

A History of Philippine Physical Activities: Pre-Spanish to 1946

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Historians of Philippine life and culture have not generally noted the significance of play and sport. While Spanish, Filipino and American historians have carefully documented political, economic, religious and social institutions, play and sport have received little notice. If, as Huizinga has theorized in his classic *Homo Ludens: The Play Element in Culture*, play is at the center of our existence and, ultimately, it is the play impulse that sustains civilization, it seems worthwhile to investigate play and sport in Philippine society. A close examination of records of Philippine life will illustrate the place of play and sport during four distinct periods of Philippine history: pre-Spanish, Spanish (1521-1898), the War for Independence (1899-1907), and American (1898-1946).

Modern day Filipinos are a fun-loving, joyous people with a well developed affinity for games, dance and entertainment. Traditionally, these activities have centered around work-related activities such as hunting, planting and harvesting; have been associated with rites of passage such as birth, marriage and death; or have been related to the circumstances of illness, accident and war. Although various Spanish chroniclers attest to the fact, as did Chirino, that the "islanders were much given to reading and writing, and that there is hardly a man, and much less a woman, who does not read and write in the characters used in Manila, which are entirely different from those of China, Japan and India. . .,"¹ the climatic conditions and the materials used for recording, such as palm leaves, tree bark and bamboo strips and tubes, did not permit the preservation of these written languages. While at least seventeen coastal groups were identified as being present at the arrival of the Spaniards, records of the groups were often destroyed by the Spaniards. Two often-quoted sources, the Code of Kalantiao and Provedano manuscript, have recently been shown to be fabrications; thus there is a dearth of pre-Spanish written records that might give insight into games, sports and recreational activities.²

The paucity of Philippine writings and the lack of cave paintings such as those found in Europe require that the history of early life be drawn from the results of archeological digs, historical records and the writings of the Spanish chroniclers. Admittedly the latter may not present an accurate description of activities, and interpretations would have been colored by Spanish cultural patterns and values. An additional source of information is those minority groups living in remote parts of

the country, which, until the 1960s, are believed to have had minimal contact with Western civilization and are considered to be living much as the pre-Spanish inhabitants of the islands.

I. THE PRE-SPANISH PERIOD

Historic and ethnographic records indicate that while early man in the Philippines was basically of the Malay race, there was considerable intermixing of racial strains. Migration of southeast Asians such as those from areas now Cambodia and Thailand influenced race and culture. Contacts with India came as early as the second century A.D. During the late T'ang Dynasty (600 A.D.) Chinese traders visited the Philippines. Waves of Arab traders and missionaries likewise left their impact in the form of religion, laws, calendars and literatures. The Spaniards arrived in the archipelago in 1521; the first time the name *Filipinas* appeared on a world map was on a map of the East Indies drawn by an Italian cartographer in 1554.³

Few artifacts related to play and leisure activities have been found at the various excavation sites in the Philippines. Archeologists of the National Museum uncovered a large quantity of stone tools in the Cagayan Valley, but no play articles. Likewise, Tabon Cave in Palawan, first excavated in 1962 and containing artifacts 20,000 years old, has not yielded evidence relative to toys or play. These excavations indicate the early existence of man in the Philippines and substantiate theories of movement over land bridges connecting the Philippines through Borneo and Formosa with the mainland of Asia.⁴

Findings at the archeological digs verify that Filipinos practiced the custom of burying human artifacts with the dead. Adult men were buried with *bolos* (large knives), daggers and wooden scabbards; often grave furnishings contained jewelry made of gold or beads made of tin, seashells or stones such as jade.⁵ These bracelets, ear pendants and breast ornaments were beautifully crafted.

The Santa Ana site in Manila is believed to have been a 13-15th century trading center. Remains there show an extensive exchange with Chinese business people. Burial jars and hardwood coffins of that area often contain tiny porcelain teapots, vases, dishes and gold peggings for teeth.⁶ Additional pottery found in this and other sites shows Siamese, Cambodian and Indian influences. Statues on and in burial jars, although perhaps giving the impression of being toys, are actually funerary markers or representations of various dieties used for ritual or ceremonial pur-

poses. These figures made of clay, gold or bronze include fertility goddesses such as Likha, a pregnant woman.⁷ It is probable these goddesses and gods were placed in rice granaries in the hope of an increased harvest. Another sculpture depicts two persons, the deceased and a rower, proceeding to the afterworld.⁸ Although all of these are miniatures and could be played with by children, they are definitely not playthings. But the Aborlan, Palawan site in the southwestern part of the archipelago yielded articles that give some indication that leisure time was utilized to pursue the making of beads, turtle shell combs, children's seashell bracelets and cloth and bamboo instruments such as flutes.⁹

A small clay fragment similar to a marble, found in a vase containing children's bones, led to the speculation that that children of the 13-15th century might have played *piko* using the *pamato*.¹⁰ Another child was buried along with a dog. At the Calatagan site, small potteries were also found with infants and children. Although adults were buried with shields, spears, jewelry, boats and even slaves to assist them in the afterlife, children were not generally buried with items considered to be playthings. The paucity of artifacts found in burial sites and the fact that there are no written records of pre-Spanish life prevent a definitive description of play and sport.

Another possible source of information regarding pre-Spanish life exists. A food gathering and stone tool using group of people were brought to the world's attention in June 1971 by the Philippine Presidential Arm for National Minorities (PANAMIN). This group of 27 people live in an uncharted forest in the mountains of Mindanao Island, Southern Philippines.

These Tasaday are believed to have been isolated from the outside world for a period of time ranging from 600 to 1000 years. Detailed descriptions of their culture reveal that children participate in food gathering and processing activities such as catching frogs, tadpoles and crabs and the making of a starchy product from the wild yam. Although the group was given a bow and arrow, it was six years after acquisition that it was first used; there was no attempt to make one as a toy for the children.

Children's activities aside from assisting in the food related responsibilities also include care of younger siblings. During lulls in such activities they bathe in the stream, frolicking under the waterfall, engage in very simple tag-like games, swing on vines, catch small insects and gnats and sit or lounge in the caves telling stories with the adults. The only account of a plaything was that one mother gave her child a monkey

skull with which to play.¹¹ Children did occasionally play with insects on a string which they procured from one of the vining plants.

Nance, drawing upon the corporate observations of researchers over a protracted period of time, did not record children playing with small bows and arrows, *bolos* or miniature fish traps, making palm leaf balls or dolls, singing, dancing or constructing or playing on musical instruments. All of these are commonplace activities of nearby tribes, as well as in the more remote rural areas of the Philippines today.

The Tasaday have a reverence for their natural environment and do not unnecessarily take life nor destroy vegetation. It would thus follow that they would not make small weapons or strip leaves from trees to make playthings for children. They also do not accumulate possessions; their cave home was almost devoid of material objects. Finally, and perhaps more importantly, the Tasaday did not evidence the ambition or the inclination to explore beyond their food gathering requirements.

If the Tasaday can be thought of as representative of pre-Spanish Filipinos, this perhaps gives some clue as to why few children's toys and recreational objects were buried with the dead. Although their life has been described as leisure-intensive, they have not developed material playthings.¹²

Among the Taotbato, another isolated Philippine group evidencing more contact with other groups of people, children do play imitative games such as *balay-balay*,¹³ hunting games using bows and arrows and engage in food-processing activities and those associated with economics, such as wood carving. One activity, playing with tops, does not fit any of these purposes, but it is believed to be associated with ritual.

In contrast with the Etruscans, Egyptians and African groups, neither the Tasaday, the Taotbato, nor any of the earlier cave dwellers of the Philippines seem to have utilized cave walls to depict their life. There is no evidence of paintings or drawings of flora, fauna or daily activities. Possibly the high humidity and heat would have made this impossible even if there had been the inclination to draw and paint. Likewise, if children and adults did make playthings of bamboo, palm leaves or wood, these would have rapidly disintegrated due to climatic conditions had they been buried with the dead.

Another important consideration in discussing the lack of play articles is that there seem always to have been children and adults with whom to play and converse. Among the Tasaday today all children are considered to be siblings, and each male a father and each female a mother to each child. Even though there is a special feeling for the individual

family, child raising responsibilities are shared. Other children, six years and above, care for younger siblings. This baby tending could preclude the desire for inanimate objects such as toys and playthings. In addition, if the current Tasaday disinclination to acquire material property and the desire to preserve the natural environment were typical of the pre-Spanish Filipinos, the development of playthings would have been inhibited. The Spaniards also noted that the Filipinos did not care to acquire material possessions.

It is known that there was a type of formal education of children before the arrival of the Spaniards. In the marriage ceremony of people who lived on the island of Panay the young couple was charged to raise children who were intelligent, brave, happy and athletic.¹⁴ In order to accomplish that, the children attended schools, called *bothoan*, in a teacher's house, where they were taught reading, writing, arithmetic, religion and fencing, or *kali*, for self defense.¹⁵

The Negritos, a nomadic group, selected their chiefs according to the physical prowess displayed. An ancient manuscript, *Maragtas*, tells of Marikudo being chosen chief because of his speed and agility in catching a deer in the forest, his strength in lifting extremely heavy logs and his ability with the bow and arrow.¹⁶

Philippine legends abound in central characters admired for their physical strength. The *Islas de Gigantes* are named after the legendary giant Gigante.¹⁷ A legendary Ifugao hero, Aliguyan, was idolized because of his skill with the spear and the shield. At the extremely early age of seven, he accompanied the adult men on hunting trips. He was a skilled hunter, a strong warrior and a skilled dancer.¹⁸

A woman chief, Princess Urduja, ruling before the arrival of the Spaniards, had many admirers and suitors but is said to have remained single all her life because she did not want to marry one whom she could surpass in strength and bravery.¹⁹ The strength and skill of Chief Lapu-Lapu in repulsing Magellan and his men attested to the ability of the Filipinos to use fire-hardened spears, arrows, flaming stakes and stones.

Chau Ju Kua, trading with the Filipinos about 1225 A.D., wrote that the women ascended the mountains and waded the streams with two or three water-filled jars on their heads. He noted they did it as effortlessly as they walked on a level plain.²⁰

The people of the south, the sea-dwelling Badjaos of Sulu, introduced their infants to the sea immediately after birth. This early introduction to the water was believed to prepare the child for life in the sea.²¹ Pres-

ent-day Badjaos live on the sea and are recognized as excellent swimmers and divers.

Although there are few written records that describe pre-Spanish Philippine life and culture, Filipinos did participate in physical activities for purposes of play and leisure. The epics, legends, riddles and proverbs passed from generation to generation orally yield information. These, coupled with observations of early Spanish explorers and the customs of ethnic minority groups, serve to show the importance of play activity in the day-to-day life of early Filipinos.

II. THE SPANISH PERIOD: 1521-1898

At the time of Spanish conquest it is believed that the population in the Philippines was approximately half a million. These people were grouped into sixteen cultural-linguistic groups.¹ Researchers have determined that most of these languages were written. The writers used an iron point² for a pen and the writing was done on bamboo, the bark of trees, palm leaves, wood such as that used for scabbards of bolos (knives) and, occasionally, earthenware vessels. Currently, there are four language groups that still practice the syllabic writing of earlier times; they, too, principally use bamboo. The genealogies, legends and myths have been recopied time and again, but there are no historical, religious or legal documents found to have existed through the generations.³ Thus it is that records of early Filipinos and their reactions to the Spanish are not available. The researcher must turn to the records of the secretaries of the explorers, to the artists and to chroniclers to gain information regarding life during early Spanish rule in the Philippines.

It can be surmised that the Spanish wrote primarily about those things which particularly concerned them. For example, the details regarding war-making skills were quite specific. On the other hand, the male explorers did not describe housekeeping matters. Coming from the medieval period with its restriction and general disdain of the human body, they were astounded at the freedom between the sexes and the dress or lack of it among the Filipinos. Early contacts were brief; thus, there is no complete description of Filipino life. The records of many of the early chroniclers show a kind of gullibility; the Spanish seem to have been easily taken in by stories told them of an island where only women lived. They were impregnated by the wind and destroyed male children at birth. Other stories told of places in the Philippines where

people ate only the hearts of other people or described giants roaming the land. The Filipinos must have had great fun contriving some of these stories. It must be realized that language barriers did exist and it was only when the Spanish started learning the Philippine languages and staying and working with the people that more complete and accurate descriptions of Filipinos were given. Still, caution must be exercised, for prejudices and misinterpretations by writers who were all foreign to the culture abound.⁴

It was on the island of Samar that Magellan's first contact was made with the Philippines. Having made a blood compact with the king there, he celebrated the first Roman Catholic mass and then moved on to the island of Cebu. Cebu was regarded as civilized because the people had music, jewels, clothes, laws, industries and commerce.⁵ Magellan, emboldened by his initial success in the curing of a sick man after baptizing him ordered all chieftains to obey the King of Cebu. One chieftain, Lapu-Lapu, refused. In the battle that ensued Magellan was killed and the Spaniards retreated. Later expeditions resulted in the colonization of the Philippines, so that by 1600 Spanish sovereignty was fairly well established.⁶ The two most obvious goals of the conquest were to spread Christianity and to gain economic wealth. The Spaniards are thus credited with introducing the Filipinos to European civilization, bringing the Christian religion, generally bettering the condition of the people and unifying them during their tenure in the Philippines.

A search through the writings of the Spanish chroniclers, the sketchy records of the Chinese entrepreneurs who had contacts with the Filipinos prior to the Spanish, and some Filipino sources yields a broad, if incomplete picture of the play and recreational activities of the Filipinos during the time of Spanish dominion. Oftentimes, play of children was not described. This is not surprising because the children, as soon as they were able, assisted the adults in the daily routine. Work and play coalesced in those days as it still does in the life of the Tasaday, the Taot-bato, the Negritos and many of the ethnic groups still found in the mountainous interior of the country.

Physical Activities Requiring Physical Strength and Skill

The early Spanish explorers were alternately impressed, awed and frightened by the evidence of physical prowess shown by the islanders. Accounts covering the years 1493-1529 described the Filipinos as expert swimmers. In Sulu (Jolo) men dove for pearls "as big as hen's eggs

in very deep water and one oyster weighed 47 pounds."⁷ They were noted to be expert fishermen and could "catch fish with naked hands which is a thing of great wonder."⁸ Legazpi noted that the men and boys of Mindanao "swam out to us when we were more than a league from the island."⁹ Padre Chirino, a graduate in 1602 of the University of Seville in both civil and canon law, went to the Philippines as a missionary priest. He studied the language and is believed to have been a reliable observer of Philippine life in the 1600s. He also made mention of the fact that Filipinos loved the water: "From the time they are born, these islanders are brought up in the water. Consequently, both men and women swim like fishes even from childhood and have no need of bridges to pass over rivers. They bathe themselves at all hours for cleanliness and recreation. . . ."¹⁰ De Morga also noted that the Visayans bathed two or three times a day in the rivers. Pigafetti, Magellan's Italian secretary, told of two captured Benarios who escaped their captors by swimming away.¹¹ This matter of daily swimming or bathing was perplexing to the Spaniards; they tried to dissuade the Filipinos from taking so many baths. In later years they were able to convince the Filipinos to give up their daily bath as a sign of penitence during Lent. Fourteenth-century Europeans did not take frequent baths and were unaware of the cleansing and invigorating feeling a daily bath would provide.

