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Editorial Note

In this issue we are pleased to continue the studies of Philippine history that have recently been a feature of SJ. In fact, both of our historical offerings have roots in earlier issues of this journal. William Henry Scott, editor of "The Republic of Candon" by Fernando Guirnalda (SJ 26 [1979]) here fleshes out that first-hand revolutionary account with his own historical analysis. In doing so, he provides a strong case for the elevation of Isabelo Abaya to the pantheon of heroes of the Philippine Revolution.

F. Delor Angeles, treating an earlier period of Philippine history, succeeds in doing what one might think impossible, that is, painting a somewhat favorable picture of the Spanish Inquisition! Again, his comments on eighteenth-century Armenian immigration to the Philippines grow out of his earlier presentation of "Bibliographical Data" on the Inquisition in the Spanish Philippines (SJ 23 [1976]).

As a number of articles in SJ have pointed out, the Lake Balinsasayao area is beautiful, biologically and economically important, and in great danger. Lawrence Heaney, Paul Heideman, and Karen Mudar provide us with information on the mammals of the area and remind us of what must be done if they are to survive.

A bit of welcome controversy is injected into this issue through the contribution of Rowe Cadeliña. Cadeliña's vision for Philippine anthropology is of a discipline that allows a sensitivity to questions of equity to temper its scientific detachment. Cadeliña pleads not only for description but also for prescription. We would welcome responses from readers to his suggestion that the anthropologist should be an agent of change.

Both Hilconida Calumpong and Paul Palmore lend practical notes to this issue of SJ, falling into the company of previous authors who have listed herbal medicines (Maturan, SJ 27 [1980]) and provided instructions for raising fish in a floating cage (Carumbana and Luchavez, SJ 26 [1979]) or encouraging their growth by building an artificial reef (Bernard, SJ 26 [1979]). Readers of the **Silliman Journal** should expect more articles of this sort.

D. L.

Notice to Authors

The *Silliman Journal* welcomes contributions in all fields from both Philippine and foreign scholars, but papers should normally have some relevance to the Philippines, Asia, or the Pacific. All submissions are refereed.

Articles should be products of research, taken in its broadest sense; a scientific paper should make an original contribution to its field. Authors are advised to keep in mind that *SJ* aims at a general, international audience, and to structure their papers accordingly.

SJ also welcomes submissions for its "Notes" section, generally briefer and more tentative than full-blown articles. Reports on work in progress, queries, up-dates, reports of impressions rather than of research, responses to the work of others, even reminiscences are appropriate here. See recent issues of *SJ* for examples. Book reviews and review articles will also be considered for publication.

Manuscripts should conform to the conventions of format and style exemplified in this and following issues of *SJ*. Whenever possible, citations should appear in the body of the paper, holding footnotes to a minimum. Submit pictures only when absolutely necessary. Scientific papers should be accompanied by an abstract. All authors must submit the original and one copy of their manuscripts, typed on good-quality paper, double-spaced throughout.

The Editorial Board will endeavor to acknowledge all submissions, consider them promptly, and notify authors of its decision as soon as possible. Each author of an article is entitled to twenty-five free off-prints. More may be had by arrangement with the editor before the issue goes to press.

Struggle for Independence in Candon

William Henry Scott

Like many towns in the Philippines, Candon, Ilocos Sur has a public plaza with a statue of a patriot brandishing a bolo overhead in one hand and clutching a red flag in the other. To the casual tourist, this may look like another Andres Bonifacio, but to the people of Candon he is "Ilocos Sur's last rebel," Isabelo Abaya, leader of the Candon Uprising of March 25, 1898, a date which for years was better known to Candon children as the *Ikkis ti Kandon* ("Cry of Candon") than as the Feast of the Annunciation.

Isabelo Abaya

The hero thus memorialized is Federico Isabelo Abaya, born in 1866 to well-to-do parents, Proceso and Severa Abaya. Contemporaries remembered him as an indifferent and resentful student, shy and uninterested in class activities, who reacted bitterly against the monotony of memorizing long passages in Spanish. The experience produced a hearty dislike of the language he came to consider a symbol of submission to a colonial regime which placed the parish priest in a position to interfere in private and public affairs, and Civil Guards in a position to maltreat local citizens in or out of the line of duty. Such was the attitude that resulted in his leaving the Vigan Seminary where he had been sent to complete the secondary course. From these disappointing school days he found relief in becoming a better horseman than his two elder brothers, and devoted his time to his parents' stable of spirited animals from the nearby province of Abra. Young Belong's youth therefore exhibited the classic earmarks of a late nineteenth-century rebel—resentment of formal education and rejection of authority, shyness covering an inner bitterness, and the virile gratification of galloping spirited horses across open fields.

It was not as a youth, however, but as a 33-year-old businessman dealing in cotton textiles that Belong joined—or perhaps formed— a subversive society called the *Espiritu de Candón*. His comrades were Pio Madarang, Toribio Abaya, Nazario Gray, the Guirnalda brothers Fernando and Francisco, his own brother Manuel, and his nephews Manuel, Jr. and Leon. On March 24 of that fateful year of 1898 Nazario Gray was arrested and tortured, and at an official banquet that night a Spanish mestizo, Arturo Liquete, who was one of Belong's friends, learned that the authorities had a list of the underground mem-

bers. He immediately warned Isabelo, who decided to take action at once. Accordingly, he gathered his followers, armed with homemade guns, spears, bolos, clubs, and axes, and at two o'clock the next morning led them into the plaza. They fell on the guard quarters, seized and wounded the commander, and received the surrender of all the Civil Guards. They then took the convento, and led parish priest Rafael Redondo and two young friar visitors out to the suburb of Bucong and beheaded them. Then the red flag of revolt was run up the flagpole in the town square, and the "Republic of Candon" was born.

Two days later, however, the Spaniards landed shock troops at Pating southwest of the municipal center. Captain Belong had marched north to take Santiago, and his other forces had gone east and south in two separate columns. The town was thus undefended when Spanish *cazadores* ("hunters") marched in. Most of the rebel forces disbanded, but leaders like Isabelo and the Guirnalda brothers escaped. Both Fernando and Francisco were later captured in Tubao (La Union) but escaped to Pangasinan, where Francisco disappeared and was never seen again. In Candon, meanwhile, Manuel, Leon, and Toribio Abaya were executed, along with Desiderio Agbulos, Victorino Gadut, Urbano Galac, Roberto and Placido Guirnalda, Pio Madarang, Severino Paredes, and Father Valentin Rubio.

The intrepid Isabelo made his way into the Igorot mountains to the east, and subsequently served in the Revolutionary Army under Colonel Manuel Tinio, recruiting Igorots whom he led in the Battle of Caloocan at the beginning of the Philippine-American War in February 1899. A year later he became commander of guerrilla forces in southern Ilocos under Colonel Juan Villamor, and was killed in action on May 3, 1900. The American military command desecrated his body by displaying it bloody in the plaza at the spot where the present monument stands. *Kapitan Belong* quickly passed into legend both in U.S. field reports and the hearts of the people of Candon—an unscrupulous bandit warlord to the one, a patriotic Robin Hood to the other, complete with wonder-working *anting-anting*.

Such is the story of the Candon Uprising as it is known to the people of Candon and as it has been told from time to time in Sunday supplements and souvenir programs of town fiestas.[1] Like the more famous uprising of Andres Bonifacio seventeen months earlier, it occurred by accident because of the premature disclosure of its plot. But while Bonifacio's aborted plans are well known, the plans of Isabelo Abaya and his comrades have never been explained. What would have

happened in Candon had not Nazario Gray been arrested and tortured on March 24? Were Isabelo and his followers dreaming, in that revolutionary twilight zone between Biyak-na-Bato and the Battle of Manila Bay, of a little Ilocano republic, a Republic of the Philippines with its capital at Candon? Just how local were their plans and how isolated their movement? What, in short, was the contribution of the Candon Uprising to the cause of Philippine independence and its role in Philippine history? These are questions which recommend an examination of the Candon Uprising in the brighter light of the total Philippine Revolution.

Candon in the 1890s

Candon in the 1890s was a prosperous provincial town with a proud history, whose native name memorialized the fact that Spanish *conquistadores* had recognized its prominence before any missionary friar arrived to rededicate it to some European saint. *Kandong* is a kind of tree, and the original specimen lives on in local legend. Under its branches, old folks say mountain traders bearing the products of mines and forests often gathered, until a Spanish friar recognized hints of ancestor worship and chopped the tree down for lumber to build his church. Under the branches, too, were held those legendary wrestling matches which reflect a day when Candon chieftains were far-ranging warriors called *maingel* ("braves"), besting Ilocano, Igorot, and Pangasinan champions alike. Similarly, Candon's two largest families, the Abayas and Madarangs, being of Igorot descent, proudly maintained those surnames in the face of Governor Claveria's 1849 decree which fastened names like Gacula, Gironella, and Guirnalda on more tractable families.

An exposition of local products which accompanied the town fiesta of 1892 gives a nice sampling of the community's commercial vitality. Agricultural products were divided into six categories, one of which was medicinal plants, exhibited by "native *herbolarios* of both sexes who will give instruction in their qualities."[2] Mineral products included Igorot gold, copper from Mankayan, and iron from Gambang. Silver medals were presented to Mena Crisologo of Vigan for an entry of 113 hundredweight of top-quality indigo produced in his plant that year, to Roberto Guirnalda for a machine he built out of bamboo to process maguey, to Narciso Gray for an exhibition of cows, mares, stallions, sheep, goats, and kids, to Placido Guirnalda for a native Aeta house together with its inhabitants and a descriptive catalog of their life and

customs, to Francisco Teofisto Guirnalda for an entry of eighteen different kinds of edible root crops collected in the municipality, to Victorino Abaya for a display of decorated seashells he had worked himself, and to Isabelo Abaya for a display of textiles, blankets, and table linens woven of Ilocano cotton.

Nor was the exhibition without its cultural aspirations. Ilocano publications and manuscripts were exhibited along with books in other languages dealing with Ilocos, as well as artifacts and weapons from inhabitants of the Candon mountains. Gold medals were awarded to Fray Rufino Redondo of San Juan for his novels and short stories in Ilocano, and to Isabelo de los Reyes for a complete three-year run of his biweekly *El Ilocano,* as well as copies of his own writings in German, Ilocano, Italian, Spanish, and Tagalog. And the Spanish Baguer Barbero zarzuela troupe came all the way from Manila to perform for the occasion, moving *El Comercio* to a good-natured allusion to Ilocano thrift, "May they bring back a lot of fifty-centavo pieces from the good Ilocanos."[3]

Such commercial potential and cultural pretensions were characteristic of a Filipino bourgeoisie eager for reforms, and who considered the friar orders the major obstacles to obtaining them. The friars in turn considered such reforms a direct threat to their power and prestige and to the very system which supported them. Unable or unwilling to distinguish loyalty to Faith from loyalty to State, they lumped all dissension under the subversive heading of "Masonry," whether criticism of their personal failings or actual plots against the security of the state. Thus, when the Revolution broke out in 1896, all the Ilocano prize-winners listed above were arrested and imprisoned except one, Isabelo Abaya. Whether Isabelo was overlooked because of his youth or lack or prestige, his exclusion was an example of the friar penchant for picking the wrong targets, for he was the only one of the Candon proprietors who took up arms against Spain in the Revolution of '96.

There is no evidence, or even likelihood, of any Masonic lodges in Ilocos in August 1896, much less of any Katipunan cells or underground plots to overthrow the colonial regime by armed force. Yet counterrevolutionary fury broke over the Ilocos provinces like a tropical typhoon just two weeks after the Cry of Pugad Lawin in Manila. It struck San Fernando (La Union) first on September 10, with the arrest of a hapless telegrapher who was forced to confess the existence of an assassination plot which was sheer fabrication, and pinpoint both its supposed agents and their targets. Three days later, twenty-eight

men had been implicated by the same methods, and on September 17 their number was increased by three Filipino priests. Then the storm center moved north to the Vigan Seminary, where, early in November, a 60-year-old priest was beaten into naming the cream of Vigan society as a Masonic cabal, and by the end of the month five seminarians had signed confessions of having been plotting to murder all their professors. From Vigan, the storm swept into Ilocos Norte where it finally blew itself out in a little one-friar reign of terror in Sarrat which reduced twenty men to incarceration and torture.

The Machiavellian mastermind behind the mother plot was Fray Rafael Redondo, parish priest of San Fernando and Vicar Forane of La Union. Fray Rafael was an absolute caricature of the friar; his own bishop's reports read like something out of a Rizal novel:

> From the time he arrived in the Diocese, I noticed he must be having illicit relations in Cabugao. He was confronted with the case, and after consultation it was considered best to transfer him to Santa, where he is continuing his relations with the same woman, and they already have three children which public opinion attributes to Father Redondo.[4]

But not even Rizal depicted such cold-blooded calm in acting out so villainous a scenario. Fray Rafael not only wrote the script in his own hand—that is, the questions and the answers his victims were supposed to supply—but directed their continuing torment to bring conflicting confessions into agreement. When his own coadjutor, Father Mariano Gaerlan, begged on bended knees to retract his forced confession, he told him coldly that no honest man could be forced to sign a false confession even if they killed him. And when Father Dacanay, lying prostrate on the floor of his cell wet with wounds which would leave lifelong scars, pleaded for the solace of the sacraments, he turned his back and strode out, mumbling something about "souls in hell."[5]

Lino Abaya, Candon's richest citizen, had been caught in the Vigan witch-hunt, so his townmates watched the terror mounting to north and south with increasing apprehension. Just then, their parish priest of thirty years died, scholarly old Fray Gaspar Cano, author of the first biographical catalog of his order in the Philippines. His interim replacement was 24-year-old Fray Pedro Ordoñez, on his first parish assignment, whose youth posed the threat that he might be influenced by his more sanguinary superiors, but also held out the possibility that

his head might be turned by flattery. The parishioners therefore decided to mount an extravagant town fiesta to win his good will—or, as one of them put it, "kiss his behind"—*agkan amin nga ubet ti cura.*[6]

Candon's official patron is San Juan de Sahagun, whose feast day is celebrated on June 12, but the town traditionally honors Santa Barbara on December 4 in a kind of second town fiesta. Thus the nervous townsfolk had a ready excuse for providing their new rector with a rousing welcome, and so they began their preparations early in November. They decided to present a second theatrical number that year as an added attraction to the usual Ilocano moro-moro, a Spanish zarzuela called "El Rey que rabió" (The King who went mad), which had been a howling success in Madrid and Manila only the year before, but had not been shown in the provinces. But on the night of November 26, 1896, while Roberto Guirnalda was rehearsing the moro-moro in his house and his son Placido was teaching the zarzuela songs in the town hall, the Civil Guards burst in and arrested Roberto, his sons Fernando and Francisco, and Victorino Abaya. The four of them were carted off to Vigan that same night, and kept there with elbows bound behind their backs for sixteen days of what modern counterinsurgency terminology would call "shrewd questioning." Despite this ordeal, they kept insisting they did not even know what a Mason was, so they were all shipped off to Manila in irons at the end of December.

If the Guirnaldas really did not know what a Mason was, there was no better place to find out than the Department of Distinguished Political Prisoners in the Bilibid Military Prison. There they could mingle not only with Masons but with Katipuneros and revolutionaries of every stripe, and compare notes with members of their own class who had had splinters inserted under their fingernails or electric current applied to their private parts. There they could read an Ilocano translation of a poem Dr. Jose Rizal had smuggled out of Fort Santiago the night before his death, and listen to rumors about how friars had printed subversive pamphlets on their own press and got a *carabinero* who was Archbishop Nozaleda's nephew to insert them in his sister's luggage. But most significantly, there they could hobnob with that human dynamo of a province-mate, rebel journalist Isabelo de los Reyes, who was devoting his full time to interviewing prisoners, disseminating gossip, and writing a series of articles so sensational he was soon afterwards deported to Spain's choicest dungeons in Montjuich Castle, Barcelona. It must have been a political education the Guirnaldas did not quickly forget.

Seeds of Revolt

Early in April 1897, the military courts released those prisoners charged in Father Redondo's fake conspiracy, and Father Redondo himself was transferred out of San Fernando to spare him their vengeance. The Guirnaldas were released on the King's birthday, May 17, but it took them three months and considerable expense in gifts for Auditor General of War Nicolas Paña to get clearance to leave Manila. When they reached Candon on August 13, they learned—to their horror, no doubt—that their new parish priest was Rafael Redondo. They presented themselves dutifully to kiss his hand, but he minced no words in telling them he did not believe they were innocent at all, and was sure each was the head of an insurgent gang. Their release by military jurisdiction he dismissed loftily; after all, they had been released not because their innocence had been proved, but because their guilt had not been. Unable to reply to such logic, the Guirnaldas decided to stay out of his way as much as possible.

Fray Rafael seems to have been intent on living up to a reputation that made English author John Foreman ready to believe he had beaten his curate, stripped naked and tied to a bench, with the prickly tail of a rayfish. Before the year was out he had confined his coadjutor Valentin Rubio to the convento, enlisted the Civil Guard *Teniente del Puerto* as his crony, and intimidated the whole town. He had his daily rations of eggs, chickens, firewood, and cattle fodder doubled, required the church to be repaired without supplying materials, demanded an extra servant, and refused to pay for any of these services, as his young predecessor had perhaps naively done. The municipal petty officers were caught between ingratiating themselves with the friar and the commander, and avoiding vengeance from their oppressed townmates. The Guirnaldas observed the developing contradictions in the light of the lessons they had learned in Bilibid, and started to worry about the possibility of an uprising that would wreak its vengeance not only on friar-oppressors but on upper-class townmates as well. As soon as the Pact of Biyak-na-Bato was signed, therefore, they sent Francisco to Manila to find out what was going on.

What was going on was that one of their province-mates, the prominent Isabelo Artacho of Vigan, was trying to recruit an anti-Aguinaldo faction among the remaining officers of the defunct Biyak-na-Bato government. As reported by Francisco's brother Fernando fourteen years later:

> He [Artacho] consulted many Tagalog leaders about a plan for another revolution for, he said, Don Emilio would never return, then being very rich in Hongkong and caring

> no more for the Philippines and the cause for which the Filipino patriots had suffered so much. So when Francisco Guirnalda went to see his Tagalog friend, he was warmly received by the latter. They spoke of the Hongkong affair and the probable consequent uprising, and then Francisco was asked if he had forgotten how much he had suffered. Francisco signified his willingness to join in the proposed uprising and signed an agreement for himself and his brother and father. Then he returned to Candon, where he related all that he had observed and done, and his brother and father readily approved of his actions.[7]

The peace treaty also brought Isabelo Abaya home, for he had been among those who laid down their arms at Biyak-na-Bato. He must have left Candon early in the Revolution because when he recruited some Igorots in western Bontoc in 1897, he invoked the name of Bonifacio, not Aguinaldo. According to three of the Igorots themselves—Degan, Bodkaw, and Dakwag of Sagada—he took them to San Juan del Monte and enrolled them in a secret society called *Iglesia Monástica Filipina,* which was separatist in purpose and eventually grew to a membership of more than a thousand.[8] There they were taught to drill with arms and recite Christian prayers. They also reported that they were paid off at Biyak-na-Bato. which probably means that they had served under Artemio "Vibora" Ricarte (an Ilocano whose real name was Dodon), since he was the only general there who surrendered twelve spears in addition to the usual firearms, swords, and bolos. And it was probably their presence, too, which inspired Retana's sarcastic references to Aguinaldo's "Igorot army" and to the ceremonies themselves as having been celebrated with "banquets, flimflam, embraces, and parades of *indios* in g-strings."[9]

At the time Francisco Guirnalda was making his Katipunan commitment in Manila, General Francisco Soliman Makabulus of Tarlac was still holding out in O'Donnel. On January 14 he went through the formality of surrender, collected his share of the second Pact payment, and went home to prepare for the renewal of hostilities. By the end of February he had established contacts throughout the central plain as far north as Lingayen Gulf, where Mangatarem was fortified on the Zambales border in the west, and San Nicolas in the Agno Valley in the east. This was a movement into Ilocano-speaking territory, and the Ilocos provinces were in fact a natural place to seek support for the continuing struggle: they had escaped destruction during the war but were a deep reservoir of resentment from the traumatic arrests of '96. La Union in particular was full of amnestied prisoners and deportees

ready to act; an incident which occurred in Agoo at the time indicates just how explosive the atmosphere was.

