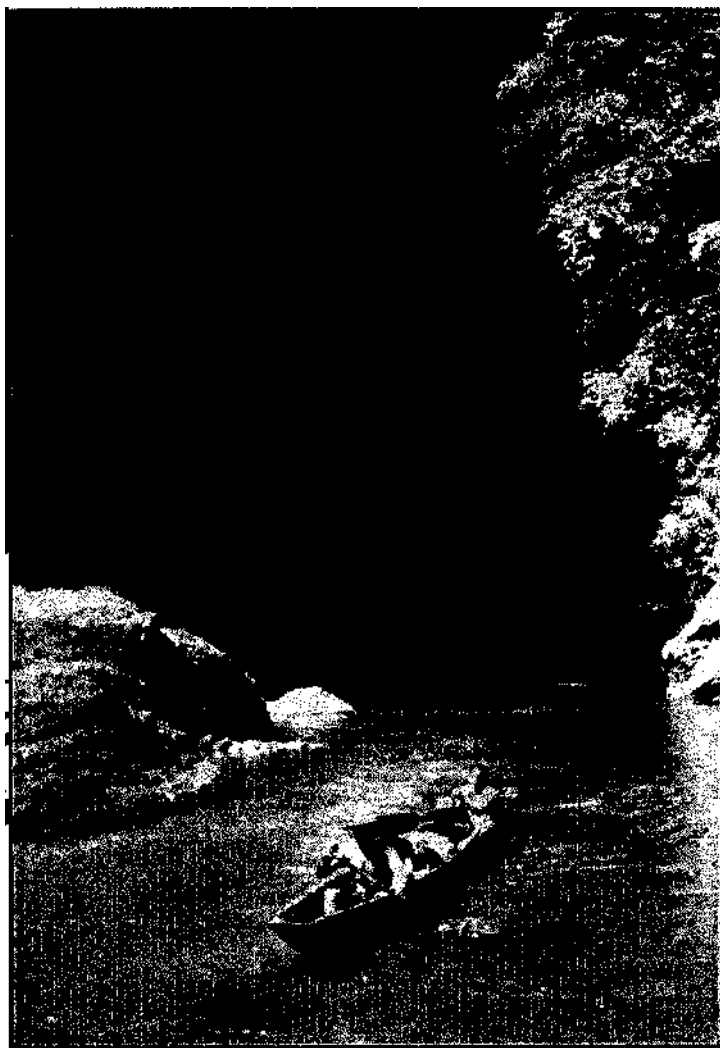
Many observers remark on the politeness and hospitality of the Filipinos, and attribute these to the Spanish example. Such traits, however, are equally characteristic of the old Malayan and Indonesian society.

We have spoken here of the changes that came about through Spanish influence, but among the mass of Filipinos there was also strong resistance to change. As the study proceeds, we shall see how a great many old Indo-Malayan customs and ideas have been preserved to the present day, especially in family and village life. In the face of exactions and pressure by the domineering Spaniard, many people clung conservatively to their old ways and were suspicious of anything new. Some actually fled into the jungles and mountains to escape the alien control. Such folk were called *rcmontado* or people who took to the hills, and they usually reverted from Christianity to the older beliefs. In the ranges back of Manila there are still scattered groups of runaways, more than three thousand in all, who refuse to come down to the lowlands whence their forefathers had fled. Others became brigands or pirates, robbing the Spaniards and the wealthy class. The folk-tales about some of these robbers remind one of Robin Hood. On a number



By courtesy of Philippine Bin can of Science

HAT-MAKING: A FILIPINA WEARING COSTUME DEVELOPED IN
SPANISH TIMES



CANOEING ON THE PAGSANGJAN RIVER

of occasions large bodies of peasants rose in revolt against economic oppression.

Amid such difficult circumstances, many people seem to have turned for solace to the church, finding their recompense for the bitterness of this life in a spirit of pious resignation and in promises of happiness in the life to come. The Filipino peasant is usually a very religious person. Many Filipinos, however, renounced the Catholic faith to follow religious prophets among their own people. These often promised, as the result of spirit visions, that the Spaniards would be driven out, gave magic amulets to their adherents, and preached a doctrine that combined ideas of Christianity with the old Malayan beliefs. Some led their fervent followers against the soldiers of Spain. Along with religious sects, various kinds of secret societies and lodges flourished.

In the nineteenth century, some of these movements against the Spanish system assumed a political character. Led by educated Filipinos, they demanded reforms in the method of government. A sense of common nationhood was fostered, for the most part in secret at home, and by patriotic writings of Filipinos abroad. In 1872, a revolt broke out, but the Spaniards suppressed it as they had all others before, some prominent leaders being executed, imprisoned or deported. Yet this only fanned the flames. "Subversive ideas", or as opposition to Spain came to be called, *filibusterismo*, spread widely in the lowland towns and provinces; from this comes the well known political term "filibuster".

The greatest among a number of prominent Filipinos emerging at this time was Jose Rizal y Mercado, who has become the national hero of the Philippines. Rizal studied and traveled in several European countries. A doctor of medicine, he was also a brilliant scholar in many fields of knowledge, a writer and an artist, and a gentle and sensitive

"Dream of my life, my burning, living desire,
Hearken my soul to you at parting cry,
Hail, my country! how lovely 'tis to expire,
To die that you may live a life yet higher,
The dead to slumber underneath your sky."

When such classics of liberty appear in Filipino literature, and they have been reinforced by American sentiments of liberty taught in the school histories for three decades, can it be wondered at that the Filipinos cherish the idea of independence?

Rizal's death was a signal for new revolts that quickly assumed the form of a revolution. The Spaniards in the rural districts retired to Manila, and a separate Filipino government was organized under Emilio Aguinaldo who became general of the insurgent forces. With him as adviser was Apolinario Mabini, a man handicapped by paralysis but with so keen a mind that he is often spoken of as "the brains of the revolution". After negotiations in which a new Spanish governor-general proposed political and religious reforms, a temporary peace was made and the Filipino leaders were paid a sum to leave the country. There seems to have been bad faith on both sides, and hostilities flared again. Amid these circumstances, war was declared between Spain and the United States, changing the situation completely.

The Spanish regime thus leaves a deep impress. Many elements of Spanish culture have played an important part in the making of the Filipinos, and some will no doubt remain as a permanent part of their heritage. The Spanish *mestizos*, especially, carry on the traditions that come from their white side. Again, where today we find individual Filipinos who are highly strung, excitable, suspicious of strangers, ready to use a knife in a quarrel, aggressive as regards their rights, easily influenced, or timid, we can

CHAPTER VII

ENTER UNCLE SAM

"War has commenced between the United States and Spain. Proceed at once to Philippine Islands. Commence operations particularly against the Spanish fleet. You must capture vessels or destroy. Use utmost endeavor."

OUCH was a cablegram that reached Admiral Dewey, ^ commodore of the American squadron of six ships in China waters. Sailing from Hongkong to Manila, it took him only a few hours of fighting—on May 1, 1898—to cripple the Spanish fleet of seven ships and silence the defences of the city.

But it required more than three years of fighting by United States troops to get all the Filipinos to settle down to American rule. Aguinaldo and other leaders cooperated with the Americans at first in bringing to an end the hold of Spain in the islands. Then, on their own initiative, they organized an independent "Republic of the Philippines". In August, 1898, Manila, which had become ringed by a Filipino army, was occupied by American troops. A conflict arose between the leaders of the new "Republic" and the United States representatives, as to whether the Filipinos were ready for independence. A historian, D. P. Barrows, says:

"It was felt in America, and with reason, that this Filipino government was not yet representative of all the people in the Philippines,

To quote the report of a Philippine Commission which was sent from the United States to investigate the situation in 1900:

"The United States cannot withdraw from the Philippines. We are there and duty binds us to remain. There is no escape from our responsibility to the Filipinos and to mankind for the government of the archipelago and the amelioration of the condition of its inhabitants."

The American troops gradually occupied the disaffected areas. Aguinaldo fled to the mountains, where his hiding-place was finally discovered. In due course, he and other leaders acknowledged their allegiance to the United States. Though guerilla warfare and banditry continued for many months, and black looks greeted Americans in some districts for years, the islands were considered sufficiently pacified by 1901 to justify a transfer from military to civil rule. Now began an experiment rather unique in colonial history.

Shiploads of school-teachers from the United States started work over the Philippines, using English as the medium of instruction and laying the emphasis upon good citizenship and individual ambition. Where formerly only a few people, mainly of the richer families, could get their children educated, there were by 1935 nearly eight thousand government schools, with an enrollment of 1,230,000 pupils. Today, except for a few Americans in special posts, the whole system is staffed by Filipino teachers. It had been the hope of Americans that schooling could be made universal and compulsory. Yet the scattered nature of the population, the conservatism of many rural families, and especially limitations of finance, have made this impossible. Even yet more than sixty per cent of the children are not at school—a serious problem for the future.

The incoming Americans, also, set out to improve the health of the people, this having been hardly touched by

order to relieve themselves of competition from Philippine goods. The meaning of this for the Filipinos of today will be seen in due course.

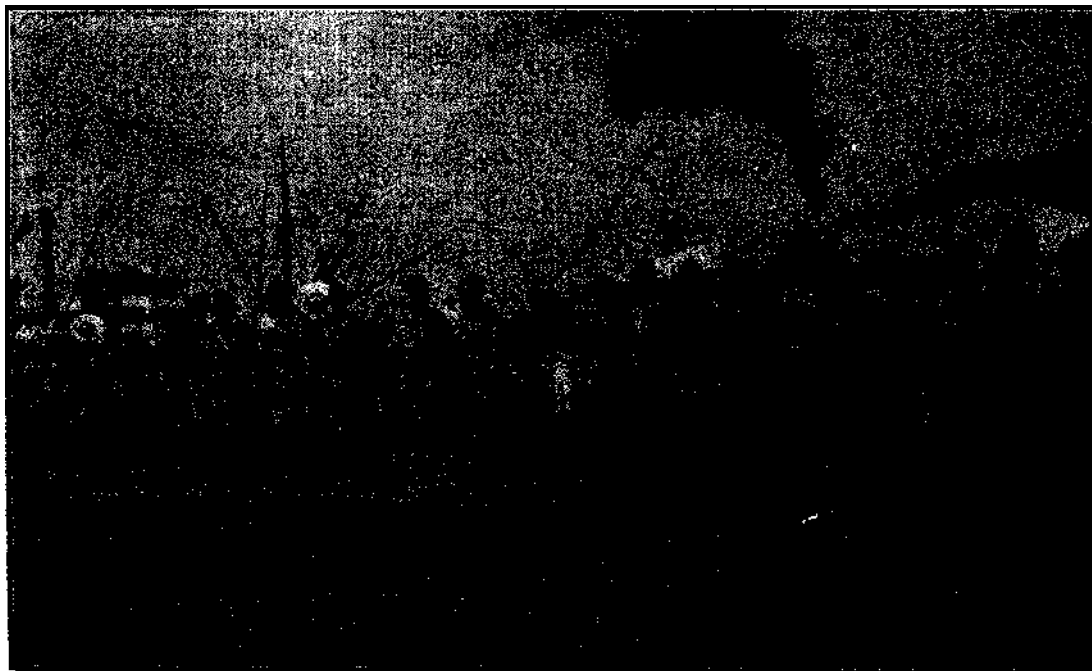
Another essential of American policy was to bulwark the forces of law and order and to provide justice for all. The lawcourts of Spanish days were reformed, a very efficient Filipino constabulary force organized to supplement the work of local police, and a model prison system built up. Here, too, the Americans withdrew almost entirely as Filipinos became competent to assume these civic functions. One problem of modern days has been the great complexity of laws which the Filipinos must come to know and obey. Upon the older local customs, which still regulate marrying, inheritance, adoption and many another phase of life among the rural folk, have been superimposed first a set of Spanish laws, and now a veritable flood of laws that are a result of American influence. The Filipino has now to register the birth of his children, get a license to trade, bury his dead under prescribed conditions, and obey a thousand other regulations, and only with education is he gradually coming to know what it is all about. Furthermore, because in Spanish days the poorer folk had little chance of getting justice in the law courts, there is still a great conservatism about seeking legal redress. While there is as yet no system of trial by jury, any convicted person has had the right to appeal to a Supreme Court in Manila, and from there to that of the United States.

Another fundamental of American policy was to guarantee religious freedom. From the beginning, the Americans took a great interest in the pagan and Mohammedan peoples who had resisted the Spanish yoke. They realized that a separate system of government had to be created for them, apart from the Christian Filipinos. The pagan folk on the whole

welcomed the Americans as being just in their administration and respectful of ancestral customs. Before long, head-hunting was suppressed. Roads and trails were cut here and there through mountain and jungle, and the young people were soon learning in the schools about the vast world outside. Christian missions began to win converts, making the term "non-Christian" historically applied to them something of a misnomer.

It would not do to remove as yet the constabulary detachments which keep order in these districts, as old feuds between some of the villages remain, but the people travel unarmed through the territories of former enemies, pay taxes, buy goods that they did not have before, and refer their quarrels to the government representatives. These are now nearly all Christian Filipinos or persons from among the local groups themselves. The more advanced non-Christian communities elect their district officials much as the Christians do.

The Mohammedan Moros of the south also submitted to the *pax Americana*, though after greater resistance. Slavery and piracy were difficult to abolish. Some districts remained turbulent for many years, and religious beliefs stood in the way of secular reforms such as the Americans hoped to make. In time, however, confidence was established, and slowly but surely this is spreading to replace the formerly bitter relationships between Moro and Christian Filipinos. Many Christian families have settled in Mohammedan areas, thus breaking up their solidarity, while the secular powers of the sultans have mainly passed to the government. Though any undue pressure upon either Moro or pagan groups could well provoke hostilities once again the present trend is for them to take part more and more with the Christians in working out a common Philippine life.



By courtesy of Philippine Bureau of Science

MEMBERS OF THE PHILIPPINE CONSTABULARY



By courtesy of "Philippine Magazine"

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT—A GOLD MINE NEAR BAGUIO

A spectacular feature of modern Filipino history, as of that of numbers of other oppressed or changing peoples, has been the rise of new religious cults. These were spoken of in connection with the Spanish period. During the Philippine revolution a group of Filipino churchmen broke away from the Catholic church and formed an independent faith based on the Catholic organization and ritual. Its followers were called Aglipayans, after the name of its founder, Aglipay. At one time the movement claimed to have more than two million adherents, though it is now on the wane except perhaps in the north where it was founded. A stranger sect much in the news was the Colorum cult. At one time, the Colorum leaders claimed that Jose Rizal was to return to earth and be crowned king. They built a large tank and named it the "waters of Jordan". At last, in their preparations for the new heaven and earth, they ran foul of the constabulary, and the movement was suppressed. But the Colorums are still widespread over the islands. Other sects and secret societies of a more or less bizarre nature have sprung up from time to time. One founded among Filipinos in the United States, the Filipino Federation of America, is a mystical cult included within a framework of political and social activities.

But the great emphasis of American administrators has been upon political education, the building of a self-governing nation. In place of the old Hispano-Malayan forms of authority, centering around the municipal and village officials who were also usually rich landlords or under control by the landlords, the successive American governor-generals tried to build a democratic system in which even the humble commoner would have his vote.

At first the Philippines were governed by a Commission

of prominent Americans. Before long, some Filipinos were appointed to this body, also as judges in the courts along with white judges. In 1907, the Philippine Commission became an upper legislative body, with an elected Filipino Assembly as a lower house. The people in the different districts, except for some of the non-Christian groups, were also allowed to elect by ballot most of their own local officials.

In these earlier years, what is often spoken of as the "Taft policy" was carried out. It stood for a gradual transfer of authority to the Filipinos as western schooling and political training were considered to have prepared them for it. In 1913, however, the Republican party in the United States lost to the Democrats. The Philippine policy of the latter party was to place far more powers of self-government into the hands of the Filipinos. From this time forward, Philippine affairs became closely bound up with United States politics. Policies swung from liberal to conservative according to whether the Democratic or Republican parties dominated in Washington. This made for uncertainty, and exasperated many Filipinos.

In the eight years of Democratic power to 1920, Americans in official and teaching positions were replaced almost entirely by Filipinos. In 1916, Congress passed a well-known act called the Jones Law. This gave a promise of independence to come, and put the law-making power into the hands of a Filipino legislature, subject only to a veto by the American governor-general from which there could be an appeal to the President of the United States. The legislature comprised a Senate and a House of Representatives. Members of these bodies were elected by popular male vote from the different districts. An exception to this was provided in the case of certain members representing

the non-Christian (pagan and Moro) districts. These were appointed directly by the governor-general.

The political authority thus placed into the hands of the Filipinos was augmented through further concessions by the governor-general of the time. In 1920, however, the Republicans came into power once more at Washington. Under subsequent Republican governor-generals the powers of Filipinos in the government were considerably curtailed.

This aroused great resentment among the Filipino leaders. Missions went to the United States pressing for immediate independence. Deadlocks occurred in official business because the legislature would not defer to the wishes of the governor-general, while he would veto numbers of bills put forward. American business concerns were dubious about investing in the islands because of the prevailing uncertainty. Several books and articles were published which gave a prejudiced and sensational picture of Philippine conditions, emphasizing what by western standards were their bad side, and the Filipinos resented this.

With the passing years, relations became less strained. The later Republican governor-generals were conciliatory, even if they made no direct moves on the independence issue. Then came the world depression. The markets for tropical products such as the Philippines supplied were glutted. The international scene became troubled, especially in the Orient. Thinking Filipinos saw Manchukuo emerge, and recalled with some apprehension that Japanese interests were well entrenched in their islands. American army and navy experts asserted that the Philippines were a liability to the United States rather than a strategic asset. A growing sentiment in America, fostered mainly by those interests which stood to gain by the exclusion of Philippine products and cheap Filipino labor, supported the constantly

reiterated requests of the Filipino political leaders for freedom. Bills came before Congress, arousing controversies both in Washington and the Philippines.

Amid this complex situation, the Democratic party once more took the helm. On March 24, 1934, a bill known as the Tydings-McDuffie Act was passed by Congress, providing for independence after a transitional period of ten years, and this was accepted by the Filipino representatives. A convention of more than two hundred Filipino delegates from all parts of the islands assembled in Manila and drew up a constitution for the Philippines during this time. It was approved by virtually unanimous vote of the Filipino people, and also by the President of the United States. The American Governor-General became a High Commissioner, and yielded the historic Malacanang palace in Manila to an elected Filipino President. Amid high hopes and not inconsiderable fears the "Commonwealth of the Philippines" launched upon its experimental career, with the Stars and Stripes to be finally hauled down, according to present legislation, on July 4, 1946.