There is no doubt that the Spaniards were impressed by the physical ability of the Filipinos. Legazpi, describing the people he first met at Mactan, site of the killing of Magellan, noted they are "better proportioned than most Spaniards and have greater strength."¹² Upon later contact with the Igorots of the mountains in northern Luzon, the Spanish described the people as muscular, big bodied, athletic, fleet as deer and so strong that even the women and children could carry heavy loads up the steepest trails.¹³ The northern people were all noted for their endurance in hiking on the mountain trails. Legazpi wrote, "we pursued the enemy but they are the lightest and swiftest runners I have seen."¹⁴ It was said that they measured "honor in terms of gold possession, in being superior racers or runners, and in their prowess for fighting wars."¹⁵

Magellan described the Filipinos as "shaggy men who are exceedingly great fighters and archers. They use swords that are one palm in width, and eat only human hearts with the juice of oranges or lemons."¹⁶ In describing the men of Butuan and Calogban no doubt his fear or long-range observation caused some exaggeration in his assessment of their diet. The people in Mindanao, the Muslim stronghold, were described as less than friendly and living in houses holding 40 to 50 married

men plus their families. The amazing thing to the Spaniards was that these houses were built in the trees.¹⁷ From the Spanish perspective, the Filipinos were brave, physically skillful and capable warriors.

The chroniclers made note of the fact that the people were excellent oarsmen. Some of the boats were simple dugouts (*barangays*), but others were much more elaborate, carrying dozens of men. The rowers were often accompanied by an individual marking the cadence with a trumpet with a bamboo reed that was played with the fingers.¹⁸ One king arrived to visit the Spanish in a *prau*, a flat-bottomed boat with three tiers of rowers on each side. A total of 120 rowers carried banners made of yellow, white and red parrot feathers. There was much sounding of gongs, and the rowers kept time in their rowing to the sound of the instruments.¹⁹ Other boats used bamboo poles as counterweights. These large *vireyes* held from 50 to 1000 people. Other larger ships were rigged with sails and were able to carry loads weighing as much as six hundred pounds.²⁰ Sketches of these boats indicate they were finely crafted, beautiful in appearance and very seaworthy.

Account after account describes the ability of the Filipinos as archers. Much of the food gathering entailed the use of the bow and arrow. Part of the training of the boys included being taught how to use the bow. The father taught the young boys, but there is evidence to show that in some groups the women also had responsibility for this skill. Chirino wrote, "When the boys reach the age of eight years old, they teach them to shoot with a bow and arrow, others the use of lances and spears, in which they later become great archers."²¹ Legazpi noted that the bows and arrows were large and strong and more powerful than English bows and arrows. The arrows were made of unfeathered reeds and dipped into a poison which killed instantly.²² It was also recorded that the chief's small son was brought to war by a servant to assist in cutting off heads of victims so that a taste for war could be incited. In Negrito villages of the Sierra Madre today, young men still prove their skill in archery. A young man stands twenty meters away from his intended bride. Wedged under her armpit is a bamboo tube twelve inches long. The young man has to shoot the arrow through to win the girl. If he fails and hurts her he pays with his life.²³

Another method of hunting was with a *sapukun* (blowgun). Young boys during Spanish times, and still to this day in the mountains of Palawan, procured food through the use of a bamboo or rattan blowgun which they themselves made. Also used were bladed weapons. Sketches in the Boxer Codex of 1590 show men in Zambal with a bow and another

in Tagalos with a long dagger. The Muslims were recognized as fine metallurgists and developed the art of dagger making over the years. Although chiefly ornamental today these daggers have been used in the past in skirmishes and battles with other Filipinos, Spaniards and Americans.

The Igorots used bolos or machetes and spears in war but did not use bows and arrows or spears to the same extent their southern brothers did. They devised missile-throwing devices powered by bamboo springs and triggered by hidden vines. Relying principally upon defensive tactics, they utilized tree trunks and rock boulders to stop the enemy as he ascended the mountain trails. The trails were also implanted with highly effective bamboo spikes.²⁴ The Igorots resisted Spanish conquest for three centuries, living in complete independence of them except for their frequent raids on the lowlands.²⁵ Similar defensive mechanisms were employed in World War II as the mountain men fought alongside the Americans against the Japanese.

The Spanish were also impressed by the fire-hardened wooden spears used by the men of Manila when they first engaged them in battle. The lances were of palm, described as harder than iron and capable of piercing the Spanish coats of mail. They were measured at two and a half *varas* in length.²⁶ Shields used in Jolo were breast high, some were made of rattan, others of cotton-lined blankets. Some of the warriors wore corselets made of ebony.²⁷ The Ifugaos, a northern Luzon mountain group, used corselets, but these were made from carabao skin. Some of the warriors wore helmets of fish skin, most likely of the very hard and prickly pufferfish. For some of the warriors, armor also included greaves, wristlets and gauntlets.

Legazpi in 1564 wrote about an activity that was used to pass the time but was also effective in war for defense. He was amazed at the skill displayed during an exhibition and was fearful of suffering the same fate as Magellan.²⁸ Pigafetti recorded that Magellan was felled by a bladed weapon. Both men were referring to the martial art of *kali*, which came to be called *arnis* by the Spaniards.

Kali was taught to children as part of their education on the island of Panay possibly as early as the 1300s.²⁹ The word may have even derived from the Indonesian *tjakelete*, indication that this art of self defense was introduced by the Malays. Using a large bladed weapon longer than a knife, skill in parrying and striking was involved, with the leg and the leg-hip fulcrum used to outbalance and throw an opponent.³⁰ The Muslims of Mindanao and Jolo developed a wide variety of such knives

and had as many as fifteen different types with names. The Lopez Museum display includes a late fifteenth century *kris* of a sultan of Basilan, encased in a silver scabbard with gold inlay. Spanish fear of the Muslims was great and was based partly on their proficiency in kali. At any rate, the Spanish were not able to subjugate the Muslims because of their fierce fighting ability and their remarkable seagoing vessels.³¹

The Spanish authorities discouraged and eventually banned kali in 1764 because they said the Filipinos spent too much time perfecting their skill, leaving their work unfinished. They also stated that it was too dangerous. The most obvious reason for banning, of course, was that they feared it would be used against them. But the moro-moro plays introduced by the Spanish friars presented a chance for the Filipinos to practice their skill. Despite the prohibitions, many of the leaders of the revolution against the Spanish are known to have practiced arnis. Rizal studied it before he went to Spain.³² By 1896 it had become so widespread that a de Azas opened a school for the study of arnis and foil fencing.³³ Arnis became a standard fighting technique in hand-to-hand combat in the battle for independence from the Spanish. Bonifacio, father of the Philippine Revolution, is said to have brandished his bolo, and proclaimed the "Cry of Balintawak": "Long live the Katipunan! Long live Philippine Independence!"³⁴

Adult Games Activities

The Spanish writers described few adult games or sports, but this paucity of recorded playful activities is not surprising. There are several contributing factors: The early Spaniards were conquerors, and their first contacts were usually battle related. The Spanish friars were primarily involved in religious matters and considered leisure activities trivial. Many of the games or recreational activities took place within the home or the intimate confines of the village and were not readily accessible to the Spaniards. Furthermore, many of them were closely associated with ritual at the time of a death, and most Spaniards were not intimate enough with Filipinos to participate in such events.

Father Pablo Pastells, in a letter to his Father Provincial in 1887, noted that in Mindanao where he worked among the Maranaw a ball game was very popular. Players used a ball made of woven split bamboo, which they moved with their feet.³⁵ This game had been played for a very long time by Muslims in the Philippines. The famous Maranaw

Darangan, oldest Filipino epic, made mention of this sport; it is thought to have preceded the introduction of Islam before 1380.³⁶ The game was called *sipa*. An account in 1619³⁷ describing activities associated with the celebration of a patron saint day indicated that the men spent the afternoon playing ball, possibly an early observance of the game of *sipa*.

For centuries *sipa* has been an important part of Maranaw celebrations such as courtship and weddings, local fiestas and coronations of new sultans.³⁸ The Maranaw game of *Kasipa* (*sipa*) was performed in a circle by six or more players who wore costumes, a brightly colored *sarong*, a loose wide sleeved shirt or *bankala*, a belt of embroidered cloth to hold the sarong in place and a fez type hat. The player held a big scarf (*musala*) made of a lightweight fabric in his right hand. Dried banana leaves or betel nut palm padding were sometimes used to protect inner thighs or bare feet. As the ball was kicked the player extended his left arm gracefully while waving the scarf with his right hand. The snap of the scarf and the hit of the ball were simultaneous and produced a loud sound. Players attempted to keep the ball in the air as long as possible and are known to have maintained it there for as long as three hours.

Three styles of *kasipa* were played by the Maranaws. *Kasipa* proper emphasized the beauty of a player's movements, the cleverness of his kicks, the grace and height that the ball reached, the artistic use of the scarf and how long the ball would stay in the air. Another style, *takyan*, was also played beautifully. However, in *takyan* there were two competing teams with four to six members each. The object was to garner the highest number of kicks in a single toss without allowing the ball to touch the ground. The third type, *manggis*, used only at grand celebrations, was in the early days the most exciting of the three. Unmarried sons of the chiefs were the only ones allowed to participate. Prior to the start of the game, beautiful lantern-like objects would be suspended in the center of the playing area. Each lantern, *marigai*, represented the name of a maiden of the community. The lantern of the princess, the sultan's daughter, hung higher than the others. The players used frontal kicks to attempt to bring down a *marigai*. If a *marigai* dropped, the player received a gift from the maiden. The player who caused the princess' *marigai* to drop received her hand in marriage.³⁹

As played by the Maranaw the game emphasized grace, poise and precision. The rules consisted principally of counting the number of hits or the time the ball was maintained in the air without touching the ground. Players would achieve as many as one hundred successive kicks;

one team was known to have had three thousand successive kicks without dropping the ball to the ground. Although the Spanish observed the game, they never made a recorded attempt to participate in the game nor did they change it. The game continued as an activity throughout the Spanish period, playing an important role in the Muslim culture of the south. Neighbors in Indonesia and Thailand also play the game of sipa.

Little children honed their skills for the game as they played *takyan* (kicking), kicking a small object made of feathers, a weight and something to secure the feathers to the weight. This activity, participated in by both girls and boys and still popular today, used successive kicks to keep the feathered implement in the air as long as possible. Often played individually by a child strolling along, it was sometimes played in pairs or in circles of more players.

An activity that took place at funerals also took on aspects of a game or sport. Played at funeral wakes in Mountain Province among the Kalinga people, it was described by a German pharmacist, Schadenberg, who wrote, "a man assumed a sitting position which exposed his thighs to vigorous blows with the flat of the hand delivered by his opponents, one after another, the object of the game being to test his fortitude and endurance."⁴⁰ The Bisneg people of Apayao as well had this tradition, and the activity was stopped only when the palms were numb or the thighs were bloodied.⁴¹ The Manuvu of Mindanao played a kicking game which had definite rules because of the danger involved. Its counterpart can still be found in some mainland Asia groups to this day.⁴²

The many forms of wrestling allowed adult men and older boys opportunity to test their physical prowess. The various forms of wrestling were widely diffused over the islands and most of them had particular names. Leg wrestling, known to some as *lavidon* or *dumog*, finger wrestling, called *sumping* or *torsi*, and arm wrestling, called *sanggol* or *bunong brazo*, were important ways of developing and testing physical strength. Wrestling in general was also used for self defense. A rather unusual form of wrestling was the head wrestling called *binnuno*, where competitors pushed with their heads against each other. Their hands were joined finger tip to finger tip below the knee. The object of the match was to throw the opponent off balance. Binnuno was participated in by males all over central Luzon.

Stilt walking with bamboo poles, *kahandaken*, and vine swinging were and still are competitive activities among the Mangyan of Mindanao. Foot races were also held among most of the peoples. *Tupa*, which antedates the coming of Magellan, was a competitive game wherein the

players would alternate in throwing their own coconut against a coconut pawn, attempting to break the pawn. Much gambling was attached to this game.⁴³

Kite flying was an activity introduced by the Chinese. Aduarte in 1640 described the kites as being extraordinarily light, with various items suspended from them to oscillate and produce delightful sounds.⁴⁴

The Igorots of Mountain Province played a rough game called *bagbagto*, or stone war. Men from one village challenged another village. At a given signal the men started throwing rocks which they had earlier stockpiled. The rocks were thrown directly at the opponents across a dry river bed down which a line was drawn. The players attempted to hit each other and at the same time dodge flying rocks. The team that managed to first cross the line and thus force the other side to withdraw to the river bank emerged as the victors. However, this game could have been a losing proposition for all the players. Teeth were knocked out, players were maimed and blood was shed. The Igorots, however, did not look at it in that way. They believed the more blood was shed, the better would be their sweet potato crop the following season, and victor and vanquished alike went off happy and no grudges were held.⁴⁵

Generally, the Spaniards described the Philippine games and pastimes as being limited to cockfighting and card playing. The Spanish sought to compensate for this perceived deficiency by introducing to the Filipinos such games as rings and chess. Filipinos quickly became masters of *juego de anilla*, the game of the rings, often associated with festival activities as in the honoring of a town's patron saint.⁴⁶ Colored ribbons donated by young ladies were attached to the rings, which were suspended from a string attached to the two poles of a decorated arch of bamboo and palm leaves.⁴⁷ Young men on horseback carrying stilettos attempted to catch a ring as they rode through the arch. The young man, with ring and ribbon in hand, then approached the young woman whose name was written on the ribbon, bowed to her and received the ovation of the crowd.⁴⁸ It was a Spanish game but the Filipinos made it their own. Interestingly, it is not unlike the manggis kicking game played by the Maranaw. One wonders how the customs of two such diverse cultures as the Spanish of medieval Europe and the Maranaw of Southeast Asia followed such similar patterns.

The women of the Philippines did not lead lives as secluded as was common in other Asian countries. Perhaps the Spaniards did not describe many activities of women because they saw them only in the secondary role common to culture. They described women primarily as

they danced, as they bathed with newborn baby in the river and in terms of perceived sexual promiscuity.

Palo sebo (greased pole), as its name implies, was a game introduced by the Spanish. The Filipinos enjoyed this activity at the fiestas, and the game soon became part of the Easter festivities. *Tok-tok*, wherein eggs would be thrown through a ring shape made by a finger, was another game played at fiesta. The eggs were toughened by boiling or burying. One egg was said to have been thrown 25 times before it disintegrated.⁴⁰

Children's Games

The Abella portfolio of life in 1734 shows an Aeta boy in a stooping position holding a stick about two and a half feet in length, being watched by both a Spaniard and a Filipino. Careful examination of the sketch indicates that possibly the boy was playing the still popular game of *siatong*, in which a slight depression is made in the ground and a stick is placed over it. A player using a longer stick attempts to flick the short stick up and out into a field where other players stand prepared to catch it.

Lopez, evidently a priest-educator in 1637, described a time when the children were dismissed early from school to play at a fort which was being constructed on the outer edge of town. The game played was a simulated battle between the Moros (Muslims) and the Christian Filipinos. One group defended and the other attacked with wooden and bamboo spears.

The Spanish sketched boys with small bows and arrows and little blowguns. Most of their play reflected directly or indirectly their parents' work, such as trapping fish, making vessels for cooking out of clay, washing clothes, making small boats and floating them in the canals and making terraces or building dikes for rice paddies. Other than these isolated descriptions, the available literature does not describe any games, or play activity of the children separate from the adults. It can be concluded, however, that while there was not a clear demarcation between work and play of children, nor a distinct division between adult and children's activities, the children did have their own pastimes. This is evident from the many indigenous play activities that exist to the present day. The fact that they are native and indigenous is evident because the names of the games are not Spanish, but rather come from the more than 90 languages spoken in the Philippines.