The Bishop of Nueva Segovia (Vigan) sent a complaint to the Governor General against a Balabac returnee by the name of Mariano Orencia for not having shown due respect to his Vicar Forane during a service on January 18; but Orencia countered with a sworn statement of his own in which he charged that:

> On the morning of the 18th, while he was inside the church for the confirmation of his child, his wife told him that his mother had been left outside the building due to the great press of people and that when he went to look for her, he saw Father Mariano Garcia pushing her brutally and threatening to hit her, and that Señor Chinchilla, the Civil Governor's Secretary, was about to strike her with a riding crop he was carrying; that in view of such behavior, he went over to the Father and asked him to let them take the child into the church to his wife's breast and, while he was at it, not to hit his mother; that when Father Mariano heard these remarks, he asked him what his name was and upon learning it, said, "Insurgents do not enter the church but deserve to be beaten," and that Señor Chinchilla and the Sergeant of the Civil Guards who were present tried to hit him, so he had no choice but to run away.[10]

In February, increasing Katipunan recruitment around Lingayen Gulf attracted government attention, and Governor Navas made a sweep through northern Zambales and Pangasinan at the end of the month, examining men's arms for fresh incisions and arresting fifty of the local gentry. It was the attempt to march these prisoners to Dasul under death sentence which, according to a contemporary Spanish account, "lit the fuse of the bomb already prepared."[11] Attacks were made on military posts from Agno to Anda; 15,000 insurgents fell on Balincaguin (Mabini) alone, telegraph lines were cut to the cable station at Bolinao, and San Nicolas forces entered the Caraballo Sur to strike a Volunteer outpost in Kayapa, Nueva Vizcaya. Clearly, it was time for Ilocano leadership and organization. Katipunan chiefs Vicente del Prado and Juan Quesada—soon to become Pangasinan Politico-Military Commandant in the Makabulus underground and Second-in-Command, respectively—accordingly went to Manila to provide it. There, on March 16, 1898 in a house at No. 12 Mapa Street in Tondo, they executed an *acta* which indicated that the Artacho incident had not produced any significant Ilocano-Tagalog dissension:

> The undersigned, having previously decided to take to the field of rebellion with their numerous host composed of bolomen [*talibones*] to oppose the harrowing crimes, secret shootings, tortures, violation of honorable girls, etc., etc., directly and decisively, which the friars, the armed forces of the Government, the Civil Guards and *cazadores* commit daily in the provinces of northern Luzon, have agreed with Don Faustino Lichauco, industrialist and proprietor, and resident of this capital, that he shortly undertake his voyage to Hongkong in the first steamer to sail from this port, where the President of the Republic of Biyak-na-Bato will be found, Señor Emilio Aguinaldo, together with various officials of the Revolution which was put down by miserable tricks and false promises by the Government to implement liberal reforms, and pray the said President, in the name of various northern provinces, that he deign to authorize their unfortunate inhabitants to rise up against the Spanish Government so that, upon his return from that colony with his valiant entourage, he will find the volcano of Revolution already erupting there.[12]

This was just a few days after Fernando Guirnalda and Isabelo Abaya told their Candon followers they were going to Manila to get arms from Aguinaldo, and left for San Fernando.

The Candon Uprising

Fernando Guirnalda and Isabelo Abaya had joined forces sometime in the second half of January 1898. Meeting in a pasture east of the town, they swore a mutual oath "to give their services, and even their lives, to seek the legitimate rights not only of their own townspeople, but also of the whole Philippine Islands."[13] They organized a Katipunan chapter called *Estrella del Sur* sworn to the same cause, composed mostly of unmarried men from the leading families, and drew up an *Instituto Revolucionario* as a pledge and constitution. They bought a small printing press, with which they presumably contributed to the condition a Madrid correspondent reported in these excited terms: "The two Ilocos provinces were flooded with incendiary proclamations, rules, law codes, ordinances and constitutions of the 'Great Philippine Republic.' "[14] They usually held their meetings in the eastern barrios for security reasons, and traveled up to Cervantes (Lepanto) in the Abra Valley to meet agents from Manila. Elsewhere in the province, they established contacts in Narvacan, Santa Maria, Santa Lucia, Tagudin, and Bangar, and in Ilocos Norte in Lapog, seat of the rich and influential

Centeno family. Centeno men were renowned for their personal courage and leadership; they spread their revolutionary gospel under cover of horse races and prayer meetings of the *Guardia de Honor*. Faustino and Antonio Centeno had been among the first arrests in 1896; Enrique had been the Guirnaldas' own cellmate.

Isabelo started organizing and drilling his forces with the classic weapons of a peasant Jacquerie—farm implements and sharpened sticks. It is probably a tribute to the efficiency of the Spanish regime that they had not a single firearm among them, nor even a bolo without its point rounded. However, there were only twenty-eight Civil Guards in the whole province (who are referred to in Candon folklore as Spaniards but were actually Filipinos under three or four Spanish officers), and an indeterminate number of civilian reserves called *Voluntarios*. The seven Guards in Candon were soon won over, and Isabelo expected his allies to accomplish the same with the ten in Narvacan and Tagudin. With their rifles and their commanders' revolvers, they would theoretically outgun the remaining eleven Guards in Vigan. If they could depend on their allies and acted quickly enough, they could march to Vigan in eight hours and seize the capital before reinforcements could arrive from Manila. Isabelo therefore went around buying up iron and hired blacksmiths to manufacture bolos with sharp points for all his men. Nonetheless, when he and Fernando left for Manila to get orders in the middle of March, he told his men reassuringly that they were going for the purpose of getting arms from Aguinaldo himself.

The two Candon leaders, probably on their way to attend the Tondo meeting, were turned back in San Fernando by reports that the fighting had already begun. They therefore returned to Candon empty-handed and announced that the uprising was set for Friday, April 1. For the next week, Isabelo was hardly out of the saddle, and Fernando stayed in the barrios all day and only sneaked in to see his family at night. But as their enthusiasm mounted, men started swaggering around with those pointed bolos in their belts, and it became impossible to maintain security. On March 23, a certain Eugenio Mati Docena notified Spanish businessman Antonio Bona of what was going on. The next day, a mixed patrol of Civil Guards and Volunteers left Narvacan with search-and-arrest orders. Their sergeant reached Candon that afternoon.

Naturally, Fray Rafael had his own means of learning secrets; and his relations with the people of Candon were worse than ever. Right after Biyak-na-Bato, his Civil Guard crony had been replaced by a Lieutenant Abel Aparici, who turned out to be a very decent family man with two

children. Emboldened by this change, the town officials entered an official complaint with the Governor against their parish priest. Soon afterwards, Father Rubio was released from detention, and Father Redondo's name disappeared from parish registers in favor of Fray Antonio Blanco, professor of physics and chemistry in the Vigan Seminary. But on the afternoon of March 24, Fray Rafael had one of Isabelo's key men arrested—Nazario Gray, who was taken to the town hall and beaten.

The next day would be the Feast of Annunciation, and an official banquet was scheduled that evening. Two young missionaries had arrived from Kapangan and Bokod in the mountains of Benguet, Fathers Santiago Garcia and Ricardo Montes, and Father Anacleto Fernández of Cabacan was expected in the morning. One of the dinner guests happened to be a Spanish mestizo by the name of Juan Gonzales Liquete, who was sympathetic to the Filipino cause. During the course of the evening he learned that the authorities had a complete list of the Katipunan membership, so he contrived to send his nephew, Arturo Liquete, to warn them. Isabelo was in the seaside barrio of Tamurong drilling his men, and had already heard about the impending search for arms. This new information left him with no choice but to act. He decided to attack that night.

A crescent moon set early that night, and it was pitch dark when Isabelo struck the Civil Guard quarters with a hand-picked band at three o'clock on Friday morning, March 25, 1898. The Guards, making no resistance, jumped out the windows, but Lieutenant Aparici leaped up from bed, fought valiantly, and was seriously wounded. At the same time, the general signal was given in the town plaza—prolonged rolling on the drum from the tribunal. The sergeant from Narvacan was awakened by the noise in the house where he was spending the night with a friend, leaped out the window in his underclothes, and took to his heels. He reached Santa Lucia at dawn, and waited impatiently when two sacristans refused to interrupt Fray Clemente Hidalgo until he had finished saying mass. Then the sergeant and the priest crossed the river to Santa Cruz, got a boat, and set sail for San Fernando, the nearest telegraph station, to give the alarm.

Meanwhile, a mob of 300 broke into the convento compound and sacked the building, but the three friars had fled into the church to hide. There they were seized, Fray Rafael praying at the foot of the high altar, and his two young visitors rather ridiculously trying to hide behind the images of saints. They were taken to the municipal hall, where Fernando Guirnalda gave them a lecture:

> You, Friar Redondo, are the cause of all this trouble. When you had sated yourself with tormenting the people of La Union, you came here to Candon to continue your cruel practices. You know that all you friars were sent here to be the spiritual leaders of the people, but when you acquired wealth and became powerful, you overstepped your rights. Instead of teaching the people what is right, you taught them only how to serve you like slaves. You ought to be the Fathers of Souls, but instead you have become the fathers of numerous families. You have numerous sons who serve only to increase our miseries, for you require us to serve and support them too. You are not content with only one wife, but tens of them. And now you want us only to suffer more, for you wish that only the ignorant and servile should survive. Since the Government is not powerful enough to check your excesses, the people have to assume their rights, and be your judges.[15]

The friars were then placed under guard in the house of Arturo Liquete, where perhaps they did what Guirnalda suggested—"Wait for the verdict of the people and pray to God that they may be lenient with you."[16] Other Spanish residents were put under house arrest in their own homes, and town officials like Mayor Guillermo Alviar and Justice of the Peace Candido Abaya were taken into protective custody, both because of their pro-Spanish sentiments and to protect them from popular vengeance. Then the revolutionaries gathered in the convento to establish their government.

Fernando Guirnalda was named President and Isabelo Abaya Commander-in-Chief. The armed forces were divided into three divisions totaling more than a thousand men, but with only eight rifles and two revolvers among them. Isabelo himself took command of the First Division and his two nephews, Manuel, Jr. and Leon, of the Third; Francisco Guirnalda was appointed to the Second Division, with Alejandro Madarang and Francisco Gironella as adjutants. A doctor and nurses were named for a military hospital, and a Filipino priest as chaplain. (This was probably Father Pedro de la Vega, coadjutor since Father Cano's day, since Father Rubio's commission, unfortunately for him as it turned out, was as Councilor of the Republic.) Placido Guirnalda was named Secretary of the Interior, and commissions as chiefs (*cabecillas*) or councilors were issued to Poseido Abaya, Modesto Dario, Manuel Leon, Arturo and Juan Gonzales Liquete, Justo Madarang, Carlos Ruiz, and Pablo Valocis. All these appointments were made on printed forms displaying the seal of the new republic, but administrative orders were issued on ordinary parish

stationary. (Spanish historian Manuel Sastrón commented indignantly, "The rebels did not even bother to erase that seal which was the symbol of a role so contrary to that which the revolutionaries were assigning it.")[17] President Guirnalda then ceremoniously read the Program Constitution to the assembly, explained the goals of the uprising, and inaugurated the convento as the capitol of the Republic. Then, on the flagstaff in front of the building, they solemnly raised the red banner, not of the Republic of Candon, but of the "Katipunan Republic of the Philippines."

General Abaya immediately moved north with the First Division and three rifles. On the outskirts, they encountered two of the Civil Guards sent to make the arrests the day before: one was hacked to death and the other escaped. At the southern end of the Salaw Bridge between Candon Santiago they dug trenches, but when they reached Santiago, they found some forty Volunteers and the remainder of the Civil Guards barricaded in the convento, and the Spanish residents under the protection of Mayor Elias Mendoza. For twenty-four hours they beseiged the convento but did not have the firepower to take it, while they themselves were exposed to the marksmanship of sharpshooters inside. On March 26, Isabelo arranged a parley with the mayor, who agreed to let the municipal officers decide the issue. But the insurgents soon discovered that all those officials had disappeared, so they retaliated by putting their houses, stores, and granaries to the torch. That evening the defenders withdrew, presumably for want of ammunition, and headed for Vigan. At Santa Maria they discovered that Provincial Commander Mariano Arqués had arrived and fortified the church and convento which occupied a strategic location overlooking the town and commanding the road.

The Second Division marched south for Tagudin with three rifles under the command of Francisco Guirnalda. From the outskirts, they sent scouts in to contact the local chiefs and find out if the Civil Guards had defected or not. They were told that they had all left town, so they started off in pursuit of them. But as soon as they reached the plaza, they discovered they had been betrayed: the Guards were actually fortified in the convento and they now opened fire. The Second Division returned the fire as best they could, and tried to set fire to the building but could not find enough dry grass for tinder. So, after sustaining one death and many wounds, they retreated in confusion to regroup on the outskirts. As soon as they had withdrawn, the Civil Guards and Spanish families escaped to the south, leaving the town—and its treacherous officers—to the republican forces.

The Third Division headed east to Coveta and Salcedo with two

rifles, overran the barrios and crisscrossed the countryside, encountering no resistance. They happened to run into Fray Anacleto Fernández of Cabacan on his way in to the Feast of the Annunciation in Candon, so they took him captive and marched him off to Salcedo. There, the gobernadorcillo's old father successfully pleaded for his life, so he survived to be rescued by Spanish troops. The next day, they blocked a patrol from the Politico-Military Commandancy of Tiagan on the crest of the Malaya Range, which separates the Ilocos coast from the Abra Valley. Tiagan Commandant Eduardo Fanén Moreno had received word of the uprising from the Narvacan command that morning and had sent that patrol out under a Spanish sergeant. It returned in the afternoon with the report of having encountered a force of 600 insurgents with no firearms, and having spent 200 rounds of ammunition to cover their retreat. Fanén thereupon called in the small detachment from Ling-ey nearby and concentrated his forces and Spanish families in the fort in Tiagan. The Abaya brothers then sacked the cuartel in Ling-ey and the mission station in Concepcion—but spared the church ornaments—and headed back to Salcedo.

Back in Candon the same day, treacherous Eugenio Mati was commissioned to spread the revolution to Tiagan because he had some brothers living there. He asked for Santiago Abaya to accompany him. Santiago was the son of the Justice of the Peace, who had tried to send him through the insurgent lines to report the uprising to Vigan, but failed. Now the two of them headed for Antonio Mati's house in the Tiagan barrio of Paltoc. As soon as they got there, they went straight to the fort in Tiagan and handed over their commissions to Commandant Fanén. Mati then listed all the appointments he could remember from the establishment of the revolutionary government in the Candon convento on March 25, and the next day executed the following sworn statement:

> The uprising had been set for the next week but was precipitated by receiving word that the *Guardia Civil* was going to conduct a search for arms. Of these they had two revolvers, six rifles from the Candon Civil Guards who had made common cause with them, and the rest were armed with bolos, spears, batons, headaxes and sharpened bamboo. He also heard that the first Friday in April had been set for an uprising in Manila. The insurgents organized three columns—one for Narvacan, another for Bangar, and the third for Tiagan. In addition to Candon, Santa Maria, Santa Cruz, Santa Lucia and Bangar (Ilocos Sur), San Fernando in La Union, and Cervantes (Lepanto) were involved in the rebellion. In Candon, they made prisoners of the officers of the Civil Guard, the Friar and two others who were visiting and the Spanish residents.[18]

Far away in the capital of Manila, Spanish authority was also being challenged. At eight o'clock on the morning of March 25—at the very moment an independent government was being inaugurated in Ilocos Sur—a patrol of Volunteers broke into a house on Camba Street and shot or arrested almost a hundred Visayan sailors and dock-workers for plotting rebellion. And while the three divisions of that independent government's armed forces were fanning out across the southern Ilocos province, the entire 74th Filipino Regiment in Cavite was marching out of its barracks, deserting with arms and equipment. What was frightening about all this reinsurgency at that particular time was the possibility of support from abroad. During the Zambales uprising just three weeks before, Feliciano Jhocson had circulated letters purporting to be from Aguinaldo announcing his return, and in Hongkong Admiral Dewey was openly preparing the U.S. Asiatic Squadron for war. Remember that the Ilocos coast is closer to Hongkong than to Cebu. When word of the Candon uprising was received, therefore, the Government took urgent action, rushing shock troops north by sea, and calling on religious superiors to form patrols in coastal parishes to prevent the landing of Yankee arms.

The steamer with the *cazadores* aboard under Commander José Garcia Herreros appeared off Candon anchorage at 11 o'clock on the morning of March 28, then proceeded down the coast toward Santa Lucia, either to attract defending forces away from the town or simply because of adverse landing conditions. The troops finally landed at the barrio of Pating late in the afternoon, and marched into Candon unopposed, 150 strong and in full battle gear. They quickly released all prisoners and arrested Pio Madarang, Roberto and Placido Guirnalda, and Father Rubio. A patrol was then sent to rescue Father Fernández in Salcedo, but could find no trace of Father Redondo or his two companions. The convento was deserted, abandoned so precipitously that incriminating documents like commissions, military orders, and the constitution were lying on desks, and the red flag flying. The Governor's report written three weeks later is revealing enough to be quoted at some length:

> The unfortunate events in the town of Candon are due completely to the separatist cause and not, as was mistakenly thought in the beginning, to acts of personal vengeance against the more or less inflexible personality of the of the unfortunate parish priest of that town. This may have been a minor contributary cause made use of by the separatist elements, but the following details, your Excellency, are proven facts:

1. For a long time, frequent preparatory meetings were held in the town of Cervantes in the house of Isidoro Aguilar, between agents direct from Manila and the principal headmen of Candon, the Guirnaldas and Abayas by name.

2. These leaders met in the small hours of the night in remote places to hold secret conferences with the traitorous Civil Guards of the Candon post.

3. They made hundreds of bolos, most of them pointed, employing new and used iron from all the shops and stores.

4. Once the insurrection had broken out, supported by the Civil Guard post, and the Lieutenant of the same been gravely wounded, they apprehended the parish priest, Fray Rafael Redondo, and the missionary fathers Fray Ricardo Montes and Fray Santiago García, who operate their missions elsewhere but had the misfortune of sleeping in the convento that night.