CHAPTER VIII

CROWDS AND EMPTY SPACES

r p H E last census of the Philippines, taken in 1918, showed ^{1*} a total of nearly ten-and-a-half million Filipinos. By 1936 it was estimated that they had increased to between thirteen and fourteen millions, or about one tenth the population of the United States. Better health and hygienic conditions, higher standards of living, peace and stability, and the work of philanthropic agencies—these are among the factors operating to produce such an upward surge.

The non-Filipino residents of the islands comprise about seventy thousand Chinese, twenty to thirty thousand Japanese, seven thousand Americans, five thousand Spaniards, and three thousand of other nationalities.

A Filipino scholar, Dr. Cornelio C. Cruz, has estimated that on the present basis of economic life the Philippines could support fifty million people comfortably, and, if intensive agriculture and lower standards of living prevailed, they could hold ninety to a hundred million—that is, nearly one quarter the population of China. While today the northern and central river valleys, coasts, and accessible plains are thickly settled, or even in places overcrowded, vast areas of hinterland are sparsely populated or empty. The great island of Mindanao is particularly undeveloped.

A part of this land is, of course, mountainous and unfit for settlement except as the hill folk have worked out means

to eke a living from it. Yet the Bureau of Forestry has calculated that nearly forty-seven thousand square miles, or well over one third of the total area of the islands, consist of cultivable lands yet uncultivated. The Philippines are as a whole an undersettled and underdeveloped country, a land of pioneer regions. The real import of this is apparent if we recall that only a short distance away are coastal China and island Japan, which are among the most densely populated regions of the earth.

The concentration of the Filipinos in special places can easily be understood in the light of history and of their manners of life. We saw how the majority of the early migrants settled along the shores in close-knit kin groups. It was among these coastal folk, especially those who became Christianized and subject to Spanish control, that the tremendous increase in numbers took place. In the island of Panay, for example, the population rose from about ninety thousand in 1586 to over one million in 1928. Since the Filipino likes to stay among his kinsmen on the ancestral living site, and only exceptional necessity or ambition causes him to leave, what were formerly small hamlets have become large, crowded villages or towns. Expansion, so far as it has taken place, has been into the nearby accessible areas. The poorer folk or oppressed tenants, those most needing and willing to migrate afar to pioneer new regions, are exactly the people least able to do so.

The ordinary man in the Philippines is often called "Juan de la Cruz" just as in America he is sometimes labelled "John Doe", or in England "John Bull". Now, suppose Juan de la Cruz gets an idea that he and his family should move away and settle on virgin land. Just because he is in dire need—else he would not reach the extreme decision of leaving the ancestral community—he is sure to be in debt

to a rich man or landlord. It costs money, however, to shift. He must have rail, bus or boat fare; or, even if he loads his goods and family on to a water buffalo and cart, how will he feed himself in the months required to break in an area of unoccupied jungle and grow his first crops? He cannot borrow more money or rice. The landlord wants him to stay and work, and indeed is almost sure to start legal proceedings to collect the outstanding debts that will land the ambitious Juan in jail.

Added to these difficulties, Juan fears the lonely places. In his own bamboo house safe in the village he shuts the windows at night to keep out the wandering *anitos* (spirits) and perhaps at certain times puts out offerings of food to please them. To go to the end of the trails and face the lush jungle with its unknown ghostly terrors, to live and work day after day away from his sociable fellows, requires a nerve that his medieval training has hardly fostered. His fears, too, are not all imaginings. In newly cut jungle country the dread malaria is at its worst, and if he himself survives it is practically sure to take toll among his family.

Again, the land laws of the Philippines are as yet very cumbersome. It may be years before Juan can get a paper from the government indicating that the new homestead is his own. Cases are by no means unknown where unscrupulous people who have a knowledge of the law trick settlers out of their holdings so laboriously broken in. Again, these uninhabited places are often the ancestral hunting grounds of the non-Christian forest and mountain people. These resent the encroachment of the Christian lowlanders upon their traditional territories. The government is having a delicate task to keep such newly pacified folk from descending upon the settlers with their head-axes, as has happened on more than one occasion.

It is now more easy to see why the Filipino population is spread so unevenly. Today, many Americans and Filipino leaders consider this the outstanding internal problem of the country. The government has launched several colonization schemes by which families from crowded places are transported in compact groups to new areas, given the necessary financial support to acquire land and establish themselves, and supplied with doctors and teachers. On the whole they have been successful, though very expensive. Yet only a few hundred families have been thus moved and this has been quite inadequate to solve the problem.

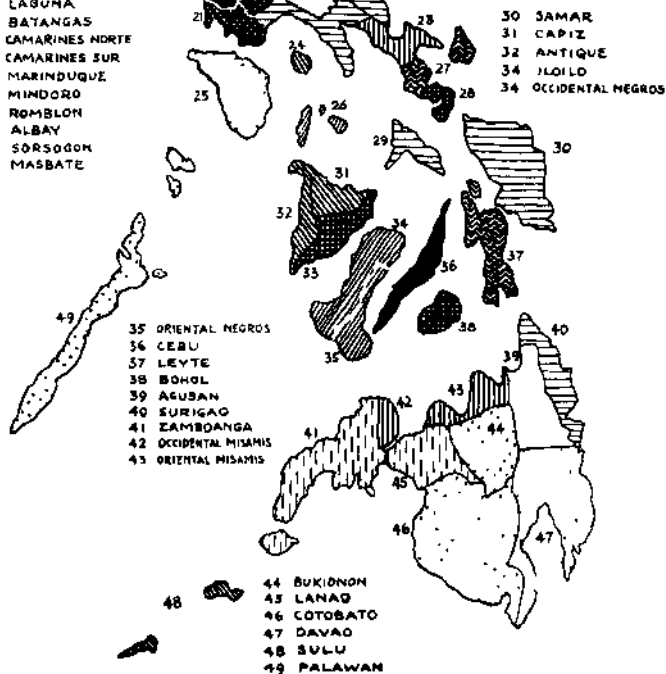
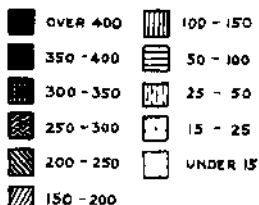
Two of the many groups among the Philippine population are rather exceptional in that considerable numbers of them have migrated voluntarily to other regions. Christian folk called Visayans from the middle islands of the archipelago, now in some instances crowded (sketch map 3), have moved across to settle on the northern coasts of Mindanao. Another Christian people called Ilocanos, who live on a narrow coastal strip of northwest Luzon known as the Ilocos coast, have spread widely over the neighboring region and even to distant parts of the Philippines.

The Ilocanos are often spoken of as the Scotchmen or Jews of the islands. Their lands are densely settled, and the villagers are hardworking and thrifty as a result of their efforts to win a living from the narrow strip of soil that lies between the sea and the high mountains. People who say that Filipinos are indolent and unenterprising always make an exception of these Ilocanos. In recent decades, thousands of Ilocano individuals and families have migrated to the wide-spreading plains between their country and Manila, likewise to a large river basin called the Cagayan valley in northernmost Luzon where they were first taken to grow tobacco for Spanish commercial interests. The great

PROVINCES

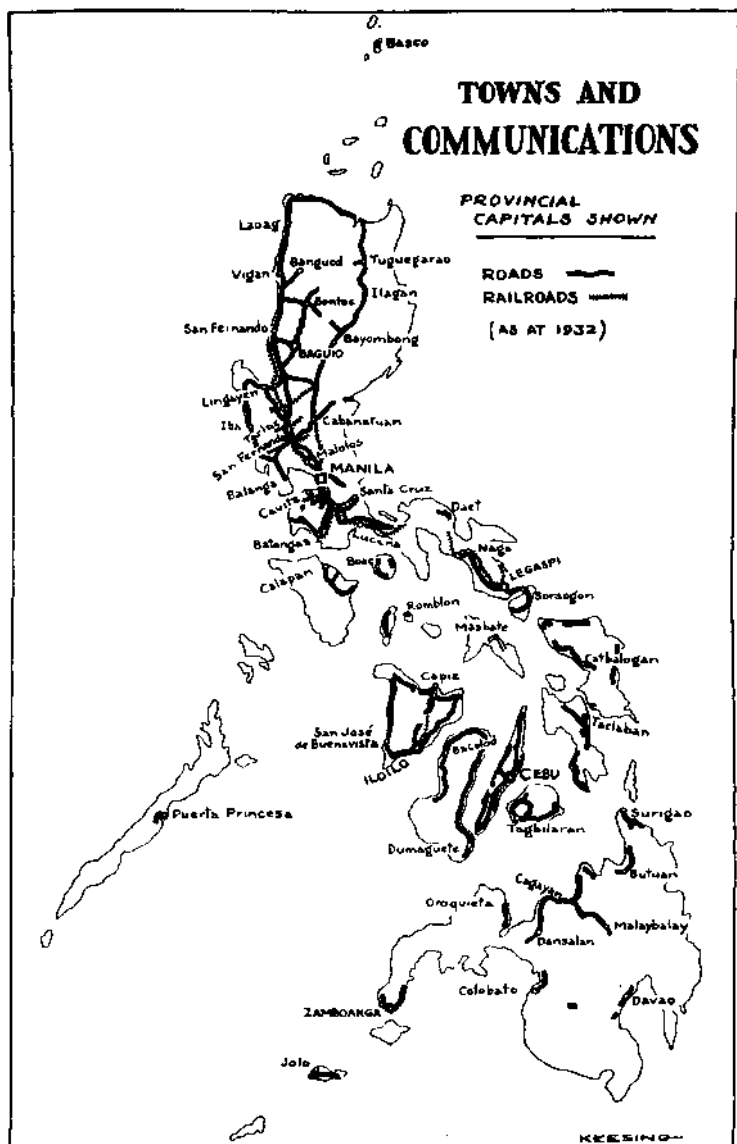
- 1 BATANES
- 2 ILOCOS NORTE
- 3 ILOCOS SUR
- 4 ABRRA
- 5 CAGAYAN
- 6 MOUNTAIN
- 7 ISABELA
- 8 LA UNION
- 9 NUEVA VIZCAYA
- 10 PANGASINAN
- 11 ZAMBALES
- 12 TARLAC
- 13 NUEVA ECIJA
- 14 PAMPANGA
- 15 BULACAN
- 16 TAYABAS
- 17 BATAAN
- 18 RIZAL
- 19 CAVITE
- 20 LASUNA
- 21 BATANGAS
- 22 CAMARINES NORTE
- 23 CAMARINES SUR
- 24 MARINDUQUEZ
- 25 MINDORO
- 26 ROMBLON
- 27 ALBAY
- 28 SORSOGON
- 29 MASBATE

DENSITY OF POPULATION PER SQUARE MILE BY PROVINCES -



KEESING

Sketch Map 3.



Sketch Map 4.

majority of Filipinos now in the United States are Ilocanos. Today, all told, this group numbers almost a million-and-a-half. As they have moved into the territories of other local Filipino peoples they have tended to oust and absorb them.

A rather different type of migration in the modern Philippines has been a movement of enterprising people from rural districts to the cities. The early Spaniards counted about 30,000 Filipinos within a radius of "five leagues" in and around Manila. Today there are some 400,000 people living in the city itself. Other cities have grown up in the islands where suitable harbors for sea-going vessels were available: Cebu, Iloilo, Zamboanga, and Legaspi being the main ones (sketch map 4). There is also a "summer capital", the city of Baguio, in the high mountains of north Luzon. Numbers of the rural villages have grown into large towns, but none of these others compare with Manila. It is the apex of commercial, political, social and educational life in the Philippines, a great modern city around which Filipino nationhood is oriented, the *ultima thule* of all educated and ambitious Filipinos. As may be expected, too, it is a city of much poverty, since folk who have once caught the fever of urban living are loth to return to the country.

A large proportion of the foreign community, both white and Oriental, resides in Manila. Americans are to be found elsewhere in army and navy posts, or as government officials, directors of industrial enterprises, and missionaries among the pagans. Chinese tradesmen are scattered throughout practically all communities in the archipelago. A Japanese agricultural colony estimated variously at fifteen to twenty-five thousand people is located at Davao, in southeast Mindanao, also a smaller number at Baguio, the mountain

capital in Luzon. Japanese have almost complete control of the commercial fisheries in the islands.

At the present time, the American laws excluding Orientals apply in the Philippines, so that such immigration is limited, but numbers of thinking Filipinos fear that an independent Philippines will not be able to sustain such a prohibition because of the need for developing trade relationships with the near-by countries. A Filipino scholar recently warned his people that "if we do not settle and develop these resources (in the underpopulated regions), other people will come to do it for us".

CHAPTER IX

UNITY OUT OF DIVERSITY

WE have indicated that there are local groups in the Philippines with many varieties of speech and custom: heritage of the complex peopling of the islands. The task of this section is to see more clearly what these differences are, and how far in the modern process of nation building there has come about a greater unity.

It is not easy to get from the books that have been written on the Filipinos a clear idea of the likenesses and differences among them. Some writers have stressed the variations from district to district. They make much of the contrast between the Christians and the non-Christians, and give an impression that the Filipinos cannot become a unified people except, perhaps, after a very long time indeed. Others take an opposite viewpoint. They say that, except perhaps for the tiny handful of pygmy folk, the Filipinos are a kindred Indo-Malayan people, basically one, with local differences that are becoming no more important, say, than those in the United States between city and country, north and south, New York and California, descendants of Pilgrim Fathers and of recent immigrants from Europe. Filipino leaders incline strongly to the latter view as part of their assertion that they are ready for independence. Where does the truth lie?

As the Spaniards brought one after another of the independent little communities under control in the sixteenth century, they noted that they could be classed on the basis of language and custom into larger wholes. The people in and around Manila, for example, spoke more or less the same tongue, worshipped the same deities and, allowing for slight differences from settlement to settlement, were essentially similar folk. That they fought among themselves a great deal, perhaps, did not make them culturally different; this happened also among the ancestors of the present Germans and others in Europe, and does still among the Chinese, without negating the fact that the people concerned are essentially the same. These Manila folk had a name for themselves and their speech, *Tagalog*. To this day they are known as such. North and south of the Tagalog on the plains and in the mountains and jungles, the Spaniards found many other units of this kind.

It is well worth taking the time to survey these groups as we find them today, seeing where they live and their approximate numbers. For this we may follow sketch map 5.

Taking the Christians first, we find the Tagalog still around Manila, now grown to some 2,250,000. North of Tagalog country are 390,000 Pampango, 350,000 Pangasinan, 1,300,000 Ilocano, 120,000 Ibanag, and also four or five much smaller groups. South Luzon has 830,000 folk called Bicol. In the middle or Visaya islands are various peoples who speak a group of closely related dialects known as Visayan (sometimes written Bisayan), and whose customs are fairly much alike. Comprising some 5,330,000 in all, they are easily the most numerous Filipino unit today. A few separate peoples live in these islands, but their numbers are very small.

 Christians
 (names underlined)
 Mohammedans
 (names *in italics*)
 Nature and ancestor worshippers
 (names not underlined)

[illegible]

Sketch Map 5.

As the Spaniards brought one after another of the independent little communities under control in the sixteenth century, they noted that they could be classed on the basis of language and custom into larger wholes. The people in and around Manila, for example, spoke more or less the same tongue, worshipped the same deities and, allowing for slight differences from settlement to settlement, were essentially similar folk. That they fought among themselves a great deal, perhaps, did not make them culturally different; this happened also among the ancestors of the present Germans and others in Europe, and does still among the Chinese, without negating the fact that the people concerned are essentially the same. These Manila folk had a name for themselves and their speech, *Tagalog*. To this day they are known as such. North and south of the Tagalog on the plains and in the mountains and jungles, the Spaniards found many other units of this kind.

It is well worth taking the time to survey these groups as we find them today, seeing where they live and their approximate numbers. For this we may follow sketch map 5.

Taking the Christians first, we find the Tagalog still around Manila, now grown to some 2,250,000. North of Tagalog country are 390,000 Pampango, 350,000 Pangasinan, 1,300,000 Ilocano, 120,000 Ibanag, and also four or five much smaller groups. South Luzon has 830,000 folk called Bicol. In the middle or Visaya islands are various peoples who speak a group of closely related dialects known as Visayan (sometimes written Bisayan), and whose customs are fairly much alike. Comprising some 5,330,000 in all, they are easily the most numerous Filipino unit today. A few separate peoples live in these islands, but their numbers are very small.

- Christians
(names underlined)
- Mohammedans
(names in italics)
- Nature and ancestor worshippers
(names not underlined)

LOCAL GROUPINGS OF THE FILIPINO PEOPLE

Legend:

- ✝ Christians (names underlined)
- ☾ Mohammedans (names in italics)
- ☼ Nature and ancestor worshippers (names not underlined)

The statistics are approximate only.

Map Data:

Region/Province	Population	Grouping
Luzon	255,000	Nature and ancestor worshippers
Ilocos	120,000	Christians
Pangasinan	350,000	Christians
Pampango	350,000	Christians
Manila	400,000	Christians
Tagalog	2,250,000	Christians
Negrito	1,300	Nature and ancestor worshippers
Bicol	830,000	Christians
Samar-Leyte Visayan	800,000	Christians
Panay Visayan	1,630,000	Christians
Cebu Visayan	2,750,000	Christians
Visayan Colonists	35,000	Christians
Samar Moros	98,000	Mohammedans
Sulu Moros	125,000	Mohammedans
Yakan Moros	17,500	Mohammedans
Manobo	30,000	Mohammedans
Mandaya	18,000	Mohammedans
Ata	6,000	Mohammedans
Bagobos	2,500	Mohammedans
Subanon	37,000	Mohammedans
Lanao Moros	90,000	Mohammedans
Bukidnon	35,000	Mohammedans
Mangayungan	2,500	Mohammedans
Nagindanas	160,000	Mohammedans
Christian Colonists	10,000	Christians
Palawan & Moros	20,000	Mohammedans
Kalamian	12,000	Mohammedans
Mikeyan	14,000	Mohammedans
Palawan	20,000	Mohammedans
Palawan & Moros	20,000	Mohammedans
Palawan	20,000	Mohammedans

Sketch Map 5.



CHILDREN OF NON-CHRISTIANS NOW GO TO SCHOOL: EDUCATION IS A POWERFUL UNIFYING INFLUENCE

The Moros in the South are also made up of various units. Though Mohammedanized, they still, as with the Christians, retain local peculiarities. There are about 160,000 Magin-danao, 125,000 Sulu, 88,000 Samal, and several smaller groups. Together, the Moros total about 490,500.