While Philippine writers such as Bartolome and Manuel have elsewhere described in detail games of Filipino children, an overview of the games of physical skill and strategy will be given here. The burial sites in Aborlan, Palawan and Calatagan give indication of the game of *piko* (hopscotch) being played. This game requires a great deal of hopping and good balance and is still played by girls in lowland communities. *Siklot*, a game utilizing seashells or seeds, required precise assessment of space and small muscle control to pick up the items one by one without disturbing others. Another game played by both girls and boys called *balinsay* or *sintak* and other names involved tossing seeds which were caught on the back of the hand. A game called *hiningtin* required the same sense of timing and small muscle control with the additional requirement of good balance because coconut midribs were clasped in the hand and thrown one at a time up in the air to be caught on the top of the hand. This was done while standing on the left foot with the other foot touching the left knee.⁵⁰ *Taguan*, blind man's bluff, was another favorite activity of children in the Visayas.⁵¹

A rather highly structured game known variously as *bagul-bagul*, *bakya* or *bao* was usually played by girls, and involved throwing a coconut or a wooden slipper backwards over the head. The player would then be required to perform a succession of increasingly difficult stunts to pick up the slipper over her head. The players with the greatest flexibility, agility and coordination were the most successful. *Luksong tinik* or *luksong karawayan*, another game played by girls in the lowlands, involved jumping over outspread fingers and feet at progressively greater heights. The girls also developed high levels of eye-foot coordination in the previously mentioned game of *takyan*. This game, played with a shuttlecock homemade of feathers, could possibly have been introduced by the Chinese because it has its counterpart on the mainland of Asia.⁵² *King-king*, a hopping game, required great endurance.

The game known as cat's cradle was widely diffused in the Philippines. A looped string was transferred from a finger on one hand to another finger on the other hand to form various figures. Another game requiring much dexterity was *sintak*. This game was similar to jackstones in that an object would be tossed and other objects picked up in the time before the first object would touch the ground.⁵³

Among the most popular games for boys was tops. Introduced by either the Chinese or the Indians before the arrival of the Spanish, the top was made by boys in a conical, circular or oval shape, with a point or peg on which it spun.⁵⁴ Schadenburg noted that the children in the

1800s made tops and also modeled toys of wax. Great care was taken to craft a top with the best aerodynamics. A top was sometimes used to fight another top within the confines of a circle. *Kinnuti*, a top game, used one top as a pawn which was alternately hit by the contestants. If it was not hit, the owner could encircle it with a string, toss it upward and catch it with both hands.⁵⁵ Among the Taotbato of this century, tops are often important parts of ritual observances.⁵⁶

A combative game popular in Sagada, Mountain Province, required the boy opponents to bend their heads lower than the waist and then attempt to strike each other with a sudden upward and slightly backward kick.⁶⁷ Other games such as *bulan-bulan*, *tubigan* or *suniperon* required the formation of teams and structured playing areas. A game similar to bowling, *lipay*, was played with seeds. These games required speed and strategy and were often played by young men as well as children. Boys spent time making objects of bamboo and playing with bamboo sleds, contriving stilts out of bamboo or coconut husks for the beginners, swimming and diving.⁵⁸ They also used round seed pods, seeds or fruits to form yoyos. When the Spanish introduced the lathe, wooden yoyos became the rage. Jose Rizal, the Filipino martyr patriot, took a yoyo with him on his trip to Europe and impressed his shipmates with his remarkable skill. Specific stunts were developed such as the *patingan*, during which the spinning top came to a standstill.⁵⁹ Boys also enjoyed *holin*, marbles. The various games using marbles involved aiming at another marble or attempting to put them in a particular place.

Boys wrestled as their fathers did. Upright wrestling was a way to test their strength. They attempted to grab the opponent's body frontally to bring him to the ground. Trickery was not allowed, such as inserting a hand behind the knees or between the thighs.⁶⁰ Boys also did finger, arm and leg wrestling.

Many games developed that involved fine muscle coordination, and the boys devised various target games using seeds and, later, items such as coins, rubber bands and bottle caps. *Sinampikal* in the Visayas was a rather sophisticated game that involved aiming seeds at targets with varying point value. *Sopo* likewise was an aiming game with a line behind which the players stood and then aimed at a circle target made in the dust. In *palmo* a player would aim at a post, let the seed rebound, and the second player would attempt to duplicate the feat.⁶¹ Culin (1900) described *pungitan*, wherein players would aim with a shell at another shell placed in a ring made in the dust. Inside this circle would be a circle two inches in diameter. The game then involved using a sea-

shell placed on the outer perimeter to attempt to move the shell placed in the small circle. Culin described other games played indoors and describes two puzzles in the same article.⁶³

One of the distinctive aspects of children's play prior to the introduction of Western style games was that children would choose sides and play games for hours without keeping score. Adults either ignored the outcome of such games or discouraged any rivalry that existed.⁶³

Play Associated with the Natural World

Play with insects such as beetles was noted by early chroniclers as being a popular form of play for children. This play involved catching the creatures and then devising ways to play with them. Captured beetles were often encouraged to walk a stalk of grass or a slim fiber. The Tasa-day children were observed playing in this way and such play is still common in other parts of the country. Other games, such as *pasuagan*, engaged the beetles in competition. The beetle was fastened to a stick and was trained to fight another beetle from that position. In the game *babuybabuyan*, the beetles were buried in a dust mound and the insects, which had been leashed to a strand of human hair, struggled against one another.⁶⁴

Play with spiders involved making a T-roost of coconut midribs on which two spiders fought each other after being released on a line. The spiders then released their saliva and tried to envelop each other. Butterflies were also enticed to combat each other.⁶⁵

Spanish observers noted that carabao fights or bull fighting were common. A female carabao was used as bait; after the bulls were aware of her presence she would be taken away and the bulls would duel one another. This common activity of the lowlands had its counterpart in the mountain areas of the south where horse fighting was practiced. The horse, introduced to the islands by the Spaniards, was used by the Filipinos for a variety of purposes. Horse fighting was described in 1734 as involving a great deal of kicking and biting, the bloody combats lasting for more than an hour.⁶⁶ A mare was tied to a post with three yards of slack rope and then three stallion ponies were released in the area.⁶⁷

Horseback riding was a common activity, with both men and women riding. Horse racing was also enjoyed in the south. Among the Maranaws as much depended upon the horse's precision footwork gauged by the jingling of the bells around the horse's neck as on speed.⁶⁸ The Lopez Museum (Manila) exhibit of accoutrements of horse racing used

by the Maranaws in the 1600-1700s includes bells called *kong-kong*. The complete outfit, including native armor utilizing steel rings and carabao horn, helmet and ax, along with *kampilan* or kris, was called *parabout a kuda*. An interesting little folk song of many years ago from Pangasinan told about a horse that broke its halter and went away. The composer compared it with his pipe which never disappeared.⁶⁹

Birds were considered as things to be played with by children. The bird was usually caught by one of the women and given to a child. The child would tie a string around the leg of the captured bird and play with it until it died, whereupon it would be cooked and eaten. Myna birds and parrots were taught to talk and sing and were kept as pets.⁷⁰ Children and family members learned to imitate the pitch, rhythm and syllabic pattern of the birds' songs and were able to identify the birds in the forest from the songs they sang and were able to assess whether the bird was resting, eating or courting. Not all birds fared as well as the pet birds because birds became targets for small boys hunting with blowguns.

Sketches made in 1734 show an Aeta boy and girl holding an object that looks very much like a bat; the description reads "murcielgamy grande con cabeza como perro," a large bat with a head that looks like a dog's.⁷¹ A monkey was also shown in the same sketch, so perhaps they, too, were playmates of the children.

Cockfighting, *sabung*, was noted by Pigafetta in 1521 as being a popular activity among boys and men all over the archipelago. Blair and Robertson's volumes have more than a dozen references to cockfighting. The Malays are believed to have introduced the sport. Even in the early days of Spanish colonization it was well developed. Razor blades were attached to the legs of the cocks; these intensified the slashing action and resulted in vicious fights with a great deal of bloodshed. De Morga recorded cockfights in Jolo and Mindanao and noted that cockfighting was the sole pastime of the residents of that part of the country.⁷² His observation that there was no betting associated with cockfighting in those areas seems to indicate that in other areas of the country gambling was part of the cockfighting scene. Indeed, Padre Chirino wrote, "...The Indians are passionately fond of cockfighting and spectacles of all sorts; ...often the Indians are seduced into debt contracts by their passion for cockfighting and gambling."⁷³ Pastells also recorded cockfighting in 1887, and Abella's photo collection developed from sketches shows the *Indios peleando galeos* in 1734 and again in the 1800s.

The chroniclers in 1623 were already describing some physical activities that had a Spanish flavor. Many of the Spaniards had participated in the tournaments during the days of knighthood and chivalry in their own country, and they were quick to introduce such activities to the Philippines. Spanish equestrians and sportsmen engaged in various festivities. They staged tournaments wherein as many as twelve bulls fought against each other in different matches. The horsemen engaged in various contests and formed various figures. Often these tourneys were in honor of royalty, and each side would try to outdo the other as they charged, hurling their spears while the opponents tried to protect themselves with shields. The infantrymen also staged sham battles with arquebuses and muskets, observed by "many beautiful ladies."⁷⁴

Courtship Related Activities

Courtship games, while not described as such by the Spanish, were part of Philippine culture. *Baligaya*, a rice pounding contest, was a prominent part of weddings in Pangasinan. Young men attempted to put a great deal of artistry and skill into the art of pounding the rice, as well as in handling the pestle. In a sense, it was a qualifying round for marriage. An excellent performance was often enough to win the love of a young lady.⁷⁵ Wrestling bouts also presented an opportunity for young swains to prove themselves to their female friends.

Many of the dances performed at various celebrations were of the courtship type. Particularly at marriage festivals, accompanied by drinking, eating, ringing of bells and playing of gongs and drums, there was an opportunity for courtship. Young women and men spent much of the time dancing and singing; sometimes these festivities lasted 20 or 30 days.⁷⁶

An account of festivities in the 1800s in the Visayas (Foreman) described a courtship dance. After eating, the company was entertained by dancers. Two at a time, a young man and a young woman stood facing each other and sang a love ditty which was followed by explanations in poetic dialogue. The two danced with a slow step, moving around each other as they sang the plaintive music. Foreman was describing the *balitao* or *balac* extemporaneous song or poem, which was accompanied by dance movements. The *balitao* was an antiphonal love song, which probably started with harvesters gathering in a clearing to the accompaniment of the strains of a bamboo flute

(*subing*) and a guitar of coconut shell.⁷⁷ A pair danced around exchanging witty remarks and verses while the onlookers laughed and shouted in enjoyment, showing approval or disapproval. Such dancing continued into the evening with a break for supper, especially when there was a full moon. The *balitao* took the form of a contest between sexes; if one person was outwitted, another of the same sex would take his or her place.⁷⁸

Soon after the Spanish settled in the Philippines the game *juego de prenda* (game of pledge) was introduced, indigenized and popularized. It was usually played by young men and young women and presented an opportunity for flirtation and body contact when the ring was passed on and a boy's and girl's hands might touch.⁷⁹

There were, no doubt, many courtship games or activities that did not appear in the literature. Either the Spanish did not notice them or they did not seem important enough to detail. The type of Roman Catholicism brought by the Spanish was a "monkish religion" which considered most types of enjoyment a sin.⁸⁰ They were, however, very aware of the sexual overtones of the body movements of the women and did note some peculiarities, at least from their viewpoint, in sexual behavior.

Activities Associated with Celebration

Writer after writer among the Spanish commented upon the Philippine penchant for festivity and celebration. Except for a few priests in the provinces, the major and, perhaps, only contact the Spanish had with the Filipinos in the early days other than in battle was at the festivals. They would only attend those upon invitation. So for the most part, the early explorers were isolated from Philippine life and culture. It is thus understandable that descriptions of festival activities would be prominent in their reports.

Celebration had been a part of Philippine life long before the Spaniards' arrival. Such festivals lasted for days and were financed by wealthy leaders.⁸¹ There were many rites of passage and other significant events that meant a celebration. The Filipinos attributed both powers and responsibilities to spirits, and part of the purpose of the ceremony at celebrations was dedicated to maintaining good relations with those spirits. The construction of a new house, the engagement of a child, a marriage, or the death of a family member required ceremonial celebration. Sometimes as many as 40 or 50 carabaos were butchered

and eaten. Legazpi gave several accounts of death celebrations but did not mention dancing as being part of those. Ribadeniera thought the burial customs peculiar in that there was singing to the accompaniment of instruments. Chirino concluded that "the first and last concern of the Filipinos in case of sickness was. . .to offer sacrifices to the gods. . . .These sacrifices are offered with dancing to the sound of the bells. . . .In the most ferocious part of the dance and bell ringing. . . all at once she stopped at the death of the sick person."⁸²

These and many other accounts wherein dance and physical activity were part of the ritual surrounding illness figure prominently in Spanish descriptions of Philippine life. The Spaniards were faced with the reality of death among the Filipinos because after two decades of Spanish occupation the "native population was decimated; the people were starving because much of their rice was consumed by the Spanish conquistadores and they were heavily taxed."⁸³ There was an acute rice shortage in the 1570s and 1580s. Accounts written around 1580 indicate a concern for Indios (Filipinos) and the treatment they received. Reports after 1582 have little information on Philippine life and focus primarily on government matters.

Baptism was celebrated with many feasts, dancing and rejoicing in the early 1600s after the church had made many converts. Betrothals and weddings were celebrated with many days of dancing, singing and playing. Some men called *bayani* (valiant) went from village to village earning part of their living by dancing at weddings. Their costume included buffalo horns on their heads which were covered with gold.⁸⁴

After victories in battle there were long celebrations with drinking, dancing and ringing of bells. With the increase in converts to the Christian religion and the gradual blending of traditional customs with religious practices, fiestas in honor of the patron saint of a community came into prominence. As early as 1619 there were accounts of processions with singers and dancers, and a "thousand lesser amusements."⁸⁵ Kite flying and *sipa* were also popular at the fiestas. There were also dramatic productions and fireworks and a week long fiesta on St. Augustine's Day. De Zuñiga described a *duplo* in the 1500s that lasted for three days. The *duplo* and *karangtan*, both coming from the Tagalogs, were associated with the social events at a death. The *duplo* was a vehicle of relief from the sadness at the loss of a loved one. It developed into kind of a literary joust, consisting of puns, jokes and riddles. The *karangtan* was a play on words with the participants speaking their versified lines in a fanciful way. Both of these were

parlor type games which engendered much good humor and entertainment.⁸⁶

A favorite entertainment at the festivals was the moro-moro play in which a story would be dramatized, pitting the Christian Filipino against the Muslim Filipino. The play featured a great deal of sword fighting; during the intermission a clown would appear to criticize the play and the public officials. Later accounts tell of sleight-of-hand tricks, magic and children wearing disguises or masks being a common part of the entertainment surrounding the play.⁸⁷

Dance

An important part of the celebrative and recreative life of the Filipinos was that of dance. The Spaniards, "fresh from the repressed sexuality of the Middle Ages, viewed the dances as licentious."⁸⁸ They were intrigued and yet shocked by some of the customs associated with dance. Most of the dances were associated with ritual and ceremony such as this example from among the mountain people of Luzon. Father Vivar wrote, "Spirits make their presence and desires known through the lips of female shamans during public seances in which the priestess danced and shouted around the sacrificial victim, often dispatching it herself. . . . At first break of dawn, . . . drawing near, she seizes the spear, leaps, dances, and shouts, enticing her god. . . . At 8:30, tired from her exertions, she hangs up the spears, . . . takes up a little bow of bamboo, now she repeats her deceiving shouts and dances, shooting a bamboo dart into the pig. . . . Later, after pigs were killed and quartered while the meal is cooking, she prays, . . . then distributes it with her usual gymnastics."⁸⁹ The Ifugao *cañaos* are still celebrated. Prayers accompanied by dances are offered to the gods of the underworlds, the upper world and the upper stream world. These form part of the celebrations at illness, death, birth, harvest, and weddings.