5. Once they had taken possession, the rebels appointed a council with a President of a separatiist Republic. They published *their program Law of the Separatist Revolution* printed in Ilocano and Spanish, organized their forces in brigades, distributed printed appointments to chiefs and officials, of provisional nature and in accordance with Article 6 of the aforesaid program Law of the Separatist Revolution.[19]

6. They arranged their forces in tactical disposition with regular bugle calls.

7. All these documents display a seal which says "Philippine Republic" around the circumference, plus two stars with five points, with a sun in the middle, a mountain, and the sea.

8. At the entrance to the living quarters of the convento, signs read, "Presidencia," "Secretary of the Interior"—and of Foreign Affairs [i.e., Exterior]—and "Entrance prohibited."

9. They made appointments for their civil organization.

10. They occupied the convento property, making it into a building of the Republic with a flagstaff with a red flag which displayed a white sun in the center with the legend, *"República Filipina Katipunan."*

11. They sent three columns to incite the towns of Tagudin, Santa Cruz and Santa Lucia to the south, Santiago and San Esteban to the north, and Coveta and Salcedo to the east.

> It is these circumstances which truly appear to confront the whole province of Ilocos Sur with a grave danger.[20]

The three friars had been moved to San Esteban the morning of March 28. But the provincial commander had sent Captain Antonio Almaraz south that same morning with all the Civil Guards at his command, and the rebel forces abandoned San Esteban on their approach, taking the friars with them in a cart. In Santiago, their pursuers overtook them and killed thirty-four in the fighting which ensued. Isabelo himself put up a desperate fight with four Civil Guards, in which he killed one, wounded another, and drove the other two off still in possession of their rifles. He then fell back to the trenches below Salaw Bridge with his depleted forces, and there, near barrio Bucong, Fray Rafael Redondo finally met his fit end. In the words of Isabelo Abaya's service records under the Malolos Republic:

> Before the company of *Cazadores* reached the town, he ordered this friar and two others who were with him taken to the forest where, making him understand his iniquity and the frightful deeds which had caused the death of good and learned Filipinos and so many innocent, he ordered them beheaded on the afternoon of March 28 to give an account of their misdeeds to their Creator.[21]

On March 29, provincial forces broke through the line of trenches, and Isabelo took to the hills. The Civil Guards, accompanied by the Santiago leaders whose property had been put to the torch on March 26, burned their way from the Candon boundary into the town itself. Commander Herreros then sent the Manila forces out to put a stop to their revenge, and declared a general amnesty for all who would surrender their arms, in this way recovering all the missing rifles. In the hills, the Guirnalda brothers agreed that Fernando should take his family and flee, and that Francisco should surrender with the story that none of the other Guirnaldas had been involved in the uprising. But Herreros gave him three days to bring in both his brother and Isabelo under promise of full pardon. So Francisco sadly bid farewell to his own family and went back to his brother in the hills. The two then went south to Tagudin with Fernando's wife and children, but on April 10 both of them were captured in La Union and jailed in Tubao. There, however, they managed to escape—and Mayor Miguel Alalog and his police chief were jailed in their stead. Francisco was last seen jumping out the jailhouse window, but Fernando survived to write an

account in 1912 of "The Republic of Candon" with the unimpeachable credential, "All but one of these heroes of the past are gone: the author of this history alone lives to the present day."[23]

On April 10, too, a new Governor General arrived in the Philippines—Basilio Augustín—and his most urgent business was to pacify revolt and win Filipino loyalty before an American declaration of war. (In Washington, the Spanish Embassy had cracked the U.S. Naval code and read Theodore Roosevlet's famous orders to Dewey, and in Madrid "loyal" Filipinos like Isabelo de los Reyes were offering to return to the Philippines and organize resistance against Yankee invasion.) The man assigned to accomplish this rather ambitious task in Ilocos was Enrique Polo de Lara, an officer with a reputation for sympathy for Filipinos. He was given charge of both provinces, and arrived in Candon in the middle of the month. After a quick personal investigation, he left Commander Felipe Mediavilla there with forty men, and proceeded to Vigan, taking Commander Herreros with him. There on April 19 he wrote up the report already cited, stationed a detachment of forty men, and headed north. He left twenty troops in Lapog, thirty in Batac, and another twenty in Badoc. Lapog and Cabugao, he noted meaningfully, "have magnificent bays for any sort of landing." Batac was the the home town of Artemio Ricarte, who was still sending revolutionary propaganda from Laguna to his fellow schoolteachers, and Badoc was the seat of Father Rubio's prominent and suspect family. Polo then picked up Dingras Mayor Gregorio Purganan, close associate of the Lapog Centenos and dissident leaders in Bacarra, and shrewdly included him in his personal entourage on his trip through the rest of the province.

Eleven Ilocanos were executed for their connection with the Candon uprising. Chief among them were the original Katipuneros like Roberto and Placido Guirnalda, Manuel and Toribio Abaya, and Pio Madarang, and Father Rubio, who had been under suspicion even before the uprising.[23] Manuel Abaya, Jr., co-commander of the Third Division, was pardoned, but his 15-year-old brother Leon was shot in Salcedo, probably without court procedures. The role of four others is unknown: Desiderio Agbulos, Victorino Gadut, Urbano Galac, and Severino Paredes. Fernando Guirnalda claimed that some innocent townsmen were victimized by vengeful Spanish residents giving false testimonies: perhaps these four were among their debtors or creditors. Or perhaps Guirnalda's own story is to be connected with another Candon legend which says that a number of local businessmen were rounded up, marched out to the northern suburbs where the friars had been killed, and massacred

under that bridge which had formed part of the insurgent defense. It must be admitted that the discovery of the mutilated, decomposing bodies of the three Spanish priests on April 5 would have put their compatriots in the mood for massacre. The reaction of their official biographer three years later was probably representative and predictable:

> There are no words strong enough to anathematize so horrendous a crime, perpertuated—as always in the Philippines—by base outlaws who, to satiate their shameless and savage instincts, will stop at nothing to attain their dastardly goals. Thus, off in that hidden thicket a pathetic and harrowing tragedy was presented on that fateful day: its actors were three humble priests and their hangmen (their number does not matter) who, dagger in hand, attacked, wounded, and killed their defenseless victims while they were begging for mercy and compassion. What a brilliant history, that of the Philippine Revolution! Its deeds, its vandal excesses, and its pretended liberties serve today to bring into sharper relief the details of the horrible picture traced by the black hand of the nefarious Katipunan.[24]

Of the six condemned leaders, at least the Guirnaldas and Manuel Abaya were executed on April 19, and probably the others also. This was the day after Governor Polo left for Vigan, and he included in his report a succinct explanation of the technique by which their guilt was established: "By showing practical leniency for the lesser leaders, I made use of them to denounce the more important ones."[25] Whatever his methods, from the Spanish standpoint Enrique Polo de Lara turned in a commendable performance. When Aguinaldo's forces entered Ilocos four months later, they found no underground governors in command like Makabulus in Tarlac or Prada in Pangasinan. Quite the opposite, when Commander Herreros surrendered his forces in San Fernando at the end of July, Spanish friars were still at their altars and Spanish officers at their desks from Bangar to Bangui.

The ease with which the revolution was put down is not surprising. The military imbalance once the *cazadores* had landed is obvious. Yet Ilocanos fought against much greater odds for more than two years during the American invasion. A more significant cause may therefore be found in the divided leadership—even treachery—which the Candon forces suffered. No Filipino holding office in the colonial government took part in the uprising, and many actively aided their Spanish superiors. Telegrapher Elias Abaya did not warn the plotters that he had sent a

message about the discovery of their plot, and Justice of the Peace Candido Abaya tried to get word through to Vigan after the Republic had taken possession of the telegraph office. The mayor and petty officers of Santiago prevented the First Division from marching north, exposed it to two days of enemy fire, and gave Vigan forces time to form an expedition. And those of Tagudin actually led their Ilocano brothers into ambush by government forces.

Men like the Guirnaldas, on the other hand, were out-of-office members of the *principalia* with personal grudges against the regime. Yet the same arrest, torture and imprisonment which had persuaded them to act, cowed others into inaction. Three of the primary victims of the "conspiracy" of 1896 withdrew from the Tondo meeting of March 16 with the frank explanation that they were now in the government's good graces—"*muy bien miradas en su provincia por los autoridades españoles*."[26] Few men so cautious and conscious of the risks would throw themselves into battle armed only with kitchen bolos and sharpened sticks. Indeed, Fernando Guirnalda's "The Republic of Candon" is a minor classic of compradore-class ambivalence: full of noble little speeches to surrendering Spaniards like, "Don't be afraid, for the animal that is taught by the lion is not as cruel as his master," [27] it refers to Filipino fighters as "poor ignorant people [who] did not know what revolution meant . . . and were ignorant of the bitterness of the consequences if it failed." [28]

Isabelo Abaya was a man cut from different cloth. Whether deserted by his men as Guirnalda claimed, or by Guirnalda as seems more likely, he never surrendered. Instead, he put on a g-string like his ancestors and disappeared into the anonymity of the Igorot mountains. Perhaps he returned to his old recruits in Sagada, for the last Spanish commander of Bontoc raided that town on July 11 as a punishment for Katipunan sympathies. But when Colonel Manuel Tinio arrived in Candon at the head of Republican troops in August, Isabelo reported for duty and was sent to serve as Lieutenant Colonel Joaquin Alejandrino's guide for the capture of Bontoc. After the Treaty of Paris made America's aggressive intentions clear in December, he was ordered to recruit Igorots in Bontoc, and he led 225 of them to Malolos in time for the opening engagement of the Philippine-American War on February 5, 1899. After the Battle of Caloocan, he joined Antonio Luna's forces until that general was murdered in June, when he returned to Ilocos. (Two of his Abaya clansmen, however, crossed the mountains to join General Malvar and to found Tagalog-speaking branches of the family in Laguna

and Batangas.) Finally, when President Aguinaldo disbanded the Philippine Army and declared guerrilla warfare, Isabelo was commissioned by Colonel Juan Villamor of the Tinio Brigade to organize and command the Southern Zone of Ilocos. It was while discharging this duty that he was killed in action on May 3, 1900.

The present generation of Filipino students and teachers has spilled much ink—and no less adrenalin—in the search for genuine Filipino heroes. Isabelo Abaya should rank high on any list of candidates. Here was a Filipino who fought for national independence against two imperialist aggressors, never giving up the struggle even in the face of betrayal by countrymen or blandishments by the enemy, but died fighting for the ideals for which he lived. Isabelo Abaya was a comfortable businessman when he left his home to become a soldier on the battlefield and a guerrilla in the hills. He fought in the Revolutionary Army during the insurrection of 1896-97 and in the Republican Army during the war of national defense in 1899-1901. He was present at the Pact of Biyak-na-Bato and the Battle of Caloocan, and he organized his own underground unit in a national liberation movement. He was a bourgeoise *ilustrado* willing to wear a g-string and eat camotes to live like an Igorot in the mountains. And he died in action defending the Philippine state against foreign invasion. A man must be held in some awe and respect who could take to the hills and live off the land, attract lowland peasants and highland tribesmen, and still write such soaring prose as the following appeal to his countrymen:

> Ilocanos:
>
> Having been undeservedly invested by our august Government with full authority to organize troops and direct the war against the Americans in this Southern Zone of Ilocos, I wish to address these humble words to you, not to excite your patriotism, which you have always held high in times of trial, but to determine the kind of warfare we should adopt so as to produce the desired results which our Government proposes to achieve.
>
> For you, the fight commences today, the true fight for which Providence has favored us with the shield of our beloved mountains which, filled as they are with herbage and luxuriant with edible fruits and roots, appear to be made just for the purpose of mountain warfare; we undertake it today with the certainty that we shall always defeat the enemy there by wearing him out and exterminating him through fatigue and hunger. The War of the Vandée, which pitted 5,000 Vendeanos against 80,000

Frenchmen, the War of Spanish Independence with raw troops and amateur generals against the brilliant and ever-victorious army of Napoleon, and our own triumphant revolution against the theocratic power of Spain in these islands—these present vivid pictures to my mind which, given the justice of our radiant and resplendent cause, inspire my due confidence in that certainty.

Let us fight, then, from those mountains, with neither hesitation nor rashness, and without predicting the outcome by considering the imbalance of resources but rather the beauty and sacredness of the ideal which we are pursuing against the oppressive imperialist designs of North America, who, concerned only with her wicked desire to dominate and degrade us unjustly—we with whom she once joined hands to defeat the Spanish army in these islands—would now impose her sovereignty on us by the brute force of her cannons, a sovereignty as evil as it is ridiculous.

Enemy of those liberties won for you at the cost of a thousand lives and anxieties and of streams of your own blood, the invading American army daily insults you by despising your most venerated instincts and dearest convictions.

For it is an insult to you, and a great one, to call the Filipino Army insurgent, that is to say, something despicable and without honor to your sons, spouses and parents who, obedient to the rallying cry of that Government which you recognized, revered and extolled with song and acclamation, they who, submissive to your will and counsels, took to the field of battle to seal with their blood and their lives the affectionate love they professed for you, as well as the inalienable right which is yours to be free and independent.

It is also a deliberate slap that brings the blood rushing to the face not to recognize that Government which the Philippines' most illustrious sons formed in the enemy's full view and with their aid in the beginning, and to deny with utter lack of shame the validity and efficacy of the Constitution and decrees which that Government promulgated with your applause for consolidating your present well-being, as well as for initiating the future greatness and prosperity of our beloved country.

And finally, it is an offense to you in your Catholic sentiments not to respect those objects your fathers taught you to hold sacred, to profane your temples, and to mutilate and rob your venerated images. Eloquent witness and examples of such profanations and usurpations are the churches of Pangasinan, La Union, Ilocos and Abra.

Now, having called on you to consider these injuries, as well as the future vexations and unforeseen degradations which pertain to total lack of sovereignty and dominion, I invite the good Ilocanos, the honorable Ilocanos, not despicable perjurers, to the war which I am undertaking in the mountains today with my faithful comrades, calling on the youth especially to swell their ranks, and authorizing everybody to cause the enemy all possible damage permitted by the rules of war.

The Commander-in-Chief of the
Southern Zone of Ilocos,

YSABELO ABAYA[29]

Notes

[1] I am indebted for discussion of the Candon legend to Attorney Joselino Abaya, who first told me the story in 1959; to Mr. Jose P. Alcance, author of the unpublished "Candon: Yesterday and Today"; and to Mr. Leandro B. Ablang, author of many articles in English and Ilocano about the resistance movements in Ilocos, particularly "The Cry of Candon" (*Philippines Free Press*, Mar. 26, 1960) and "Ilocos Sur's Last Rebel" (*Philippines Free Press*, Mar. 25, 1961).

[2] *La Ilustración Filipina*, Jan. 7, 1893.

[3] *El Comercio*, Nov. 4, 1892.

[4] Fray Mariano Cuartero to Fray Manuel Diez, Manila, Aug. 31, 1885, Archivo Géneral de la Orden de Agustinos Recoletos, Rome, Caja 60. I am indebted to the Rev. Father Angel Martinez Cuesta, OAR, for a copy of this letter.

[5] "Relatos varios o Martirios de los nueve Clérigos de Nueva Segovia," Fol. 15v (Feb. 4, 1897), Archives of the University of Santo Tomas, Sección "Historia eclesiástica de Filipinas."

[6] "Poon ti ili a Candon" (1911), Ayer MS 1713a, Newberry Library (Chicago, Illinois).

[7] Fernando Guirnalda, "The Republic of Candon" (1912), ed. by W. H. Scott, *Silliman Journal* 26 (1979), 33.

Guirnalda mistakenly thought Artacho had accompanied Aguinaldo to Hongkong and had just returned after a quarrel with him there.

[8] Manuel Kiley, "The Life and Pagan Practices of western Sagada," *University of Baguio Journal* 7 (1972), 180-81.

[9] *La Politica de España en Filipinas*, Mar. 15, 1898, p. 101.

[10] Manuel Berand, Manila, Jan. 27, 1898, Philippine National Archives, Sediciones y Rebeliones, NA-31, Book 3 (1874-1898).

Father Mariano Garcia was killed in a small uprising in Santo Tomas (L.U.) on April 11, 1898, together with Volunteer Lieutenant Enrique Lete, Father Redondo's henchman and the chief torturer in San Fernando in 1896.

[11] *La Política de España en Filipinas*, Apr. 3, 1898, p. 156.

[12] Philippine National Library, Philippine Insurgent Records, Selected Documents 157.

[13] Guirnalda, 34
[14] *La Política de España en Filipinas,* May 15, 1898, p. 187.
[15] Guirnalda, 38.
[16] Guirnalda, 39.
[17] *La insurrección en Filipinas y Guerra hispano-americana en el Archipiélago* (Madrid, 1901), pp. 349-50.
[18] Comandancia Político-Militar de Tiagan, Mar. 28, 1898, National Archives, Sediciones y Rebeliones, NA-19, Book I (1874-1898).
[19] If this Article 6 happened to be the same as the sixth article of the Makabulus "Constitution of the General Executive Committee for Central Luzon" signed on April 17, 1898, the Governor's concern would have been quite understandable: "Article 6. *When it is necessary to appoint a Secretary of Foreign Affairs* [emphasis added], he will have in his charge all correspondence with foreign nations, treaties of all kinds, appointment of representatives to foreign nations. . . . etc."—John M. Taylor, *The Philippine Insurrection against the United States,* Vol. I (Pasay City, 1981), p. 469.
[20] "Estado de las Provincias de ambos Ilocos en Abril de 1898," National Archives, Sediciones y Rebeliones, NA-19, Book I (1874-1898).
[21] "Hechos biográficos," Kandon, Jan. 23, 1899, Philippine Insurgent Records, Selected Documents 682.

Mena Crisologo used the same expression in filing a case with the Malolos Government in November 1898 against the perpetrators of the La Union and Ilocos "conspiracies"; he named both Fathers Redondo and Garcia, "who, fortunately for mankind have already gone to give God an account of their misdeeds" (Philippine Insurgent Records, Selected Documents 794.3).
[22] Guirnalda, 48.
[23] Fathers Jose M. Chanco and Mariano Sevilla, in a letter to the Papal Delegate on Jan. 29, 1900, published in Achutegui and Bernad, *Religious Revolution in the Philippines,* Vol. 4 (Manila, 1972), p. 44, say that Father Rubio was shot in Aparri. This is probably an error. Francisco Gray, writing in 1911 ("*Pacalcitaan cadagiti Sres. a nagcapcapitan ditoy ili a Candon nanipud idi* 1780," Ayer MS 1713b, Newberry Library), says he was captured by Herreros; Governor Polo refers to his guilt but not to any escape, though he does report the Guirnaldas' escape; and an unpublished autobiography of Tagudin schoolteacher Sabas Gaerlan in the possession of the Rev. Fr. John Flameygh, CICM, says of the uprising, "Those of Candon paid dearly for it; the lives of several people were taken in exchange, and also of one Filipino priest who was not from Candon but was a coadjutor there."
[24] Elviro Jorde Pérez, *Catálogo bio-bibliografico de los Reliosos agustinianos* (Manila, 1901), p. 525.
[25] "Estado de las Provincias de ambos Ilocos . . ."
[26] Philippine Insurgent Records, Selected Documents 157.
[27] Guirnalda, 42.
[28] Guirnalda, 36.
[29] Philippine Insurgent Records, Selected Documents 521.