The so-called pagan peoples have never been accurately counted. About a quarter million live in the inland fastnesses of northern Luzon. They are made up of some fourteen groups, of which the largest are 100,000 Ifugao, 40,000 Bontoc, and 30,000 each of Ibaloi, Kalinga and Lepanto. In the vast highlands of Mindanao, too, are over one hundred and eighty thousand more pagans, including 35,000 Bukidnon, 30,000 Manobo, and 27,000 Subanun. Palawan has 20,000 Tagbanua. Counting in the remnant of Negritos, the pagans number in all some 584,500.

A few comments will make these divisions clearer. In the first place, they represent important differences of speech. Scholars are able, it is true, to trace all the Philippine languages to a common ancestry. They have an akin grammatical structure and other likenesses. Yet for immediate practical purposes only the people of each local group can understand one another in their native tongue. To a Tagalog, for instance, the talk of an Ilocano or Visayan is incomprehensible, unless exceptional circumstances have caused him to learn that form of speech. Indeed, sometimes within the same group there are differences from district to district that make understanding difficult, as among the Visayan dialects.

Much the same applies to customs, beliefs, ideas of right and wrong, and the like. There has been an essential sameness underlying the ways of nearly all Filipino groups. Family and social life follow the same general principles of organization, the older religious ideas were broadly similar,

and so on. Yet from group to group there developed important differences in detail that clearly marked each from the others: and it is these detailed things, such as what is "correct" to eat, wear, do or leave undone, laugh at, or believe in, that determine to a great extent whether people are friendly and respectful to one another or suspicious and contemptuous.

So much for the regional distinctions. Let us picture now the results of modern peace and intercourse. As peoples hitherto isolated began to travel in one another's districts, exchanging ideas, trading, perhaps marrying and settling, they had to make adjustments in their traditional ways. The border-lines between local units tended to become blurred. The growing cities and towns came to have mixed populations. Where one group had what seemed easier methods of doing things, or better goods and ideas, the others might copy them. One essential need was to have some means of common communication.

Three of the local tongues have emerged in modern times as most important for such intercourse. Tagalog, the speech of the Manila people, who were in closest touch with the incoming westerners, was learnt by all the other folk in the central Philippines. In the north, Ilocano migrants carried their language with them. Even the pagan groups of the northern jungles and mountains learnt to use Ilocano as a medium for common contact among one another, and as the language of trading and government activities which brought contact with the outside world. Among the southern Philippine groups, Visayan spread likewise, especially the dialect of Cebu. It was a great natural experiment in linguistic self-education.

Today, it would be a very rare Filipino who could not

speak one of these three major languages. At the same time, however, those who do not count them as the mother tongue nearly always preserve their own local speech for use in **the** family and community. Furthermore, few Filipinos can speak more than one of these major languages. Even among the Filipinos who have come to the United States, the Tagalog-speaking persons cannot understand those speaking Ilocano or Visayan, nor the latter one another. No one language has become a national tongue. For common intercourse, those who are able have to use Spanish or English, and otherwise an interpreter must be called in.

Some observers see in this lack of a generally understood speech a serious bar to national unity. It is one reason American educators have been pushing hard the learning of English. Certain Filipino nationalists are now trying to make, not English, but one of the three main Philippine languages their common tongue. Unfortunately, the Tagalogs insist that it should be Tagalog, while at least many Ilocanos and Visayans think that their home languages are better. Meanwhile, educated Filipinos carry on the national business variously in Spanish and English, with English steadily gaining the upper place. Their uneducated countrymen can at best speak in the common dialect of the locality. The Philippine scene is thus linguistically very complicated. Ultimately, many believe, English will be the wider intellectual language of the Filipinos, with probably a fused Malayan dialect based on Tagalog as a secondary tongue; but that day is yet far off.

Along with forms of speech, many of the local customs have been preserved. The Filipino of today, even the member of a small minority group, cherishes the ancestral ways. At the same time, he knows a considerable amount

about the ways of at least his immediate neighbors, and takes some part in the wider cultural life of the nation. Roads, schools, government offices, stores, newspapers, radios, and the like are being effective in linking the people together more and more as a whole. While the Spaniards were inclined to look askance at any movement towards Filipino unity, the Americans are cooperating heartily with Filipino leaders in trying to encourage it. Especially in the case of the backward peoples, a steady pressure is being exerted toward "assimilation".

The modern scene, therefore, is one in which the old localisms of speech, custom and loyalty are to a large extent preserved, yet over and above those a common national life and loyalty are emerging. There is undoubtedly great conservatism. Many Filipinos still know little, or are interested in little, outside the immediate round of family and community life. Sometimes one local group assumes an attitude of superiority over others, making for trouble and ill-feeling. The non-Christian often feels that the Christians look down on him and his ways with pity if not contempt, so he tends to keep apart. The Manila folk are accused of holding themselves above the rural groups, much as are New Yorkers or Bostonians in the United States. Yet undoubtedly the trend is for sectionalism to be tempered more and more by a wider sense of being Filipino.

In closing this chapter a danger may be mentioned into which not a few observers have fallen—namely, of confusing unity with uniformity. In our own western nations we do not demand that everyone follow exactly the same patterns of life in order to be good citizens. Pride in our city, state, and special ways of doing things are by no means inconsistent with loyalty to the nation. In the case of the

Filipinos, too, it would be false to say that the people cannot be one so long as all these local differences exist. Indeed, rooted as these are in the soil and the history of each region, they form a rich heritage any undue destruction of which would be a distinct cultural loss to the Filipino nation.

CHAPTER X

RICH MAN AND TENANT

IN speaking of Juan de Ia Cruz, the common man of the Philippines, we should not call him "the man in the street" but rather "the man in the field". The economic life of the Philippines is built essentially upon the labor of those who work the soil. According to the latest census, seventy-two per cent of Filipino men were engaged in agriculture. Had the count been adapted to local conditions, it would have recorded, too, that the majority of women work in the fields, and even the boys and girls in the rural families take their part in the seasonal cycle of agriculture.

Numbers of Filipinos are small independent farmers. This is especially so in the pioneer belts, where the more hardy are carving out homesteads from virgin jungle. The great majority of the people, however, occupy small holdings as tenants or laborers on the estates of landlord (*cacique*) families. In the more densely populated areas the cultivable land is nearly all owned by a relatively few such wealthy folk. An American has spoken of the *cacique* as "a cross between an English country gentleman, an American ward politician, and a Spanish grandee". More often than not the *tao*, the common man, is poverty-stricken, debt-ridden, and reduced to a position not far from slavery.

It is easy to see how this has come about. In early days there was usually plenty of spare land around each little

hamlet, but as the population multiplied many times over this all became occupied. Furthermore, each family holding was sliced into smaller and smaller units as more and more children came along to share the inheritance. In time, even the most intensive cultivation of these little plots could not satisfy hunger, and they became mortgaged to the few rich men; sons, too, had to go off to work as tenants and laborers. Already it has been pointed out how, in the Spanish times, the descendants of the Indo-Malayan chiefs were in a position to become small capitalists. Often, too, such landlord families were the mixed descendants of Spaniards or Chinese who settled and married in the region. Actually, Filipino custom allows rates of interest and services for debt that by modern standards are extortionate in the extreme so that the mass of the people passed into what we would look upon as a never-ending peonage or servitude, and their lands were absorbed into the *cacique* holdings.

In many cases, Juan even today accepts his dependence on the landlord as a matter of course. His ancestors have served for as many generations as he can remember. Neither state nor church in Spanish days took any significant measure towards economic reform—the latter, indeed, taught him that humility and resignation are virtues. In the case of a landlord who was fair to him and interested in him—and there are still some, even in these days when the *cacique* families have gravitated in large numbers to the cities and towns, leaving their estates to be managed by agents—the tenant might go to him not only on economic matters, but also for advice on personal concerns, as for example, the marriage of his children. At its best, the landlord-tenant relation was a paternal one, and until nowadays neither Juan

nor his forefathers have dreamt of a society where every man stands on his own feet.

No better idea of the situation of the man on the soil today can be given than to quote two pen-pictures by a Filipino writer, Mariano D. Manawis, one telling of life in his birth place, the Cagayan valley, which is an isolated pioneer belt, the other describing farm conditions in a crowded agricultural province, Nueva Ecija, where he later worked. Both, somewhat reduced from the originals, are from the *Philippine Magazine* (February 1933, January 1934)-

"Aday—that is how the tenant in the Cagayan Valley styles himself—has the good fortune of living in a region where the landlord simply has to be fair with him. A very considerable portion of the tobacco region is still virgin. Consequently, unlike in the Ilocos and Central Provinces, the competition is not among the tenants for lands to cultivate, but among the little landlords for tenants. Hence, the landlord has to keep Aday contented if he is not to lose his tenant to someone else.

"The landlord gives Aday a piece of land as large as Aday can cultivate, and takes one half of the crop. If Aday does not own the work animals, like the poorer farmers, he gets only one-third of the product. Aside from the cultivation of the land assigned to him, Aday is required to do little else. He hauls cartloads of firewood to town, and helps fence the yard of his landlord; but ask him, and he will tell you that he does these things not under compulsion but out of gratitude, or to win the esteem of his master or because he wants to ask Dona Maria—that is Mrs. Landlord—to be the godmother of his latest-born.

"Aday and his family live in a very simple dwelling; a two-room bamboo shack . . . This he builds and rebuilds

at surprisingly small cost. Every farmer is a carpenter, and it is a custom among the Cagayanos (Cagayan people) for tenants cultivating adjacent lands to help each other in the construction of their houses as well as in the planting and harvesting of their crops. Practically all that is necessary is a little wine, chocolate, and cakes. All this Adoy may get from his landlord on credit.

"Adoy married at an early age. Aguet is the name of his wife . . . Aguet is not of his own winning; his parents still consider it their right to choose for him.

"There are five children in the family. They are a great help on the farm. Adoy ploughs the fields. Aguet follows him to pick up the uprooted grasses, which she burns. Atang stays at home. She boils rice while rocking the little one. Seven-year-old Fana is learning the "ABC" under the tutorship of her grandfather. Learning the *Coton* (primer) and how to count up to one hundred is almost all the education Adoy can afford to give his children. Ati, after helping his father with the plow, goes to the brook to catch crabs or to the rice paddies to catch mudfish; while Illo is on the back of his father's second carabao. He is not playing. He is grazing the beast while scaring the birds away from the blooming rice, and his little voice is often heard in a native tune. In the afternoon when Adoy harrows the plowed field, Aguet stays at home to mend the family's clothes, and to cook corn or camotes (sweet potatoes) for all.

"Adoy too is affected by the economic depression. But what does he need much money for, anyway? Before all the pasungay (the smallest saleable tobacco leaves) have been gathered, he begins to plant corn and beans in between the rows of denuded tobacco stalks. His share of the products

he stores to feed his family and his landlord's horses. He raises palay (rice) also, but that is for his landlord.

"The farmers, of course, do not live on boiled rice or corn alone. Saluyut (a vegetable), the favorite dish of the Ilocanos, grows uninvited in the corn fields. Eggplants, tomatoes, papayas, ampalayas, etc., grow in the garden near his home. The white squash is more than food for him, for he cuts it crosswise in halves, seasons the lower half in the sun, and next time he goes to town you see it on his head. A hat!

"The tobacco grower, no matter how poor, has chickens under his house. On Sundays and during fiestas when Aday and his family go to town, you will see the wife carrying a small basket on her head. Lift the piece of cloth that covers it and you will see a hen with its legs tied, some eggs, and a few bundles of vegetables. On the return, they have metamorphosed into a bottle of petroleum, three centavo worth of cakes, some salt, and perhaps a can of salmon or sardines, which is already a luxury to these simple people.

"When the season for selling the tobacco comes, almost all that Aday buys are a loud dress and a pair of slippers for his daughter; cheap felt hats for the boys; and a tapis (skirt) and a rosary for his wife. The rosary Aguet does not know how to use; but she loves to wear it about her neck. Aday does not need to spend much for himself. He does not know how to walk with shoes on; and he doesn't even wear a belt. If he has a pair of *rayadillo* trousers and a fancy shirt for holidays and weddings he is satisfied. Hence, the rest of the money is spent for new materials and to pay off the debt which he contracted when grandmother died, for indeed did he not bear the expenses for the funeral and the nine-day prayers? And

of course the chocolate must not be forgotten because the Cagayanos never forget it. They are chocolate addicts.

"Another weakness of the tobacco planter is fiestas. When a new house has been built, it must be inaugurated; the house is . . . (unclean) if it is not given a fiesta, he says. When a child is sick, the *minangtlot* (seer or prophetess, usually a woman), after examining him, says, 'Dasal' (possessed by a spirit). On the following day all the neighbors crowd into the house to pray and to partake of a dinner and chocolate designed to appease the anger of the spirit that sent down the ailment. There is also a rapidly disappearing custom of putting the head of a pig together with *buyo* (betel) and many other things under a tree, designated by the *minangtlot* as the abode of the spirit that punished the sick child.

"When one of the barrio lasses gets married, even the carabaos go on a holiday. Indeed, if you happen to be the landlord and you go out to the fields for inspection, you might find all the doors and windows of Adoy's house well barred. On the land belonging to one of your neighbors in the town, who is of course also a landowner, you find all your tenants and the tenants of other landowners crowding under a shelter adorned with coconut fronds. They are noisily witnessing two people dancing the *mascota* (a native dance portraying courtship) barefooted and on the bare ground to the song of a blind minstrel or minstrels singing to the accompaniment of a *cinco-cinco* (native guitar) and a bamboo flute. At one end are a young woman in a white dress, and a young man in a loose, black, borrowed coat, seated at the opposite ends of a rectangular table on which is a Crucifix with two candles burning before it. Not far away is a very long temporary table made of bamboo under a roofing of green coconut leaves.

The rest of the tenants are there; old men, women, and children. They are feasting, while their dogs quarrel over the bones under their feet. *Bodal* A wedding!"

Here we have been taken for an intimate glimpse into the economic, social and religious life of a Filipino tenant of the frontier. We see his simple needs and tastes. He is little touched by modern influences. Indeed, though the Cagayan people have been nominally Christian for over three centuries, they still cling to some of the older beliefs and sacrifices. On the whole, the landlord system is not burdensome in his thinking. Only as schools reach out to take his children, or the gossip of the town market-place turns to secret whisperings about the rights of the poor is there likely to be a ferment of new ideas and ambitions to disturb the traditional round of Adoy and his kind.

Let us now turn to a much grimmer scene, this in a province on the rich and fertile plains north of Manila.

"The Nueva Ecija peasant lives with his family of five or six in a small house on a corner of the piece of land he cultivates—big or small as it pleased the *Hacendero* (landlord) to apportion him. No matter how industrious and thrifty he may be, he cannot hope ever to own the land he labors on, nor any other piece of land in the province, for in Nueva Ecija and other Central Luzon provinces, the agricultural lands are owned by a few rich *Hacenderos*, and no tenants' money can buy such land. Nor can he shift, for he has no money to take him to kinder lands.

"He usually hires his work animals from the, *Hacendero*. He keeps them in a small enclosure at night, and gets up at four or five o'clock in the morning to let them graze under his own watchful eye. If a tenant's carabao is even found in the rice field of another tenant, whether or not the animal has done any damage, the tenant pays a fine

of ten *cavans* (a *cavan* is equivalent to somewhat over two bushels) of palay (rice-on-the-stalk) to the Hacendero—according to the so-called "Laws of the Hacienda"—made by the Hacendero himself.

"The Hacendero furnishes half of the seed; the other half comes from the tenant. It is sown in the seed-beds in June. When the seedlings are large enough, and the paddies (irrigated fields) ready, the transplanting begins. The tenant does not do this alone, but invites his neighbors to help him. He pays them . . . (a traditional amount) half of which comes from him and half from the landowner.

"For whatever amount the tenant borrows for other purposes, the Hacendero charges him fifty per cent interest. The Hacendero will deny this, because it is against the law, but it is true nevertheless. If a tenant borrows a sum of money equivalent in value at the time to twenty cavans of palay, the Hacendero makes it appear in his book, the item signed or thumb-marked by the tenant, that the latter owes him thirty cavans. Such is the easy escape from the so-called usury laws of the Philippines! And on his part, the tenant takes the money at any cost and keeps mum about it. He has no other source of income than farming, and no one but the Hacendero would lend him the money he needs.

"From the time the transplanting is finished, early August, up to the harvest time, which comes in February, the farmer has practically nothing to do but see that his fields are well supplied with water. He sits at home most of the day, giving his finger and toe-nails—lost in the mud during the plowing and harrowing season—a chance to regrow, or patches his tumble-down house.

"When the grain has matured, he makes another trip to the Hacendero's office for money to pay those who will help him cut the palay and gather it in bundles for the

thrashing. The *trilladora* (thrashing machine) hums in field after field. Sometimes, when the farmer has no more rice to eat, he will himself thrash a small part of the still undivided harvest to save his family from starvation. But if he is caught, he either forfeits the whole harvest to the landowner or is haled to court, whence he goes straight to jail for theft.

"Some years ago, the tenant still thrashed his palay by spreading it beneath the feet of two or three horses driven side by side in a circle around a bamboo pole. The farmer liked to do this, he was paid for thrashing the Hacendero's share, and his children got a great deal of fun out of it, but in this day of the machine, the tenant is not allowed to thrash in this manner. The Hacendero's huge *trilladora* must do the job, and for every hundred cavans of palay thrashed, the tenant pays the landlord ten cavans.

"The palay pouring out of the thrashing machine is put in sacks. After it has been weighed, the farmer hauls it to the provincial road, alongside of which it is piled up and watched day and night, until the Hacendero's truck comes along. Then the tenant goes to the landlord once more for his clearance.

"Generally, the farmer has had no schooling, and even if he has learned a little reading from his mother or a gray-haired neighbor who taught the *Caton* (primer), he is weak at figures. So before he goes to the office he fills his pockets with small pebbles or grains of corn with which to count. Each grain represents a cavan of palay.

"One half of the harvest goes to the Hacendero. Then from his share, the tenant pays the landlord his part of the expenses. Then he pays his personal accounts with interest, these often amounting to thirty or forty cavans. Hence, it often happens that even if the harvest comes to a hundred

or more cavans only one or two cavans remain for him and his family in payment for a year of labor.

"What about the twelve months until the next harvest? There is no other way: he borrows from the Hacendero at the same usurious rate of interest. And so it comes about that the tenant's life on the haciendas of Nueva Ecija is reduced to a state of perpetual dependence and indebtedness.

"The tenant feels that something should be done about it; he thinks the Government should do something about it, but since it does not, he sometimes considers making the effort to take the matter into his own hands.