Dancing and merry-making also accompanied the yearly festival in Kalibo, Aklan commemorating the signing of a treaty ending the war between the Marayana, a tribe from Borneo, and the Atis of Panay. This festival was later incorporated into the feast of the Santo Niño. Although Spanish missionaries discouraged such "pagan" practices, they continued and remain a part of cultural customs in some of the more remote parts of Mountain Province.

Whenever the Spanish traveled they observed various types of dances. While it is recognized that dance was and is a major part of Philippine

life, a detailed description can be obtained elsewhere.⁹⁰ A few of the dances first observed will be noted, however. Antonio Pigafetti described what he interpreted to be a sun worshiping ceremony wherein three women danced around plates filled with food; it included the sacrificial butchering of a pig similar to that taking place in Luzon.⁹¹ The dances of the Negritos were noted as unique. They arranged themselves in a circle with open arms, hopped first on one foot and then the other in a brisk style and then dispersed in all directions with shouts and whooping. De Morga described a custom in the Visayas: "When women leave their homes to visit others, they walk very slowly, making a thousand movements with their bodies, with one sleeve and arm upraised, because they consider it fashionable to do so."⁹² This movement of the wrist with the upraised arm most likely developed into what later came to be known as the *kumintang*. Abella's photos also show a sketch from about 1700 entitled *Indios baslando el comintano*, with a man playing a guitar and a woman in skirt and *kimona*. Pigafetti, a young man at the time, commented that the Filipinos possessed good musical sense and the girls were beautiful, almost as white as the Spanish girls and large. He told of a prince entertaining and having three naked girls dance for them.⁹³

During the first decade of Spanish occupation, 1565-75, Filipinos were described as dancing to music made by drums, horns, bells, nose-flutes and seashell trumpets.⁹⁴ Chirino described the *cutyapi*, a guitar of three strings; the *pasing* and *bugtot* were also guitars. Pigafetti noted a jew's harp made of bamboo in Cebu; percussion instruments included the *bayog* or hollow log used by the Bilaan to this day, the various brass gongs called *gansas*, the *baggang* or bamboo xylophone of Sulu, the *ludcy* and *tugo*, drums of the Tirurays, and bamboo castanets. Wind instruments included the *bansah* flute; the *lan'ay*, a flute or clarinet; the *pasiyah*, a water whistle; and the five-pipe organ.

Dances associated with rites of passage were common. Among the Hanunoo of Oriental Mindoro, the *Panludan* is still performed. A social religious activity that revolves around the exhuming of bones of a dead relative, it includes feasting and dancing for days. The *Obando* was a universal fertility symbolic dance. Barren women desirous of children danced at prescribed times and in specific places to increase their chance of giving birth. This later came to have Catholic overtones as they danced to the Virgin of Salambao. Joyous occasions were also celebrated in dance. A group of dancers preceded newlyweds shouting and making noise to drive away the evil spirits, according to the Spanish writer's interpretation. Some of the dancers carried spears, bolos and

daggers. They performed various kinds of antics, and to the indefinite percussive rhythm ran, jumped, skipped, leaped, hopped and galloped.

All over the islands there were dances associated with occupations: mimetic dances, war dances, dances for rice planting, harvesting, threshing and flailing.⁹⁵ Some of the dances were comic and entertaining such as the *Pinuhag*, or honey gatherer, where the gatherer unintentionally pokes the hive with a torch and the bees attack. The dancer imitates the antics of the honey gatherer as he rolls on the ground, stamps his feet, slaps himself and jumps about.⁹⁶ Chirino, describing the festivities that were not of mourning, wrote, "they remove the tables and clear the house, they sing, play musical instruments, dance and in this way spend days and nights with great uproar and shouting until finally they succumb, exhausted and drowsy."⁹⁷ The celebrations included feasting, singing and dancing and often lasted all night and occasionally several days.⁹⁸

Foreman (1889), showing careful attention to the dancing, penned the following description of a dance he witnessed. "The music expresses her forlornness. Then a ray of joy seems to momentarily lighten her mental anguish, the spirited crescendo notes gently return; the tone of the melody swells her steps and action energetically quickens—until she lapses again into resigned sorrow and so on alternately. Coy in repulse and languid in surrender, the danseuse in the end forsakes her sentiment of melancholy for elated passion."⁹⁹ He described the *Comitan* (also spelled *kumintang* or *comintang*) as being a native dance frequently done. He noted it as being most typical, describing it as a girl writhing and dancing *a pas seul* with a glass of water on her head.¹⁰⁰

The Filipinos observed the Spanish dances with interest and gradually incorporated some aspects of the Iberian dances into their own. Later, the Spaniards found willing pupils as they taught the Filipinos the rigodon, lanceros, carifiosa, curracho and cachurcha.¹⁰¹ The women became proficient in the those intricate dances. Foreman attended some of the formal ballroom dances. At a captain's ball he attended he described the mestizas, the Spanish women and the native women, all of whom were wearing long flowing skirts of silk or satin. He disdained these dresses as being very irksome to waltzes because they were so long. The band of musicians played habañera music. He lamented the fact that the men all wore coats even though the evening was very warm. They danced until 2 a.m. and the "men looked like dish cloths at the end of the evening and the girls who had powdered their faces had collected the *blanc de perle* on their way and converted it to pellets of paste."¹⁰²

Foreman, as had the Spanish before him, was describing what he saw from the point of view of own culture and value system. But no Philippine legends, balitaos or records describe the dance and so documentation must come from foreign sources. The body movements, step patterns, moods, instrumentation and rhythms are still evident in Philippine dance so perhaps it can be assumed that these amateur dance observers were reasonably accurate.

Games Requiring Mental Ability

Life in the Philippines was not harsh prior to the arrival of the Spanish. The sea and the rivers abounded with fish, the earth yielded fruits, roots and plants. The Philippines was relatively sparsely populated so Filipinos enjoyed a large amount of leisure time. As might be expected, they enjoyed games that required mental effort and could be played without expending energy during the heat of the day. Several such games came to be popular.

Dama, played on a board laid out somewhat similar to checkers, was a favorite pastime. Played originally with seashells or pebbles as pawns, in later days buttons, cork and even coins were used. Chess was also a favorite pastime of the Marañaw. The squared board and the chess pieces were of distinct Marañaw design.

Sungka is an ancient game still played by both females and males of all ages. This game was played all over the country, but varied slightly from area to area. There are some indications it was introduced by the Chinese, as it is not unlike a Chinese game. This game is widely diffused in Africa as well. In the Philippines, the game may have been played outdoors with the required 16 holes being made in the ground, or it may have been played on a beautifully carved wooden playing board. The object of the game was to "eat" or capture the opponent's seashells, which were originally placed in the seven holes belonging to each player. The game required careful planning and strategy and could take hours to finish. The Marañaw version of the game involved punishment for the loser, such as pulling the ears, flicking the back of the hands, or performing menial tasks for the winner.¹⁰³

Mahjong, a game introduced by the Chinese, was played in the later Spanish period by adults. It required mental dexterity and involved the use of dice. It continues to the present time to play an important rôle in the recreational pursuits of both men and women.

Games Associated with Gambling

By the mid 1800s the Spanish had what they considered a problem on their hands. The Philippine love of gaming was closely associated with gambling. This pan-Filipino trait was common to Christian and Muslim alike¹⁰⁴ From the north to the south, gambling was a major part of the activity of cockfighting. It was recognized as a problem in family life and contributed to absenteeism and low work production. Wilke, an American traveler in the Philippines, 1838-42, noted that "little business would be transacted after breakfast and then they played at various games including cards."¹⁰⁵

A document entitled *Juegos Prohibidos* (prohibited games) described in great detail prohibited games and implements of games and prohibited playing sites, and stipulated the punishment. The owner of the store where wine was sold who permitted public playing was fined one peso for the first offense, two for the second and five for the third. Play was banned at working places from 6:00 to 10:00 a.m., 2:00 to 6:00 p.m. and after 10:00 p.m. The penalty for disobeying those orders was the same as mentioned above. Fines for military personnel and ecclesiastics were stiffer: for the first offense, one month in prison; the second offense, two months of hard labor and a third offense meant being sent off to war, according to an October 21, 1779 order. In addition, it was announced that names of all offenders would be published in the capital newspapers. These orders were sent to mayors of all towns and cities.

By 1863 the papers ran thirty-one articles related to prohibited games. Newspapers of later dates also publicized notices to maritime captains regarding such games. Some of those prohibited were coin matching games, card games and of course *Juego de gallos* (cockfighting). *Changue* and *Chupa* were games introduced by the Chinese. *Llampó*, a card game introduced by the Chinese, because of its popularity was soon prohibited by the Spanish. Through this game "all classes and sexes were mingled and as they played, they smoked opium."¹⁰⁶ There were other games that appeared quite different to the Spanish, called *chiretas* and *vaticabapa*.

Bruzeta and Bravo declared "there is no limit to the string of affection for games, in as much as they are passionately fond of cards, they forget to eat in order to play *panguingui*, . . . which is also the most agreeable entertainment of the *señores mayores* (gentlemen) of the country. The vigilantes, the alcaldes (mayors) and parochial priests in-

veigh against the play. . . . After the hands have been dealt; . . . there is not enough place left for all the aficiandos."¹⁰⁷

Cards were played at funeral wakes. *Tresillo*, *revesino*, *tre-siete* and *burjo* were introduced by the Spanish. The games continued until burial. The playing of cards helped to pass the time of waiting and served as a diversion to the mourners. At fiesta time cockfighting was permitted for three consecutive days. Oher games were permitted only on Sundays, holidays and fiestas.

The legislation regarding prohibited games originated from Manila. From there the orders were circulated throughout the provinces. Many handwritten notices bearing the presidential seal were sent to various places. Local officials acknowledged through letters having received the notices regarding the prohibited activities. Table 1 shows the names of games and the years they were prohibited.¹⁰⁸ Following the list the fines or penalties for violations were listed. Upon apprehension of players, an account was to be given concerning the captor and the captives. In addition to this type of control the government also granted and suspended gambling casino licenses.

Evidently, the Spanish felt that gambling was a disease that had reached epidemic proportions. Judging by the number of prohibited activities, there must have been a proliferation of games, many indigenous and a few introduced by the Chinese. The ironic fact is that many of the games of chance, card games and other amusements that had the element of gambling had been introduced by the Spanish. Gambling games knew no class or race barrier, as priests, soldiers and government officials alike played *trucos*, a game resembling billiards, dice games, card games and various lottery games. Initially, the government encouraged Filipinos to join these activities because they brought revenue to the crown;¹⁰⁹ in fact, government monopolies were established. Eventually, what had seemed like a profitable scheme had to be legislated against, meaning a loss of revenue to the government and an enforcement problem for the government officials.

Table 1. Specific Games Prohibited by the Spanish Government and Inclusive Dates

| Name of Game | Dates of Prohibition |
|----------------|----------------------|
| 1. Baccarat | 1897 |
| 2. Banca-banca | 1889-1890* |
| 3. Biaron | 1885 |

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| 4. | Bola | 1884-1887 |
| 5. | Bolos o pata | 1884-1893 |
| 6. | Burro | 1871 |
| 7. | Caballitas | 1897 |
| 8. | Callit | 1883 |
| 9. | Capona | 1875-1894 |
| 10. | Chabdique | 1864-1898 |
| 11. | Chupas (orcara y cruz) | 1883-1895 |
| 12. | Colorado y Blanca | 1893 |
| 13. | Creao (quiso) | 1894-1895 |
| 14. | Dados | 1894-1895 |
| 15. | Domina (español o chinica) | 1888-1896 |
| 16. | Farao | 1889 |
| 17. | Gadoz | 1881 |
| 18. | Gallos, juego de (Topado) | 1848-1898 |
| 19. | Juego | 1877-1878 |
| 20. | Juetiny | 1894 |
| 21. | Junquian | 1883-1889 |
| 22. | Llampó (yanpu, lionicao) | 1864-1892 |
| 23. | Lotería (de carteres) | 1878-1897 |
| 24. | Loten | 1897 |
| 25. | Loto de Baraja | 1894 |
| 26. | Malilla | 1887-1896 |
| 27. | Monte | 1839-1898 |
| 28. | Nomino Chinico | 1893 |
| 29. | Panguingue | 1862-1898 |
| 30. | Paña ona | 1879-1896 |
| 31. | Pañana | 1890 |
| 32. | Paquito | 1883-1896 |
| 33. | Peves y nones | 1859-1896 |
| 34. | Pares-pares | 1889 |
| 35. | Perinala | 1880-1892 |
| 36. | Pasa-poso | 1887-1895 |
| 37. | Puncao | 1887 |
| 38. | Punto | 1896 |
| 39. | Rifa | 1875-1896 |
| 40. | Sanpios | 1864-1865 |
| 41. | Simqui | 1885 |
| 42. | Soliong | 1864-1898 |
| 43. | Tonba | 1883-1898 |

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|-------------------------|-----------|
| 44. Tapadiablo | 1875-1890 |
| 45. Tres Cartos vueltas | 1889 |
| 46. Tresiete | 1885-1895 |
| 47. Tutucan de Huevos | 1879 |
| 48. Villar | 1855-1898 |

Physical Activities in Formal Education

The Spanish civil government authorities attempted to bring education to the Philippine masses in 1863.¹¹⁰ A 1899 report of the United States Commissioner of Education indicated that while public elementary schools were required under Spanish law for every village of more than 500 people, very few knew Spanish, the language of instruction.

Schools prior to 1863 were started by various Roman Catholic orders. In 1868 they organized 1,052 primary boys' schools and 1,091 schools for girls. Despite the high enrollment, attendance was very low, with as few as 40 or 50 students per school.¹¹¹

Later, however, the Roman Catholic Church established institutions of higher learning for a few of the favored young people. One of the most progressive of these, Ateneo Municipal de Manila, required gymnastics in its curriculum. Catholic colleges for young women, however, did not include physical education, and instruction was limited to those things which prepared them to go into religious work or to be efficient housewives.¹¹²

In 1892 a Superior Normal School for Women Teachers was established in Manila. One of the listed subjects was room gymnastics. A year later at the Superior Normal School for Men Teachers \$400.00 was budgeted for a gymnastics teacher, and gymnastics was one of the subjects required for certification. It is not known if gymnastics was actually offered in the two normal schools.¹¹³ As the primary objective was religious instruction, Christian doctrine, church history and ethics constituted the core of the curriculum. Physical education had played no part in the formal education of the friar-founders of these schools; thus it was not part of the school day during their tenure in the Philippines.¹¹⁴

The priests looked upon play as a sign of laziness. Some of the chroniclers were scandalized by the licentiousness of some of the dances and other customs of the Filipinos. The Filipinos, looking to the priests for their spiritual guidance, adjusted their leisure time activities to those approved by the church fathers. The churchmen, on the other hand, allowed the people some freedom of activity on the feast days of the patron

saints: religious processions with dancing, the moro-moro plays, clowning and various street amusements.

Despite opposition from the priests and the lack of a physical education program in the schools, the people kept alive games, sports and dance. As history does not credit the Spaniards with development of sport equal their European neighbors, it is not surprising that the Spanish made little or no effort to teach Filipinos athletics or sports in the schools.¹¹⁵

The Filipino passion for dance was reciprocated by the Spanish. The Filipinos eagerly observed the dance of the Spanish and incorporated particular gestures, movements and step patterns. They used some of these steps and styles in their own dances and made new combinations. They likewise used native instruments such as bamboo castanets and coconut clappers, and in general the rigid posture and fixed arm and foot position gave way to more fluid movements and gestures.¹¹⁶ It was only through the dance, the card games, and a few other activities that the Spanish influenced the leisure activities of the Filipinos. There was no attempt through formal education to influence this area of their life and culture.

III. THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE: 1898-1901

The period of independence was brief and bloody, but within that short time the Filipino patriots evidenced physical and intellectual attributes that had been developed in the years prior to the revolution against the Spaniards. This artful blending of physical and mental abilities was, perhaps, best exemplified in the short life of Philippine patriot-martyr Jose Rizal. Born in 1861 into a large well-to-do family with Chinese, Malay, Japanese and Spanish ancestry, Rizal had a happy, peaceful childhood. As a child growing up in Kalamba, Jose was small and weak. A sports-loving uncle, Manuel, "encouraged young Rizal to learn swimming, fencing, wrestling, and other sports so that in later life his frail body acquired agility, endurance and strength."¹ In addition, Jose rode his pony, went for long hikes with his uncle, worked out on a chinning bar, iron dumbbells, Roman rings and parallel bars, and also boxed and wrestled.² At the age of eleven, Rizal was sent to Manila to study at the Ateneo Municipal, where, along with academic subjects, he studied gymnastics and fencing.

His physical prowess stood him in good stead when he and his friends were taunted by Spanish classmates. Verbal exchanges sometimes resulted in physical ones, and Rizal, who had had school fights

and arm wrestling matches since the age of six, was usually victorious. Although not a born fighter, he was often challenged to a fight because of his academic superiority and seemingly frail body. By the time he was a student at the University of Santo Tomas in 1880, feelings of animosity between the ruling Spaniards and Filipinos often resulted in street brawls. Rizal was active in these fights, making use of his skill in fencing, his strength in wrestling and his courage.

Rizal studied medicine but felt stifled by the hostility of the Dominican professors and the antiquated method of instruction, so he traveled to Spain for further study in a freer atmosphere. En route to Spain he impressed his traveling companions with his skill in using the Philippine yo-yo as an offensive weapon. While studying in Madrid he frequented the Hall of Arms of Sanz y Carbonell to further his fencing skills. He enjoyed testing his skill in duels, which were considered an elegant form of combat in continental Europe. His dueling partners at various times included other Philippine revolutionary figures, Spaniards and, in Paris, a French-Spanish-Filipina mestiza.³

During his student days in Europe and his subsequent travels in Europe and England he visited gymnasia and participated in various sports. He learned cricket in England, boated in Switzerland and later learned ju-jitsu in Japan.

Upon his return from Europe he returned to his home town and within a year had opened a gymnasium in an attempt to interest his townmates in gymnastics, fencing and shooting so as to discourage cock-fighting and gambling. He worked to provide for others the opportunity for physical development and was, in fact, a proponent of physical education. Through his studies of Philippine history Rizal had concluded that Filipinos were not as strong physically or morally as they had been at the arrival of the Spaniards. He placed partial blame for the decline of his people upon the Spanish educational system, noting that if a child was taught, as Filipino children were, that he belonged to an inferior race, that he had little energy, inferiority became ingrained in his mind, and molded and pervaded all his actions.⁴

Rizal, reflecting the mounting opposition to Spanish tyranny, wrote the novel *Noli me Tangere*, a thinly veiled criticism of the Spanish regime. The Spanish government in the Philippines feared Rizal because of his eloquent articulation of Philippine resentment toward their governing policies. The resultant fury over his book prompted the governor to assign a bodyguard to Rizal for his protection. A close friendship developed between Rizal and his bodyguard, as they discussed ideas and

issues of mutual interest and enjoyed long walks, shooting, fencing and hunting together.⁵ Despite the bodyguard, Rizal's life was in danger because the Spanish friars considered him heretical and revolutionary. He left the country, traveled and worked in Japan, the United States, Europe and Hong Kong, and eventually returned to the Philippines where he joined other patriots in their efforts to found the Liga Filipina, a patriotic organization dedicated to uniting Filipinos. Rizal was soon arrested and exiled to Dapitan, on the island of Mindanao, where he opened a school for boys. Following plans he had formulated while in Paris, the students' education included such activities designed to strengthen the body as gymnastics, boxing, wrestling, stone throwing, swimming, boating and arnis. Rizal joined his students in the physical activities during the four years prior to his execution on December 30, 1896. He is acknowledged as the first Philippine educator to implement a physical education program.

Rizal was one of many revolutionaries who opposed Spanish rule. In 1889, the Association Hispano-Filipina was founded in Madrid to secure reforms for the Philippines. Membership included all Filipinos in Europe as well as Spaniards, and part of the expressed purpose of the association was to create secondary schools and establish a university.⁶

While Filipino intellectuals studying in Europe were organizing and publishing their objectives in a periodical, *La Solidaridad*, the situation worsened in the Philippines. Citizens were arrested, dispossessed of property and imprisoned without fair trial. The month of Rizal's deportation the Katipunan (KKK) was founded by revolutionaries. Its purpose was to unite Filipinos and to win Philippine independence through revolution.⁷

Secret meetings were held in small villages and membership in the KKK grew despite rigid initiation rites. Women were welcomed along with men. Ignited by the action of Andrés Bonifacio at a meeting in the hills of Balintawak, at which he tore up his *cedula*, the symbol of vassalage, and shouted "Lóng live Philippine Independence," a group of revolutionaries attacked a military garrison in Manila.⁸ The Filipinos drew upon their traditions of spear fighting and their skill with bolos, clubs and stones to supplement the few guns they had. Their strength and courage enabled them to win some initial battles against the Spanish. However, conditions continued to deteriorate. Persons suspected to have been associated with the rebels were imprisoned, leaders were executed and others were exiled to Guam. The execution of Rizal fueled the revolution and on June 23, 1898, a Revolutionary Government was or-

ganized. The Revolutionary Government, in keeping with the objectives drafted in Madrid by the Asociación Hispano-Filipina, stipulated in the Malolos Constitution that elementary education should be free and compulsory for all. President Aguinaldo directed the municipal presidents to provide for teachers' salaries and other appropriations.⁹ One of their objectives was the end of religious education in the Philippines.¹⁰

Due to the unsettled conditions in Manila, all schools had been closed in the city, Enrique Mendiola, who had founded a private boys' school in Manila, became director of the Instituto Burgos, a secondary school for boys established by the Revolutionary Government in Malolos in October 1898. The school, in contrast to Rizal's school in Dapitan, did not offer courses in physical activities and focused on vocational courses in agriculture, surveying and commerce. The school was short-lived, as on February 4 of the following year, the Filipino patriots were defeated by American invaders and the school closed.¹¹

IV. SPORT AND EDUCATION: 1898-1946

"The Philippines are for the Filipinos," declared William Howard Taft, American Governor General of the Philippines in 1903. These words were met with skepticism by the Filipinos, and "although Taft's statement was widely interpreted as an endorsement of Philippine independence, nothing could be farther from the truth . . .," writes Filipino historian Constantino.¹ At the beginning of the American occupation the Filipinos resented Americans as much as they had resented the Spanish.² Carlos P. Romulo remembered "during the insurrection the youngest child knew he must observe much and tell nothing. He might be playing ball outside his home when an American sentry appeared at the door. The ball would fly in an open window . . .; the guerrilla father would be warned in time."³

Initially the Filipinos had welcomed the support of the Americans in overthrowing the Spanish forces in 1898. However, Philippine-American relations soured overnight when Filipinos learned that they had been made part of America: the "Americans having no more need for Aguinaldo's military aid, showed their true color as imperialists, not redeemers."⁴ In defiance of American President William McKinley's proclamation of American sovereignty over the Philippines, the Filipinos inaugurated their own republic and resisted the American invaders until finally they succumbed to American forces in 1901.

In 1899, the American Congress passed an act to authorize the sending of 35,000 volunteers to serve in the suppression of the insurrection in the Philippines.⁵ However, there was not unqualified support of the action from the American people nor from their elected representatives. Actually, controversies were raging in the United States at the turn of the century regarding the "right" of the Americans in the Philippines. Alden March echoed the sentiment of many of those who supported American efforts there when he wrote, "As a nation the Filipinos are not strong enough to protect themselves alone against the governments of the world."⁶ Others proclaimed the American nation as bravely assuming "The White Man's Burden." William Jennings Bryan, Democratic candidate for president in 1896 and 1900, took exception to this and was effective in leading his party to include as a platform statement that the "war of criminal aggression against the Filipinos entailing an annual expense of many millions has already cost more than any possible profit that could arrive for years to come."⁷ He further stated that when advocates of colonization found it impossible to reconcile a colonial policy, they asserted that it was destiny that had led them to it.⁸

The Philippine Commission

In 1899 President McKinley appointed the Philippine Commission to assess the Philippine situation. Educator Jacob Schurman, then president of Cornell University, was appointed chairman of the commission. The Commission went to the Philippines to gather testimony and information on the Philippine situation from the American military, traveled to some of the outlying islands of the archipelago, made its own observations, and interviewed Filipinos. The commissioners learned that during the later years of Spanish rule separate schools for boys and girls, more than 2,143 in number, had been organized. Despite enrollment of more than 200,000 children, only forty or fifty children attended per school.⁹ Instruction in those schools had been in Spanish, but few people knew Spanish even though there were public elementary schools in every village of more than 500 people.¹⁰

Stemingly gathering most of their information from the military, the Commission ascertained from a General Smith that in Negros Oriental there were many schools and that the populace was eager to learn English. He reported that many had come to him requesting teachers of English.¹¹ From Chaplain McKinnon stationed in the Manila area the Commission also heard that the people were eager for education and for

English instruction. Two other Americans, independent of the Philippine Commission, made their own assessments. They were critical of the report and recommendations and said "the desire to learn English is non-existent or limited to small groups of people."¹²

In interviews with military personnel it became obvious to the Commission that the military viewed schooling as an important aspect of pacification and according to General MacArthur, "an adjunct to military operations."¹³ In fact, the military soon after landing in the Philippines had initiated a policy of placing soldiers in the schools as teachers. American General Otis, at his own volition, had taken a special interest in education and had detailed American soldiers as teachers in schools throughout the islands. These soldiers, "more than any other Americans reached the hearts of the Philippine people and convinced them of the disinterestedness of the American program. They soon became the center of the American policy; . . . they were loved and respected."¹⁴ Perhaps the writer overstated the relationship, but he was convinced that the soldiers teaching the children without pay was an object lesson in the policy of attraction.¹⁵ By the time the Schurman Commission arrived there there were 800 American teachers in the schools along with about 4000 Filipino teachers, most of them receiving English instruction.¹⁶

Commission Report

Although Schurman upon his appointment had informed President McKinley that he was opposed to the Philippine policy, he and his commission carefully gathered their data and reported to the President.¹⁷ They recommended that a civil administration be established and that as part of the planned government a universal primary education and higher school program be implemented, with English as the language of instruction.¹⁸ In the report they noted that while the Filipinos had received considerable culture from their Spanish mentors they had not received much education. They reported that the 10% of the people who had been educated were the equals of anyone in the world. They suggested that that elite group of educated Filipinos would be of infinite value in establishing and maintaining civil government.¹⁹ At the time of the Commission's study there were 7,000,000 people residing in 14,000 cities and villages. The Commission felt that the educated leaders in these towns would be of assistance to the Americans. Gannett, chief geographer of the United States Geological Survey, observed that the "people are pacified, quiet, and well deposed, . . . and because of our possession of the Phil-

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ippines we shall become the dominant power in the Philippines both politically and commercially."²⁰ Such information as well as the report of the Commission seemed to justify and confirm McKinley's patronizing statement made to a clergy group visiting the White House: "We could not leave them to themselves, they were unfit for self-government There was nothing left for us but to take them all, and to uplift them all, and to civilize and Christianize them, and by God's grace do the very best we could by them."²¹

President McKinley accepted the report and Congress passed an act establishing the education system for the Philippines in 1899.²² A centralized organizational plan with seventeen divisions was created under local Philippine leadership. Wealthy people were selected to serve as local leaders. It was reported that it was difficult to get local boards to show much enthusiasm because of class difference.²³ While the report of the Commission correctly assessed one of the barriers to local school board leadership, it seemed to have overlooked the fact that Filipinos under Spanish rule had had little opportunity for leadership and participatory decision making.

Controversy and Commitment

The report did not still the criticism of American colonization of the Philippines. Newspapers carried unfavorable stories of the pacification campaign: "General Bell notified natives in Batangas he will move livestock, rice, etc. within limits of concentration. Roads are clogged with people seeking safety from the horrors. . . ."²⁴ The *Kansas City Journal* reported that a soldier of the Kansas City Regiment admitted killing prisoners in self-defense.²⁵

Debate raged in the United States Senate regarding the colonial aspirations of wealth and power. A onetime Republican expansionist in the Senate, Senator Spooner, in an about-face called for a protest against General Jacob's Smith use of the water cure on Filipinos and hanging prisoners by their thumbs. Upon learning that General Smith had given orders to make the province a howling wilderness and to kill all those above ten years of age, Spooner called Smith a disgrace to the Republican party, the United States uniform and a disgrace to humanity. He concluded by saying that humanity must have reached backward for eighteen centuries and that King Herod must have reappeared.²⁶ His words were greeted with applause by some Republicans as well as Democrats in the four-hour debate that seethed around the Philippine question.

Governor General Taft, aware of the controversy in the Senate, spoke before Congress and said Americans must always ask the question, "Does it make sense for the welfare of the Filipinos? If not, it ought not to be enacted. . . . We assume the Filipinos are of future capacity but not of present fitness." However, in the same speech he went on to say, " . . . no other path but to secure for the Filipino increased wealth and instill in him increased wants and good will [is possible] if we would [erect] a profitable market here. . . . Investment must be profitable for Americans and the Americans who have ventured here can make it rich."²⁷ So it was, according to some Filipino analysts, that the United States embarked on a none too subtle plan to make the Filipinos the "little brown Americans of Asia," as avid in consuming American ideas and ideals as they would be in consuming goods and services.²⁸ Education was the tool that transferred the image of Americans from enemy and conqueror to liberator.²⁹

It is obvious that Governor Taft, in 1903, was walking the tight-rope, as he tried to placate American critics. He stipulated that every law or executive order promulgated must contribute to the general welfare of the Filipino people, with the eventual goal being self-government for the Philippines. Leading Americans reiterated this policy. President Theodore Roosevelt interpreted the policy to mean that while the Filipinos had been allowed civil rights, personal liberty and public order, that did not preclude American investment opportunities in the Philippines.³⁰

Reports of early American administrators and observers in the Philippines indicated a commitment and obligation, albeit paternalistic and materialistic, toward bringing the Filipinos to self-government. Thus it was that for more than decades (1898-1935) of American rule, education through language, literature, arts and the sciences served the American purpose. Independence was finally proclaimed and the Republic inaugurated on July 4, 1946.