Armenians Before the Philippine Inquisition

F. Delor Angeles

My first encounter with the Armenians, albeit spiritual rather than physical, was in 1952 in a graduate course on the modern Near East at the University of Florida. My second encounter was in 1965 when a young Armenian boy helped a weary and bewildered Filipino traveler at the Beirut International Airport. Subsequently, through contacts at the American University of Beirut, I felt the spiritual presence of the community of Armenian Christians in Lebanon and learned more about their sufferings. In 1969, in a third encounter, I learned how some Armenian refugees had settled in Singapore and established a church, but that their community there was dying.

My fourth encounter occurred this way. In 1975 I went into an office at the Universidad de las Americas in Cholula, Puebla, Mexico to meet a "Philippine" girl surnamed Kayarian, and found an Armenian-American instead. I told Miss Kayarian that her name means "construction" or "makeup" in Tagalog. She said that in the Armenian language her name means "bricklayer."

Subsequent reference to an Armenian dictionary failed to turn up *kayarian* and produced other words for "bricklayer." But the ending, *-an,* of this and other Armenian words was intriguing. This similarity with Tagalog, also found in Nahuatl (e.g., Mazatlan), could, though, be mere linguistic accident. My non-professional inquiry into the Armenian language ended, as I suspected it would, in the failure to find evidence of ancient contacts between the Armenian nation and Malayo-Polynesians. The following comparative table of terms is reproduced for whatever value it may offer.[1]

ARMENIAN	TAGALOG
apet' (tinder)	*apoy* (fire)
a'r (day)	*araw* (day)
arev (sun)	*araw* (sun)
ardako (out, beyond)	*dako* (place or whereabouts)
ayo (yes)	*oo* (yes)
bachig (kiss)	*halik* (kiss)
manug (child)	*manok* (chicken)

The Armenian word for sugar, *shakar,* is close to the Tagalog, *asukal,* but both are loan words traceable ultimately to either Persian or Arabic.

The Armenian language, of course, is not Asiatic but Indo-European. An Armenian professor, Dr. Siranpie Der Nersessian, gives us this classification of her native tongue: "Armenian is an independent branch of the family of Indo-European languages, as independent as Greek or Albanian; also like these two languages it has no descendants."[2]

Filipinos, however, despite the racial and philological differences, should take more than cursory interest in Armenians. Both are Christian communities faced by questions of survival within an area of unsympathetic Muslim rivals. Both, particularly Armenians, have suffered from violent Muslim-Christian conflicts. Indeed, the fact that the honorary consul in 1966 of the Republic of the Philippines in East Jerusalem was an Armenian underscores symbolically the spiritual kinship and similar historical experiences of the Armenian and Filipino peoples.

Armenia: Land and People

There are nearly five million Armenians at present. Three million live in Soviet Armenia and another million in other parts of the U.S.S.R., particularly Georgia and Azerbaijan. Outside the U.S.S.R., a half million Armenians live in the United States, mostly in Massachusetts and California, and one-fourth of a million in Syria and Lebanon. A smaller number reside in Iran, and there are scores of Armenian communities scattered between Buenos Aires and Singapore.

The original homeland of the Armenian people is a plateau of approximately 300,000 square kilometers lying roughly between 37° and 49° east longitude and 37.5° and 41.5° north latitude. Part of a continuous range stretching from Iran to the Levantine coast, the Armenian mesa dominates its area, with heights hovering between 800 and 2000 meters. One of these peaks, the Mount Ararat of Noah, should attract the attention of Bible-reading Filipinos.

Today this homeland, which the Armenians have lost, corresponds to the eastern portion of Muslim Turkey. There should be at least some Armenian communities, particularly in western Turkey, which survived the *espiurk* or diaspora of 1915, but it is curious that a source for current population statistics on Armenians does not give figures for Turkey. Indeed, one section in this source, a well-researched work, is grimly entitled "The Death of Turkish Armenia."[3]

The forming of the Armenian nation on the Ararat plain surely took an immensely long period; in 522 B.C. records began to mention an

"Armina" among the satrapies of Darius the Great. Successively, the area became one of the dominions of Alexander the Great and of Rome. As part of the Roman empire and close to the haunts of Christ, Armenia was early exposed to evangelization. Tradition holds that Bartholomew and Thaddeus took the gospel to the Armenians. But it was during the time of St. Gregory the Illuminator and King Tiridates III (286-314) that Christianity took root in the area and eventually became the official religion.

Most Armenians today are members of the Armenian Apostolic Church. A minority belong to the Armenian Catholic Church, which is in communion with Rome. Followers of the latter church have suffered at the hands of Muslim Turks like their Orthodox brethren: the *New Catholic Encyclopedia* notes that during World War I "great numbers" of Armenian Catholics were "put to death for the faith" by the Turks.[4]

The chief difference between the Armenian Apostolic Church (Orthodox) and the Roman Catholic Church is generally considered to be in their view of the nature or natures of Christ. Catholic theologians regard the former as Monophysite. This is a position seemingly born out by a declaration in the Armenian Confession of faith that the Godhead and Man in Jesus are united in one nature.[5] A second significant difference is in church government. The Gregorian or Orthodox Armenians hold that the head of the Church, called the *Catholicos,* has primacy of honor only, not jurisdiction, relative to the patriarchates. The result is a decentralized church organization. The Gregorian Armenians also deny purgatory, but oddly, pray for the dead. The Armenian Church has continued to use the Armenian language in its services, and is thus one of the chief bastions of Armenian nationalism.[6]

Persecution and Diaspora

As already noted, Armenian Christians have a long history of persecution, which resulted in their diaspora, a movement which brought them, as this paper will show, into contact with the Philippine Inquisition. In 451 A.D., the Persians tried to impose Zoroastrianism upon them. In the middle of the seventh century, Islamic armies overran Armenia; the Arabs were tolerant, but this did not prevent the massacre of Armenian families. In 1064 the Seljuk Turks attacked and destroyed the Armenian capital, Ani. Invasion by the "semi-barbarian" Mongols, who became Muslims, followed next. Then, in 1502, Ismail, the Safavid Shah of Persia, conquered much of Armenia from the Turkomans; for 150 years thereafter, Turkish

and Persian armies moved back and forth over the Armenian homeland, the frontier shifting accordingly.

In 1828-29 Russian challenged Turkey for the title to the Ararat mesa, and in the Treaty of Adrianople which ended the war got most of eastern Armenia. Thus modern Soviet Armenia began, with Armenians flocking to Russia from Persia and Turkey. The entrance of Russia into the political arena worsened the situation of Armenians remaining in Turkey; suspicion on the part of the Turkish rulers produced more pressure. Agitation for justice by the persecuted resulted instead in massacre; one source estimates 600,000 Armenians killed in Turkey between 1894 and 1904.[7]

The end of this chapter in persecution was the hideous massacre in 1915 of 1.5 million Armenians by the Turks and Muslim Kurds.[8] The insane cruelty and bizarre barbarity, the torture, robbery, kidnapping, and mass rapes which the Armenian people suffered during their expulsion from Turkish Armenia in that year far surpass the horrible experience of Filipinos during the Japanese occupation in World War II. The cruelty and religious hatred encompassing the Armenian genocide is expressed well in a remark of a Kurdish gendarme (in the Turkish service). Cries of "Christ!" and "Mary!" from the victims led him to say that he would also smash the skull of Christ if possible, and "I would subject the Mother of God to the same fate the Armenian women and girls were subjected to."[9]

Armenian Diaspora to the Philippines

Armenians came to the Philippines in two or three of the stages of their diaspora. The route these refugees took was Isfahan-to-India-to-Manila, sometimes with a detour to Batavia in the Dutch East Indies before final settlement in the Philippines. Isfahan was the capital of Persia in the time of the Shah Abbas the Great (1587-1629), who made it one of the largest and most beautiful cities in the seventeenth century. For strategic reasons in his wars with the Turks, Abbas moved thousands of Armenians in 1605 from eastern Armenia to the suburbs of Isfahan. The kindness of Shah Abbas to Armenian Christians was an exception in the long history of intolerance and killings; the Armenians thrived under him.

Then, for some unknown reason, a number of Armenians moved from the Isfahan area to India, most of them settling in Madras. This movement began in the reign of the Mogul emperor Akbar (1542-1602) and continued afterwards, as the records of the Philippine Inquisition suggest. In India the refugees, who engaged in trade, prospered. A printing press was

founded which produced works on Armenian history and political philosophy. Notable was a book by Hakab Shahamirian, published in 1773, entitled *Vorogait Parats* (Trap of Glory), which dealt with the liberation of the homeland and the re-establishment of the state of Armenia.[10]

Inquisition Lists of Armenians

The records of the Philippine Inquisition in the Mexican national archives mention a total of twenty-four Armenians who arrived in Manila between 1735 and 1809, and in the course of arranging their permanent residence with Spanish authorities settled their religious status with the inquisitorial officers. The records are incomplete and can be misleading because of clerical errors. In addition, political upheavals in post-Spanish Mexico did considerable damage to archival deposits, including Philippine manuscripts. Another problem is that in 1975-76, when the material used in this paper was collected, more than a million manuscripts still reposed unclassified and unavailable to researchers in the Archivo General de la Nación.[11]

These are the Armenians who settled in the Philippines: [12]

1734	1.	Nazar de Agamar
	2.	Zafras Naurer (Xavier)
1735	3.	Zarat de la Cruz
	4.	Miguel Xavier Fesali
	5.	Juan de Sinan
	6.	Minas de Elias
	7.	Gregorio de Zacharias
	8.	Santiago Barachiel
	9.	Gregorio de Xabrer (Xavier)
	10.	Isaias de Martin
	11.	Esteban de Codidyan
	12.	Nazar de Cayami (Coyamal)
1735-36	13.	Constantino de Lazaro
	14.	Philipus Agaperi
	15.	Jachic de Obanes
1746	16.	Gregorio de Ablejat
1754	17.	Juan Manuel Maroto
1755-59	18.	Simon Ternierser (or Ternierses)
	19.	Antonio de la Costa Malabar
1759	20.	Juan Salomon Daud

1760	21.	Jacobo Isay
	22.	Sattur Aviet
1764	23.	Abraham Amiryan
1809	24.	Juan Ibrahim Shamir

As may be observed, the Spanish notaries had a difficult time spelling the Armenian names, and they often resorted to hispanicized version. This list includes only those Armenians who appeared before the Holy Office of the Inquisition. In the text of two manuscripts dated 1754 and 1755 three additional Armenians in Manila were mentioned, two Catholic laymen, Juan de la Cruz and the unnamed father of Juan Manuel Maroto, and a Franciscan brother, Francisco de Jesus Maria Donado.[13]

Fray Joaquín Martínez de Zuñiga, the noted Augustinian historian, observed of the Armenians in the Philippines—and is corroborated by the inquisition records—that they were merchants and that they had moved from Persia to India before coming to the Philippines. The friar considered them shrewd traders who bought the goods of traveling merchants and resold these at high prices to Manilans. Possibly they also dealt in the Isfahan carpets for which that city was famous.[14]

Some were well-traveled and exceptionally active traders. Gregorio de Zacharias had shuttled among Java, Manila, China, and Madrasta. Santiago de Barachiel, who, like Zacharias, was reconciled to Catholicism in 1735, had been to Persia, Muscovy, Denmark, Turkey, Malta, Italy, Holland, Belgium, India, and Java; he spoke Dutch and Italian and could read and write Spanish.

The sole exception to this trader norm seems to be Simon Ternierser, nineteen years of age, son of an Armenian priest, who in 1757 manifested a desire to reside permanently in the Philippines, learn Spanish, and study the Catholic catechism. The inquisition commissioner of Manila, Fray Antonio Kalonge, reported enthusiastically of Ternierser "that he might enter the sacred orders" in the future.

It may be observed also that all Armenians processed by the Philippine Inquisition were males. In one case, two Armenians, Nazar de Agamar and Zafias Naurer, were father and son. It has been noted that Juan Manuel Maroto had a merchant father already residing in Manila when he was processed by the Inquisition. Antonio de la Costa Malabar, reconciled in 1755, actually was an Indian slave bought (from whom it was not recorded) and raised by an Armenian priest. The inquisition records do not mention families left in Isfahan or India. After the ceremonies of reconciliation, nothing more is known of these Armenian *reconciliados*.

Conversion

Substitute families, the inquisition records suggest, for Armenians were their fellow countrymen in Manila or elsewhere in the Islands. The newcomers were drawn together, both because they were aliens in a new land and as an emotional result of diaspora. In their testimonies they revealed an exchange of communications on the Philippines and its religious policies, as well as continuing contacts upon arrival and residence in the colony. Thus, Zacharias told the Holy Office in 1735 that through letters from his countrymen he learned that the Roman Catholic Church was "the true church." Sattur Aviet revealed in 1760 that the Armenian Franciscan, Francisco de Jesus Maria, instructed him in the Catholic faith. Also, the Armenian layman, Juan de la Cruz, served as catechical teacher of Catholic doctrine to Antonio de la Costa Malabar in 1755.[15]

The Holy Office commissioners, investigating the first Armenian cases in 1734-36, were obviously most interested in learning about Armenian theology and, in terms of the security of the colony, the adverse influences, if any, the newcomers might have upon Philippine Catholic society. The social background of the immigrants was of less interest. Take, for example, one of the questions that Fray Juan de Arrechederra, commissioner of the Inquisition, asked Armenian Nazar de Agamar on June 26, 1734: "Do you know of any schismatics in these Islands, if they have perverted some Catholics, and if they keep books and notes [of schismatic doctrines] which should be surrendered [to the Holy Office]?"[16]

Ecumenical interest was not to come for more than 200 years. The inquisitors in Manila believed that Armenian Christians were "schismatics," unworthy of much Catholic sympathy. But from Constantino de Lazaro the commissioner of Manila learned the following Armenian teachings: (a) the Armenian faith is the true faith; (b) the patriarch of Armenia is the vicar of Christ; (c) the Armenian concept of purgatory differs from the Catholic concept; (d) Armenian priests give confirmation together with baptism; (e) indulgences are non-existent in the Armenian church. Philipus Agaperi gave away the fundamental difference between Armenian and Catholic theology: Christ had only one nature. In addition, he revealed that an Armenian priest gave the last rites after the death of a person. Then, Simon Ternierser, the son of an Armenian priest, categorically denied that Armenians believed in purgatory. He added that in Armenia the Pope was unknown and that Christian saints were used as mediators between God and men. The common pronouncement expected of the Armenian *reconciliado* was, "I detest and abominate with

all my heart the errors of schism."[17] Considering that the Armenian faith was relatively close to the Roman Catholic faith, the declaration of "detestation" would probably not be difficult to make.

Jacobo Isay (1760) appears to be the only Armenian in all these cases who was not given reconciliation. He was the model of what Tagalogs call *pakikisama,* accommodation. Asked if he had observed Armenian rites in his travels: "He said: that where there was an Armenian Church he conformed with his sect, and where there were Catholics, he conformed with them, and he felt secure in his religion because of the efficient instruction of his teachers, neither needing to believe nor to conform with any other sect...." The Holy Office notary wrote at this point: "y con esto se cierro esta audiencia" (and with this the hearing was closed).[18] But there is no record that Isay was burned at the stake or expelled from the Philippines.

As the historian progresses toward the last Armenian cases, he may note that the questions asked of the subjects by the Holy Office become fewer. Perhaps the Catholic clergy did not regard Armenians as so "perverse" or "dangerous" as Muslims, Jews, and Protestants. In any case, as the Spanish Inquisition hastened to its end, the suspicions, tensions, and hostility of former years seemed to recede.

What conclusions might we draw out of this brief study? Professor Louis Gottschalk, in illustrating the problem of emphasis for the historian, used a story of two British soldiers who found a bottle of water in the desert. One saw the bottle as half-empty; the second saw it as half-filled with water. As with the bottle, the Spanish Inquisition in the Philippines may be looked at in two dfferent ways. First, it was without argument a repressive institution. But also—the evidence is unmistakable —when homeless and persecuted Christians of a "schismatic" church approached the Holy Office, it did not deny them a haven in the Spanish Philippines.

Notes

[1] Adour H. Yacoubian, *English-Armenian and Armenian-English Concise Dictionary* (Los Angeles: Armenian Archives Press, 1944).

[2] Sirarpie Der Nersessian, *The Armenians* (New York: Praeger, 1970), p. 79.

[3] Christopher J. Walker, *Armenia: the Survival of a Nation* (New York: St. Martin's, 1980), p. 11.

[4] J. Kaftandijian, "Armenian Rite," *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (1967), Vol. I, p. 836.

[5] Archdeacon Dowling, *The Armenian Church* (New York: AMS Press, 1970), p. 65.

[6] Der Nersessian, *The Armenians,* p. 78.

[7] Dowling, *The Armenian Church*, p. 150.

[8] The Kurds are a race of pastoral and agricultural tribesmen who inhabit an area in adjoining parts of Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Syria and in the Armenian and Azerbaijan regions of the Soviet Caucasus.

[9] Garabed Kapikian, *Yeghernabadoum* [*Story of Genocide*] (New York: Pan-Sebastia Rehabilitation Union, 1978), p. 74.

[10] Walker, *Armenia*, pp. 50-51.

[11] F. Delor Angeles, "Bibliographical Data on the Philippine Inquisition," Silliman Journal 23 (1976), 256-57.

[12] México, Archivo General de la Nación, MS, Ramo de Inquisición, Tomo 857, Fojas 158-190, 198-236: Reconciliaciones al Gremio de Nra. Sra. Madre Iglesia de Miguel de Pablo...todos Armenios de la Secta del Cisma Armenio, Manila, 1735—Tomo 861, Expediente 24, Fojas 415-34: Reconziliaziones al Gremio de nuestra Santa Madre Iglesia de quatro Armenios Zismáticos, Manila, 1736—Tomo 940, Expediente 6, Fojas 86-135: Reconciliación al gremio de Ntra. Sta. Madre Iglesia de Simon Ternersier, armenio y del cisma de aquella nación ...Antonio de la Costa Malabar, armenio...—Tomo 911, Expediente 18, Fojas 377-85: Reconciliación al gremio de Ntra. Madre Iglesia de Gregorio de Ablejat, armenio cismático, Manila, 1746—Tomo 946, Expediente 5, Fojas 79-84: Reconciliación al gremio de Ntra. Santa Madre Iglesia de Juan Manuel Maroto de nacion armenia, Manila, 1754—Tomo 991, Expediente 5, Fojas 109-17 y Expedientes 7 y 10: Cartas...al Comisario dando aviso...reconciliación...de Isaac Salomon Daud—Tomo 1035, Expediente 13, Fojas 361: Reconciliación al gremio de Ntra. Santa Madre Iglesia de Abraham Amiryan, armenio, Manila, 1765—Tomo 1095, Expediente 2 y Expediente 6: Incluye ésta las diligencias evacuadas en la reconciliación de Jacobo Isay, de nación armenia, Manila, 1760—Tomo 1446, Foja 53: Otra denuncia espontánea de Don Juan Abraham Shamir, 1809.

[13] México, AGN, MS, Inquisición, Tomo 940, Foja 97. A *reconciliado* was a person reconciled to the Catholic faith through the auspices of the Spanish Inquisition.

[14] Joaquín Martínez de Zuñiga, *Estadismo de las Islas Filipinas* (Madrid 1893), Vol. I, pp. 264-65.

[15] México, AGN, MS, Inquisición, Tomo 857, Foja 161—Tomo 857, Fojas 207-208—Tomo 1095, Expediente 2, Foja 205—Tomo 940, Foja 105.