"He goes to other tenants and they discuss the possibility of forming some sort of peaceful union with the aim of securing better conditions. But he is told that before the first meeting is over they would all be arrested as 'Reds'. And if they escaped the ever-watchful Constabulary agents, there is still the Hacendero. The moment he learns that a tenant is a *capisanan* (member of an organization), he would expel him from the hacienda. And where could the poor tenant go? Where would he get the money to move to another part of the country and establish himself there? So, generally, he decides to slave on. As long as his wife and his little ones, whom he loves so well, live, he will continue to bow to oppression."

CHAPTER XI

CURRENTS OF RURAL LIFE

ECONOMISTS count the Filipino people as being on "•" the whole very poor. Even taking into account the resources concentrated into the hands of the few, including commercial and industrial enterprises to be viewed shortly, the average per capita wealth is only \$233, as compared with \$380 for Japan and \$2,918 for the United States. President Camilo Osias of the National University of the Philippines estimates that the average property of the tenant class is worth only about \$10. Professor Macaraig writes:

"The earnings, or shares, of the tenants in the products of their work are so small that they can hardly subsist on them. They are not properly clothed . . . They do not eat nourishing food and they are easily attacked by beriberi.

"When they become sick, they have no money with which to pay the doctor or to buy medicine. Many of them die without medical attendance. When their relatives die, they must depend upon their neighbors' contributions to pay for the expense of burial. When droughts or floods destroy the rice crop, they have no savings upon which to draw. When their poorly built nipa (palm leaf) houses are burned, they are left entirely without property and money with which to start life anew. They are poverty-stricken. In order that they may live, they borrow money from money lenders at very high rates of interest. Sometimes they lose their self-respect entirely, and depend upon relatives and friends for support."

This scholar gives several reasons for the existence of such conditions. In the forefront he places two seen by us

already: the national resources of the islands are not yet well developed, and the rich folk exploit the poor. Then, too, he says, the Filipinos are "lazy"; they are not under pressure of necessity to produce much wealth, needing no coal, woollens, or shut-in homes in their winterless climate, and getting rice, fish, and their other foods without great effort. They love gambling, and this tends to keep them in poverty. Finally, they are improvident, squandering in happy-go-lucky fashion whatever comes into their hands. One Filipino has said that Juan de Ia Cruz "saves at the rate of a water buffalo cart but spends at the rate of an eight cylinder car".

It is worth pausing, however, before accepting these statements at their face value. We must always be careful about measuring the ways of living of other peoples by our own. What we think is wealth or poverty, thrift, indolence, and so on, does not always correspond to their ideas: each folk has its own standards of value. We may, for instance, believe an Australian Aborigine to be very badly off on his parched deserts, living on whatever kangaroos and other game he can catch. But he certainly would not thank us if we took him into a Park Avenue mansion. To him it would be a suffocating prison, and the foods, crockery and cutlery on the spotless table-cloth quite "foreign" and unappealing; he would long for his open hunting grounds and the joys of life in a country where so-called civilized men, for all their knowledge, would quickly starve. To many a Filipino peasant, ten or twenty dollars would represent comparative wealth. Supplied as he is with the lush-growing tropical produce, trained to live in the simple ways of his ancestors, trusting in supernatural powers to care for him, and little touched as yet by education or modern standards of value that would revolutionize his

ideas, he may not be so unhappy as we are inclined to think on reading over the above statistics and opinions. "Laziness" is merely the indication that he accepts life as it comes without great effort—indeed, if he were to work harder, the benefit would most likely accrue not to him but to relatives who would come to live on him or to the landowner to whom his family is indebted. Festivals, wearing bright clothes, gambling, and the like form his simple pleasures. Only now that more and more Filipinos are coming under the influence of American standards, and look to the building of a modern nation, do these appear bad, wasteful, or unprogressive.

Granting, then, that the rural Filipino still idles to a considerable degree in the still pools and eddies of tradition, we have, nevertheless, seen in our picture of the Nueva Ecija peasant that currents and rapids are not completely lacking. Actually there is a growing agrarian discontent which has already found outlet in open conflict. Two movements especially have made world news in recent years: those of the Tuguegarao and of the Sakdalistas. While there has been a tendency for these to take on something of the character of both a mystical cult and a political faction, and they have been summarily labelled as the work of communist agitators, their roots lie essentially in the landlord-tenant situation. It is no accident that they have emerged in the crowded areas round Manila where the poorer folk have come most under modern influences. A Filipino scholar writes:

"For the last twenty years there have been many conflicts between the asama (Tagalog word for tenant) and the *cacique* in the Philippines.

"Today the asama is better educated. He knows his rights and privileges. He knows when his landlord is exploiting him. The

lasama wants better food and clothing and a strong-material house instead of the nipa shack. He wears shoes and is proud to have a phonograph. In other words, his wants and necessities have increased, but his earning capacity has remained the same. To be able to supply his increased needs, the lasama is asking the *cacique* to give him a larger share of the crop. He is asking also a lower rate of interest on the money he borrows. The *cacique* will not give what the lasama is asking for. This is the fundamental cause of the conflict between the capitalist and the laborers on the farms of the Philippines."

Though so far the Philippine constabulary has summarily stamped out such "revolts", the real causes have hardly yet been touched by those in authority. We may count it certain that rural discontent will find increasing outlet. Whether the Philippines are in time to pass through the bloodbath of wholesale agrarian revolution, as Mexico has done as a result of rather similar conditions, remains for the future to show.

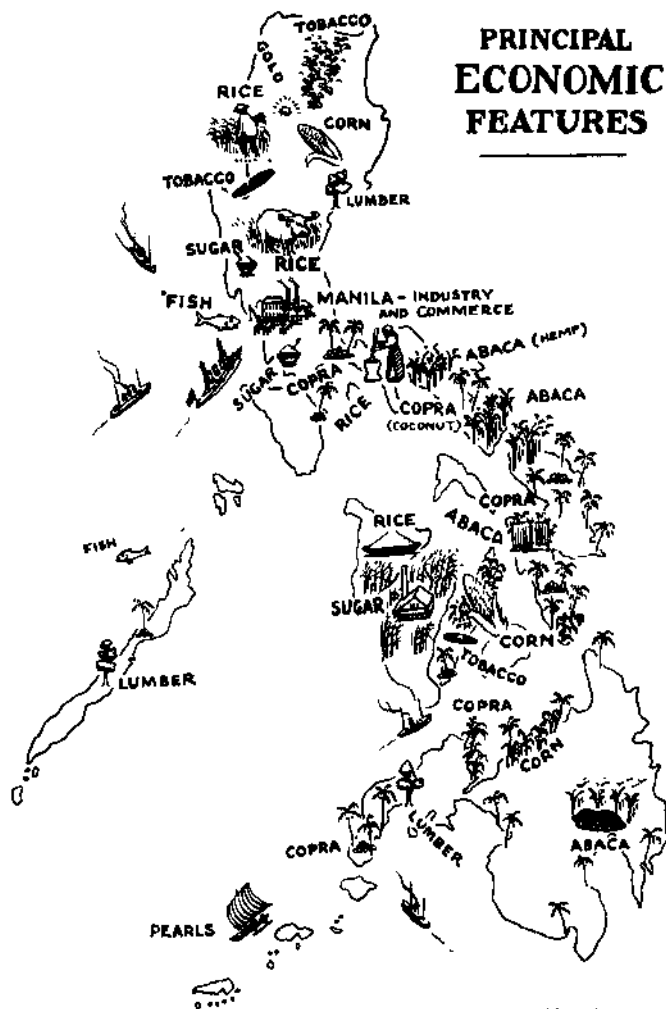
It is such economic pressure, too, which has caused so many tens of thousands of young men to leave their homes and follow what they saw as a golden trail to Hawaii and the mainland United States, there to work as plantation and garden laborers, musicians, hotel boys, domestic servants, and so on. They wanted to earn money, to improve their status and that of their families. The great majority of them have been sending much of their earnings home to help pay their kinsmen's debts, or, if they are more fortunate, to buy land that will enable them to become independent and so perhaps graduate into the landlord class. From Hawaii alone, as much as three million dollars has been sent in one year to relatives by the Filipino employees in the sugar and pineapple plantations.

At first (1906-10) it was very difficult for the recruiting agents sent to the Philippines by American industrial concerns to persuade Filipinos to leave their villages and venture

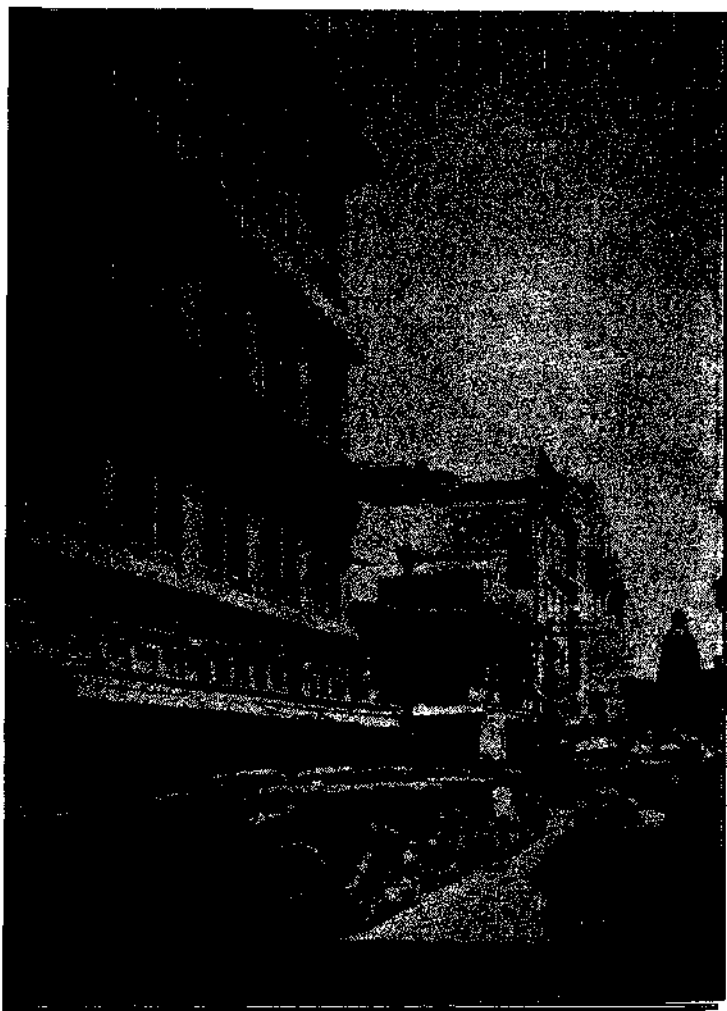
overseas. But before long a great trek started. Until 1920 the boat fares of laborers to Hawaii were paid, while glowing reports from those already overseas and the flood of money-orders which clogged the *barrio* post offices, made the United States seem a fabulous land. Only with the great depression, and the stringent restrictions on Filipino immigration which are part of the price paid for trial independence, has this spectacular economic fillip to rural Filipino life tailed away. Even yet there are about a hundred thousand Filipinos in the United States, and money is passing back to their relatives. All told, about one out of every forty adult male Filipinos now in the islands has been overseas. As these repatriates have gone back to their communities profoundly influenced by their experiences abroad, the whole migration movement can be seen as having not only economic results but also very important social and educational effects.

Today, Filipino leaders stress that migration within the Philippines offers equivalent opportunity for success. The factors that militate against this have already been viewed. Nevertheless, there is a constant ebb and flow of men, and to some extent women, to industrial and urban centers where labor for wages is available. If it were not for the roads that now form a network over much of the Philippines and for the modern commercial development (now threatened through the progressive closing of American markets), the poorer Filipinos would be more and more at the mercy of the landlords. They would face, perhaps, the alternatives of starvation or of grinding slavery. Even in 1933, that is, before the restriction of exports to the United States, the Philippine Bureau of Labor estimated that there were more than 853,000 unemployed agricultural and industrial workers in the islands—a growth of nearly a quarter million

PRINCIPAL ECONOMIC FEATURES



Sketch Map 6



By courtesy of "Philippine Magazine"

THE ESCOLTA—MAIN BUSINESS STREET IN MANILA

from the previous year, and about one out of every nine Filipinos over fifteen years of age.

What is the Philippine government doing about agrarian problems? From the early years of United States occupation an active department of agriculture and commerce has carried an aggressive campaign of betterment into Filipino economic life. Plant and animal diseases were brought under control through scientific research. Experimental stations were set up to improve the quality of agricultural products and of domestic animals, to introduce new crops and to demonstrate machine methods, the use of fertilizers and the like. A college of agriculture was established as part of the University of the Philippines. Training in farm work and home economics was carried into the schools. Laws were made that would settle the ownership of land and conserve and develop forest, water and game resources. Homesteading schemes were fostered. Typhoons were anticipated, so that people knew when to batten down their houses. Aid was given in developing markets for embroideries, rattan furniture, hats, and many other products. In a hundred other ways the government has improved conditions and made life more stable and secure.

In thus stretching out a helping hand, the authorities have had to fight both inertia and very great conservatism. Thus, people were slow to see why they should have to pay to get papers from the government to show their title to lands that came down according to the customary modes of inheritance from their forefathers. Or again, where diseased stock had to be killed, their owners resented such action. Conservatism of this kind tends, of course, to be shown among people the world over when an established order of things is being threatened by innovations. Nevertheless, we can well realize why Juan de la Cruz is particularly

suspicious of ideas introduced by strangers, whether American or Filipino, when we look back to the oppressions and exactions of Spanish days. He is learning only slowly that a government can be disinterested, that promises are not made to be broken, and that there are people outside his immediate kin who may be trusted and can have his interests sincerely at heart. Meantime, he tends to prefer things he knows, even if almost unendurably bad, to unknown things backed only by promises of better times to come.

A serious criticism levelled against government agencies is that their work has aided those who have property rather than the poorer folk. Little has so far been done to improve the lot of the property-less tenant. Indeed, critics of the *cacique* system freely say that the landlord class controls both the elections and the legislature, making it virtually impossible to pass really effective laws to improve the lot of the masses. A Filipino scholar, in pointing out the dangers of caciquism to democratic government, writes:

"The tenants are controlled in their choice of candidates for elective offices. The candidate of the *cacique* must be the candidate of the tenant. If the tenant does not vote in accordance with the wishes of the *cacique*', the tenant may be dismissed from his farm. Caciquism is an enemy of democracy because the laborers can not get fair treatment and good wages for their labor . . . Caciquism is an enemy of democracy because the rich have an advantage over the poor in their representation in the legislature . . . Laws that militate against the *caciques* are passed by the legislature only with great difficulty. But laws which favor the *cacique*, like those that provide better protection for property, can easily pass the legislature.

"Caciquism is an enemy of democracy because the *caciques* are opposed to measures which aim to improve the welfare of the laborers. For example, they are opposed to the education of the tenant's children, because they want the children to be as ignorant as their parents . . . because educated tenants will demand higher

wages . . . (and) will know their rights too well, and therefore it will be difficult for the *caciques* to control them."

It is true that under pressure from Americans and enlightened Filipino opinions, usury regulations have been made. These say that the extortionate rates of interest recognized by custom are to be reduced to what by modern standards are considered fair dealing. Yet it has been seen that such regulations can be easily avoided by an unscrupulous landlord. American officials and some Filipinos have been trying to get laws passed that would compel all landlords to make written contracts with their tenants as regards loans and work agreements, also to give an annual accounting in writing to the tenant. In 1933 and again in 1936 the National Assembly passed measures dealing with tenancy which have regulated the system to some extent in certain districts, especially those marked by severe agrarian unrest; but on the whole the problems are not yet adequately faced. (For an excellent account of the situation in 1937, see an article by P. A. Hill, titled "Agrarian Unrest—The New Tenancy Law", in the *Philippine Magazine*, March 1937.)

One important enactment that favors the tenant has been made. In 1915 a "rural credit division" was established within the government, with the necessary funds to organize "rural credit associations" among the tenants and homesteaders. This was placed in charge of a very devoted American named Arthur W. Prautch, who became known as the "enemy of usurers". The scheme provided for the formation of miniature cooperative banks among the peasants. By paying in a small sum to become a shareholder, a poor man could borrow money to tide him over the lean months without resort to the money-lender. So far, however, progress has been very slow indeed. The

people themselves are suspicious of such new-fangled ideas introduced by strangers, and are undoubtedly discouraged by the landlords. In a recent year the rural credit associations, though widely scattered, had not more than ninety thousand shareholders and thirty thousand borrowers. Both this scheme and the usury laws are likely to prove effective only as the peasantry becomes more educated and the land-owners more liberal in their viewpoint, or more afraid of mass movements.

Probably we are somewhat shocked by this agrarian situation, and are forming the idea that the Philippines is still a rather feudalistic or backward country. Actually, there is a very close parallel between the landlord-tenant system here described and that of the cotton, sugar, and tobacco growing southern states of America. Similar conditions exist in many other western countries. Such thought will not only save us from judging the Filipinos according to some ideal standard which our own people do not yet practice, but also will serve as a reminder that one of the major tasks of our twentieth century is to find an economic and social system that will give the good things of life as equitably as possible to all.

CHAPTER XII

COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY

THE trade of the Philippines has multiplied many times over since the United States displaced Spain. Sugar has been the principal export, with coconut products, abaca (hemp), tobacco, embroideries, and lumber as next in order of importance. Recently gold production has soared. In 1935 it was third in the list, and since then there has been a great gold boom accompanied by wild speculation. Philippine imports consist very largely of manufactured goods such as cloth, iron and steel products, and paper.

Where at the beginning of the American regime more than eighty per cent of Philippine exports went to Europe and Asia and only thirteen per cent to the United States, in 1933 over eighty-six per cent went to the United States. During recent years, about three-quarters of all Philippine trade has been conducted with her guardian. The islands today supply something over five per cent of United States imports and take more than two per cent of her exports. The change came mainly after 1909 when reciprocal free trade relations were established. Such a move was at first opposed by Filipino leaders, as they feared that if Philippine economic life were too closely entangled with that of America it would be impossible to secure political freedom. Nevertheless, the United States took upon herself the responsibility of developing Philippine commerce and

industry in this way. By now, the welfare of many thousands of Filipinos in the cities and industrialized districts, and the finances of government, have become almost inextricably bound up with the existence of an outlet for Philippine goods in America.