The American Educational Plan

At the turn of the century American schools had "come to be recognized as the cornerstone of democracy" and were considered essential in bringing the many immigrants to the United States into national life and culture.³¹ Consequently, education was viewed as a means to initiate the Filipinos into the democratic or American way. The public education system included free books, notebooks, slates, pencils and candies to induce the children to attend school and learn. English was initiated. Education was intended

to reach all areas of the country. The second Governor General of the Philippines, Luke E. Wright, focused on the linkage between the two countries in 1904:

The Americans are here in these islands with the legitimate and laudable purpose of aiding in their development, and at the same time bettering their own fortunes: one cannot fail to see that they can only hope to accomplish their desires by establishing cordial personal and business relations. . . . We are strong, the Filipinos are weak. We are justly proud of our institutions and of the benefits and blessings which spring from them. We have assumed control and government of these islands without consulting the wishes of the inhabitants. Are we not in conscience honor bound to offer the best we have to give? Inviting them to participate equally in our common birthright, we do not make ourselves the poorer, but therein the richer.³²

The schools opened and as Romulo notes, "education was no longer the privilege of the rich man's child; . . . anyone could attend Philippine schools, . . . and all without cost. . . ." ³³ Salamanca agrees that there was an enthusiastic response by the less favored Filipinos to the public schools.³⁴ Romulo, writing from personal experience, says,

The school teachers were the first to make it apparent they liked the Filipinos; . . . they were the real missionaries of democracy. . . . Many lived in our homes, . . . they shared our meals, our habits and social activities, . . . listened to the troubles of the underprivileged. . . . Americans practiced infiltration based on equality and goodwill.³⁵

Melencio presents a different interpretation of the "free" education, concluding that "No United States dollar has ever been expended in the education of the archipelago."³⁶ Rather, he said, education costs were borne by Philippine taxes. Blount came to the same conclusion in his analysis, noting in 1913 that each Filipino child paid the hemp trust a dollar before going to school.³⁷ The American government appropriated \$777,585.42 for education in the Philippines in 1905, three-quarters to be used for supplies.³⁸ Congress in a 1905 report noted that "nothing is more needed in the Philippine Islands than primary and industrial school facilities." A portion of the proceeds of all public lands was set aside as a permanent fund, the interest on which was to be used for the establishment and maintenance of such schools.³⁹

Whether the Filipinos perceived education as free or something they paid for, they responded to the program. Both evening schools and regular day schools were established, and as early as 1902 there were 200,000 children enrolled in 1,500 schools, 25,000 in night schools and 20,000 in secondary schools.⁴⁰

One analyst of the program of American education concluded that the teachers from the United States were accepted because they never threatened the Filipino teacher's position. Another contributing factor was that through the teacher training courses at the normal schools the Filipino teachers were made to feel they were important.⁴¹ In 1903, a law was enacted that provided for the selection of students of sound physical condition and good moral character between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one to pursue a course of instruction and education in the United States.⁴² The one hundred and twenty-five students selected the first year were given allowances to cover all expenses. An American adviser counseled and visited them during their study in the United States. This program continued for several years and was one of the reasons that the number of American teachers decreased to 310 by 1925.⁴³

Physical Education, Sports and the Teacher-Coaches

Following the recommendation of the Philippine Commission, physical training was included as a regular part of the school curriculum, with the major aims being, health, normal growth and development of the body as an efficient organism, and psycho-motor education with emphasis on body control and expression of personality.⁴⁴ The education commissioner in 1901 reported that Filipino boys played native games like kites, pitching pennies, native football and leapfrog, and that the girls took less interest in games but did play marbles, native hopscotch, running games, song and dance games and jackstraws.⁴⁵ White observed that the "sports in Manila are materially different from those to which we are accustomed, for their favorites have been bullfighting and cockfighting. . . . Cockfighting is maintained; . . . great shares and profits were received from the cockfighting."⁴⁶ He went on to note that the "Moro men of Mindanao were swimmers of marvelous skill and their performances in diving for pearls were almost incredible."⁴⁷

Following the initial posting of soldiers in the schools by the military additional schools were founded in the cities and provinces utilizing selected American military personnel and their dependents to teach and spread the ideals of democracy. Early in the 1900s Americans were im-

plementing what Monroe noted in his observations in 1925. "As the church was the symbol of the Spanish, so the school has been the symbol of American civilization in the Philippines."⁴⁸

In 1901, the number of teachers was greatly augmented by the arrival of 1400 American teachers, most on the ship *Thomas*.⁴⁹ Maniago, studying the impact of this group, noted that the teachers were "imported without adequate understanding of or preparation for the difficult task."⁵⁰ Many of the early teachers selected from among the 70,000 American troops stationed at the 600 military posts scattered over the islands of the country enjoyed sports and had brought sporting equipment with them. Several of the American teachers who joined them had been athletes at colleges and universities, and they too brought equipment and knowledge of sports with them. White offers some glimpses from the American point of view into the impact of the soldiers in the Philippines:

Immediately after the army of occupation settled down in Manila the sidewalks and little shops were crowded with natives, Chinese, and Americans gambling and while it gave interest and life, McArthur instituted reform. . . . Hundreds of natives and Spanish gather to watch American soldiers drill to the sound of martial music, . . . superior in physique and in strength, usually taller than the Spanish. . . . In the bandstand a couple of Oregon soldiers give boxing exhibitions. . . . The people marvel at anything that involves voluntary exertion; . . . baseball games are now a regular thing. A league has been formed and on afternoons of the week, weather permitting, a game is played out on the diamond of the Plaza de Bagumbayan. Great crowds gather to watch. . . . Star players were carried off in triumph on the shoulders of their admirers.⁵¹

Following these remarks concerning the activities of the military, White makes the astute observation that "if the time ever comes when the Filipinos appreciate and cheer the games, America can claim them as faithful allies and patriotic citizens."⁵²

The military at their bases and the teachers at their schools soon leveled open spaces and laid out baseball diamonds and organized baseball leagues. Although the game of baseball was a curiosity to the Filipinos, "the enthusiasm with which the young people turned to baseball was most inspiring."⁵³ Although the Filipinos had had for centuries their own indigenous sports, a Filipino writer called the scores of Filipinos watching Americans playing baseball the first real athletic contests seen by Filipinos. Perhaps, it is such accounts that have led Constantino to

conclude that the "education became miseducation because it began to de-Filipinize the youth, taught them to look up to American heroes, to regard American culture as superior to theirs, and American society as the model par excellence for Philippine society."⁵⁴ The Filipinos who worked around the military bases picked up the worn-out baseballs, recovered them, made their own bats modeled after broken bats left by the soldiers and were soon playing their own games—and not too much later joking with the foreigners. The American soldiers-teachers-sportsmen were their first teachers of English; it was reported that the elders who came to cheer their sons were soon using English words. "Shouts of 'Slide!' 'Strike!,' 'Foul ball!' and 'Rotten!' came readily from onlookers who knew few other words of English."⁵⁵ In a short time Filipinos were playing fairly regularly, and it was not unusual to see a mountain Igorot, wearing only his G-string, squatting in the catcher's position wearing the basball face mark and catcher's mitt. Heiser in *An American Doctor's Odyssey* wrote of a trip in Mountain Province, home region of the Igorots:

Hearing a terrible uproar he suddenly emerged into a clearing and saw instead of spears and bolos, bats and balls. . . . The ball received a resounding whack by the batter, but it looked as he would be tagged out at second. With one accord the cry arose from the throats. 'Slide you son of a bitch, slide!' They had learned the game letter perfect from the American soldiers.⁵⁶

The American teachers throughout the islands recognized the Filipinos' love for competition and amusement and began to develop a physical education and sports program. Primary instruction included physical education by 1904.⁵⁷ Mary Fee wrote that manual training began as play in the primary grades.⁵⁸ In 1910, the Bureau of Education issued an *Athletic Handbook* and awarded athletic badges to encourage individual achievement.⁵⁹

School Sport

Interscholastic athletics were started in the public schools in 1905 with the full support of American Governor General Forbes, who had participated in college sports at Harvard. Forbes stimulated interest in both baseball and basketball in 1910 when he offered basketballs to the schools in each division winning the most baseball games. By 1913, when

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there were half a million children in school, a program was instituted to offer a series of prizes to the team in each province that had the best record. Twelve hundred teams competed for the prizes, with more than 10,000 players taking part in the competitions.⁶⁰ Complete baseball outfits were offered to division baseball winners. Within the short span of eleven years there were "1555 uniformed and completely outfitted baseball teams, all of which were engaged in keen competition."⁶¹

The Commission of Education reported that during the school year 1913-14 90% of the pupils were recorded as taking part in games and athletics of one form or another.⁶² This probably far outnumbered the fully equipped, uniformed school baseball teams in the mother country in 1914, and is an indication of the importance attached to competitive sports in the schools. In 1916, the American Director of Education's Report praised the program: "It is believed that no country in the world, certainly no state in the American union, has such a carefully worked out plan to make athletics national in scope and determine who are the athletic champions."⁶³ Both Lopez and Romulo support this assessment and note that the achievements in health and education are generally acknowledged to have had few if any parallels in the history of colonization.⁶⁴ Romulo adds that "as the years passed, . . . Filipino youth grew taller and stronger as improved health conditions, physical training methods introduced by the new school system and the rise in wages developed the standards of living."⁶⁵

An intentional emphasis was placed on specialized athletics rather than physical education.⁶⁶ Indeed, the motto "Athletics for Every Pupil" was chosen and implemented on the supposition that the Filipino race would grow taller and bigger through exercise as well as improved diet. Accounts of both Filipino and American teachers attest to the interest and pride developed within communities because of athletic team success. Forbes wrote that a most notable achievement through athletics was the directing of the young people away from the cockpits and gambling. Likewise, the elders neglected the cockpit to see the games of the young ones and to cheer them on.⁶⁷

Visitors to the islands were lavish in their praise of the program of education and the role of physical training and sports. Burdick, president of the American Physical Education Association in 1919, noted that 4500 out of 4702 schools in the Philippines had physical training. At that time consideration was being given to refusing to promote a child unable to carry on the physical work of the next grade.⁶⁸ Monroe, in his survey report, commended the emphasis on physical education and,

urging that it be continued, wrote, "I am conscious of what wonderful results you have achieved, . . . not merely in athletics but a social and physical value as well. . . . You have done what we have not done in the United States, made athletics of educational value."⁶⁹

While assessment by Filipinos is harder to ascertain, Francesca Aquino, a school girl at the time of implementation of the sports and physical education program, wrote that "the Filipinos were quick to appreciate and adopt the view that aspects of man's activities properly conducted were productive of essential human values."⁷⁰

Athletics were also given a prominent role in private schools started by American Protestant mission groups. In 1904, the Reverend Mr. Hillis, visiting one such institution in the south saw that the boys there were like boys everywhere in that they "whip tops, spike tops, play baseball, football, . . . have a college yell and a cheerleader, . . . swim and play truant."⁷¹ He then went on to note that a particular characteristic of the boys was that they preferred to bat at flies or kick the football rather than play a regular game. Evidently he was surprised that the casual style of play was more appealing to Filipinos than the highly structured matches of the American style. A pioneer missionary, the Reverend George Dunlop, who had been a professional baseball player, was assigned to Silliman Institute in the south of the country and soon started a baseball team. He traveled with them by small launch to one of the first athletic meets in Cebu City in 1909. This trip was made memorable by the fact that all of their luggage and equipment was swept overboard in a storm. That first athletic meet started a tradition that continued to expand. Carson, a former president of one of the private mission schools, assessing the impact of such schools in the Philippines, wrote that "No phase of education in the American model met with more enthusiasm than organized sports."⁷² Sports and recreation became almost an evangelistic tool; a 1926 publication contained articles entitled "Baseball as a Missionary Agency" and "New Games—New Rules."⁷³

Baseball and other sports were seen by educators, missionaries and followers of the faith as desirable substitutes for cockfighting activities. Ylanan wrote that cockfighting had become one of the worst vices of the people and, because of the gambling associated with the sport, was the cause of much misery. The majority of the men "reared their own gamecocks and spent much time tending them and at the cockpit which was nothing but a gambling house. In this way, many lose whatever little money they saved."⁷⁴

Sports for Girls

Prior to the arrival of the Americans, few Filipinas participated in athletics; in fact, Forbes concluded that no girl had ever indulged in athletics. Admittedly, his view was somewhat limited by time and travels around the islands, but Filipinos in their accounts generally concur with his assessment. The behavior of young Spanish girls, with their high standards of decorum and property, was the model for Filipinas during Spanish time. The American teachers exerted great efforts to interest girls in sports. While the American women teachers were wearing long skirts, that did not prevent their participation in activities. The traditional native dress of the Filipinas, with long skirts, quite narrow at the knee and flaring out in a train, did not permit free movement. Gradually parents gave permission to daughters to wear the middie blouses and bloomers, and they started doing calisthenics.

Sports for girls were slower in developing, although by 1910 an American teacher had organized a girls' basketball team in Zambales. The teacher introduced basketball as an antidote for the twelve girls in her class who had frequent physical complaints and were often absent. None of them exercised in any way. Upon the introduction of basketball:

The girls took a great interest in the game from the first and soon became very enthusiastic, insisting upon practicing every evening until a late hour. The headache excuses for absences became fewer and the girls became more active both in school and society work. This continued throughout the school year of 1911-12 and today, in a class of more than forty, the girls of this team are the healthiest in the school. Their grades are higher both in industrial and academic subjects, while in all tests requiring self-control, skill, or ability, they greatly outclass the nonathletic girls.⁷⁵

In Manila, five girls' basketball teams were organized and competed in the 1911 Manila Carnival athletic meet.⁷⁶ In the same year, eleven of the provinces fielded girls' basketball teams. But by 1914 American school superintendents in the Philippines recommended eliminating girls' basketball. Later, reflecting then current American thinking, basketball (except for recreational play) was completely eliminated because it was considered too rough and manly. In school, girls did participate in foot races, relays and dances on special days. A Filipina, characterizing her fore-sisters of Spanish days as demure and pious, noted that they re-

sponded immediately with enthusiasm to the American idea that speaking one's mind was a virtue and that education was important. Perhaps exaggerating slightly, she wrote:

They began to play tennis at athletic clubs (though still garbed in "sayas" and stiff "camisas" and still addicted to squealing and fainting), and to take riding lessons. . . . They adopted Western dress, cut their hair and, in spite of raised eyebrows, they joined bathing beauty contests, and danced cheek to cheek.⁷⁷

However, she continues, behavior more likely included attendance at ball games and fights, and fainting in the excitement. This type of behavior would be most representative of the well-to-do urban women and not generally characteristic of the hardy rural women.

Non-government Sport Program

A Filipina who has labeled the period 1901-35 as the Golden Age of Sport noted the significant contributions of the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), Boy Scouts and Girls Scouts.⁷⁸ By 1901 there were eleven YMCA secretaries developing multi-faceted programs. Through the YMCA program called "Play for Everybody," baseball, volleyball and indoor baseball (played outdoors) were introduced into the public schools. The first swimming pool in the country was constructed in 1907 at the Fort McKinley YMCA, followed by another in the Manila YMCA in 1910. The construction of the first gymnasium in 1914 permitted the YMCA to expand its programs. The YMCA physical director, Elwood Brown, was instrumental in the organization of the Philippine Amateur Athletic Federation (PAAF), which has continued to be the national athletic body in promoting, organizing and conducting Philippine sports. The YMCA was likewise the moving spirit behind the formation of the Far Eastern Athletic Federation (1912), the Public Schools Interscholastic Athletic Association (1912) and the Inter-Commercial Athletic Association (1932).⁷⁹ The YMCA contributed to the establishment of playgrounds and to the organization and conduct of leagues and tournaments among industrial and commercial firms and governmental departments. Likewise, the YWCA since its founding in 1926 in Manila has had a program of outdoor individual sports, swimming and dance.

Community Sport

Sports such as baseball, volleyball, and basketball were as popular with out-of-school Filipinos as with students. It was not uncommon on Sunday afternoons to see adult men engaging in a one-on-one barrio volleyball competition in the poblacion square. Although playing with a homemade net and a small size ball, excellent skills and techniques were displayed by the agile players in hotly contested games. Bets were often placed by the spectators.