[16] México, AGN, MS, Inquisición, Tomo 851, Foja 161.

[17] México, AGN, MS, Inquisición, Tomo 861, Expediente 24, Fojas 415-34.

[18] México, AGN, MS, Inquisición, Tomo 1095, Expediente 6, Fojas 219-23.

Ecological Notes on Mammals in the Lake Balinsasayao Region, Negros Oriental, Philippines

Lawrence R. Heaney, Paul D. Heideman, and Karen M. Mudar

ABSTRACT. Twenty-three species of mammals have been found in the forests surrounding Lake Balinsasayao. Eleven are rare or absent in non-forested regions; these include all of the large mammals and economically beneficial species on Negros. Human disturbances for agriculture or timber production cause marked changes in the mammalian fauna; commensal rodents and economically injurious bats are benefited, whereas such changes are deterimental to rare, endemic, and economically beneficial species.

The mountainous central portion of southeastern Negros supports the only remaining area of the extensive tropical rain forest that once clothed nearly the entire southern half of the island. Although the importance of the remaining forest, especially that surrounding Lakes Balinsasayao and Danao, in protecting the island's watershed is now generally recognized, the importance of this region as a biological reserve is less often noted. Because some forest destruction continues, surveys to assess the economic and conservation value of the remaining forests are critical, to provide the necessary data for wise land management decisions. Moreover, some rare species may soon have their habitat so reduced that extinction will result before even minimal information is made available regarding them.

With these needs in mind, a survey was made of the mammals of the Lake Balinsasayao region in early June 1981 by a team from the University of Michigan and Silliman University. The purposes of the investigation were, first, to determine the species of mammals present in the area; second, to estimate the relative abundance of these species; and third, to gather information on the ecology of each species, especially reproduction and habitat selection, to aid in management decisions. Because our investigation lasted only ten days and yielded only 215 specimens (119 preserved), this must be viewed as a preliminary study in need of more detailed supporting research.

This paper presents the data we collected, along with citations of previously published records of mammals from the region, and includes reference to all specimens deposited in the collections at the University of Michigan and Silliman University. Standard measurements of adults of each species are provided as a guide to identification for future workers in the field. Measurements are given in the text as mean ± 1 standard deviation.

Our study was funded by grants from the Rackham School of Graduate Studies of the University of Michigan and the U.S. National Science

Foundation. Substantial logistical and technical assistance was provided by Silliman University, especially by Dr. Angel C. Alcala, then vice president for research, extension, and development. We also wish to acknowledge the expert field assistance provided by Cresencio Lumhod of the Department of Biology, Silliman University.

Study Area

Lake Balinsasayao is centered at 9° 21' N, 123° 10' E, about 6 km N and 14 km W (direct distance) of Dumaguete City, in Sibulan municipality, Negros Oriental. The surface of Lake Balinsasayao averages 830 m elevation above sea level, with a maximum depth of about 90 m, and a surface area of 76 hectares. Lake Danao averages 848 m elevation, has a maximum depth of about 58 m, and an area of 30 ha. Mt. Guintabon (1241 m) lies less than one km northeast of the lake, and Mt. Guinsayaway (= Ginsayaoan), the highest mountain in the immediate vicinity at 1788 m, lies about 4 km to the south. With the exception of the deforested down-slope region to the northwest, most of the land near the lakes is covered by undisturbed dipterocarp forest. Emergents are up to 25 to 30 m tall and 0.8 m diameter (DBH), with the canopy averaging 15-20 m. "Slash and burn" farmers have cleared about eight widely scattered areas of up to five hectares each for low-intensity agricultural uses, especially production of root crops, banana, and abaca. Native species, especially wild banana, have invaded most of the previously cleared areas. We set nets for bats in both of these habitats, including several nets over streams in both habitats. Nets were also set on a high ridge between the lakes, well above the surrounding forest canopy. The ridge had been mostly cleared for agricultural use about 30 years before, but had grown up with such plants as bamboo (*Bambusa* sp.), wild banana (*Musa* sp.), tree ferns (*Cyathea* sp.), a shrub (*Melostoma* sp.), and a tall, coarse grass; domestic mango trees were also present, although they produced no fruit during our visit. Traps were set for rodents on the ridge-top, in a second growth area, and in primary forest.

Biological studies of the mammals began in the Balinsasayao region in the late 1940s, when D. S. Rabor obtained several species of bats (Sanborn, 1952). Teams from Silliman University have visited the area repeatedly since that time, gathering a reference collection housed in the Biology Department Museum, and contributing to a number of publications (e.g., Alcala and Brown, 1969; Rabor et al., 1970). The first joint Michigan-Silliman field party, consisting of K. M. Mudar and C.

Lumhod, visited the lake area in early June 1979. The second field team consisted of the authors of this paper, plus Lumhod from Silliman University.

Methods

We operated an average of six or seven mist nets on each of ten nights, for a total of 67 net-nights. All nets were checked shortly after dawn, in the late afternoon, and several hours after sunset. Some were monitored continuously during the evening, but this was not a regular practice. Nets were usually left open during the day to capture birds. Most nets were moved after three days of operation at a given site.

The traps used for rodents were Victor spring-type rat traps and Sherman live traps. They were set on the last three nights, totaling 71 trap-nights. This sampling was considered inadequate to draw any conclusions regarding abundance or species richness; the discussion of rodents in this paper is limited accordingly.

Accounts of Species

Order Insectivora

Suncus murinus occultidens. A single specimen of the house shrew was caught in a snare set along a trail in primary forest, several hundred meters from the clearing where the field station stands. Measurements: total length, 198; tail, 71; hind foot, 19; ear, 13; weight, 21 g. Specimens examined: 1 (UMMZ).

Order Chiroptera

Cynopterus brachyotis luzoniensis. The lesser short-nosed fruit bat was one of the most abundant bats in all habitats sampled, except above water (Table 1). Of seven adult females preserved, two were pregnant, and five were lactating and pregnant, indicating that early June (early rainy season) is a peak reproduction time. Measurements ($n = 11$): total length, 99.7 ± 3.7; tail, 6.6 ± 1.9; hind foot, 14.5 ± 1.6; ear, 17.5 ± 0.8; weight, 33.6 ± 2.1; forearm, 62.5 ± 1.9. Specimens examined: 15 (UMMZ).

Eonycteris spelaea glandifera. The lesser cave-dwelling nectar-feeding bat apparently is uncommon in the twin lakes region; we obtained

only two, one in primary forest and one on the high ridge-top. The single adult female was pregnant with one embryo. Measurements: total length, 129; tail 14; hind foot, 18; ear, 21; weight, 49 g; forearm, 69. Specimens examined: 2 (UMMZ).

Haplonycteris fischeri. Fischer's pygmy fruit bat was found to be the second most abundant bat, but was quite restricted in habitat. They are most abundant in primary forest, nearly equally common in secondary forest, but absent from second-growth in old agricultural land and rare over water and on the ridge-top (Table 1). Of fourteen adult females preserved, six were pregnant and eight were lactating. All adult males appeared to be in breeding condition(mean testes length and width = 5 x 4, n = 5), and many juveniles were captured. Measurements (n = 15): total length, 73.3 ± 2.5; tail absent; hind foot, 11.3 ± 0.6; ear, 13.4 ± 0.8; weight, 17.9 ± 1.4 g; forearm 48.7 ± 1.2. Three females in advanced pregnancy had an average weight of 22.7 g. Specimens examined: 39 (7 SU, 32 UMMZ).

Harpionycteris whiteheadi negrosensis. Whitehead's harpy fruit bat is reported to be rare throughout its range (Peterson and Fenton, 1970), and we found this to be true in the lakes region. We took a single specimen in a net set on the high ridge between the lakes; it was an adult male in breeding condition, with testes 12 x 12. Measurements: total length, 153; tail absent; hind foot, 26; ear, 22; weight, 120 g; forearm, 92. Specimens examined: 2 (1 SU, 1 UMMZ).

Macroglossus minimus minimus. The lesser long-tongued fruit bat was the most frequently captured bat in our study, with individuals taken in nearly all habitats. However, they were clearly most abundant in land that had been cleared for agricultural use, and relatively less so in forest or ridge-top habitats (Table 1). Of twelve adult females preserved, eight were pregnant with a single embryo, three were pregnant and lactating, and one was lactating but not pregnant. All adult males appeared to be in breeding condition, and many juveniles were present. Measurements (n = 7): total length, 75.0 ± 2.2; tail absent; hind foot, 12.3 ± 1.1; ear, 16.0 ± 1.0; weight, 18.0 ± 1.2 g; forearm 43.9 ± 1.2. Two females in advanced pregnancy weighed 20 and 23 g. Specimens examined: 31 (UMMZ).

Nyctimene sp. Specimens of the tube-nosed fruit bat were first reported by Rabor et al. (1970); this new species is currently being described by Heaney and R. L. Peterson. The 1979 field team netted two specimens on the high ridge between the lakes; the 1981 team obtained three more, one on the ridge-top and two in the secondary forest on the

ridge sides. The two females taken on 12 June 1979 were both lactating; two adult males taken on 8 and 11 June 1981 had testes measuring 8 x 6 and 9 x 7, and appeared to be in breeding condition. Measurements (n = 3): total length, 147.3; tail, 24.0; hind footh, 20.3; ear, 20.0; weight, 72.3 g; forearm, 77.7. Specimens examined: 9 (4 SU, 5 UMMZ).

Ptenochirus jagori. Jagor's dog-faced fruit bat was common in the lakes region; it occurred in nearly all habitats sampled but was especially abundant on the ridge-top and least common in secondary forest and over water (Table 1). Of eleven adult females examined for reproductive condition, seven were pregnant with a single embryo, and four were both pregnant and lactating. All adult males appeared to be in breeding condition. Measurements (n = 4): total length, 137.3 ± 4.3; tail, 11.5 ± 2.9; hind foot, 20.8 ± 1.0; ear, 20.8 ± 0.9; weight, 84.9 ± 3.9 g; forearm, 87.5 ± 2.1. Specimens examined: 25 (1 SU, 24 UMMZ).

Pteropus hypomelanus cagayanus. The island flying fox is apparently uncommon near Lake Balinsasayao; we captured two on the high ridge between the lakes in 1981, and one was caught in the same place in 1979. We saw more flying at dusk. Measurements (n = 2): total length, 196; tail absent; hind foot, 40; ear, 29; weight, 262.5 g; forearm, 128. Specimens examined: 3 (UMMZ).

Pteropus tablasi. Our specimens of a small golden-mantled flying fox are tentatively referred to this species, pending a revision of the group by David Klingener (pers. comm.). We found them to be uncommon; we netted only three, all on the ridge-top between the lakes. All three were subadults; no measurements of adults from Negros are currently available. Specimens examined: 3 (UMMZ).

Rousettus amplexicaudatus amplexicaudatus. Geoffroy's rousette is apparently rare in the twin lakes region; we obtained a single specimen on the ridge between the lakes. Measurements: total length, 136; tail, 16; hind foot, 20; ear, 19; weight, 59 g; forearm, 84. Specimen examined: 1 (UMMZ).

Hipposideros diadema griseus. No specimens of the diadem roundleaf horseshoe bat were obtained in 1979 or 1981. However, the collection at Silliman contains a specimen from the lakes, and we suspect that they are still present. A lactating female taken near Pamplona, Negros Oriental had the following measurements: total length, 136; tail, 41; hind foot, 19; ear, 33; weight, 46 g; forearm, 87. Specimen examined: 1 (SU).

Pipistrellus javanicus. We obtained two specimens of the Javan pipistrelle, one over a small stream in primary forest, the other in secondary forest on the side of the ridge between the lakes. We also saw small

bats flying near lake-shore vegetation in the evening, many of which may have been Javan pipistrelles. One of our specimens was a lactating female, the other a juvenile. Measurements (n =1): total length, 78; tail, 30; hind foot, 9; ear, 11; weight, 5.5 g; forearm 33. Specimens examined: 2 (UMMZ).

Pipistrellus imbricatus. Two specimens of the brown pipistrelle were obtained in the lakes region in the late 1940s by D. S. Rabor (Sanborn, 1952). No measurements are available.

Order Primates

Macaca fasicularis mindanensis. The long-tailed macaque is present in the lakes region according to local inhabitants, but we saw none in 1981. Residents reported that they often eat these monkeys. We follow current usage (e.g., Roonwal and Mohnot, 1972) in considering Philippine macaques to be conspecific with this widespread Southeast Asian species. Sanborn (1952) reported ten specimens taken near Lake Balinsasayao in the late 1940s.

Order Rodentia

Apomys sp. A scat of a carnivore from the lakes area contained three molars that are identical to those of the unnamed *Apomys* obtained by Rabor et al. (1970). These specimens are currently under study by Heaney.

Rattus exulans negrinus. Sanborn (1952) reported on 21 specimens of the Polynesian rat from the lakes area, and D.S. Rabor obtained a series in 1959, now in the Silliman University collection. We obtained none in 1979 or 1981. Measurements (n = 2): total length, 322; tail, 175; hind foot, 32; ear, 16. Specimens examined: 2 (SU).

Rattus rattus mindanensis. Specimens of the house rat were taken in dense vegetation in old clearings in 1981, and on the ridge between the lakes in 1979. Measurements (n = 2): total length, 401; tail, 210; hind foot, 38; ear, 21. Specimens examined: 7 (1 SU, 6 UMMZ).

Order Carnivora

Felis bengalensis minuta. Alcala and Brown (1969) reported that specimens of the leopard cat were taken in the Lake Balinsasayao area in 1967 and 1968. Residents reported to us in 1981 that the cats were

still present, but we obtained no specimens. Alcala and Brown (1969) noted that this is the rarest, and most completely carnivorous, of the carnivores occuring on Negros.

Paradoxurus hermaphroditus philippinensis. Alcala and Brown (1969) reported specimens of the common palm civet from the lakes region; we captured one along a trail in primary forest in 1981 and purchased another caught by a resident 2 km south of the lake. Alcala and Brown found this species to be more abundant, and somewhat more frugivorous than *Viverra tangalunga,* the only other viverrid found on Negros. Average measurements of two young adult females: total length, 797; tail, 380, hind foot, 70; ear, 40; weight, 1.35 kg. Specimens examined: 2 (UMMZ).

Viverra tangalunga. The Malay civet was reported from the lakes region by Alcala and Brown (1969) and was reported by residents in 1981, but was not taken by us. Typical measurments for Philippine specimens: total length, 870; tail 300.

Order Artiodactyla

Sus celibensis negrinus. Wild pigs are abundant in the forests of the lakes region and provide a major source of protein for local residents. We purchased lower mandibles of six wild pigs from a resident in 1981. Specimens examined: 6 (UMMZ).

Cervus unicolor alfredi. The Philippine sambhar was reported to us as being rare but present by local residents in 1981; we saw none. We follow current usage in our inclusion of Philippine deer in this widespread species (e.g., Whitehead, 1972). Sanborn (1952) provided the following measurements for a Negros male (and two females): total length, 1420 (1242, 1386); tail, 125 (90, 117); hind foot, 340 (298, 320); ear, 105 (87, 89); height at shoulder, 770 (715, 750).

Discussion

Ecology of Bats.

Much of the information that we obtained pertains to bats; specific information was discussed under the appropriate species, and general features are discussed here.

Although the data presented here are scanty, substantial differences among the species in abundance and habitat requirements are conspicuous.

Four species of bats (*Macroglossus minimus, Haplonycteris fischeri, Cynopterus brachyotis,* and *Ptenochirus jagori*) accounted for 198 (93%) of the total captures, each in roughly similar total frequencies (31%, 27%, 20%, 16%, respectively). The other eight species known from the lakes were captured only from one to three times in 1981, or in two cases (*Hipposideros diadema* and *Pipistrellus imbricatus*), not at all. This pattern of species abundance is typical for tropical bat communities (Fleming, 1975). In general, large bats were captured less frequiently than small ones.

Three of the "abundant" species may be considered habitat generalists: *C. brachyotis, M. minimus,* and *P. jagori*. *Haplonycteris fischeri,* the second most frequently taken species, occurred only rarely outside of primary or secondary forest, thus appearing to be as habitat-restricted as several less abundant bats.

Habitat	A	B	C	D	E	F	Total
C. brachyotis	9	7	14	12	0	0	42
E. spelaea	1	0	1	0	0	0	2
H. fischeri	28	0	1	28	1	0	58
H. whiteheadi	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
M. minimus	12	24	16	13	0	1	66
Nyctimene sp.	0	0	1	2	0	0	3
P. jagori	5	5	21	1	3	0	35
P. hypomelanus	0	0	2	0	0	0	2
P. tablasi	0	0	3	0	0	0	3
R. amplexicaudatus	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
P. javanicus	0	0	0	1	1	0	2
Total no. bats	55	36	61	57	5	1	215
Total net-nights	10	8	21	16	6	6	67
Bats/net-night	5.50	4.50	2.90	3.56	0.83	0.17	3.21
Total bat species	5	3	10	6	3	1	11
Species/net-night	0.50	0.38	0.48	0.38	0.50	0.17	0.16

A = primary dipterocarp forest.
B = second growth in land cleared for agriculture.
C = cleared ridge-top, above canopy.
D = secondary forest on side of ridge.
E = small stream in primary dipterocarp forest.
F = open water over mouth of stream at lake.

Table 1. Summary of results of the bat survey (see text for explanation)

Four species were taken only in the nets set on the high ridge between the lakes, and these can most reasonably be considered high canopy species; they are *Harpionycteris whiteheadi, Pteropus hypomelanus, Pteropus tablasi,* and *Rousettus amplexicaudatus.* However, since so few specimens were collected for these species, more captures are needed to confirm this presumed habitat preference.

Two remaining species were taken once on the ridge-top, as well as once in primary forest (*Eonycteris spelaea*), or twice in secondary forest (*Nyctimene* sp.). *Eonycteris spelaea* is common in coconut groves at lower elevations (Guerrero and Alcala, 1973) and so cannot be considered a forest obligate, but *Nyctimene* is rare on Negros and apparently absent outside of forested regions, suggesting that it may be typically a high-canopy forest species.

Of the six habitats sampled (Table 1), primary forest was the most productive of bats (5.5 per net-night), followed by old agricultural land (4.5 per net-night), and secondary forest (3.5 per net-night). Primary forest also had a greater species richness (five, or 0.50 per net-night) than old agricultural land (three, or 0.38 per net-night). This is especially true if the ridge-top species are considered to be forest species; in this case, all but one species occur at least occasionally in forest. Only one species (*Macroglossus minimus*) had its greatest abundance in old agricultural land, and it occurred commonly elsewhere.

Ecology of Rodents.

We obtained only a small number of rodents, and so can draw few conclusions. However, we wish to point out that two of the three species found in the area are commensals of man, and have undoubtedly been accidentally introduced to the lakes region, and perhaps to the whole of Negros. All of our specimens were taken in habitats disturbed by man.

Ecology of Large Mammals.

Beyond the data reported by Alcala and Brown (1969), there is little known of non-domestic large mammals on Negros; we had little opportunity to collect additional data. It is worth noting that all three of the small carnivores that occur in the lakes area may feed extensively on rats, and protection of forest as their breeding grounds is economically beneficial. Additionally, monkeys, deer, and wild pigs, which are important

protein sources as noted above, require large tracts of land with good forest cover in which to breed and forage.