Even so, very few Filipinos share directly in the larger profits of this development. As pointed out earlier, the commerce of their country has been from pre-Spanish days in the hands of outsiders: Chinese and Westerners, the latter mainly Americans. Though Juan de la Cruz can now, so far as his means allow, satisfy many or all of his needs through the village store, buying clothing, pots, tools, and other goods that formerly he had to manufacture at home, he is only rarely the salesman. Likewise, his part in the larger industrial enterprises, such as sugar and lumber mills, tobacco factories, and the business of transportation by land and sea, is primarily that of wage-earner and rarely that of investor.

It is estimated that there are three thousand Chinese firms in Manila and ,seven thousand in the provinces. These are nearly all small retail trading stores; but there are also a number of large Chinese merchandise houses and factories in Manila and the other cities. Japanese and Hindus also take part in the retail trade. The Japanese practically control the commercial fisheries, and they lease land on which to grow agricultural products for market, notably hemp at Davao. The wholesale trade is mainly in the hands of European and American firms, likewise the public utilities and the big commercial industries, such as sugar production and gold mining. American investments in the Philippines total about two hundred and twenty-five million dollars. Here and there small Filipino traders, usually women, compete with the Orientals. Yet they are

not often successful. If they start business in their own locality it is difficult for them to keep their relatives from becoming non-paying dependents, while if they go elsewhere they are mistrusted as strangers. It is a striking fact that the Filipinos usually patronize a Chinese merchant in preference to their own countrymen. A few Filipinos, especially in Manila, have become successful business men, but they stand out the more as exceptions. A Filipino scholar has recently stated that "the greatest argument against Philippine independence is that the Filipinos do not control their own business".

Very naturally, then, is an increasing resentment among Filipinos against having alien control over such an important phase of their national life. Many Filipino leaders urge their people to compete with the foreigners and support only Filipino enterprises.

Yet there is a real dilemma here. "The wheel that is lacking in our car of progress", says a recent report of the Philippine Bureau of Commerce, "is capital"—and the Filipinos themselves cannot supply this. It must come from abroad, bringing still further alien penetration. In general, the islands have not so far been a very attractive field for investments, considering their rich resources. Production costs have been high, labor supply uncertain, and world markets glutted periodically in the goods best produced in the region. Above all, political conditions have for long been uncertain; before independence was in sight investors were doubtful of what the future would bring, and now it has been provided for they do not know what laws regarding industry and commerce the Filipinos as independent nationals will make.

The Philippines is a country in which unemployment and an acute labor shortage can take place on a large scale at

the same time. Some of the largest industrial enterprises **are** in districts far from the crowded agricultural provinces —**land** was naturally not available in the latter places **for** such development. Because of transportation costs, it has been impossible for the thousands of idle and needy Filipinos to move to the centers where work could be had. The solution of this labor difficulty by providing cheap and quick travel facilities for seasonal labor, and improving conditions in industrial centers so as to attract more permanent workers, is one of the main economic problems of the islands.

A tradition has grown up in the islands that the Filipino is not a good wage-laborer. Thus some sugar planters and other employers of labor have claimed that Filipinos are unreliable: indolent, and unwilling to stay on the job consistently. Many, including Filipino capitalists, have urged from time to time that Chinese laborers be introduced to meet their needs.

Now it can be amply shown that, apart perhaps from physical weakness caused by malnutrition or widespread parasitic diseases, the Filipinos can work as well as any other people when the need arises. The non-Christians of the mountain districts, men and women, labor constantly to win food from the terraced mountainsides of their rugged country. Where the Christian lowlander has something essential or interesting to be done, he too can bend his back with a will. In Hawaii, the opinion is that the Filipino plantation laborers are "hardworking" and "thrifty" rather than indolent and spendthrift as sentiment has it in their homeland.

The compulsory labor services and exactions of Spanish times and the landlord system already described have been anything but a training ground for vigorous application to work. Indeed, it was a rare individual who had sufficient

land to keep him reasonably busy. Enough labor to supply necessities, therefore, and why work even for these if your relatives can support you—this is the philosophy that modern ideas have only just begun to shake. Where the tenant or members of his family go out to earn money, they may remain at the job just as long as it takes them to accumulate what they want, or else merely for the time available between planting and harvest, or until some fiesta or family circumstance calls them home. So the employer of labor tends to brand them as unreliable. While we can discount any suggestion that the Filipino is under any innate handicap as a worker, there is no doubt that this peculiar difficulty exists as a complicating factor in industry and employment.

A far more serious problem, however, has emerged as a result of modern education, one, indeed, that is familiar in many countries today: the Filipinos who have been to school nearly always want a "white collar" job, especially a government post. A report of a special committee of the department of education says of this:

"Filipinos formerly had few opportunities to enter the professions or to take part in governmental activity, and naturally those who succeeded were held as heroes and leaders of the race. Humble toil was below the dignity of anyone who could read or write. Education was looked on as a means of living on the labor of others. Occidental pedagogy with promises of professional position and participation in the government created an urge to the easier and more genteel means of gaining a livelihood."

In the earlier years no serious results were forthcoming from the academic emphasis in the schools. But nowadays the government service and the professions are crowded. The cities have their unemployed graduates. Competition among those who have been well-educated makes for bad feeling or graft and other abuses.

The school system has now been adjusted considerably in the direction of stressing manual activities: agriculture and craft work. Though at first schools emphasizing these met with scant popularity, they are now gaining a more respected place. A few well-educated individuals are going back to the fields or entering trades, and their numbers are on the increase. But for the most part only the prospect of starvation drives them out and they are discontented. The solution must be along the two lines of changing educational ideals, and improving conditions for those on the land in other economic pursuits.

Besides this changing emphasis in the schools, the government has stepped in at many points to stimulate and control the development of industry and commerce. Its bureau of labor has been particularly active in protecting industrial workers from exploitation, regulating conditions of employment, mediating in disputes, inspecting plantations and factories, and supervising the emigration of laborers overseas. Extensive public works, such as roads, dams, and government buildings, have been constructed. In these matters the Philippines is much like any other western country of today.

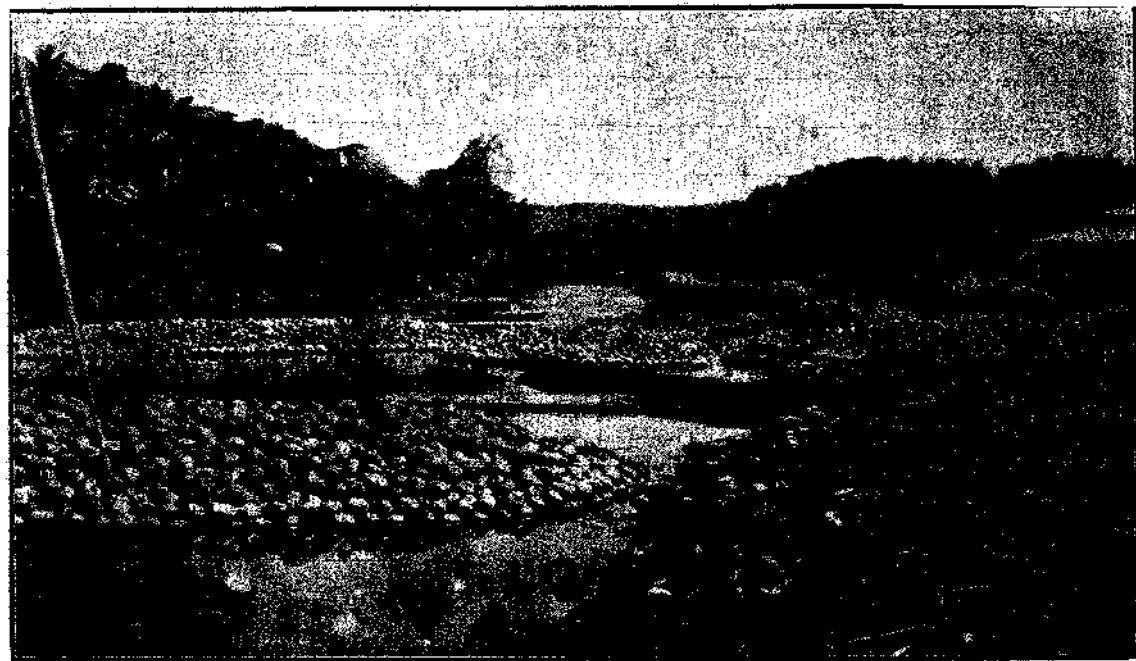
The paramount question for Philippine commerce and industry since 1933, dwarfing all else, has been to find outlets for the country's produce. The independence act and other measures have already closed American markets considerably. Indeed, a prime factor in bringing the autonomy issue to a head at Washington was the desire of mainland commercial interests to exclude Philippine sugar and other products, as well as Filipino labor.

This has not only caused consternation among those with a direct stake in the commerce of the islands, but it has also aroused many disinterested people, on the grounds that



By courtesy of Philippine Bureau of Science

STRIPPING ABACA (HEMP) IN BICOL



By courtesy of Philippine Bureau of Science

COCONUT PRODUCTS ARE PART OF THE LIFE BLOOD OF THE NATION

the United States is thus shirking the responsibilities she assumed in orienting Philippine economic life around a free trade relationship with herself. Where, earlier, it might have been possible for the Philippines to renew trade with European countries, or develop new markets in Asiatic countries, tariff walls and other structures of economic nationalism now prohibit this, except perhaps in the case of Japan. Closing of American markets, therefore, they claim, would "doom the islands, economically, politically, and socially; it would beggar the people". Furthermore, many American industries would suffer, as any reduction in Philippine purchasing power means a lessened sale for American goods. The only hope for the Filipinos would be to become commercially dependent on Japan. Already in the last year or two Japanese goods have penetrated Philippine markets considerably.

Such economic realities lie behind the efforts most Filipino leaders are now making to maintain trade relationships with the United States to the fullest possible degree. Certainly many years will be needed to make the fundamental changes in standards of living, industrial activities, and government finance that must take place if such commerce is extensively curtailed. Not a few Filipinos are urging that independence be postponed longer than now provided for, or even that some permanent partnership be established with the United States, perhaps akin to the British system of "dominion status". The great majority of Filipinos regard a rapprochement between the Philippines and Japan with the utmost apprehension.

In other words, the independence issue, which hitherto had purely a political flavor, has now had added to it economic and international ingredients that make it, in the opinion of many folk including an increasing number of

Filipinos, not only less palatable but even exceedingly dangerous.

Closely linked with the modern commercial situation in the islands are the finances of government. Taxes, customs duties, license fees, and other sources of income derived from business and industry provide the bulk of the annual government revenue. Here at least the poorer folk score. Apart from paying a head tax, they are more or less free of public dues. Yet this means that official services such as education, health activities and public works depend to a very large extent for their existence and further development upon non-Filipino enterprise in the islands and extensive overseas markets. There is the most intimate connection between the sugar-bowl on an American table, or the soap in an American bathroom, and the schoolhouse in the rural Philippine *barrio*; even the meager food with which many a Filipino family ekes out its daily living. Should exports be curtailed it is hard to see how an independent Philippines could finance adequate governmental activities, especially since they are having to be extended to cover national defense and in time a diplomatic service.

We thus see that the Philippines are faced today with many economic problems, some akin to those elsewhere and others of a special nature. Population and resources are in a state of unbalance, allowing the islands to be relatively empty and undeveloped. The mass of the people are moving only slowly from their traditional passivity and their indifference to modern economic ideas. The old Malayan order of society, exploited by some of the rich people, tends to prevail, though not without a growing discontent and even open revolt. There is as yet no extensive middle class of Filipinos between the landlord and the peasant. The commercial life on which such a class is

wont to rest is in the hands of foreigners. Education has tended to produce aspirants to "white collar" jobs. External commerce and the finances of the country are at an uncertain stage, being bound up with political and international issues.

In some respects the Filipinos as a whole are in a better economic position than numbers of other peoples. The great majority still lives close to the soil, and that a soil made fertile by the moist breath of the tropics. World depressions and commercial crises barely touch them at any essential point. Unemployment means lowered standards of living but rarely starvation, while for many such people the curtailment of industry and government means merely less of new and foreign things. In their villages and nipa huts they live a more or less satisfying round of social life amid their kinfolk, many knowing little as yet of anything different.

Nevertheless, to the Filipinos of the cities and commercially developed areas, and especially those more educated and having western living standards—that is, the folk among whom American efforts at betterment have met with success—it is a time of great difficulty. Spokesmen of the Filipinos have consistently claimed that their countrymen would be willing to bear any pains and sacrifices that might be necessary to obtain independence. Nevertheless, the economic situation is such as to challenge the best thought both of Filipinos and of those Americans who have a sense of responsibility towards them, in order that rash or selfish policies which may bring misery and retrogression may be avoided.

CHAPTER XIII

WHAT OF SELF-GOVERNMENT?

THE United States from the first promised independence to the Filipino people as soon as they showed themselves capable of maintaining a responsible and efficient government.

For years, Filipino political leaders have insisted that this requirement has been fully met, and pressed for "immediate, complete and absolute independence", Americans familiar with the islands have been divided in their opinions. Some agree, or at least say that the United States can do no more toward teaching them; they must learn the rest by trying themselves out. Others deny emphatically that the conditions originally laid down are near fulfilment. For a long time to come, they say, independence would merely mean rule by an educated and rich minority. They also assert that world conditions are such that launching a small people upon an independent life would be to their detriment.

Unless the Congress of the United States revises existing legislation, the Philippines are to be fully autonomous in 1946. Nevertheless, the question may still be asked: are the Filipinos capable of real self-government?

The Jones Act of 1916, we noted, gave the Filipinos the power to legislate for themselves. This has been subject to a veto by the American governor-general, or, in case of an

appeal, by the President of the United States. As in America, political parties were formed that competed for the local votes and sought control of a Senate and House of Representatives—bodies now superseded by a single body, the National Assembly. Amid the rise and fall of such parties, one labelled the Nationalist Party or variations of that name has been dominant. Its leader is Manuel Quezon, now President of the Commonwealth of the Philippines, and undoubtedly the best known of living Filipinos. Other outstanding figures in Philippine politics have been Sergio Osmeña, Manuel Roxas, and Claro Recto. The revolutionary general Emilio Aguinaldo is still alive, and his word, and an organization of veterans who look to him as their leader, have carried considerable weight.

Some Americans critical of the Filipinos have said that the legislature is a body comprised of part-Spanish and part-Chinese. Many of the leaders such as Quezon and Osmeña can be so classified it is true, but this does not make them any the less patriotic Filipinos. Furthermore, among the legislators are included not only Christians from all parts of the islands but also Mohammedan and pagan members. The legislature can thus claim fairly enough to be widely representative of the Filipino people.

The Jones Act placed the executive power in the hands of the governor-general, as happens with the President in the United States. In the very liberal Democratic regime to 1920, the governor-general made a practice of submitting appointments and other matters of executive government for confirmation to the leaders of the majority party in the legislature. A Council of State was formed comprising the legislative and executive chiefs, with the governor-general as president. This meant that the Filipinos were at the time virtually self-governing. Furthermore, the Americans

employed in the departments of government were nearly all replaced by Filipinos, or else withdrew voluntarily to take part in the Great War. This is often referred to as the "Filipinization" of the service.

In 1920 the Republicans returned to power. A special mission headed by Major-General Leonard Wood was sent to investigate conditions in the Philippines. Its report found much to praise, especially as regards the orderliness of the Filipino people, their economic progress, and the development of schools. Against this, however, the public service had declined in quality with a marked bureaucratic tendency, taxes and expenditures had greatly increased, public health had suffered, the courts were clogged, while there were numerous complaints as to the administration of justice, and above all government finances were in a most serious condition. The Philippine National Bank, "through unwise and dishonest administration", had had its resources dissipated. The Treasury was exhausted, and even a Currency Reserve Fund kept on deposit in New York had been illegally used up. "Financial bankruptcy was imminent." The report of this mission was resented by the Filipinos.

When, immediately afterwards, General Wood was sent to be governor-general, relations became very strained. Nevertheless, he succeeded in straightening out financial affairs and correcting certain other weaknesses. In 1923, the conflict came to a head. The Filipino members of the Council of State resigned, and appealed to Washington against General Wood's encroachment upon their powers of self-government, as formerly allowed. Congress and the President declared, however, that the executive authority lay with the governor-general and not with the legislature. Under the later governor-generals a happier spirit of co-

operation developed, especially as authority was once more returned in considerable measure to the Filipinos, but after this experience, nothing short of complete autonomy could satisfy the leaders.

From earliest years the Americans painstakingly built up a system of local government using Filipinos as officials. The Philippines today are divided into forty-nine "provinces", each with a governor and provincial board, a treasurer, a commander of constabulary, and other office-holders. Several isolated provinces occupied mainly by non-Christians have their principal officials appointed by the authorities in Manila, but otherwise the system is elective. Such regional governments have been an excellent training ground for Filipino leaders, and have helped to arouse the political consciousness of the voters.

There are two "chartered cities" in the Philippines, Manila and Baguio. Their mayors are appointed by the government, but otherwise they more or less control their own affairs. The Christian provinces are divided into nearly nine hundred "municipalities", with elected presidents and councillors to care for the affairs of the constituent villages. There are also more than three hundred "municipal districts" where the population is scattered or more backward. These are nearly all in the non-Christian provinces, and the officials are appointed in consultation with the leaders in the villages. Some of the more advanced Moro and pagan communities are allowed to vote for their representatives, these being then confirmed in office according to the law. Each municipality or municipal district has its treasurer, justice of the peace, chief of police, and school-teachers. Where formerly such posts in non-Christian areas have been held by Christian Filipinos, nowadays they are more and

more being given to educated individuals from among the local folk.

There are thus in the Philippines thousands of officials from the President down. Some observers see as perhaps the weakest point in the system the fact that the fundamental unit of Philippine social life, the village or *barrio*, is not separated out for special political organization. At most, a *barrio* will have a councillor on the municipal council, though this is not always so. But what really happens is that the *barrio* still governs itself according to the old Malayan method: authority lies with the heads of families and the leading men, the *caciques*.

At the elections of 1912, less than a quarter million Filipinos exercised their vote; in 1922 over three-quarters of a million; and in recent elections nearly a million and a quarter. This indicates how a political consciousness is emerging among the people. A significant feature of recent years has been a strong movement for women's suffrage. This has been a source of great controversy, and it met with violent opposition from more conservative political leaders. The new constitution put the matter up to the women themselves by indicating that once three hundred thousand Filipino women signified their desire for a vote they would get the franchise. In April 1937 a country-wide plebiscite was held, and a hundred and fifty thousand more than the required number of "ayes" were secured. This greatly swells the number of voters, but what effect it will have on the policies of the commonwealth can hardly be forecast. Some people have suggested that, seeing Filipino women are the business managers in home life, they should also be given the business of running the country!