While baseball initially was the most popular game it faded in popularity as basketball became the national sport. Few were the homes that did not have in their backyards a basketball ring. The success of Philippine teams abroad contributed to the fact that there were student basketball championships and open basketball championships in which commercial-industrial teams, Armed Forces teams, college and YMCA and various other teams participated.

Sports in existence prior to the arrival of the Americans continued to be part of the national scene. Soccer football was introduced by the British in 1895, and American Governor General Taft presented the trophy at the tournament held in connection with the opening of the Philippine Assembly. Horse racing with professional riders and betting was limited to the first Sunday of every month and legal holidays. Polo was popular with the wealthy in Manila. Cockfighting, although limited to certain days, continued to be very popular, with much money, energy and fame attached to the sport. But it, along with staged horse fighting in the southern part of the country, did not fit the American version of sport and was not promoted. Likewise, the Basque game of jai alai, played with a rubber ball and a basket-like implement in a walled indoor court, did not catch the attention of Americans. These sports, with the accompanying gambling, conflicted with the values espoused by the American educators and leaders. Thus, these activities continued relatively independent of the sports introduced and organized by the Americans.

Indigenous Sport: The 1904 Sub-Olympics

Alongside the structured introduction of American sports through schools and other agencies, the American colonizers in 1904 brought 1100 Philippine natives to the St. Louis Olympics and to the St. Louis World's Fair. The "most talked about" exhibit occupied 47 acres and

92 structures. The Filipinos and other people under United States domination housed here participated in the sub-Olympic or Anthropology Days.⁸⁰ Major Philippine tribal groups and other islanders performed for the amusement of the spectators. They were on exhibit in their indigenous sports and dances and also participated in events such as the shot-put, pole climb and foot races. A Philippine Igorot man distinguished himself by winning the pole climb.⁸¹ Baron de Coubertain of the modern Olympic movement was heard to have groaned, "Only in America," upon seeing the goings-on in the sub-Olympics. History does not record the Filipino reaction to this travesty. American reactions must have been as mixed as they had been regarding the original occupation of the Philippines.

Sports Organization

The system of sports development organized by the Americans continued to be following until the Second World War. There was a plethora of sports organizations for individual sports and team sports, such as the PATAFA, Philippine Track and Field Association, the TATPA, Table Tennis Association and the BAP, Basketball Association of the Philippines.⁸² In addition, leagues such as the Manila Bay Baseball League were formed, and in obvious emulation of the American system, the National Collegiate Athletic Association was founded in 1924.

The pattern of interscholastic sports initiated by the Americans was expanded and served as the basis for sports competition throughout the archipelago. The selected players from school teams brought laurels to the Philippines, particularly through the Far Eastern Games and to a lesser extent through the Olympics. The competition in the Far Eastern Games in 1913 was limited to men, but to the second Far Eastern Games in Shanghai in 1915 the Philippines sent two women's indoor baseball teams to play exhibition games. In 1923 the women had invitational meets in tennis, volleyball, swimming and track and field.⁸³

The Filipinos, introduced to Western sports earlier than their Asian brothers and sisters, were formidable contenders in the first Far Eastern Games. Particular strengths were track and field, boxing, basketball and baseball. Sport heroes served to inspire the youth, and great pride was taken in achievements of athletes such as Olympic bronze medalist high jumper Simeon Toribio, who received the Helms World Trophy for being Asia's Greatest Athlete in 1930, and Pancho Villa, who became

world flyweight boxing champion. As a journalist wrote, "You made the world pay homage to the Philippines."⁸⁴

Accounts of those earlier days indicate that Filipinos considered themselves a little brother constantly in the shadow of the big brother Americans. Great importance was attached to achieving athletic success abroad. Indeed, Lopez's observation that the Americans seemed to have had a not too subtle intention "to make the Filipino the little brown American of Asia and an avid consumer of American ideas and ideals"⁸⁵ was evident. In 1936 the country sent its first basketball team to the Olympics in Berlin. The "Islanders" as they were called, endeared themselves to the local populace as well as to other delegations. They performed very creditably on the floor and lost only to the Americans. However, due to the scoring system (which was never fully explained to the Filipinos), they finished in fifth place with a 4-1 record.

Each athlete took very seriously the fact that he or she was representing the country internationally. As Felicissimo Ampon, Far Eastern tennis champion and French Open Tennis competitor, remarked, ". . . I'm carrying my country's name. It's different when you have that task. . . . Will I make good or will I put my country down?"⁸⁶ A latter day softball player, Julieta Tayo, aspiring to play on a USA team said, "It's such an honor to represent one's country."⁸⁷ In a country where, according to Isidro Rodriguez, sports is regarded as a religion,⁸⁸ success in sports is tantamount to winning a world beauty contest or cutting a gold album.

The Americans and Existing Sport Activities

Noticeably lacking in the American program of sports development was an attempt to incorporate the native Philippine games, the long practiced art of kali or arnis, the Philippine martial art, the game of jai alai introduced by the Spaniards, rowing or deep sea diving, in all of which the Filipinos had great skill. The Americans encouraged the playing of sipa, but with some major changes. In sipa a woven rattan ball was kicked in a variety of ways; the game was played principally by boys and men. Americans considered sipa crude because it had no set rules, and seemed to involve aimless kicking.⁸⁹ According to Anima, the Americans gave it class, status and respectability when they developed rules to govern it. The Americans popularized the game, structured it so that two teams could play, instituted a net, standardized the size of the ball, developed playing terms such as "side out," "net ball" and

"dead ball," started scoring and using officials. Anima's analysis of the game reflects a bias against its Muslim originators, showing the long-standing attitude of superiority by Christian Filipinos toward their Muslim compatriots, as well as the propensity to consider anything American superior to things indigenous.

The various districts in Manila organized teams, and soon provincial teams joined the sipa competition; however, Muslims were not included. At tournament time "a brass band was hired, grounds were decorated, high government officials and beautiful maidens were invited."⁹⁰ In 1910 a guidebook covering all the rules for play was printed in Spanish. A few years later, sipa guidebooks were published in both Tagalog and Spanish.⁹¹

The American adaptation of sipa illustrates the way in which a traditional Philippine recreational activity was "taken over" and Westernized. The American version, with its structure, fast-paced action, control element and determination of a winner, contrasted sharply with the slow-paced, graceful, non-competitive, spontaneous game of the Maranaws. No doubt the Americans felt that they were vastly improving the game, and, judging by the great amount of participation in the organized competition and the fact that it has continued until the present day, Filipinos in the Manila area agreed. Sipa never spread throughout the country and was not included in the interscholastic competition.

The Americans built upon the Philippine penchant for celebration and gaiety and incorporated these features into sport, alongside the major athletic competitions and other festivities. The Spanish regime had introduced the fiesta and this contributed to a passion for festivities and public celebrations. The Americans soon realized that sports and recreation were not part of the daily routine of Filipinos; rather they took place in connection with fiestas and special celebrations. The promotion of athletic sports became an easy matter. One such event was described thus: "the grandstand gay with bunting, good weather, big crowds, good games and fiercely contested track events united to make the three days festive ones."⁹² School-sponsored sports competitions took on the aura of a fiesta, with visitors from out of town, special food, music, dance, ritual and ceremony. Each town had teams to rival its neighbors.

Philippine Folk Dance and Sport

A Filipino Secretary of Public Instruction, Jorge Bocobo, emphasized the teaching of Philippine folk dances in physical education with

the view of preserving that aspect of national culture. The idea of celebration of school sport was strengthened by the inclusion of mass demonstrations of Philippine folk dances by school girls and boys during the opening ceremonies of sports competition tournaments. Some people were critical of the shift from teaching sports skills to folk dances, and critics believed the poor showing of Filipino athletes in local and international competitions was due to less emphasis on development of elite athletes.⁹³ By 1937, when physical education had become a required part of the curriculum, a compromise was reached and sports and games, self-testing activities and folk dances were all part of physical education.

During the years of the Second World War schools were essentially closed. During the period of Japanese occupation (1942-45) sports were virtually non-existent, except for some competition between Japanese military teams and Manila teams. A oft told story of the war years illustrates the respect and esteem for sports in Asia. The high jumper, Toribio, Filipino Field Athlete of the Half-Century, was saved from death because of a framed scroll presented by the Japanese Emperor during the Tokyo Far Eastern Games that was seen by the Japanese invaders.⁹⁴

SUMMARY

Through sports, the American flag did literally and figuratively remain aloft. During the years of American occupation, the singing of both the American National Anthem and the Philippine National Anthem⁹⁵ accompanied the daily opening exercises in all schools. Sporting events were not excluded from this practice. They, too, began with ceremonies designed to enhance patriotic fervor for both the motherland—the United States—and the Philippines. While this may seem to have been of minor importance in the cultivation of allegiance to the United States, it did serve to strongly identify the Philippines with America. Philippine adults schooled during pre-independence often comment that they knew the national anthem of the United States better than their own. Many of these “old timers” have from time to time spearheaded efforts toward American statehood for the Philippines.

The Filipino people spoke more than 90 languages and were further fractionized by geographic features such as mountains and sea. The bringing together of people in sports served a significant role. Through participation in sports, particularly baseball and track and field, students had an opportunity to communicate and compete. Competitions in music, dec-

lamation, oratory and chess, and demonstrations of Philippine folk dance (in later years) were held alongside the sport competitions. These activities served three purposes: to break down tribal animosity and ethnic affinity, to develop a sense of Philippine nationhood, and to enhance feelings of allegiance and identity with the United States.

While historical records indicate that the Filipinos had many indigenous sporting activities, the Americans failed to recognize them. Somehow, cockfighting, horse fighting, sipa, etc., did not appear to be as civilized as the American sports. The early teachers, many of whom came from a strong Puritan background, must have felt uncomfortable when introduced to sports which involved loss of blood, variable rules and gambling. Faced with the barrier of language, sports were seen as a vehicle for communication. Teachers became role models as they engaged in sports with their students. Thus participation was a curiosity; Filipino and Spanish teachers had been formal and somewhat aloof.

The systematic method of play, the standardized dimensions of playing fields and formalized rules were hallmarks of sport introduced by the Americans in the Philippines. Philippine sports had a less visible structure. American sports were, no doubt, viewed as a means to bring order and structure, an important aspect in training the Filipinos for self-government. The Filipinos were very hospitable, accommodating and pliable, and accepted this new ideology with remarkably little resistance. The Americans were intrigued by this display of love of sport, and few saw themselves as exploiters. Later, Filipino teams coached by Americans were successful and that was used to support the contention that the Americans were successful in civilizing and training the Filipinos for self-government.

In summary, physical education with its emphasis on sport played an instrumental role in the achieving of American goals. Here educational leaders, perhaps through happenstance but more likely by design, found an attractive medium to enculturate Filipinos in the 'American Way.' White's prediction that if the Filipinos would ever come to appreciate and cheer the games of America they could be claimed as faithful allies and patriotic citizens seems to have been fulfilled.

In addition, sport was a vehicle for achieving national unity and cohesiveness. The willing and often eager acceptance by Filipinos of sports as entertainment, as a means of achieving recognition, as well as a method of physical and social development would lead Filipinos to agree with the statement by Filipino statesman Carlos P. Romulo that "for institutions of learning, the gymnasium is as important as the li-

brary, and, for our society, the stadium possesses as central a function as the concert hall or the art gallery."⁹⁶

NOTES

I. The Pre-Spanish Period

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³Rasmussio, Giovanni Battista, *Terza Tavolo*, Vol. 7 (Venice, 1554).

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⁵Legaspi, Avelino M., *Bolinao, a 14-15th Century Burial Site* (Manila, National Museum Pub. No. 7, 1977).

⁶Scott, William Henry, *A Critical Study of Prehispanic Sources of Materials for the Study of Philippine History* (Manila, U. of Santo Tomas, 1968): 38.

⁷National Museum Exhibit, Rizal Park, Manila, F. Lando Jocano, *Philippine Pre-History, An Anthropological Overview of the Beginnings of Filipino Society and Culture* (Quezon City, Phil. Center for Advanced Studies, 1975).

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¹⁰Piko is a game utilizing a court of geometric design into which the players toss pebbles or seashells. They subsequently attempt to hop into the section and retrieve the marker. It is similar to the Western game of hopscotch. Information concerning the finding was gained in a personal interview with Jesus Peralta of the National Institute of Science, Manila, August 1978.

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¹³The Taotbato are another isolated cave-dwelling group living on the island of Palawan. *Balay-balay*, the diminutive of house, indicates children's play at housekeeping.

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¹⁶Ylanan and Ylanan: 201.

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¹⁸*Ibid.*: 113-16.

¹⁹Guzman, Maria Obulio, *The Filipino Heroes* (Manila, National Book Store): 168-71.

²⁰Wu Ching Hong, "The Chu-fan-chin of Chua Ju Kua" in Ylanan and Ylanan, *History and Development of Physical Education and Sports in the Philippines*: 205.

²¹Rodriguez, Jose F. "Strange Customs and Traditions of Sulu," in Gil, *Reading for Skill and Pleasure*: 120-21.

II. The Spanish Period: 1521-1898

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- ²Chirino, Fr. Pedro *Relación de las Islas Filipinas*, 1604. in Blair and Robertson, Vol. 12: 235.
- ³Rogel, Amelio O., "The Hanunoo, a mountain people of southeastern Philippines," *Esso Silangan* 14.3 (1969): 16.
- ⁴Rice, Delbert, "An Ancient Philippine Democracy: Pre-Hispanic Social Structures and their Modern Implications," *Silliman Journal*, 19 (1972): 235.
- ⁵Blair and Robertson, Vol. 33: 141.
- ⁶Zaide, Gregorio. *Philippine Political and Cultural History*, Vol. 1 (Manila, Phil. Education, 1957): 158. The Spanish never completely subjugated the Muslim Filipinos of Mindanao and Jolo. "Like the Muslims of the south, the mountain groups escaped early incorporation with the Spanish colonial state and managed to conserve well into the twentieth century much of pre-Hispanic culture." Marcos, Ferdinand. *Tadhana: The History of the Filipino People* (Manila, 1976).
- ⁷Blair and Robertson, Vol. 1: 293. To this day the fishermen of the Sulu Sea area, the Samal and the Badjaos, are expert pearl divers, diving at a depth of 15-20 fathoms and remaining below the surface for 3-5 minutes. When ready to ascend they tug a rope which has been attached to a boat into which they put their catch.
- ⁸*Ibid.*, Vol. 2: 113.
- ⁹*Ibid.*, Vol. 2: 198.
- ¹⁰Chirino, Fr. Pedro, in Blair and Robertson, Vol. 2: 212.
- ¹¹*Benarios* was the name given to the Manobos, one of the more than twenty tribal minorities in Mindanao.
- ¹²Blair and Robertson, Vol. 2: 140.
- ¹³Scott, William Henry, *The Discovery of the Igorots: Spanish Contacts with the Pagans of Northern Luzon* (Quezon City, New Day Pub., 1974): 179.
- ¹⁴Blair and Robertson, Vol. 2: 214.
- ¹⁵Ribadeniera, Marcelo de, *History of the Philippines and other Kingdoms*. Trans. Pacita Guevara Fernandez, (Makati, Conservation Soc., 1971): 341.
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- ²⁵Scott, William Henry, *On the Cordillera*, (Manila, MSC Enterprises, 1969).
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- ²⁷Ebony wood is known in the Philippines as kamagong.
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- ³⁰*Ibid.*: 11.
- ³¹Schurz, William L., *Manila Galleon* (New York, E.P. Dutton, 1939).
- ³²Zaide, Gregorio F., *Great Filipinos in History*, (Manila, Verde Bookstore 1970). 482. Rizal, a patriot martyr, has become the national hero.