Conclusion

The mammalian fauna of the Lake Balinsasayao region may be broken into three groups. First are the large mammals (including monkeys, three carnivores, the wild pig, and deer) that benefit from forest as breeding grounds and are economically important as food for local residents. Second are the introduced commensal species (one shrew and two rats) that occur primarily in disturbed habitats and are serious economic pests in all areas. Third, the bats comprise the most diverse assemblage. Most bats serve as dispersers of seeds of forest plants or consumers of insects, and are thus beneficial to humans; a few species that are most abundant in agriculturally disturbed habitats are economic pests elsewhere. Preservation of forest habitats thus provides habitat for rare species, which are economically unimportant, and breeding grounds for economically beneficial species. Cutting of forest removes these benefits and also increases habitat for economically injurious bats and rodents.

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Anthropology for What?: Directions and Prospects in Present Philippine Anthropological Research

Rowe V. Cadeliña

In the Philippines today there are two major socioeconomic trends that Philippine anthropology should be concerned about: first, the increasing difficulty of access to economic resources by the less fortunate majority population coupled with an increasing monopoly on such resources by the privileged few; second, a similar decline in access to political power by the majority population and the increasing control of this power by the favored elite. These two trends are not mutually exclusive; one begets the other. This paper will describe these trends and attempt to delineate some directions and prospects for anthropological research in the Philippines that grow out of them.

Marginalization of tribal population

As the Philippines quickens her step towards industrialization and moves closer to a Western style of living, the consequent cultural and environmental changes affect the ecological profile of the country. The construction of roads and bridges in what used to be inaccessible areas of the country has converted otherwise self-contained, isolated tribal populations into ill-defined members of the rural peasant population. These previously protected people suddenly have to contend with problems that follow the tremendous structural and functional changes in their sociocultural and ecological system (Cadeliña, 1980). The introduction of non-indigenous commercial items to this group of people has increased their desire for cash to obtain these items. To get this cash, they have to step up their collection of commercial forest products and at the same time put more effort into obtaining a greater yield from agriculture. The process has created a group of what we might call "marginal agriculturalists" (Cadeliña, 1982). They have become marginal in at least three ways: marginal in the use of modern techniques of agriculture; marginal in terms of level of food production; and marginal in terms of the quality of the land they are cultivating for agricultural purposes.

The increasing exposure of marginal agriculturalists to commercial finished products has shown their traditional technology inadequate to meet their new found needs and desires. This is exactly what is happening among the Batak of Palawan (the province considered the last frontier in the Philippines), in spite of their attempts to preserve the integrity of their ecological niche. The Batak are losing control over

their own economic activities, and their assurance of getting a maximum return from such activities is dwindling. The power they used to have over their own economic life has now been shifted to better informed but unconcerned middlemen. The Batak are being continuously drawn into the mainstream of the rapidly industrializing Philippine economy in spite of their desire to remain in their own, more egalitarian social system.

Marginalization of urban population

Meanwhile, the acceleration of the industrialization process in the Philippines has led to the mushrooming of industrial centers. Most of these industrial complexes are located in urban centers of the country. In these areas more jobs are of course available; and many rural folks think that the "better life" is to be found there. The result is an exodus of rural farm laborers, including such tribal populations as the Badjao now living in Cebu City (Uy and Neri, 1979), trying their luck in an increasingly congested place. Equipped with minimum technical training, they are forced to live in slum areas, where they face various degrees of frustration and success. As urbanization continues, these people multiply, forming urban sub-groups which we might call "urban marginals." Lomnitz described the urban marginal existence in Mexico this way: "It is characterized by dislodgment or exclusion from the dominant urban industrial economy and by chronic insecurity" (1978, 181-82).

Industrialization and ecological cost

Due to the increasing cost of fossil fuel, the industrialization process in developing countries today demands the local harnessing of alternative, renewable sources of energy. At present, the Philippines has one of the biggest hydro and geothermal power programs of any developing country. Recent studies, however, have raised much concern over the effects of the waste products of such generating plants on the environment. A newly constructed geothermal plant in Palinpinon, Valencia, Negros Oriental, for instance, has caused some anxiety among the people in the area. They fear that the geothermal wastes will pollute the nearby Okoy and Palinpinon Rivers. A recent study undertaken by the Environmental Center of Silliman University showed that the Okoy river alone is producing the following food for the people in the area: vegetables such as *kangkong* (*Ipomea reptans*) about 15,680 kilograms per year per hectare

of irrigated field along the river banks; fish, shrimps, and crabs, around 164 kilograms annually per hectare of river (Cabanban, n.d., 13). If this river becomes polluted, these resources may be lost.

In Luzon, the Pantabangan hydro dams and the Chico River Basin Development Program, although they may save oil for the country, have led to the destruction of ecological niches which had been serving as an effective food base for population groups in the area for many years (Cariño et al., 1979). Rapid siltation behind the dams, within a much shorter period than projected, has destroyed the habitats of freshwater fish, crustaceans, and mollusks, eliminating them as available sources of protein. The local population now has to depend on food from the outside, putting them at the mercy of profit-oriented middlemen. What little control (i.e., in dealing with their own probems on their own terms) they formerly had over their own economic programs and activities has been greatly eroded.

In the exploitation of natural resources even worse problems are faced in terms of environmental degradation. On Negros Island, for instance, a copper mine at Basay is polluting the Pagatban river with mine tailings. Fish samples show high levels of copper, iron, and manganese; it is clear that these minerals have entered the food chain. A comparative laboratory study conducted by the Silliman University chemistry department on the heavy metal content of hair of people living far from the Pagatban River (Zamboanguita, Bais City, and Dumaguete City) and near the river showed that hair of Basay residents "contains significantly higher levels of copper, iron, and manganese" (Lowrie et al., 1982, 133). Furthermore, the discharge of tailings from the copper mine "has resulted in the siltation" and consequent decline of food production of the Pagatban River. More than half of the 25-kilometer Pagatban River has been reduced to a grayish quicksand with only a small stream of water; the silt is often two meters deep. This silt has now spread to a barrier reef about one-and-one-half kilometers from the mouth of the river, leading to the death of about 50% of the coral cover in the area. In the river's estuary the oyster *lampirong* (*Placuna*) which brought income to the people in the area before 1978, is now gone (Alcala, unpl. MS.).

Silliman University scientists recently collected samples of sea life near Atlas Mining Corporation's (Toledo, Cebu) waste pipeline. Fourteen species of gastropods and sixteen polecypods were found; unfortunately, all specimens were dead at the time of collection. Over a very wide area from where the pipeline releases its waste the seabed was heavily silted, no benthic organisms were seen, visibility was less than a

meter, and fish life was very sparse. A high concentration of heavy metals was found as far as 60 kilometers from the mouth of the pipeline (Lowrie et al., 1982, 134).

Agrarian "reform"

While we try to exploit all conceivable resources in industrializing the country, changes are also being made in our agricultural sector, presumably to strengthen its base. We can see these changes in the pattern of land ownership, land reform being considered essential to increasing a farmer's agricultural yield. But the benefits of land reform have been unexpectedly short-lived, since staggering long-term problems were introduced at the time of "reform."

For instance, the Green Revolution, a supplementary program to land reform, has actually increased the cost of production five times faster than it has increased yield. Umehara (1978), a Japanese researcher, measured the increase in level of production in comparison with cost in a barrio in Nueva Ecija from 1970 to 1978. The average yield per hectare increased by 15% (from 41.68 cavans in 1970 to 47.98 in crop year 1977-78), while the average cost of production increased by 70% (from 25.11 to 42.78 cavans). This means that the average return per hectare actually decreased by 219% (from 15.67 to 5.20 cavans). The increase in the cost of production followed the increase in the cost of fertilizer, insecticide, and other chemicals needed by the so-called high yielding varieties of rice (Ofreneo, 1980). Thus, whatever absolute increase there was in production actually went to the agro-industrial corporations located in big cities.

The share tenancy system was oppressive; with all power in the hands of the landlord, there was little incentive for the share tenants to produce. This dysfunctional system had to be changed. Land reform seemed the only hope. Yet now farmers have to cope with another problem: For whom are they really producing? (Ofreneo, 1980, 82). What we see today is simply a shift of land ownership. Although roles were changed by the Land Reform Program and the Green Revolution, the distribution of power is still the same. The landlords, whose power over their tenants was to be eliminated by the transfer of land titles to the tenants, have allied themselves with multinational corporations. These giant agro-industrial establishments now control the economic life of our peasant farmers.

The scenario that I have presented clearly shows the increasing

scarcity of economic goods and political power for most Filipinos. Traditional resources that had been successfully supplying the nutritional needs of the local population have rapidly disappeared, destroyed in our industrializing process. This gap must be filled by other means if the population is to live. The industrialization process has made the peasants more helpless, and increasingly dominated by an unfamiliar but ever-present, impersonalized commercial system. The changes in our agrarian structure have not solved the problem of inequity; it has reappeared with a different face. Economic resources and consequently political power have become less and less accessible to most. The few who, due to historical and political circumstances, held the reins of power continue to do so. The "reform" process has created more economically and political marginal Filipinos, a situation definitely unhealthy for any democratic society.

Surely these problems are not divorced from anthropological study. The question we might raise is this: If we want anthropology to be a discipline relevant to the Philippines today, what kinds of research interests should we pursue?

DIRECTION AND PROSPECTS FOR ANTHROPOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN THE PHILIPPINES

Adaptive strategies are techniques by which a population, through responsive changes in their own composition and structure, maintain homeorhesis in and among themselves as they face short- and long-term fluctuations of economic (Rappaport, 1971) and political resources. Through social selection, alternative ends and means are opted for by a population. The choice, although it may be mediated by the social system, usually favors those ends and means that appear most advantageous to the individual. This decision-making process is continuous, hence dynamic.

The complex system of adaptive mechanisms constitutes what we might call the "adaptive infrastructure" (Laughlin and Brady, 1978, 3). This adaptive infrastructure consists of the following domains: economic, social, and political/ideological (Laughlin and Brady, 1978, 8-13).

Economic production

Every society has a means of provisioning itself through the production, distribution, and consumption of economic resources. Production

involves the technological exploitation of resources in a given community. Two opposite modes of production, as we saw earlier, are possible: generalized self-sufficiency or a specialized commercial system.

In generalized self-sufficiency, production is tailored to a diversity of resources, and products derived are as diverse as the available resources. Utilization of these resources is efficiently maintained through proper synchronization and integration of various production activities; these products are for local consumption only. Under generalized self-sufficiency, the complexity of the environmental structure is preserved. Ecologically, the more complex the environmental structure, the more stable its system (Ehrlich et al., 1976; Odum, 1975).

Specialized commercial production derives its desired output by restructuring or modifying environmental structure and components to maximize production of a specialized good to meet outside market demand. Thus, environmental complexity declines, giving way to a simple, artificial, and specialized ecological system. Concomitantly, the ecological system becomes unstable (Ehrlich et al., 1976; Odum, 1975).

Anthropology in the Philippines should closely monitor the direction of the country's mode of production. The risks and the disadvantages of these models of production should be articulated and alternatives should be properly evaluated. Our technological tools should be deliberately manipulated so as to increase our range of choice in style of production. The risk we face in an "over-developed society" is technological tyranny over the individual. C. Wright Mills' idea of a "properly developing society" should be noted at this point:

> In a *Properly Developing Society,* one might suppose that deliberately cultivated styles of life would be central; decisions about standards of living would be made in terms of debated choices among such styles; the industrial equipment of such a society would be maintained as an instrument to increase the range of choice among styles of life (1970, 35).

In the face of increasing commercialization of the Philippine economy, we cannot afford to maintain subsistence production. Conversely, due to increasing ecological disintegration, neither can we afford an over-developed technology. We should look for alternatives. Acceptable trade-offs to take in the face of conflicting conditions and benefits that might be derived from these strategies should be thoroughly investigated. The factors that cause increasing alienation of people from economic

goods and political opportunities and the strategies employed to minimize those risks should be recorded and analyzed.

Distribution and consumption

The distribution and consumption of economic goods and opportunities are closely linked with the socio-political and ideological system of the community. To gain access to both operational and cognized resources, groups establish both formal and informal social networks. These networks may emanate from within the local group and may only involve the local population. Or, they may emanate from without, linking the local population with external groups (Brady, 1978).

In any case, the distribution and consumption of economic resources and opportunities between and among participants in the network are mediated, controlled, and facilitated by the power relations between individuals and segments of society. This power relation consists of the control one individual, segment, or group has over another in the successful utilization of situations or economic goods. Such control is legitimized by the rational formulae, meanings, definitions, ideals, and rules upheld by a given society. How the population maximize their economic returns under a given pattern of social network, political structure, and ideological orientation is also worthy of investigation.

Two patterns of economic distribution and consumption are apparent in the Philippines today: one is personalized, where decisions are based on a kin and alliance system; the other is impersonalized, where the society is transformed into a huge salesroom, with transactions made on the basis of mercantilistic considerations. The first emphasizes protection of the individual and the social welfare, while the second considers profit the sole basis for opening and closing economic deals. The demand for increasing cash input by the second type has alienated the mass of our population from various opportunities and from enjoying many of these capital-intensive goods. The former provides the individual a wide latitude in controlling local situations to his own benefit, while the latter gradually transforms the population into a host of robots whose modes of economic behavior are controlled by an outside network of racketeers. Though the first is non-compatible with our increasing participation in the international market, the second destroys the dignity of a human being. Examining creative responses to these conflicting concerns would be a challenging and practical task for anthropology in the Philippines today. The struggle should be properly monitored and

TRADE–OFF POINTS		
Subsistence; Egalitarian (Endicott, 1977; Peterson, 1978)	MODE OF PRODUCTION	Market Oriented; Competitive (Ofreneo, 1980)
Local Need; Individual; Personal Control (Maceda, 1975; Jocano and Veloro, 1976)	INTEREST OR CONCERN	Profit; Technological Tyranny over Individual; Outside or International Need (Cancian, 1966; Samuelson, 1973)
Ecological Diversity Preserved (Geertz, 1963; Conklin, 1957	ENVIRONMENTAL STRUCTURE	Ecological Restructing towards Simple Specialized Ecological System (Geertz, 1963; Conklin, 1957)
Stable (Ehrlich et al., 1976; Odum, 1975)	ECOLOGICAL BALANCE	Unstable (Ehrlich et al., 1976; Odum, 1975)
Personalized; Decisions Based on Traditional Alliances and Linkage (Skoveretz and Conviser, 1974; Meeker, 1971)	MODE OF DISTRIBUTION AND CONSUMPTION OF ECONOMIC GOODS AND OPPORTUNITIES	Impersonalized; Decisions Based on Mercantile and Laissez Faire Policies (Paine, 1971; Ortiz and Howard, 1971; Whitten and Whitten, 1972)
TRADE–OFF POINTS		

Figure 1. A continuum of an economic system with accompanying socioeconomic and ecological implications.

analyzed with the idea of deliberately generating alternative patterns of distributing and consuming economic goods and opportunities. Figure 1 indicates some points where trade-offs can be offered to the population.

Summary

Adaptation is viewed in this paper as the creative and productive response of a given population as it faces various degrees of stress. The stress is a product of being offered a choice of two opposing socioeconomic systems. For instance, one end of the production continuum attempts to preserve individual interest while satisfying local needs, giving people more control over their own lives, thereby enabling the population to preserve ecological integrity. The opposite end meets outside demand for maximum specialized production by restructuring and simplifying the environmental structure, producing a highly unstable ecosystem. While all would want to preserve individual control over their own lives in a stable ecosystem, we still have to participate in a wider economic system which demands increasing "robotization" of the individual in an increasingly unstable ecosystem.

The trade-offs a population might be offered in this situation should be monitored and analyzed by anthropologists. These data should be amenable to analysis for area or environmental specifics which will allow cross-comparison. How population respond to various micro-environmental types should be properly elucidated in this kind of investigation. Variance of response should be explained. Such variables as social, political, and ideological infrastructure should be explored in the context of increasing cultural diffusion.

The continuous well being of our environment and the quality of life in such an environment should be the foremost concerns of a discipline that studies man and his life.

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Economically Important Species of Benthic Marine Algae in the central Visayas, Philippines[1]

Hilconida P. Calumpong

The biological and economic importance of algae is less appreciated by laymen than that of higher plants. Yet algae play both beneficial and detrimental roles in nature (Bold and Wynne, 1978, p. 28).[2] Beneficial roles include the following:

1. *As primary producers* — Algae form the base of marine foodwebs as primary producers of organic matter by virtue of their photosynthetic activities. Were they to disappear from their aquatic environments, animal life would collapse due to the lack of a major source of food and energy.
2. *As food* — More than seventy species of marine algae have been used as food, especially in Oriental countries. Reyes (1970) lists twenty-one edible species as occuring near Dumaguete, the most popular of which are *Caulerpa racemosa* and *C. lentillifera,* both locally called *lato,* and *Gracilaria verrucosa* and *Eucheuma* species, locally called *guso*. These "seaweeds," mixed with tomatoes, onion, and vinegar, are eaten as salads. Madlener (1977) cites several other species eaten elsewhere. She also gives the amounts of proteins (up to 25% of the dry weight), carbohydrates (in the form of a polysaccharide, gel), vitamins (especially the vitamin B complex), minerals, fats and oils, and trace elements that man can get from algae.
3. *Phycocolloids* — These are substances found in cell walls of certain algae. The most abundant are algin in brown algae and agar and carragenan (carragenin) in red algae. Agar extracted from such algae as *Gracilaria, Gelidium,* and *Pterocladia,* collectively called agarophytes, has a variety of uses. In microbiology, it is used as a culture medium, substituting for the more expensive animal gelatin. For human consumption, it is made into desserts and jellies, used as an anti-drying agent in breads and pastries, as an additive to cheese to improve its slicing quality, and in frozen dairy products. In the cosmetic industry, it is used as emulsifier in shaving creams, lotions, and soaps. It is also used in dental molds and shoe polish. In drugs, agar is used for making capsules. Agar finds many other uses in industry, replacing starch for sizing fabrics, as waterproofing for paper, in photographic film, in tanning leather for gloss and stiffness, and for making rice paper durable.

Carragenan, extracted from *Eucheuma,* is like agar but has a higher ash content and requires a higher concentration to form gels. It is used as a stabilizer in chocolate, milk, egg nog, ice cream, sherbet, frozen specialties, whipped cream, confectioner's syrup, creamed soup, insect spray and water base paint. Algin has similar uses to agar and carragenan but its major source (*Macrocystis*) does not occur in the Philippines. The Philippines is one of the leading exporters of dried *Eucheuma* to Japan, some European countries, and the United States.

4. *As animal feeds* — Preparations of brown and certain unicellular green algae have been used as supplements to the food of poultry, cattle, and hogs. Locally, *Sargassum* is dried and mixed with animal feed.
5. *As fertilizer* — Algae are rich in minerals and trace elements. Worthy of mention is the potash concentration in brown algae, which makes it a good source of fertilizer. Blue-green algae are efficient nitrogen fixers and are now being utilized in the Philippines to fertilize rice farms.
6. *Pollution and waste disposal* — The role of algae in pollution control and waste disposal should not be overlooked. Raw sewage and sewage products are in some areas of the United States introduced into shallow waste stabilization ponds where the photosynthetic oxygen of associated algae enhances bacterial oxidation.
7. *As medicinal herbs* — Ancient Chinese and Scottish books of medicine have included algae as cures for certain diseases. Agarophytes are good laxatives; *Sargassum* can prevent goiter; *Gelidium* has been used for stomach and heat-induced illnesses, *Halimeda* as vermifuge (Cordero, 1980).
8. *Other uses* — The role of coralline algae in reef formation, of algal detritus in ecological cycles, the importance of fossil diatoms as sources of oil, the widespread use of the algae *Chlamydononas, Chlorella,* and others in biological research at the cellular and molecular levels (photosynthesis and sexual reproduction), should also be mentioned.