It thus appears that the Philippines have a nationally organized political system. Apart from the governor-



By courtesy of "Philippine Magazine"

PRESIDENT MANUEL QUEZON (LEFT) AND VICE-PRESIDENT
SERGIO OSMENA



By courtesy of "Philippine Magazine"

THE LEGISLATIVE BUILDING

general, now replaced by a United States High Commissioner, and a handful of Americans in particular posts, the whole system has been for years carried on by Filipinos.

The real issues are, therefore, whether Filipino leaders have sufficient training and integrity to take over the final responsibilities, sinking local and personal differences to the extent that they interfere with the national good—also whether the masses are sufficiently educated in political terms to choose wise leaders.

In this connection there is a danger that we shall attempt to measure Filipino affairs by some ideal political standard, democratic or otherwise, instead of by the realities of political life in other countries that manage to get along independently. Factionalism, selfish leadership, graft and other undesirable aspects of politics are anything but unknown in great western nations. "Stable" government, or "effective democracy" are difficult to measure. It seems true that in the Philippines the landlord group has a dominant voice; that there are partisan politics; that an orator who appeals to emotions can sway the crowd regardless of his real ability; and that the mass of the people are yet relatively passive. But what of the independent countries? A Filipino philosopher recently remarked with irony: "When the people are ready for self-government they are ready for no government". On the whole, the Filipinos have welcomed heartily the American ideas of political freedom and democracy, the more so after the oppression of Spanish times. But it is out of the Malayan system of life, with its localism and feudalism, its own peculiar advantages and defects, that the Philippine state has to be built. A wholesale transition to American political conditions would be neither possible nor desirable, for these have grown out of the special circumstances of United

States history. Moreover American political life itself is in a state of constant modification, offering no fixed model.

Perhaps the only safe answer to the question as to whether the Filipinos are politically ready to control their own affairs is that an actual try-out alone can show. It may be that they can carry on where the Americans leave off, sustaining a national system of government that is unified and solvent. Filipino leaders claim that Christian and non-Christian, Tagalog, Uocano and the rest are now safely welded into a political whole; that revitalized Malayan institutions can bear the structure of modern government; and that there are Filipinos sufficiently trained to take over all responsibilities so far held by Americans. Certainly President Quezon and the new government are making a vigorous attempt to clean their political house and keep solvent. A special move has been to create advisory boards and councils through which the best minds of the country have been set to work upon the national problems.

Even so, it may be that the Philippines will have to take the troubled road which the former Spanish colonies in Central and South America have travelled in working out their nationhood, and which is being trod by Cuba today: that of factionalism and revolution.

We cannot know until more history is made whether Filipino unity is as yet a thoroughly sound growth, or more a product of grievance and emotionalism; whether the Filipinos who today are "billing and cooing" together over having achieved trial independence will not later be "killing and booing". Both internal readjustments and external relationships involve a host of problems for the leaders who are placed by their compatriots at the head of affairs, and the wise course of action in regard to some of them will surely lead to unpopularity. However that may

be, the present spokesmen of the Filipinos say unhesitatingly that they are willing to make "all necessary sacrifices"; that a government by their own people, however bad, is preferable to the best government any alien ruler can provide.

The political future of the Philippines is made particularly obscure, of course, by the fact that the Filipinos are not working out their nationhood off by themselves. There is far more involved than whether they are now capable of orderly and successful self-government. In the last chapter, economic issues were seen as effecting vitally the welfare of the people and the finances of the country. Furthermore, the Philippine destiny is bound up with the whole complex skein of international affairs in the Orient. A student of political developments has recently spoken of the Philippines as "a pawn in the game" of Far Eastern affairs, in which the United States, Great Britain and her dominions, France, Holland, the U.S.S.R., Japan, and China comprise the major pieces. American withdrawal from the islands, he says, will cause a further upset in the historical equilibrium of relationships among these states already badly shaken by events in north China, and in the new realignment the Philippines may merely pass under the domination of some other power.

It is this wider set of circumstances that has caused many folk, including an increasing number of Filipinos, to shake their heads over the independence issue. There are still a few die-hards who advocate "immediate and absolute" autonomy. Others, including some of the government leaders, are exploring the possibility of shortening the transition period. Nevertheless opinion seems to be swinging in the direction of looking not at the United States but at Japan as the "big bad wolf". Where at first enthusiastic plans were made to guarantee the independence of the

Philippines by an international neutralization treaty, the Filipinos are now sceptical as to the effectiveness of such an agreement. A comprehensive plan of military training and national defense has been launched, and there is increasing desire to maintain the present defensive arrangements of the United States. "The sanctity of treaties is but a dream", stated Pedro Guevara, former Filipino resident commissioner in Washington; "We can not afford to be too nationalistic, and we should view our situation from a realistic point of view, otherwise I doubt very much that we will pull through during the transition period". He advocated postponement of independence for a quarter century instead of merely ten years. Other Filipinos have suggested, as already noted, that the islands have a permanent semi-protectorate or dominion status. Political self-determination at home rather than complete independence now seems to be the end desired by many.

Such a swing of opinion has been rather misunderstood in America. Many people have thought it a "trick" of Filipino politicians, designed to get all the benefits and avoid all the responsibilities of independence. In reality, it is a sign of the times; in economic and international terms 1930 is already remote. Nevertheless, an important point can be made against some of the new Filipino ideas. Should the island government have complete control over its affairs, while the United States assumes responsibilities military or otherwise for Filipino actions, it is conceivable that Americans may become involved in international difficulties not of their making. As a writer in the magazine *Time* has put it, they would be carrying "the white man's burden without the white man's authority". During the transition period there are safeguards to cover this: the constitution had to be approved by the United States President; laws

relating to certain vital matters require his signature; and the United States may intervene in Philippine affairs if such action is deemed necessary. No doubt, should it become ultimately desirable, some arrangement could be worked out akin to that found satisfactory within the British Commonwealth of nations whereby countries like Canada, Australia and New Zealand control their internal affairs as nations while yet being part of a larger whole.

The political destiny of the Philippines is thus dependent on forces which it remains for the future to unravel. As with the economic problems, there is need for realistic yet sympathetic study by Americans and Filipinos of how Philippine nationhood can best be fostered.

CHAPTER XIV

THE CREATIVE SPIRIT

AN interesting measure of the vitality and progress of any •**• people is their art and literature. These reveal their minds, emotions and philosophy of life. How far, we may ask, have the Filipinos been developing such arts as music, dancing, painting, and sculpture, likewise a literature of their own?

The pagan folk, whose life today gives some clue to the old time conditions, take great pleasure in chanting and in dancing to the beat of drums and brass gongs. Some use flutes and simple string instruments. Many of the pagans do fine wood-carving, weaving and metal-working; but here art combines with utility, as the carved object may be a spoon, the ornamented cloth a garment, and the shaped metal a weapon or pipe. Their literature is not written, but is passed on from generation to generation by word of mouth. Around the fires at night, or on ceremonial occasions, the old men, or persons famed as storytellers, relate tales of gods and heroes that come from ancient times. A favorite kind is one with a moral, designed to make people obey the customs or keep them contented with their lot. Here is the abbreviation of one told to the author among the Isneg people of the deep jungles:

"A group of women were out planting rice in a forest clearing. **They** decided to take a rest. They pushed their digging-sticks into **the** ground and, sitting upon them, gossipped and joked together,

and picked the lice from one another's hair. The hours passed, but still no work was done. At last, as the sun was going down, they got up. But lo! Their sticks had become tails! They had turned into jabbering monkeys."

Such a story always draws forth shrieks of laughter from the audience, whether or no it has any effect on the ladies' efforts in the fields.

At an earlier point in the study, it was shown how influences came into the Philippines from India, Java, China, and other regions. These have had their effects upon Filipino art and literature. The Mohammedan Moros still favor elaborate red and yellow ornamentation on their clothing, and do beautiful craftwork in metal. Many Filipino families keep as heirlooms rare porcelain ware and other treasures of the old Chinese and Japanese trading days. The mythology of the pagans traces back to Indian folklore.

It remained, however, for Spanish-Christian influences to bring the greatest change.

Today, the folk music of the rural lowland people, accompanied by the guitar, resembles that of the Spanish countryside. Yet it retains a hint of the barbaric, and a strain of melancholy that seems to tell of the oppressions of the past. The folk dancing is distinctly Spanish. For city people, classical European music, the opera, and the changing fashions of the dance came to have an appeal. Manila is still a great center for such arts. Filipinos are enthusiastic musicians and dancers, and they play in orchestras the world over. More than one Filipino has achieved fame outside of the Islands as a singer, as in the case of Luisa Tapales.

But the Spaniards gave little stimulus to painting, sculpture or literature. Clever craftwork was continued and developed by the rural Filipino folk, including lace-making and embroidery. Nevertheless, they knew little of western

art other than the religious pictures and carvings of the church. Today, the peasant home usually has numbers of cheap prints with religious themes, also images, medals and other religious objects that are treasured. These may nowadays be joined by prints of movie stars, baseball and boxing champions, and any appealing pictures cut from magazines and newspapers that happen to come to hand. In the homes of the richer folk who are still under the influence of the Spanish tradition, there will be paintings and photographs hung amid a profusion of gilt mirrors, curtainings and other ornamentation in older European style.

A considerable number of Spanish works were transcribed into the local dialects, particularly Tagalog. Dr. Pardo de Ta vera, a Filipino scholar, wrote of these:

"The only literature accessible to the Filipinos . . . consisted of *Corridos* which constitute the profane literature, and the *Pasiones* and the *Novenas* which formed the religious reading . . . printed in abundance, in cheap editions . . .

"The *Corridos* are stories in verse about historic events, falsified and fanciful, and love tragedies full of wonderful events mixed with divine prodigies and diabolical magics . . .

"The *Novenas*, booklets dedicated to particular saints, linked the old and new faiths . . . (their) prodigies . . . compare with the enchantments, magics, and sorceries . . . of the primitive religion . . . All the fear of the mysterious was conserved, changing only the concepts about spirits."

Such works, and the ideas they embodied, became thoroughly a part of Filipino thinking and emotion. In Spain itself, the *corrido* romances went more or less out of fashion when Cervantes in *Don Quixote* held them up to ridicule. But in the Philippines they were adopted by early Filipino writers as a standard form of literary creation.

The outstanding Filipino author in this field was Francisco Balthazar, more commonly known as Balagtas,

who lived from 1788 to 1862. He is generally spoken of as the greatest of Filipino poets. He wrote in Tagalog. One of his works called "The Elegant Filipino and the Amorous Negrito" has recently been published in English (*Philippine Magazine*, November 1932). We may, with the permission of the translators, Messrs. J. T. Enriquez, L. Manlapaz, and A. V. H. Hartendorp, quote a small selection in order to catch something of its spirit. Uban, a street sweeper, is preparing the town square for a *fiesta*. Kapitang Toming, his pygmy Negrito helper, arrives dressed in a *levita* or "Prince Albert" coat.

"TOMING— . . . I am Kapitang Toming, the Eta (Negrito) dandy and lover. Just take a look at me! Am I not elegant?

"UBAN — Ha, ha, ha, hay, haaa! How funny that *levita* looks on that small Negrito fool!

"TOMING— *Baya!* How stupid you are, even if you are from the town! Do you know why I am wearing these fine clothes?

"UBAN — Well, what is the reason then?

"TOMING— I am madly in love! . . .

"UBAN — Well, one look at you in that *levita* is enough to make her turn you down!

"TOMING— What? In this coat?

"UBAN — Tran, trin, trok! What a fool is this mountain black!

"TOMING— A black man in love is just like a Tagalog in love!

"UBAN — Well, even if you are bursting with love from head to foot, you still look ridiculous in that suit of yours.

"TOMING— I am now Spanish in form and fashion; Spanish enough, Uban, to be loved by the beautiful Menangue! When I made love to her in my G-string, she would not as much as look at me even when I brought her a present. Then I put on a Spanish mestizo's clothes, and donned a wig, but she still would have none of me. Next, I put on the shirt and pants of a Chinese and brought her a gift of wax, but she took no interest.

At last I put on the clothes of a brave Balangingi Moro, but still I could make no impression. Now let us see if she will love me in this *levita*, for today I look more like a Spaniard than an Eta!"

When the fair Menangue arrives, it is not the *levita* but the passionate love songs of Toming, with their mingling of romance and pathos, that finally win her. In these ballads, Balagtas makes sly fun of his fellow countrymen's sentimentalism.

Some crude types of drama were also developed by the Filipinos under the Spanish influence. The *moro-moro* show comprises boisterous theatricals portraying the triumph of Christians over the Mohammedan infidel. Two other kinds the *duplo* and the *aragatan* have been described by Ignacio Manlapaz as follows:

"These are usually played at the celebration on the ninth day after a death. The *duplo* is an elaborate dramatic debate in verse, usually rhymed but unscanned, and without fixed stanzaic pattern . . . The players accuse one another of mythical crimes in highly puzzling terms and the accused defend themselves in terms just as puzzling . . . Wits clash and sparks fly about. Those whom the Muses fail and who are unable to read the riddles propounded to them are either chastised with a stick or made to say a long, elaborate prayer for the deceased . . .

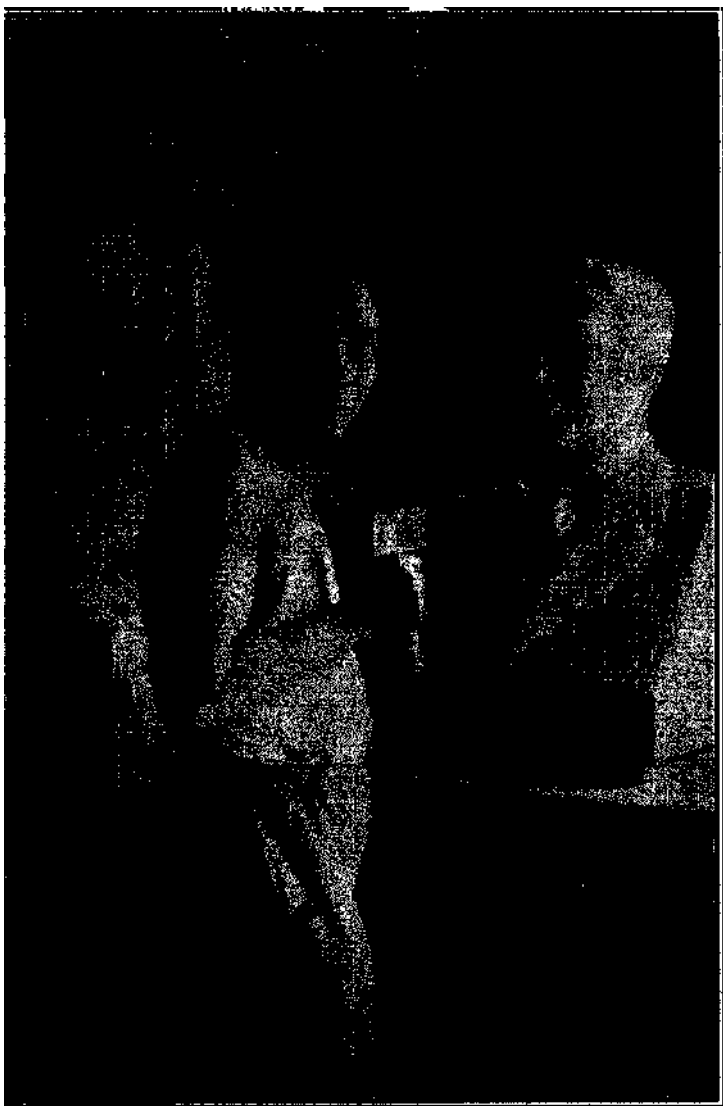
"The *aragatan* . . . (is) somewhat less formal than the *duplo* for while the *dupleros* are generally well-trained professionals, the players in a *karagatan* are merely guests with ready parts and a turn for extemporaneous verification."—From "Filipino Drama: a Sketch", *Philippine Magazine*, November 1931.

In view of such a mental and emotional atmosphere, in which the fresh currents of modern knowledge have been blowing for only a few years, can it be wondered that the Filipinos tend to be highly romantic, and that many are labelled ignorant, superstitious and credulous?



By courtesy of "Philippine Magazine"

A MORO GIRL DANCING



By courtesy of "Philippine Magazine"

GUILLERMO TOLentino, NOTED FILIPINO SCULPTOR, AT WORK

With the rise of nationalism toward the end of last century, the Filipino spirit began at last to break free and express itself in artistry that was not mere imitation, nor religious and sentimental medievalism. Dr. Rizal was, among his many accomplishments, a painter, sculptor, and writer. Other Filipinos who went abroad studied in the art schools of Europe. The greatest of these was a painter, Luna; other artists of merit were Hidalgo, de la Rosa and Amorsolo. Of sculptors, Tolentino stands out easily as first. The works of all these men, many dealing vividly with subjects of their homeland, are a source of pride to the educated Filipinos of today, and a group of younger artists is following in their footsteps.

A lively literature has also developed in the recent decades; first in the dialects and Spanish, but now increasingly in English. Already Filipino writers have been quoted at a number of points. Perhaps the outstanding scholar the Philippines have produced was Dr. Pardo de Tavera, who used Spanish. Besides having a profound knowledge of Filipino languages and history, he wrote vigorously on political and social problems. The revolutionary leaders such as Mabini and del Pilar were nearly all capable writers. In fact it has been said that practically every Filipino leader of modern times has at one time or another turned his hand to journalistic work. Where, during the Spanish period, such writings were done abroad or in secret, the years from 1898 have seen a veritable flood of Filipino newspapers and journals arise—though mostly to pass away as quickly. As we can expect, the main theme has been the importance of achieving political freedom.

There has been much discussion in recent years as to whether the Filipino can ever really express his thoughts and emotions adequately in the "foreign" English language.

Certainly the bulk of published writings in that tongue has been mediocre. Even if the English is grammatically correct, it tends to be either a self-conscious copying of western writers or else rather pompous and platitudinous. Nevertheless, certain Filipinos now write English of outstanding merit. Furthermore, a younger generation of authors is emerging, trained in the English-speaking schools, who seem well on the way to creating a special English-Filipino literature. Now that the subject of politics tends to have lost its freshness, they are turning to more directly artistic creation in both poetry and prose. Keeping the masterpieces of English literature before them, they are going to their own country and people for their materials. So far, the main media of expression have been the short poem and the short story, the latter usually with a strong touch of tragedy. In this, as in other aspects of Filipino striving, women take their place along with men.

So interesting is this literary movement that it seems well worth sampling some of these English-Filipino productions. In the next chapter we can look over several poems and selections from prose writings. They have been picked out, not because their authors are necessarily the leading writers, but because they seem to reveal the spirit of this new literature.