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- ³⁵Pastells, Fr. Pablo, letter written from Mindanao to Father Provincial Vikyne, in Manila, April 20, 1887, in Blair and Robertson, Vol. 43: 270-73.
- ³⁶Ader, Mustapha D., "Kasipa, Maranaw's Oldest Sport", *Far Eastern Advocate*, 1962: 29.
- ³⁷Blair and Robertson, Vol. 19.
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- ⁴³Anima, *Filipino Ethnic Games*.
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- ⁵⁰Interview with Timoteo Oracion, Silliman University, Dumaguete City, June 1976.
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- ⁵³Manuel, *Filipino Heritage*, Vol. 2: 466.
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- ⁵⁵Anima, *Filipino Ethnic Games*.
- ⁵⁶Interview with Jesus M. Peralta at the National Institute of Science and Technology, Manila, August 1978.
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- ⁶¹Oracion, 1976.
- ⁶²Culin, Stewart, "Philippine Games," *American Anthropologist* 2 (New York, G.P. Putnam, 1900): 643-56.
- ⁶³Scott, *On the Cordillera*: 49.
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- ⁶⁶Horse fighting is a contemporary sport and entertainment among the Manobos in Mindanao. It was observed by the writer in 1964.
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- 80Rice, "Ancient Philippine Democracy," 305.
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- 82Chirino, "Relación de las Filipinas": 42.
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- 84Quirino and Garcia, *The Manners, Customs and Beliefs of the Philippine Inhabitants*: 438.
- 85Blair and Robertson, Vol. 19: 204.
- 86de Castillo, *A Brief History of Philippine Literature*, 174-77
- 87Ribadeniera, Marcelo de, *History of the Philippines and Other Kingdoms*: 349.
- 88Anderson, Gerald, *Studies in Filipino Church History*.
- 89Vivar, Fr. Pedro, in Scott, *The Discovery of the Igorots*: 194-95.
- 90Ste *Philippine National Dances* by Francesa Reyes Aquino and the seven volumes of *Philippine Folk Dances* by the same author for detailed descriptions of Philippine dance.
- 91Aquino, Francesca Reyes, *Philippine Folk Dances*, Vol. 2, (Manila, Aquino, 1953): 114.
- 92de Morga, in Quirino and Garcia: 398.
- 93Pigafetti, *First Voyage Around the World*: 25.
- 94Blair and Robertson, Vol. 3: 78:
- 95Aquino, *Philippine National Dances*.
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- 97Chirino, *Relación de las Islas Filipinas*.
- 98Gisbet, F. Mateo, letter written from the Philippines to Madrid on January 4, 1886, in Blair and Robertson, Vol. 43: 233.
- 99Foreman, *The Philippine Islands*: 211.
- 100It is possible Foreman did see a candle dance with comintang movements. There are several versions of this dance. The most common dance at the present time is the *Pandango sa Ilaw* of Mindoro. The *Binasuan* is the folk dance done with water-filled glasses.
- 101Alzona, *The Philippine Woman: Htr Social, Economicl, and Political Status*: 1565-1937: 43.
- 102Foreman, *The Philippine Islands*: 445.,
- 103Anima, *Filipino Ethnic Games*.
- 104Scott, *The Discovery of the Igorots*: 112.
- 105Blair and Robertson, Vol. 42: 164.
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- 107Bruzeta and Bravo, *Diccionario Geografico, Estadistico, Historico de las Islas Filipinas*: 252.
- 108Microfilm collection, Department of Education, Manila.
- 109Olivar, Celia Bocobo, *History of Physical Education in the Philippines* (Quezon City, U. of the Phil., 1932): 24.
- 110Annual Report, Dept. of the Interior to Commissioner of Education, Vol. 1, 1900-1901, Washington, DC.

- ¹¹¹Report of the Commissioner of Education, 1899-1901, Vol. 1, 1901: 40-41.
¹¹²Forbes, W. Cameron, *The Philippine Islands*, Vol. 1 (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1928): 415.
¹¹³Ylanan and Ylanan, 206.
¹¹⁴*Ibid.*: 207.
¹¹⁵Soccer football was introduced by British residents in Manila about 1895. It was primarily participated in by foreigners, but as Filipino students returned from study abroad they, too, played soccer.
¹¹⁶Olivar: 16.

III. The War of Independence: 1898-1901

- ¹Zaide, Gregorio F. *Jose Rizal's Life, Work and Writings* (Manila, Villanueva Book Store, 1911): 15.
²Olivar: 27.
³Zaide, Gregorio F. *Great Filipinos in History*: 487.
⁴Rizal, Jose, "The Indolence of the Filipinos," in *La Solidaridad* (Madrid, July 15-September 15, 1890).
⁵Zaide, Gregorio F. *Jose Rizal's Life, Work and Writings*: 106.
⁶Veyra, Jaime C. de and Mariano Ponce, *Elemeridas Filipinas*, Vol. 1 (Manila, 1914): 39.
⁷Fernandez, Leandro H., *The Philippine Republic* (New York, Columbia Press, 1926): 15.
⁸Zaide, Gregorio F. *Philippine Political and Cultural History*, Volume 2: 163.
⁹Article 23, Fourth Title of the Malolos Constitution.
¹⁰Zaide, Gregorio F., *Great Filipinos in History*: 337.

IV. Sport and Education: 1898-1946

- ¹Constantino, Renato, *A History of the Philippines* (New York, Monthly Rev. Press, 1975): 291.
²Romulo, Carlos P., *Mother America*, (New York, Country Life Press, 1943): 23.
³*Ibid.*: 27.
⁴Zaide, Gregorio, *Philippine Political and Cultural History*, Volume 2: 50. General Emilio Aguinaldo was the president of the First Philippine Republic and leader of the Filipino army that fought against the Americans.
⁵"Travel Pay to Philippine Volunteers of 1899-1901," Senate Documents, Vol. 21, 60th Congress, 2nd session, Document 722.
⁶March, Alden, *The History of the Conquest of the Philippines and Our Other Possessions* (Philadelphia, Union Book and Bible Store, 1899).
⁷Bryan, William Jennings, *Republic or Empire*, (Chicago, Independence Co., 1899): 34.
⁸*Ibid.*: 33.
⁹Ylanan and Ylanan: 61.
¹⁰Sixteenth Annual Report to the Director of Education (Washington, Govt. Printing Office, 1916): 46.
¹¹Doeppers, Daniel F., "Negros Oriental, Testimony by the American Military Commander," *Silliman Journal* 19 (1972): 407.
¹²Salamanca, Bonifacio, *The Filipino Reaction to American Rule, 1901-1913* (Philadelphia, Shoe String Press, 1963): 86.
¹³Pomeroy, William J., *An American Made Tragedy* (New York, International Pub., 1974): 86. General Arthur MacArthur was Brigadier General of the volunteers assigned to the Philippines in 1898. He led a division against Aguinaldo and later succeeded Gen. Otis as military governor of the Philippines in 1900.

- ¹⁴Eliot, Charles B., *The Philippines to the end of the Military regime* (Indianapolis, Bobbs Merrill, 1917): 230.
- ¹⁵*Ibid.*: 235.
- ¹⁶Pomeroy, *An American Made Tragedy*: 86.
- ¹⁷Schurman, Jacob Gould, *Philippine Affairs, A Retrospect and Outlook* (New York, Charles Scribner, 1902): 2.
- ¹⁸Report of the Commission of Education, 1899-1901, Vol. 1, (Washington, Govt. Printing Office, 1901): x-xli.
- ¹⁹Report of the Philippine Commission, 56th Congress, Senate Document, No. 138, Vol. 1, 1900: 185.
- ²⁰"The Philippine Islands and Their People", Senate Document No. 175, 58th Congress, 2nd session. Reprinted from *National Geographic* (March 1904): 13.
- ²¹Pomeroy, *An American Made Tragedy*: 7. President McKinley made these remarks before a group of visiting Methodist Episcopal clergyman on November 21, 1899. The speech was published in *Christian Advocate*, January 23, 1903.
- ²²Annual Report to the Department of the Interior, Commissioner of Education, Vol. 1, 1900-1.
- ²³Atkinson, F. W., Report to the Commission of Education, Annual Report to the Department of the Interior. Vol. 1, 1900-01. Atkinson was Superintendent of Public Instruction in the Philippines.
- ²⁴*Boone County Democrat*, Boone, Iowa, Dec. 27, 1901.
- ²⁵*Kansas City Journal*, Kansas City, Missouri. January 23, 1902.
- ²⁶*Boone County Democrat*, May 2 and 9, 1902.
- ²⁷"The Duty of the Americans in the Philippines", 58th Congress. Address by William Howard Taft, Civil Governor of the Philippine Islands.
- ²⁸Lopez, Salvador. *In the United States and in the Philippines*, ed. Frank Golay, (New Jersey, Prentice-Hall 1966): 25.
- ²⁹Constantino, *A History of the Philippines*: 85.
- ³⁰Romulo, *Mother America*: 23.
- ³¹Rice, Emmett A., John L. Hutchinson, and Mabel Lee. *A Brief History of Physical Education*, 4th ed. (New York, Ronald Press, 1958): 277.
- ³²Governor Luke E. Wright in his inaugural address as second governor of the Philippine Islands, February 1, 1904, in Devins, *An Observer in the Philippines*: 402.
- ³³Romulo, *Mother America*: 39.
- ³⁴Salamanca, *The Filipino Reaction to American Rule*: 80.
- ³⁵Romulo, *Mother America*: 42.
- ³⁶Melencio, Jose, *Arguments Against Philippine Independence* (Washington, D.C., Philippine Press Bureau, 1919): 26.
- ³⁷Blount, James. *The American Occupation of the Philippines, 1898-1912* (New York, G.P. Putnam, 1913): 566.
- ³⁸Commission of Education, Vol. 1, Department of the Interior, 1901.
- ³⁹"Sales of Public Lands in the Philippine Islands," 25th Congress, 1st Session, December 14, 1905.
- ⁴⁰Commissioner of Education Report, 1903.
- ⁴¹Salamanca, *The Filipino Reaction to American Rule*: 90.
- ⁴²Act No. 854, Philippine Commission, August 26, 1903.
- ⁴³Forbes, W. Cameron, *The Philippine Islands*, Vol. 1 (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1928): 431.
- ⁴⁴Olivar, *History of Physical Education in the Philippines*: 39.
- ⁴⁵Commission of Education, Vol. 1, Department of the Interior, July 1, 1901-February, 1902.
- ⁴⁶White, Turnbull, *Our New Possessions* (Chicago, C.W. Stanton, 1898): 173.
- ⁴⁷*Ibid.*: 252.
- ⁴⁸Monroe, Paul, et al., *A Survey of the Education System of the Philippines* (Manila, 1925).
- ⁴⁹Pecson, Geronima and Maria Racelis, *Tales of the American Teachers*

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- ⁵⁰Maniago, Jo Anne Barker, "The First Peace Corps: The Work of the American Teachers in the Philippines", doctoral diss., Boston Univ., 1971: vi.
- ⁵¹White, *Our American Possessions*: 135-140, 141, 145.
- ⁵²*Ibid.*: 145-146.
- ⁵³Forbes, *The Philippine Islands*, Vol. 1: 455.
- ⁵⁴Constantino, *A History of the Philippines*: 312.
- ⁵⁵Forbes: 455.
- ⁵⁶Heiser, Victor. *An American Doctor's Odyssey in the Philippines* (New York, W.W. Norton, 1936): 136-37.
- ⁵⁷Philippine Commission Report, 1904-1905: 580-581.
- ⁵⁸Fee, Mary, "A Woman's Impression of the Philippines," in Freer, *Philippine Experiences of an American Teacher* (1906): 241.
- ⁵⁹Sixteenth Annual Report to the Director of Education, 1916, in Olivar, *History of Physical Education in the Philippines*: 46.
- ⁶⁰Forbes, *The Philippine Islands*: 455.
- ⁶¹Ylanan and Ylanan: 62.
- ⁶²Report to the Director of Education, 1914: 73-74.
- ⁶³Sixteenth Annual Report to the Director of Education: 46.
- ⁶⁴Lopez, *In the United States and in the Philippines*: 19.
- ⁶⁵Romulo, *Mother America*: 39.
- ⁶⁶Bureau of Education Bulletin, 1919.
- ⁶⁷Forbes, *The Philippine Islands*: 454.
- ⁶⁸William Burdick's presidential address to the American Physical Education Association in 1919, in Olivar: 50.
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- ⁷⁰Vendien, C. Lynn and John C. Nixon. *The World Today in Health, Physical Education and Recreation*, (New Jersey, Prentice Hall, 1968): 297.
- ⁷¹Hillis, Lewis B., in a study of Silliman Institute in Devins. *An Observer in the Philippines*: 293.
- ⁷²Carson, Arthur L., *Silliman University*. (Taiwan, United Board for Christian Higher Ed., 1965): 55.
- ⁷³*Ibid.*: 207.
- ⁷⁴Ylanan and Ylanan: 207.
- ⁷⁵An American teacher's report, "What Basketball is Doing for the Girls in Zambales," in the *Teacher's Assembly Herald*, (Manila, Dept. of Public Instruction, 1913): 112. The Manila Carnival evolved around interprovincial competition between schools from the different parts of the islands.
- ⁷⁶Ylanan and Ylanan: 70.
- ⁷⁷Nakpil, Carmen Guerrero, *Woman Enough and Other Essays* (Quezon City. Vidal Pub., 1965): 11. A saya is an ankle length wrap-around skirt and a camisa is a stiff-sleeved, full blouse.
- ⁷⁸Ylanan and Ylanan: 3.
- ⁷⁹Olivar: 74.
- ⁸⁰Stanaland, Peggy "Pre-Olympic Anthropology Days," 1904, in *Play as Contact*, Alyce Cheska, editor (West Point, N.Y., Leisure Press, 1981).
- ⁸¹Irish, Arnold. "When St. Louis hosted the Olympics" condensed in *St. Louis Commerce*, May 1979: 22, 27-28.
- ⁸²Beran, Janice Ann, *Physical Activities for the Filipina* (Quezon City, New Day Pub., 1973).
- ⁸³Ylanan and Ylanan: 159.
- ⁸⁴Giron, Eric S., "Pancho Villa," in Jorge Afable, *Philippine Sport Greats*, (Manila, Man Pub. 1972): 235.
- ⁸⁵Lopez, *In the United States and the Philippines*: 25.
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- ⁸⁷Flores, Roger, "Julietta Tayo," in Afable: 40.
- ⁸⁸Isidro Rodriguez, Rizal provincial governor, in the introduction. Afable, *Philippine Sport Greats*: ix.

⁸⁹Anima, Nid, *Filipino Ethnic Games*: 4.

⁹⁰"The Game of Sipa" (The Sports Dev. Foundation of the Phil. and Filipinos Production).

⁹¹Rivera, Andres E., *Palatatan-Gunan sa Paglalaro ng Sipa* (Manila, K.P. 1917).

⁹²Carson, *Silliman University*: 57.

⁹³Ruiz in *Physical Education Around the World*, William Johnson, ed. (Indianapolis, Phi Epsilon Kappa Fraternity, 1971): 62.

⁹⁴Bitong, Ernesto "Simeon Toribio," in Afable, *Philippine Sport Greats*: 62.

⁹⁵Zaide, *Great Heroes*: 174-178, 359-360. Although the Philippine national anthem was composed by Julian Felipe in 1898 with Spanish lyrics written by Rafael Palma in 1899, it was soon translated into English and sung in that language. The Philippine anthem was later translated into Tagalog, but few educated during the American regime knew the words of "Bayang Magiliw".

⁹⁶Beran, *Physical Activities for the Filipina*: 209.