On the other hand, a few negative roles are attributed to algae. Toxicity is exhibited by certain species (*Lyngbya* in Madlener, 1977). During algal blooms, toxins are liberated which kill fish and other organisms and help create an anaerobic condition.

Despite the economic importance of algae, little information is available on where various species may be found. In 1978 and 1979, the Smithsonian Institution conducted a floristic survey of the central Visayan

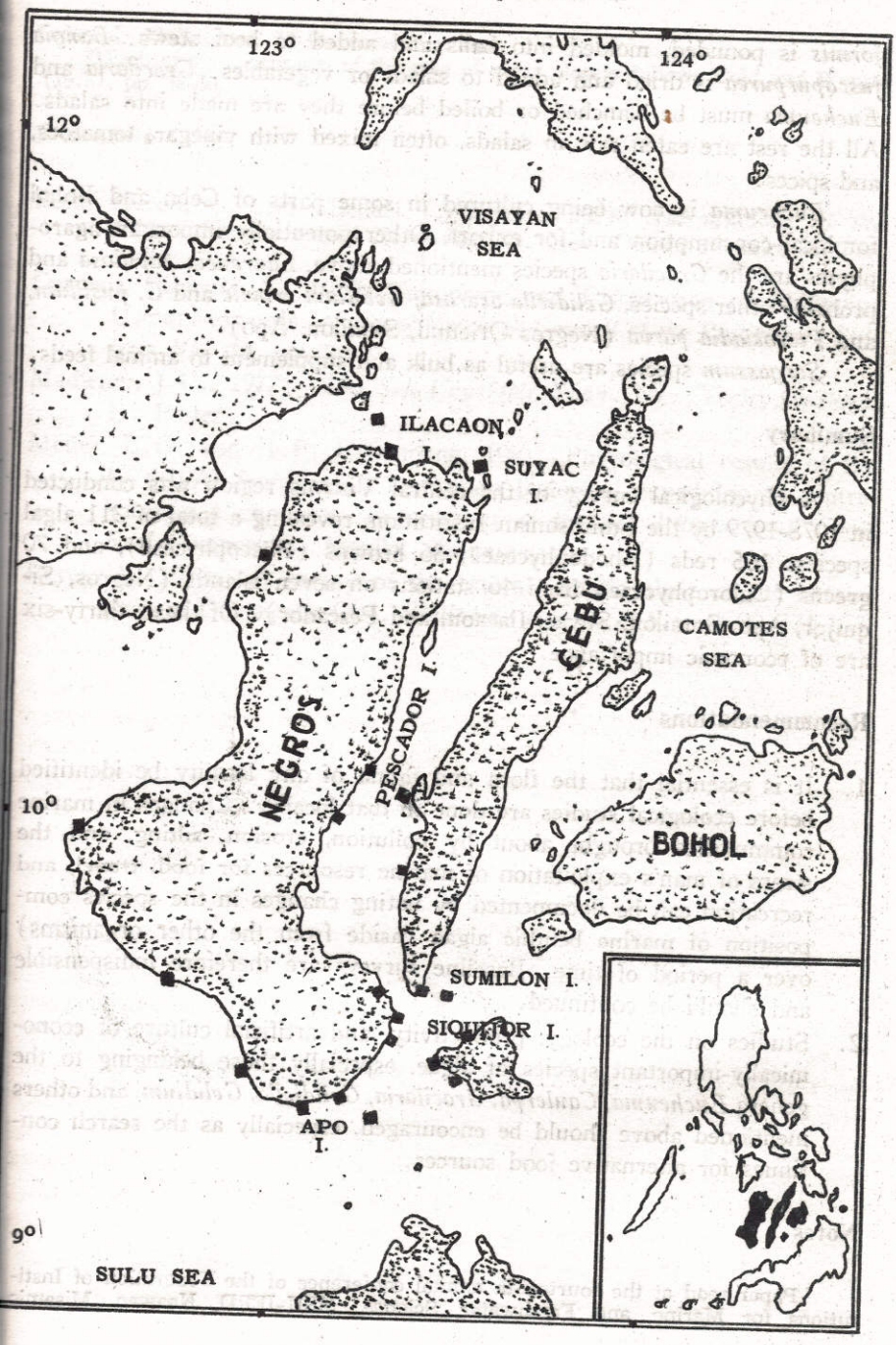
region of the Philippines, covering the islands of Negros, Cebu, Siquijor. Apo, Pescador, Ilacaon, and Suyac. Of the 211 species reported by Meñez and Calumpong (1981), thirty-six species are of economic importance, as food or as sources of phycocolloid, fertilizer, animal feed, or herbal cure. The following report locates these economically important species and notes their uses.

Report

Included in this survey are thirty-six species of algae which are used as food, as sources of phycocolloids, fodder, or herbal medicine, or which have the potential for such uses. Location is indicated in parenthesis.

Edible species included *Acanthophora spicifera* (Negros Oriental/Occidental, Siquijor, Ilacaon, Apo), *A. muscoides* (Siquijor, Negros Oriental, Apo), *Asparagopsis taxiformis* (Sumilon, Apo, Negros Oriental), *Bangia fuscopurpurea* (Apo), *Caulerpa lentillifera* (Siquijor, Negros Oriental), *C. microphysa* (Siquijor, Apo, Negros Oriental, Sumilon, Pescador), *C. racemosa* (Siquijor, Negros Oriental, Apo, Cebu, Ilacaon, Suyac, Pescador, Sumilon), *C. sertularioides* (Siquijor, Negros Oriental/Occidental), *Chaetomorpha crassa* (Siquijor, Negros Oriental, Apo), *C. linum* (Negros Oriental), *C. spiralis* (Siquijor, Negros Oriental/Occidental), *Codium geppii* (Negros Oriental), *C. bartletii* (Negros Oriental), *Enteromorpha clathrata* (Negros Oriental, Apo), *E. compressa* (Siquijor, Cebu, Negros Oriental/Occidental, Ilacaon), *E. intestinalis* (Cebu, Apo), *Gelidiella acerosa* (Negros Oriental/Occidental, Ilacaon, Suyac, Cebu, Siquijor), *Gelidiopsis intricata* (Negros Oriental, Siquijor), *Gelidium crinale* (Negros Oriental, Pescador, Cebu, Ilacaon, Apo), *Gelidium pusillum* (Negros Oriental/Occidental, Siquijor, Apo), *Gracilaria arcuata* (Negros Oriental/Negros Occidental, Siquijor, Ilacaon, Suyac, Apo), *G. blodgetii* (Cebu, Siquijor, Apo), *G. crassa* (Siquijor, Apo), *G. eucheumoides* (Cebu, Ilacaon, Negros Oriental/Occidental), *G. salicornia* (Negros Oriental/Occidental, Cebu, Siquijor, Apo, Ilacaon, Suyac), *G. verrucosa* (Siquijor, Negros Oriental, Cebu), *Eucheuma arnoldii* (Cebu, Ilacaon), *E. crassum* (Negros Oriental), *E. cottonii* (Ilacaon), *Halymenia dilatata* (Apo, Sumilon), *H. durvillaei* (Negros Oriental/Occidental, Cebu), *Hydroclathrus clathratus* (Negros Oriental, Cebu, Siquijor, Apo), *Laurencia papillosa* (Negros Oriental/Occidental, Cebu, Siquijor, Ilacaon, Apo), *Sargassum* spp. (Negros Oriental/Occidental, Suyac, Ilacaon, Apo), *Ulva lactuca* (Cebu, Negros Oriental, Siquijor, Ilacaon, Apo).

These algae are consumed in a variety of ways. *Asparagopsis taxi-*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SUMILON I.
SIQUIJOR I.
APO I.
9°
SULU SEA

formis is pounded, molded into balls and added to beef stews. *Bangia fuscopurpurea* is dried and added to salads or vegetables. *Gracilaria* and *Eucheuma* must be blanched or boiled before they are made into salads. All the rest are eaten raw in salads, often mixed with vinegar, tomatoes, and spices.

Eucheuma is now being cultured in some parts of Cebu and Bohol for local consumption and for export. Other potentially important agarophytes are the *Gracilaria* species mentioned above, *Laurencia papillosa* and probably other species, *Gelidiella acerosa, Gelidium crinale* and *G. pusillum,* and *Pterocladia parva* (Negros Oriental, Sumilon, Apo).

Sargassum species are useful as bulk and supplement to animal feeds.

Summary

A phycological survey of the central Visayas region was conducted in 1978-1979 by the Smithsonian Institution, revealing a total of 211 algal species: 105 reds (Rhodophyceae), 36 browns (Phaeophyceae), and 70 greens (Chlorophyceae) from 46 stations on seven islands (Negros, Siquijor, Apo, Sumilon, Suyac, Ilacaon, and Pescador). Of these, thirty-six are of economic importance.

Recommendations

1. It is essential that the flora and fauna of any locality be identified before ecological studies are done in that locality. Changes in marine communities brought about by pollution, erosion, silting, and the stress of man's exploitation of marine resources for food, travel, and recreation can be documented by noting changes in the species composition of marine benthic algae (aside from the other organisms) over a period of time. Baseline surveys are therefore indispensible and should be continued.
2. Studies on the ecology, productivity, and artificial culture of economically-important species of algae, especially those belonging to the genera *Eucheuma, Caulerpa, Gracilaria, Gelidiella, Gelidium,* and others mentioned above should be encouraged, especially as the search continues for alternative food sources.

Notes

[1] Paper read at the fourteenth annual conference of the Federation of Institutions for Marine and Freshwater Science, MSU-IFRD, Naawan, Misamis

Oriental, Philippines, 13-14 November 1981.

[2]Much of my discussion of the role of algae closely follows Bold and Wynne (1978), pp. 28-30.

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From Classroom to Variable Stage Theater

Paul Palmore

The thrust of the present Philippine government toward developing the arts through drama, dance, and song presents a problem for schools and community groups. Few existing stages are applicable to all these art forms. While theater and dance are traditionally performed on a proscenium stage, "modern" theater often reverts to Greek and early Roman arena stages. This article will give instructions for the construction of a stage and light design convertible into most stage forms.

This project began when an intriguing design problem was presented to the author: Convert a 12 meter by 12 meter classroom with a 4 meter ceiling into a small theater. The theater stage was to be designed in such a way that it could be used for theater in the round, environmental theater (that encompasses the audience), oral interpretation presentations, as well as for traditional proscenium presentations. This was all to be done at minimal cost.

Research into existing variable stage theaters showed a variety of styles: one type featured a stage floor divided into 4ft by 4ft sections, each held up by a single pole hydraulically manipulated so that various elevations could be achieved. The audience sections were supported by similar hydraulic systems so that they too could be raised and lowered. Other theaters used enormous and expensive trap and fly systems, immediately ruled out because of cost. Still other stages made use of movable platforms that could be rearranged manually. These theaters seemed the most economical and practical for doubling as a classroom. Materials for the construction of such a stage were all available in Dumaguete and might be purchased at a reasonable price.

A bigger problem immediately arose: In what shapes should these platforms be made? The stages investigated proved quite predictable in shape: long, rectangular procenium types and boxey, square arena shapes. Surely there might be more variety in these stage forms without wasting either stage space or materials. A choice was made of these shapes: Two 4ft x 8ft platforms, two 4ft x 4ft platforms, two 4ft x 8ft platforms with beveled edges, two square platforms with triangular points, and two 4ft x 4ft platforms with beveled edges. These forms were arrived at after experimentation with numerous shapes and sizes of platforms, taking into consideration the following factors: (1) size of the classroom; (2) minimal waste of materials and space; (3) shapes that could produce the greatest number of stage types.

The 4ft x 8ft and 4ft x 4ft sizes were chosen because these were sizes of plywood available at local stores. These sizes were also convenient because they would fit the 36ft x 36ft shape of the classroom. Four 4ft x 8ft platforms laid down lengthwise and one 4ft x 4ft platform would extend the whole length of the room. The design of numerous other stage types immediately followed from these shapes. Figures 1, 2, and 3 show only a small sample of the stage floor patterns designed by the author and his students in technical theater.

Stage

The construction of the platforms was a simple affair. A height of 15in from the floor proved ideal for audience sightlines. All platforms required facing on all four sides, to cover support wood and improve strength. The following materials were purchased to construct the platforms:

Number of Pieces	*Size*	*Purpose*
6	2" x 2" x 8'	length support
4	2" x 2" x 6'	length support
36	2" x 2" x 4'	length and width support, inside brace support
6	2" x 2" x 3' (approx.)	beveled edges
8	2" x 2" x 2'	short edge support
56	2" x 3" x 12 1/2"	support legs
7	1/2" x 4' x 8' sheets of plywood	platform tops
9	1/4" x 4' x 8' sheets of plywood	platform facing

Figures 4 and 5 show the shapes cut from the various sheets of plywood and the construction of a 4ft x 8 ft platform.

As 15in is quite high from the classroom floor, steps for the platforms were designed. They might also serve as seats or backdrops. Four beveled steps, six 1ft x 4ft steps, and two 1ft x 3ft steps were constructed with the following materials:

12	1" x 7" x 4'	sides of 4 long steps
12	1" x 7" x 3'	sides of 3 & beveled steps
8	1" x 7" x 2'	sides of beveled steps

24	1" x 7" x 1'	ends of all steps
2	1/2" x 4" x 8" sheets of plywood	tops of steps

See Figure 6 for details of construction.

Coconut lumber for low cost

As cost was a primary consideration, all lumber used (with the exception of the plywood) was coconut lumber. Care should be taken when nailing coconut lumber, as the wood is extremely hard and has a tendency to split. Splitting may be avoided by drilling holes slightly smaller than the nails, then driving in nails for sturdy joints.

When all steps and platforms were finished they were painted: black for all facing and sides, mahogany stain and varnish for the top. The platforms, if well constructed, are strong enough to stand many years of use. Since coconut lumber is used, they are heavier than most platforms, thus ideal for heavy stage action. Rubber padding may be put on the bottom of the support posts to help hold the platforms in place.

Lighting

Lighting was the next problem. As the stage was constructed to be variable, the lighting had to supply adequate acting area lighting as well as top lighting, and still be as inexpensive as possible. After some research, an ideal system was found. Basically, it consisted of a grid above the whole room with one electric outlet per 16 square feet, so that a light designer could plug his lights in almost anywhere. Existing light grids were of iron, thus expensive and difficult to make. An inexpensive wooden grid was designed using planed 1 in x 3 in and 2 in x 2 in wood. Figure 7 shows the layout of the grid system on the ceiling of the classroom.

Outlets are located every four feet on each lighting track. Thus lighting tracks 1 to 12 have three outlets each. By no means do all outlets need be used, as these tracks are placed to accommodate every conceivable design. (See Figure 8)

The following materials are needed for the construction of the lighting tracks:

Number of Pieces	*Size*	
24	1" x 3" x 12'	(planed)
12	2" x 2" x 12'	(planed)
24	1" x 1" x 12'	(1 x 3 cut into 3 strips)

Small pieces of 1/4 in plywood to provide gap for wing nuts.

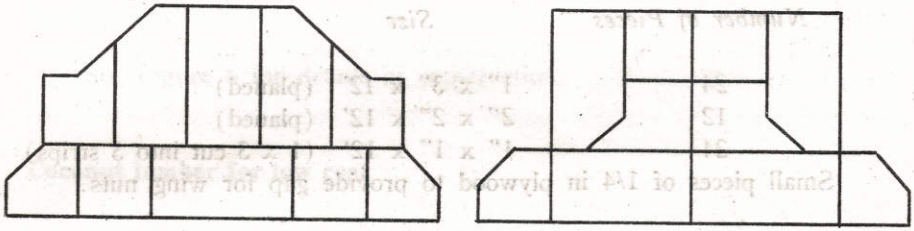
All wires coming from the outlets should be concealed in the ceiling on their way to a switchboard or a dimmer circuit in a corner of the classroom or in an adjacent room. The circuit should be able to handle 60 amperes.

These manueverable lights make it easy for a light designer to adapt to the stage floor designed for a particular production.

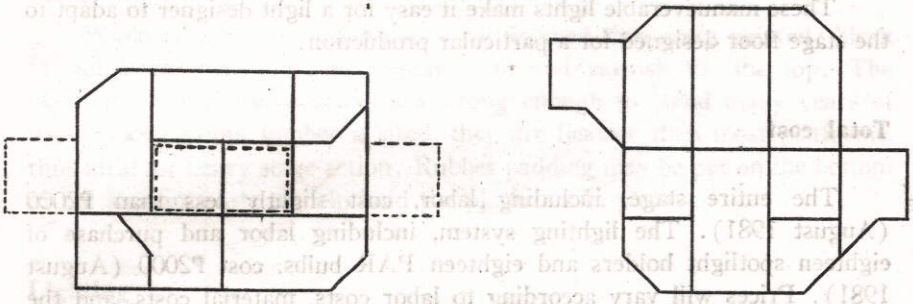
Total cost

The entire stage, including labor, cost slightly less than ₱2000 (August 1981). The lighting system, including labor and purchase of eighteen spotlight holders and eighteen PAR bulbs, cost ₱2000 (August 1981). Prices will vary according to labor costs, material costs, and the size of the room.

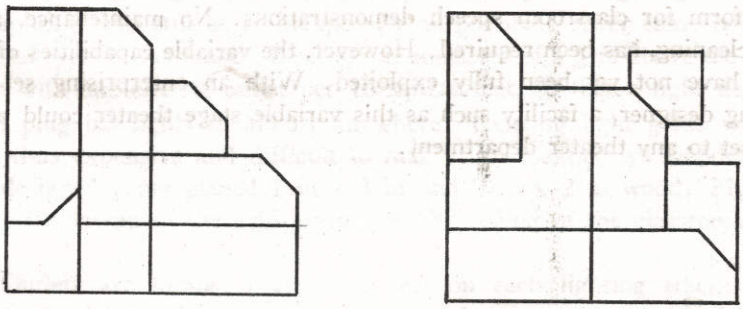
This stage and lighting system has already been used for several performances and serves its purpose well. The stage floor is also used daily as a platform for classroom speech demonstrations. No maintenance, aside from cleaning, has been required. However, the variable capabilities of this stage have not yet been fully exploited. With an enterprising set and lighting designer, a facility such as this variable stage theater could prove an asset to any theater department.



proscenium type

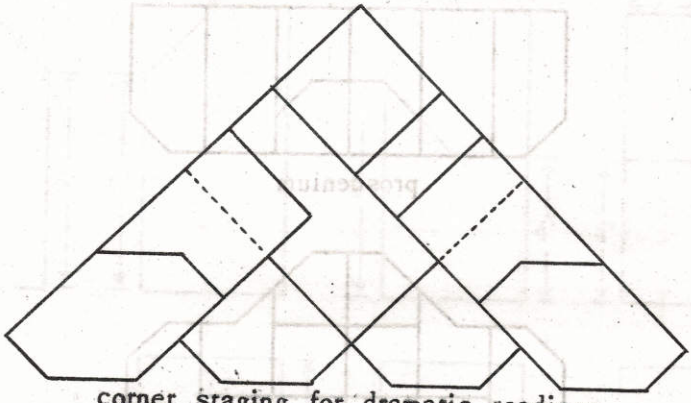


arena type

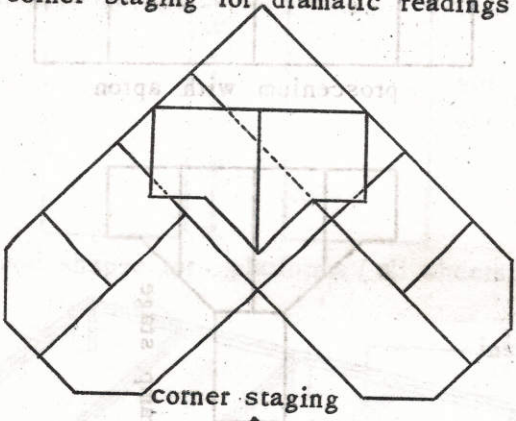


corner staging

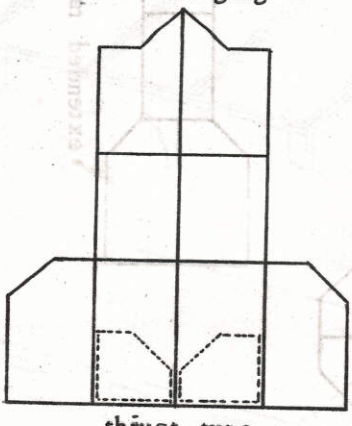
Figure 1. Stage designs using various platforms (not to scale).



corner staging for dramatic readings



corner staging



thrust type

Figure 2. Stage designs, continued.