CHAPTER XV

SELECTIONS FROM THE NEW FILIPINO
LITERATURE

DAWN ON THE COTABATO RIVER^x

The wild ducks and cranes
Shriek wierdly in the starlight
Over the dark nipa palms;
In fleet, full-sailed vintas
Turbaned brown men
Beat their copper gongs
In a wild, strange rhythm
That commingles with the sighing of the reeds
In the soft dawn shower;
And the strong brown river
Glides in pensive majesty
Through the rank reptilian richness
Of the marshes.

THE OLD CHIEF²

The strong, rich sounds of the *gangsas* (gongs) filled the dancing ground, were carried by the winds to the caverns

¹ Maximo Ramos, in the *Philippine Magazine*, July 1934.

² Amador T. Daguio, in *Idem*, April 1933. This is an extract from a story dealing with a chief among one of the non-Christian peoples, the Kahnga.

of the nearby forests, reaching at last the icy clouds on the mountain tops. Twilight was coming like a dream expected, like a friend that looked for no formalities of welcome.

Men were stepping to the sonorous rhythms of the gongs in their hands, now crouching, then leaping and dashing through the circle of dancers in front of the old chief's house. The women and girls, lithe and graceful of form, swayed and bent like reeds on a windy hilltop. They seemed to drift over the ground, their feet hardly moving, as with arms outstretched they followed the men about in a great circle. Darkness came of a sudden and still they danced and the music rolled on.

From somewhere rose the melting lilt of female voices, from a group on a long bench under a coconut tree, chanting a song of the tribe, liquid and golden, slow, and moving toward a crescendo of high passion, almost sad, full of longing—a call to the long ago when ancient gods wandered along the river seeking goddesses stolen by the winds.

I am dancing and the gods dance
Come to me, come to me, tong-tong,
Tong-a-tong-a-tong!
Come to me, come to me, tong-tong,
Tong-a-tong-a-tong,
With the songs of long ago . . .

From the shadows an old man rose. He had sat there a long time, watching, thinking . . . The indistinct feeling he had felt since the middle of the day had become a seering sadness. He was the chief. This gathering was in honor of one of his nephews. He would give the people a message, perhaps his last, for when a man is old he never knows. Like the others, he may go, abruptly and silently, unable to postpone his going even for a moment.

He had seen his tribe grow in strength and renown throughout the region. He had known war and victory. Then the government had made him a vassal—and that had meant humiliation. But that was a long time ago, and in his old age he had lost the overwhelming feeling that he must conquer and hold sway over others . . .

He walked to the center of the dancing court and in an age-mellowed voice began to address his people. His opening words silenced every one and there was neither stir nor whisper. Even the wind seemed hardly to move.

"Rich people! Seiiiores! Brave men! I stand before you. Hear my humble words!" He stretched forth his wine cup as if to offer it to the people, then continued: "Permit me! I am old and the evening is cool. When youth is gone, one feels weak in the bones, cold reaches the heart. Permit me, young men and young women, to drink of this warming cup."

The crowd assented with a murmur that was like the sound of a far off river. The light of the fires illumined the old man's bronzed face. The high cheek bones and the rest of the bony framework were clearly marked, yet nobility was still there and confidence, the bearing of benevolence and experience.

The old man, even as he spoke, was thinking of the days, never to return, when he was free and the cry of blood to blood leaped high within him . . . He thought of the songs he had sung, the loves he had loved, the life he had lived. Now he was old and these people were listening to him, looking at him. Were they the same people, his people? . . .

"We feel strange things", he said, "when we are old. Today we are weak; tomorrow we go—like the clouds on those mountain tops, like that river yonder, far and silver murmuring to the sea . . . My people, there are things

in the heart of an old man which you can never understand"

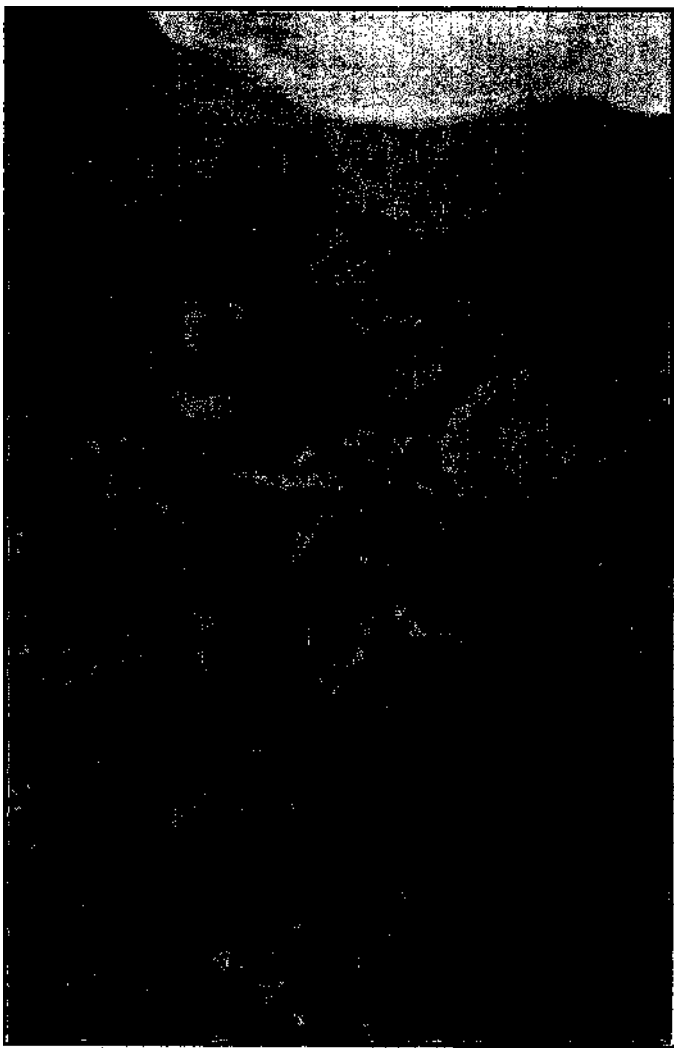
He looked around and there was an air of prophecy about him. The feeling crept to the very souls of his hearers

"Youths, I am talking to you! Hear me! Do you hear me? Are you laughing at me within your hearts? You who have gone to the schools of the *gobierno* (government), who have tasted of knowledge, who have shared the wisdom of wise minds, I beseech you to hear me if only for this short moment

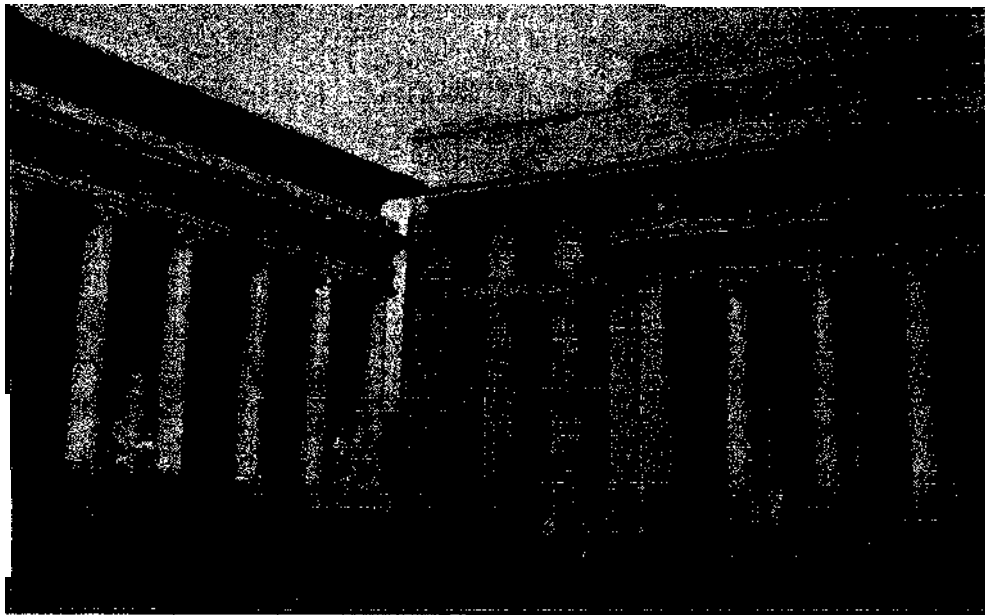
"I have only one appeal to make to you, our children of the schools. It is this: leave us old people alone. You trample upon our customs and traditions and therefore upon our souls Don't you know that we are old, my children? We are accustomed to everything that seems so silly and contemptible to you. We still live in a great tradition . . . • The only thing, the best thing that you can do is to leave us alone. We are old. Tomorrow we shall go without question, out of your knowledge. Our youth is gone, our quickness, our joy

"You have still many years before you to enjoy the fruits of your education and the new ways of living. But for you to attempt to change us would be to rob us of the few days or months of peaceful waiting for the end. We have sown our own seeds, leave us to that harvest. Give us the satisfaction of reaping what we have sown—our last harvest, for the seeds we may still gather, you will throw to the winds, you will never plant them again. That we know and acquiesce in. Those seeds will vanish forever; let us take them with us to the grave."

The old chief paused, trembling, to note the effect of his words. All were silent. From over the mountain range,



A NON-CHRISTIAN OF THE NORTHERN MOUNTAINS WITH GONG HUNG
ON HUMAN JAWBONE



CAMPUS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF THE PHILIPPINES

the moon rose, shining over valleys as old as the ages, casting over them a calm and silver glory. The forests were still, and it seemed that the spirits of dead ancestors hovered around without sound, without fury, without regret. Into the hearts of the crowd swept a vague and powerful tenderness . . . •

WEATHER³

Before the rainy season comes in
Tatay Mundo will mend the roof of his nipa
house.
It will look like the old patchy trousers he always
wears
When he goes to town on Sunday mornings.

THE VALUE OF TRADITION⁴

On the first day of every November we consider our ancestors and become participants in the ritual of an old universal worship.

We think of the dead. We put flowers on their graves and we pray. We review our Tradition and get drunk with devotion and remembrance.

Tradition, under this circumstance, deserves the dignity with which it is invested.

It casts upon us the charm of experience, linking us to a past and such of its moments of nobility as human memory shall not let perish.

It fortifies us in our endeavors of the present and inspires the improvement in detail of our dreams of the future . . .

³ N . V . M. Gonzales, *Philippine Magazine*, July 1932.

⁴ Frederico Mangahas, in *The Leader*, November 1932. On the date mentioned, most Filipinos spend the night in the cemeteries beside the lighted graves of their ancestors.

It gives us, not bonds to chain us forever to ancient manners, but a commission to contribute to the common store of human kindness so that life for us and those to follow may develop an increasing distinction.

Devotion to the dead, symbol of Tradition, we think, can have no better justification. Loyalty to them, interpreted in other terms, can only mean that we care more for perpetuating the despotism of a cult than for preserving the background for a finer future.

RIVER-WINDS⁵

"In the evening
The river-winds take the village
In their arms,
Whispering fragments of old lost songs;
And, pulling a blanket of dreams
Over the sleeping roofs,
Softly, softly move on . . ."

WATER, WATER, WATER⁶

"I shall go out and watch the fields tonight, Asiang," said Berto to his wife after they had eaten their supper.

The four younger children had already gone to sleep. They lay together in one corner of the room, covered by a red-striped blanket, except the youngest who had slipped from the common pillow and was sprawling on the bare floor. Marta, the eldest daughter, was mending clothes—a shirt of her father's, ripped at the back, and several *camisas* which had to be worn during the coming town fiesta in

⁵ C. V. Pedroche, in the *Philippine Magazine*, July 1932

GGeronimo D. Sicam, in *op. cit.*, August 1932 (somewhat abbreviated).

honor of the people's patron saint. Nana Asiang was sitting on a petroleum box near the window, rolling a tobacco leaf.

"I wonder if there is enough in the *paabog* to water all the fields," remarked Nana Asiang.

"Not enough," was Berto's laconic reply. Then after a moment he added, "By the time the water reaches Lacay Pacio's land, the ditches will be as dry as the streets. The water may not even reach Manuel's field, and that is only a short distance from here."

"God help your brother Balbin," said his wife. "His fields are further down below."

"If his crop fails again this year," said Berto, "I could not afford to share my harvest with him."

"They will starve!" said Nana Asiang in compassion.

"We shall have a poor harvest ourselves," said the husband, placing his bolo in its sheath which hung in a broad leather strap around his waist. He slung a sack over his broad, sturdy shoulders.

"You must be careful, Berto," said the wife as he took his battered buri hat from a nail on the bamboo post. "Don't do anything rash."

"Cook the rice early tomorrow morning," said Berto. "I shall be hungry when I get home."

Nana Asiang's eyes followed Berto, but she soon lost him for it was pitch dark. There was no moon.

"It may rain tonight," thought Nana Asiang. "The sky is cloudy."

Nana Asiang felt a vague apprehension. She did not know why. Perhaps it was because of the ominous-looking bolo which she could still see as she had seen it flash malignantly in the dim light of the room. It seemed so enormous. So heavy. Its blade, so keen. Or was it the temperamental nature of Berto that she was afraid of?

. . . How easily aroused he was, particularly when his sense of justice was touched, when something seemed to him unfair . . .

"I shall not do anything rash," thought Berto after he had left the house, recalling his wife's parting words, "but if those water thieves come to tamper with the sluices . . ."

He had in mind old Jose and his nephew who owned the adjoining rice paddies next to his, a little below. Their holdings combined did not approximate Berto's but every year they boasted of a heavier harvest . . . Somebody had hinted to him that Jose and his nephew tampered with the sluices at night, and that in many other ways they managed to get the lion's share of the water allotted to the entire Cabulundayan district. And poor Balbin way down below always failed to get his just share of the water.

"This is a beastly world," mused Berto. "There are many who will resort to anything to take the rice out of other people's mouths."

It was very dark. Berto could hardly see his way. The air was still, so still that even the chirping of distant crickets was distinctly audible . . .

Reaching his uppermost field, Berto proceeded to examine the sluices, saw to it that no water escaped from them. He heaped over them some more weeds and clayey loam. The water he had left in that afternoon was still high. It reached to over his knees. But the water in the creek was not so plentiful. This made him think of his brother Balbin. "The water won't reach him," he thought. "The ditches will be dry long before . . ." He moved towards the other sluice on the eastern end a hundred yards away and found it in good condition. Then satisfied, he sat down on an embankment.

For an hour he sat watching. Nothing happened. All was quiet.

He was beginning to feel drowsy, and lay down on his back, using the sack he had brought with him for a pillow.

He had probably dozed off, for he had not noticed the approach of the man who was now standing near the western sluice, not very far from him. His hand instinctively reached for his bolo.

"It's old Jose's nephew," flashed through his mind . . .

The man bent over the sluice and after some moments Berto could hear the water gushing forth. Out of his fields. His first impulse was to rush at the man, but he lay motionless, like an animal of prey ready to spring at its victim.

Berto's hand tightened, held the bolo in a vice-like grip. His head was in a swirl. He felt as if the man was drawing the very lifeblood out of him.

The man walked towards the eastern sluice. Towards him! With bloodshot eyes he waited for the approach of the trespasser.

As the man bent over the sluice, obviously to remove it, Berto rose in a bound.

"Thief!" he hissed. "Thief!"

Taken by surprise the intruder wheeled around with up-raised hands.

It was but the work of a moment.

Berto swung his enormous bolo and struck . . .

After his fury had spent itself and his head gradually cleared, the atrocity of his deed appalled him. He had committed a crime, murdered a fellow-man—for what? . . . The offence of the man seemed so insignificant now—now that he was dead.

Thoughts flashed through Berto's mind with lightning rapidity. Something had to be done. And quickly . . .

He decided to bury the body near the place it had fallen and immediately commenced digging . . . Before dragging the corpse into the hole the desire to look closely at the man's face possessed him. He did so, but in the dark it was unrecognizable . . .

Early the next morning, Nana Asiang awoke to find Berto sitting on the petroleum box near the window. He had on the red shirt which Marta had mended the previous evening . . . •

"What time did you come home?" asked the wife.

"An hour ago."

"It's raining," observed the wife, going up to him. She put her hand outside the window to feel the raindrops. It was too good to be true.

"Yes, it's raining," he corroborated with a curious note of irony in his voice.

Berto looked in silence at the half-drenched figure of his sister-in-law, who had just come into the house. From his eyes he made her understand that she was unwelcome, but she tactfully ignored the fact. Simeona and Balbino had been quite a nuisance lately. So dependent. Rice. Always rice. But how could they help it? If it were not for the crop failure the previous year they would not be so destitute . . .

"We have only one cavan of rice left," Berto heard his wife say . . .

Berto did not move to greet Simeona. He looked outside across the fields. The rain had grown stronger . . .

At length he asked, "How are the children?"

"Fidel is sick," said Simeona . . . "He takes nothing but salt and boiled rice . . ." After a moment she said slowly: "We are always hard up—but I can't blame Balbino. As it is, he's working himself to death. He's

doing his best—I don't know what would happen to us without him . . ."

"Why did Balbino not come over himself to get the rice?"

"He's not yet returned," answered Simeona.

"From where?"

"I don't know."

"Where did he go?" Nana Asiang asked.

"Last night," Simeona explained, "we went to bed early, but shortly after midnight"—Berto looked startled—"he rose and went out. I had been awakened and I asked him where he was going. He did not tell me. He'd be back in an hour, he said . . ."

"Was he dressed?" asked Bertx. There was a catch in his voice.

"No," said Simeona, . . . "I wonder where he is now—I thought I'd find him here . . ."

Berto's eyes wandered out into the drenched fields, then fixed themselves on one particular spot . . .

Water, water, everywhere, all around. The rain fell in torrents . . . The rice plants awakened, and waved their blades in the wind.

God was kind.

"Give her the remaining cavan," Berto said after a long silence. And once more he looked at the wet fields.

CHAPTER XVI

THE TRENDS OF NATION BUILDING

Our journey among the Philippine islands and their people now draws to a close. In the brief time and space at our disposal we have reviewed the history and present life of the Filipinos, likewise something of the problems of nation building that face them in the future.

The Filipinos, we have seen, draw for their physical and mental heritage upon the racial stuff of practically all mankind. We may credit them with being on the average under no biological handicap as a people. Given the opportunity, increasing numbers of Filipinos are mastering what appeals to them as vital in the civilization of the West, foreign as it has been to them as folk of Eastern backgrounds. Where Filipinos may seem by our standards backward; ignorant, emotionally unstable, flashy, easy-going, super-sensitive and so on, we can appreciate the cultural differences and historical experiences which have produced such characteristics. It would be false for us to speak of these as permanent inborn marks, the more so as forces are today at work changing vastly the Filipino life and thought.

We have noticed especially that the Filipino people are rooted in one or another of their many local heritages, yet at the same time responding to a wider *sense* of citizenship.

The two kinds of loyalty, regional and national, seem in no way at odds. They can be adjusted successfully to each other so as to produce a rich Philippine life. A recent governor-general, Theodore Roosevelt, writes of this:

"Individuals in a community differ very greatly one from another, and still are able through holding to general broad concepts which they have in common to work together cohesively as a community. What holds true of individuals holds true of groups as well. Sufficient similarity in beliefs and customs can be attained to permit of integration as a part of a united Philippines without striving for identity in every feature."

The above was written with special reference to the adjustment of the non-Christian peoples into the general Philippine life. In this connection, it is a rather striking fact that Christian Filipinos and many Americans have for years been advocating a policy of quick "assimilation" for the pagan and Mohammedan Filipinos. Yet they have not defined what type of Filipino they wish to make of them. The older non-Christian ways of life have been rather systematically attacked as undesirable, and the children in the schools have been encouraged more or less openly to break away. Nowadays, however, a few people are beginning to realize there is no general type of Filipino life into which the non-Christians could be absorbed. At most they could be made into imitation Ilocanos, Visayans or other Christians. So far, the pagan and Mohammedan groups have remained conservative, and their ancient ideas and customs are largely kept to. The new conception of assimilating the non-Christians is not to destroy but to build upon these local heritages, as has happened with the Christians. Time and the voluntary choice of the people themselves will then show what is and what is not worth preserving of the old ways, and conflicts will be reduced to the minimum.

There is a general question of great interest concerning the future of the Filipino people as a whole. Now that the bonds with the United States are apparently being severed, will the new nation continue to develop its present contacts with the Occident or turn more toward the Orient? A Filipino educator, Dr. Francisco Benitez, writes:

"The Filipino is in a most peculiar situation. Geographically and racially, he belongs to the East, but culturally he belongs partly to the West . . . It can only now be a matter of speculation whether it would have been better for Filipino character if our people had been allowed to develop their own native civilization as the Chinese and Japanese, uninterfered with by western powers and influence."

He himself, after weighing the gains and losses of the modern period, concludes: "I have no regrets that the Filipino of four hundred years ago has changed into the Filipino of today". Nevertheless, he and others see that for the future there is the alternative of emphasizing either things Occidental or things Oriental.

Some years ago, Professor Beyer of the University of the Philippines pointed out that Americans were assuming a heavy responsibility in superimposing Western ways of speech, thought and custom upon the Filipinos and so turning them more and more from the East. Certainly, today, the educated Filipino does not show any enthusiasm or attraction towards the ways of his Oriental neighbors. His attitudes toward the Japanese, for example, are much like those of the average American. He fears their economic and political strength, and dislikes their penetration of his country. Furthermore, the Filipinos are overwhelmingly Christian—and often very pious—so that the Chinese, and even other Malaysians are looked down upon as "infidels". Short of an upsurging of the older Malayanism among the masses, whose lives still bear predominantly the social marks of the

Orient, Occidentalized minds and manners seem likely to remain at the helm. Yet, it is upon Asiatic waters that the new nation is being launched.

One thing seems clear, however. Whatever type of national life is worked out, it will be essentially a Filipino life. Along with the urge for political freedom, there has been emerging a spirit of "Filipinism". The Filipinos of the future will not be willing to ape the ideas and customs of any outside people. Whether they lean mainly to East or West, they will make whatever they take over their own. America has copied no European nation exactly while yet drawing upon many, and so it will be with the Philippines. The islands and their people are today in the process of becoming modernized, and in doing so are fusing valuable elements from both the old Asian backgrounds and the new Western civilization.

Some Filipino thinkers, indeed, have seen this not only as enriching for themselves but also as giving their people a real mission to perform in the changing world of today. They think of the Philippines as offering an experimental bridge by which East and West can meet. Dean M. M. Kalaw, of the college of liberal arts in the University of the Philippines writes:

"We have thus a most strategic cultural position—an Oriental people standing at the portals of Asia in deep sympathy with their kindred neighbors yet with hands outstretched to the cultures of Spain and America. We still relish with pleasure the chivalry and courtesy that our ancient metropolis has bequeathed to us; at the same time we are holding on to America's ideal of democracy, her business methods, her efficiency, her high standards for health and sanitation, her espousal of machine methods, and her idea of popular education. We owe it to our posterity and to the world to effect a harmonious blending of all these cultural elements. Under the aegis of freedom we expect to evolve a mode of life adapted to the modern age yet

sufficiendy Asiatic in the feeling of comradeship with our Oriental nations. We plan to continue retaining a personality of our own and to develop the good traits of our people. Our hospitality, our generosity, our respect for the elders, our peace-loving nature, and our artistic bents, we intend to preserve. Our chief characteristic should be our Catholicity; our chief strength the harmonious amalgamation of the East and the West."

If these idealistic words can be in some measure fulfilled, the Philippines will indeed be a not unimportant unit in the world community. While today we cannot see very clearly either the direction of internal developments or the likely trends of external affairs in the Far East and of Washington policies upon which the destiny of the Filipino people depends, we can watch with sympathy their struggle to develop as a nation, and we can wish them well in the task.

A PHILIPPINE CHRONOLOGY

The following table gives the main events and dates in Philippine history. Corresponding events in the wider world are also indicated for comparison. The early happenings are based on researches by Professor H. O. Beyer.

<i>Time</i>	<i>Philippines</i>	<i>Elsewhere</i>
About 25,000 years ago or earlier.	Australoids and Negritos come overland into the Philippines.	Paleolithic (Old Stone Age) man.
From 20,000 to 10,000 years ago.	Short Mongoloids (Proto-Malays) into the Philippines—or were they a mixture of the above with later peoples?	From the Old to the New Stone Age.
From 8,000 to 3,000 years ago.	Indonesians from south Asia migrate by canoe in successive waves.	Emergence of modern European races. From stone to bronze and iron. Rise of early civilizations in the Mediterranean and Near East regions, and in India and China.
About 500 B.C.	Start of Malayan migrations to the Philippines, continuing to about the 13th century A.D. Iron replaces stone, and influences come in from India, Arabia, and China.	The White Nordics spread from Northeast Europe. The rise of classical Greece. Confucius in China, Buddha in India.

<i>Time</i>	<i>Philippines</i>	<i>Elsewhere</i>
About A.D. 200 to the 12th century.	Colonization and some political control from the Indo-Malayan states of Sumatra and Borneo.	Trade between the Near East and the Orient. Rise of Indo - Malayan empire of Sri - Vishaya in Sumatra. Development of Japan. Christianity spreads over Europe, and Rome fails.
982	First specific date Philippine history - Canton document.	Anglo-Saxon England. Beginning of Sung period in China. Maya civilization in Central America.
1292-1478	Javanese control and influence under the empire of Madjapahit.	1215 Genghis Khan conquers China. Spread of Mohammedanism into Malaysia and overthrow of Madjapahit in 1478. 1453 Turks took Constantinople.
About 1480 to 1570	Spread of Mohammedanism in the southern Philippines and to certain points in the north.	Renaissance in Europe. Expansion of Portugal, Spain, and other powers into the New World.
1521	Magellan "discovers" the Philippines.	1519-32 Spain conquers Mexico and Peru. Reign of Henry VIII in England. Ming dynasty in China.

<i>Time</i>	<i>Philippines</i>	<i>Elsewhere</i>
1565	Landing of Legaspi, Manila founded 1571.	1588 Defeat of the Spanish Armada by the English.
1603	Uprising of Chinese against Spanish; also in 1662.	
1606	Uprising of Japanese.	1607 Virginia settled. 1620 Pilgrim Fathers.
1762-64	British occupation of the Philippines.	1763 British acquire Canada from the French.
1837	Port of Manila opened to foreign trade.	1836 First steamship in the Pacific Ocean. Development of electric telegraphy.
1861	Beginning of successful campaigning against the Mohammedan Moros.	1861-65 Civil War in U.S.A. 1865 Japan reopened to the world.
1872	The Cavite revolt.	1871 German Empire established. 1876 Development of electric lighting and the telephone.
1892	Organization of the Katipunan Society demanding Spanish reforms.	
1896	Execution of Rizal and start of revolution.	First successes with radio,

THE PHILIPPINES: A NATION IN THE MAKING

<i>Time</i>	<i>Philippines</i>	<i>Elsewhere</i>
1898	American occupation of the Philippines.	Spanish-American War.
1899	Filipino leaders declare an independent republic, and the Filipino-American War breaks out.	
1900	Government by a Commission.	Successful airplane flights.
1907	A Filipino Assembly is formed as a lower house.	
1909	Tariff changes that led to full commercial reciprocity with the United States by 1913.	
1913	Start of "Filipinization" policy.	1912 China becomes a republic. Democratic party ousts Republicans in U.S.A.
1916	Jones Law.	1917 United States enters the Great War.
1921	Wood-Forbes Commission examines Philippine conditions for the new Republican regime.	1920 League of Nations formed. Republicans return to power in U.S. 1922 Washington naval treaty.
1930	Some two thousand Filipino delegates meet as the first Independence Congress.	

<i>Time</i>	<i>Philippines</i>	<i>Elsewhere</i>
1933-34	Negotiations regarding independence, resulting in the Tydings-McDuffie act giving a trial period	1932 Formation of Manchoukuo. Democratic Victory in U.S.A.
1935	Commonwealth of the Philippines launched.	
July 4, 1946	Independence?	

A SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

BEAN, ROBERT B. *The Races of Man*. The University Society, Inc., New York, 1932. 134 pages. (A background of man's racial characteristics and dispersal over the earth.)

This relates particularly to Chapter III.

KROEBER, ALFRED L. *Peoples of the Philippines*. American Museum Press, New York, 2nd edition 1928. 224 pages.
(Emphasizes the pre-Christian customs and beliefs.)

Relates particularly to Chapters III, IV, IX.

STEIGER, GEO. N., BEYER, H. OTLEY, and BENITEZ, CONRADO. *A History of the Orient*. Ginn and Co., Boston, 1926. 469 pages.
(Traces the early relationships of Malaysia with Asia and Europe.)

Relates to Chapters III, IV, V.

BENITEZ, CONRADO. *History of the Philippines*. Ginn and Co., Boston, 1926. 472 pages. (Reviews with special fullness the early Spanish descriptions of Filipino life.)

Relates to Chapters III, IV, V, VI, VII.

BARROWS, DAVID P. *History of the Philippines*. World Book Co., Yonkers-on-Hudson. Revised edition 1926. 406 pages.
(The best short history of the islands and their people.)

Relates to Chapters III-VII, XIII.

FORBES, W. CAMERON. *The Philippine Islands*. Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1928. Two volumes, 1,148 pages. (The standard detailed reference work, especially as regards the American administration.)

Relates to Chapters II, VII-XIII.

KIRK, GRAYSON L. *Philippine Independence*. Farrar and Rinehart, New York, 1936. (An excellent study of political currents.)

LAUBACH, FRANK C. *Rizal: Man and Martyr*. Community Publishers, Inc., Manila, 1937. 420 pages.

MILLER, HUGO H. *Economic Conditions in the Philippines*. Ginn and Co., Boston, revised edition 1929. 373 pages.

Relates to Chapters VIII-XII.

MILLER, H. H. and POLLEY, M. E. *Intermediate Geography*. Ginn and Co., Boston, new edition, 1932. 416 pages. (A school text, half of which is devoted to general and regional geography and economics of the Philippines, with plentiful maps and illustrations.)

MACARAIG, SERAFIN E. *Community Problems*. The Educational Supply, Manila 1933. 212 pages. (An elementary study of Philippine social conditions, prepared as a text for Philippine schools.) *Social Problems*. Same publisher, 1929. 431 pages. (A more detailed survey.)

Both relate to Chapter VIII on.

KEESING, F. M. and M. *Taming Philippine Headhunters, A Study of Government and of Cultural Change in Northern Luzon*. Allen and Unwin, London, and Stanford University Press, 1934. 288 pages. (Shows how the non-Christians are becoming adjusted into the wider Philippine life.)

Relates to Chapter II on.

The Philippine Magazine (A. V. H. HARTENDORP, editor and publisher). A monthly journal contributed to by Filipino and American writers, and containing stories, poems, pictures and articles that give a splendid idea of Philippine conditions. Recently made a text in Philippine schools.

INDEX

- Aglipayan church, 49.
- Agrarian discontent, 72,75,78-79, 83.
- Agriculture, 4, 6, 7-8, 12, 53, 54, 56, X, XI, 81-84,116-21.
- Aguinaldo, 41, 43, 95.
- Amusements, *see* Recreation.
- Arts, 5, 36, 104, 105-106,109.
- Assimilation of minorities, 64, 123; *see* Non-Christians,
- Cacique* system, 36-37, 66, 67-84, 98; *see* Landlords.
- Character of Filipinos, 37-38, 41-42, 88, 108, 122, 126.
- China, 53, 54,101,105.
- Chinese, in early times, 13, 17-21, 23, 24, 27, 28, 30; modern, 53, 57,67,86-87,88,124,129.
- Climate, 11.
- Colonization schemes, 56, 81; *see* Homesteading.
- Commerce, early, 17,22-24,29,32, 129; modern, 46-47, 56, 70-71, 80, 81-87, 90-93-
- Constabulary, 4, 47, 48, 79, 97.
- Constitution, trial period, 52,102-103.
- Courts, 47, *g*6.
- Crafts, 17, 27, 104, 105-106.
- Credit associations, 83-84.
- Dominion status, 91,102,103.
- I Education, early, 33, 34, 36, 38; modern, 45, 46, 50, 64, *6g*, 72, 74, 78, 81-82, 89-90, 93, 96,125.
- English language, 63,109-121.
- Emigration, 57, 79-80, 88, 90.
- Executive government, 95-99; *see* Government.
- Exclusion, 51, 58, 90.
- Family life, 27, 54, 61, 68-72, 116-121.
- Festivals, 5-6, 26-27, 71 78 89-
- Finance government, 92, 96.
- Flora and fauna, 11-12.
- Forests, 12, 54.
- Friars, 32-33,46; *see* Religion.
- Gambling, 77, 78.
- Geography, 9-11.
- Gold, 12, 85.
- Government, early, 25-26, 29-30, 32, 35; modern, 45, 49-52, 64, 67, 82-83, 94-103-
- Health, 45-46,53,55,71,76,125.
- Homesteading, 6,54-55,56,66,81.
- Ilocanos, 56-57,70,100.
- Independence, 43-45, 51, 52, 80, 87,91,94-103.
- India, 16,17,19,24,105,127.
- I Indonesians, 15-16, 20, 21.

- Industry, 80, 81, 87-88, 90, 93.
 Interest, payment of, 24, 25, 6y,
 7376, 79, 83.
 Investments, 51, 87.

 Japan, 54, 76, 91, 101-102, 105.
 Japanese in early times, 15, 20-21,
 23, 24, 30, 31, 129; modern, 53,
 57-58, 86, 124.
 Java, Javanese, 11, 15, 17-19, 31,
 105.
 Jones law, 50, 94, 95, 130.

 Labor, 80-81, 87-89; *see* Work.
 Land laws, 55, 81.
 Landlords, 35, 36-37, 42, 49, 66,
 67-84, 92, 98.
 Language, 6, 36, 37, 59, 60, 61.
 Law and justice, 47, 96; *see* Con-
 stabulary.
 Legislature, 50-51, 82-83, 94-95;
 see Government.
 Literature, 104-105, 107-108, 109-
 121.

 Manila, 1-3, 29, 30, 46, 57, 97.
 Markets, 85, 90-92; *see* Commerce.
 Mestizos, 20-21, 36, 41, 67, 95; *see*
 Racial mixture.
 Migrations, early III; in Philip-
 pines, 54-55, 56-57, 80; to U.S.
 see Emigration.
 Military training, 92, 102.
 Mindanao, 10, 15, 19, 53, 56.
 Mohammedanism, 19-20, 128; *see*
 Moros.
 Money, use of, 69, 89; *see* Com-
 merce.

 Moros, in early days, 19-20, 26-28,
 30-32, 34, 47-48, 51, 55, 56;
 modern, 8, 61, 95, 97-98, 105,
 108, 123.

 National defence, 92, 102.
 Nationalism, 62-65, 108-109, 122
 123, 125; *see* Independence.
 Negritos, 7, 14-15, 21, 59, 61, 107-
 108, 127.
 Neutralization treaty, 102.
 Non-Christians, in early days, 16,
 20, 34, 38; modern, 6-8, 26, 42,
 47-48, 50-51, 55, 59, 61-62, 64,
 88, 95, 97-98, 100, 111-15, 123;
 See Moros, Negritos.

 Political system, *see* Government.
 Population, 34, 53, 54, 56, 67, 92.

 Quezon, 95, 100.

 Racial, backgrounds, 14-22, 59,
 122, 127; mixture, 15, 16, 20-22;
 see Mestizos.
 Reciprocity, 46-47, 85-86; *see*
 Tariffs.
 Recreation, 5, 26-27, 71, 77, 78,
 106; *see* Arts, Festivals.
 Regionalism, 13, IX, 122-123.
 Religion, ancient, 26-27, 55, 70,
 71; in Spanish times, 20, 32-33,
 39, 4⁶, 49, 57, 67, 106; modern,
 49, 70, 71, 78, 106; mystical
 movements, 33, 39, 49, 78.
 Revolutionary movements, 31, 33-
 34, 35, 39-4i, 43'45, 129-30; in
 future? 100.
 Rizal, 39-41, 49, 129.

- Sakdalistas, 78.
Secret societies, 33, 39, 49, 78.
Social system, in early days, 25-27, 37, 38; *see* Family.
Spanish, conquest, 20, 29-32; influences, 35-42, 63, 82, 99, 105-109; language, 36, 37, 63; numbers today, 53.
Spanish-American War, 34,41,43.
Standards of living, 53-55, 57, 76-79, 93-
Suffrage, 98.

Tangulans, 78.
Tariffs, 46-47,85-86,91,130.
Taxes, 92,96.

Tenants, 24, 26, 36-37, 54, 66-84.
Trade, *see* Commerce.
Tydings-McDuffie act, 52,131.

Unemployment, 80-81, 87-88, 93.
Usury, 24, 25, 73-75, 76,79, 83-84.

Visayas, Visayans, 10, 56, 60, 61-63.

Wealth, per capita, 76.
Work, attitude to, 37-38, 42-56, 76-78, 88-89.
Women, status of, 3,27,37,86,98.
Wood-Forbes report, 96, 130.