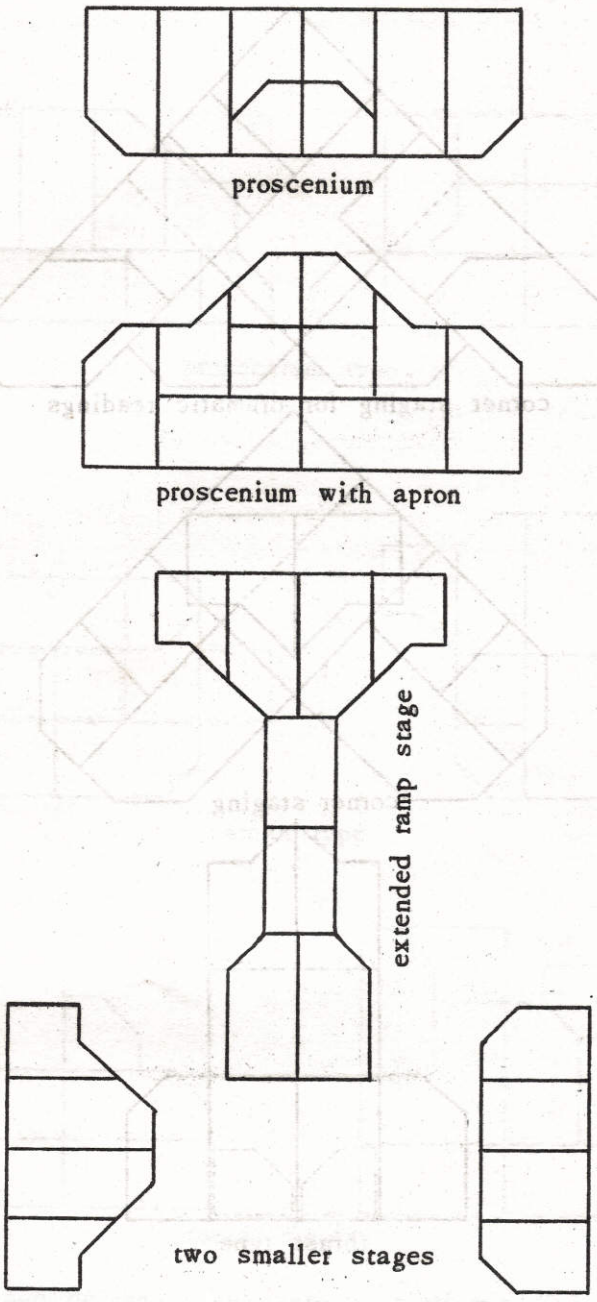


Figure 3. Stage designs, continued.

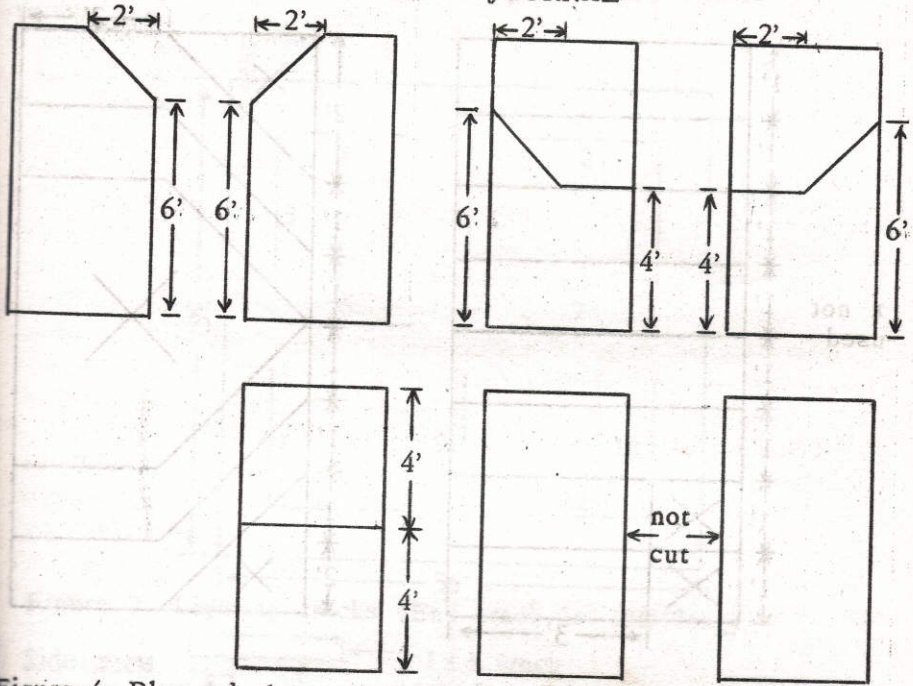


Figure 4. Plywood shapes for platforms (all sheets are ½'x4'x8').

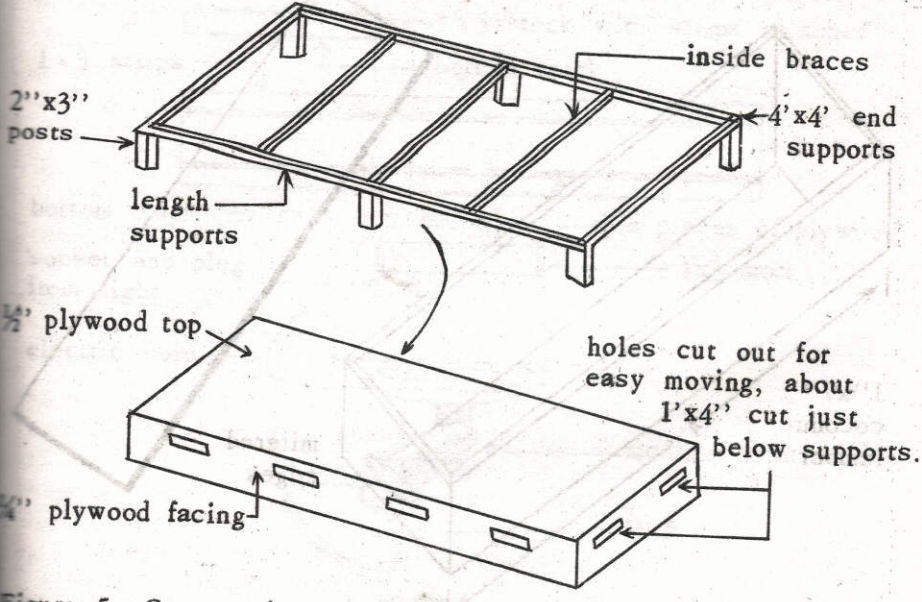


Figure 5. Construction of platforms.

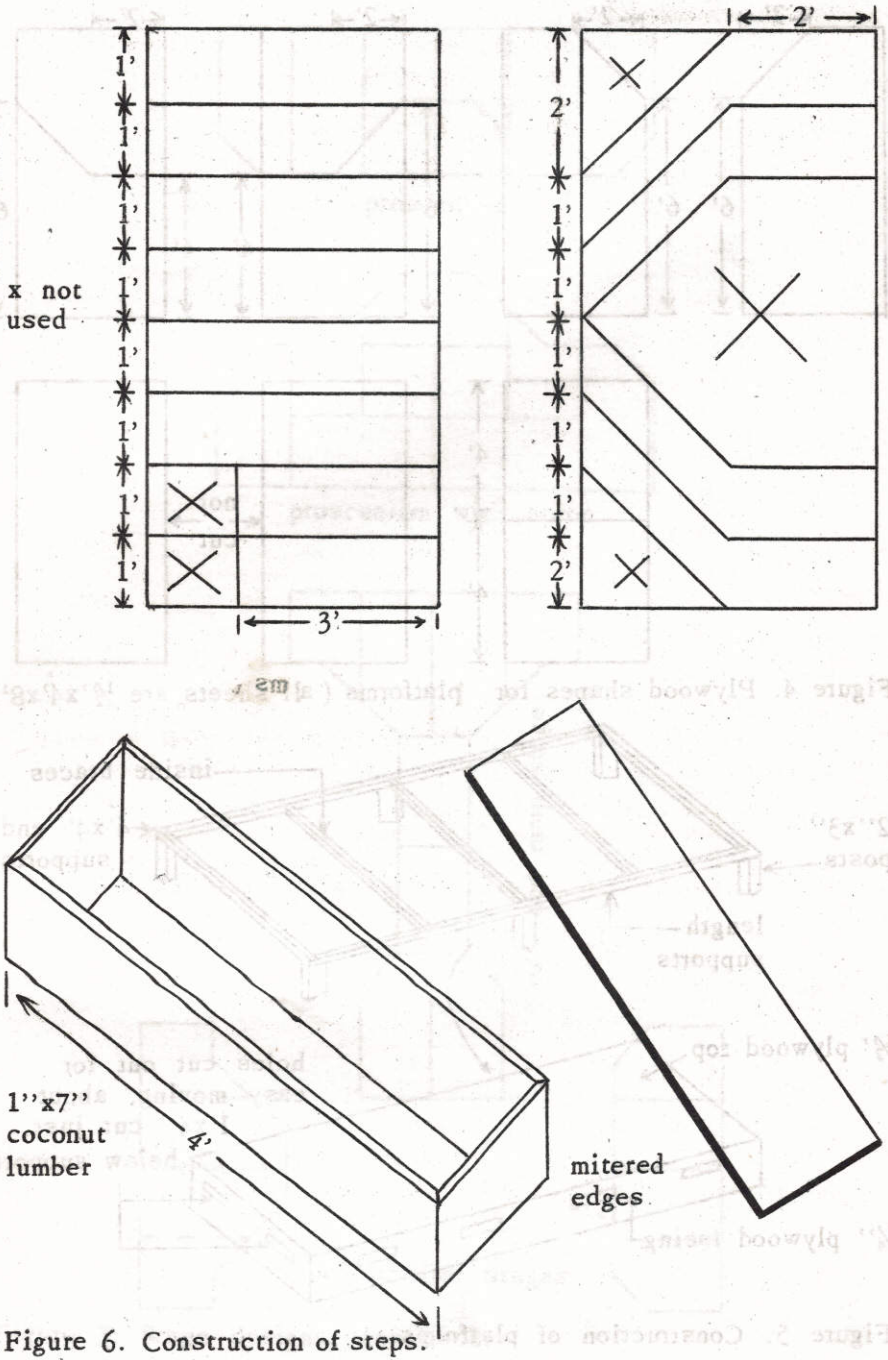


Figure 6. Construction of steps.

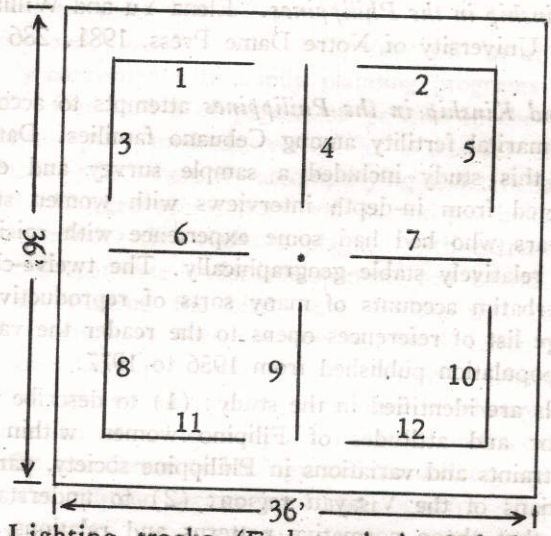


Figure 7. Lighting tracks (End track is 12ft long).

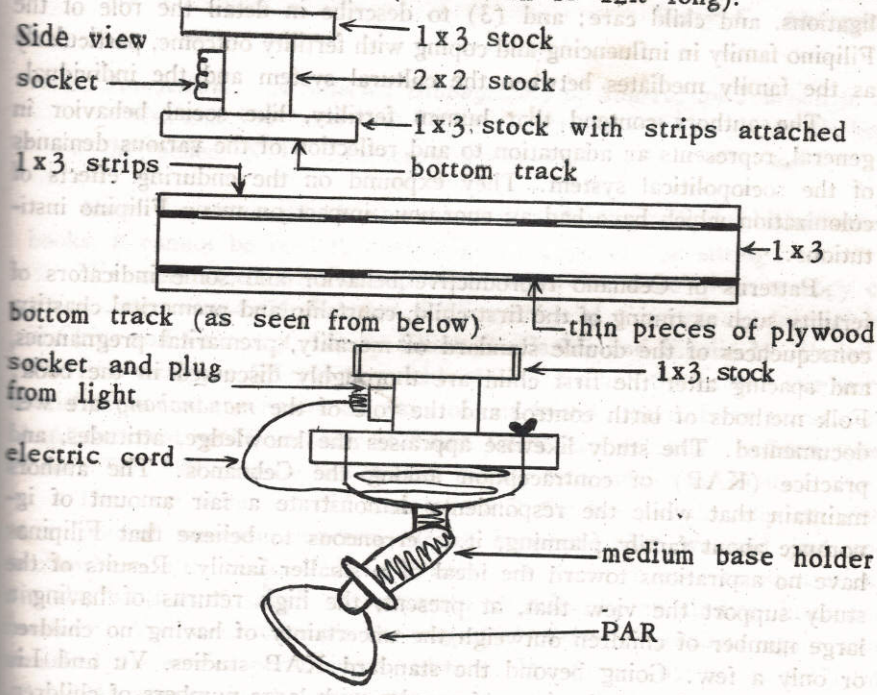


Figure 8. Details of lighting.

Book Reviews

Fertility and Kinship in the Philippines. Elena Yu and William T. Liu. Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1981. 286 pages.

Fertility and Kinship in the Philippines attempts to account for the high level of marital fertility among Cebuano families. Data collection techniques for this study included a sample survey and ethnographic materials collected from in-depth interviews with women still in their childbearing years who had had some experience with raising children and who were relatively stable geographically. The twelve-chapter book is rich with verbatim accounts of many sorts of reproductive behavior. The twelve-page list of references opens to the reader the vast literature on Philippine population published from 1956 to 1977.

Three goals are identified in the study: (1) to describe the fertility-related behavior and attitudes of Filipino women within the social-structural constraints and variations in Philippine society, particularly for lowland Christians of the Visayan region; (2) to understand the cultural elements that shape normative patterns and relations, kinship obligations, and child care; and (3) to describe in detail the role of the Filipino family in influencing and coping with fertility outcome, particularly as the family mediates between the cultural system and the individual.

The authors contend that human fertility, like social behavior in general, represents an adaptation to and reflection of the various demands of the sociopolitical system. They expound on the enduring effects of colonization which have had an enormous impact on many Filipino institutions.

Patterns of Cebuano reproductive behavior and some indicators of fertility such as timing of the first child, courtship and premarital chastity, consequences of the double standard of morality, premarital pregnancies, and spacing after the first child are thoroughly discussed in the book. Folk methods of birth control and the role of the *mananabang* are well documented. The study likewise appraises the knowledge, attitudes, and practice (KAP) of contraception among the Cebuanos. The authors maintain that while the respondents demonstrate a fair amount of ignorance about family planning, it is erroneous to believe that Filipinos have no aspirations toward the ideal of a smaller family. Results of the study support the view that, at present, the high returns of having a large number of children outweigh the uncertainty of having no children or only a few. Going beyond the standard KAP studies, Yu and Liu identify the coping mechanisms of couples with large numbers of children,

discuss the cost-benefit ration of children, and explain why couples do not opt for a drastic reduction in family size.

Fertility and Kinship in the Philippines will be of value to all who are seriously concerned with family planning programs and to those engaged in the formulation of population policies in the Philippines. The modern contraceptive methods, viewed as a transfer of technology, can only be effective when there are accompanying societal changes in economic conditions, health care, sociocultural values, and psychological perceptions. The study concludes that societies plagued with extreme poverty, traditionalism, and economic underdevelopement are bound to be less open to efforts at reducing the birth rate. While this conclusion implies the need for change, it does not present the direction for that change. The book stimulates the reader to ask himself: Given the personality and social components of a Filipino, should he change his sociocultural and cognitive structure to adopt a modern contraceptive technology? Or should the transferred technology and its delivery system be modified to adapt to the Filipino sociocultural and cognitive structure?

Betty C. Abregana

Asian Journalism: A Selected Bibliography of Sources on Journalism in China and Southeast Asia. Elliott S. Parker and Emelia M. Parker. Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1979. xii + 472 pages.

How does one go about reviewing a bibliography? Unlike other books, it cannot be read through page by page in one sitting.

We were faced with this problem when we were given a copy of *Asian Journalism: A Selected Bibliography of Sources on Journalism in China and Southeast Asia* by Elliott S. Parker and Emelia M. Parker. The first thing we did was to quickly thumb through the pages. We were satisfied to find the names of many of our friends there. Even ours. Perhaps the most prolific scholar of Asian Journalism recently has been John Lent. This bibliography has at least twenty-nine entries on Lent.

The next thing we did was to see if the book could help us with our present research interests. It so happened that we had just coauthored a little book, *A Brief History of Asian Mass Communication,* in the writing of which we experienced difficulty in finding historical sources. We went through the pages of *Asian Journalism* again and marked the entries pertaining to history. We found that at least 177 of the 2345 entries in the book dealt with history. Many of the articles

we had not encountered before. We then realized that this bibliography would be a rich source for a future revision of our little history.

We also counted the entries on the Philippines, another area of research interest. We found at least seventy-three entries on this country, a few of which were unfamiliar. Many other entries we had heard of, but we did not know where to locate them. This book tells us where. We know now that this volume will be useful to us both in our research and teaching.

Our next impression of the book was that it was heavy on China and light on the rest of Asia. Perhaps this is to be expected because China is, after all, the biggest Asian country—and the oldest. It was China that gave birth to printing and the newspaper.

Asian Journalism will be particularly useful to the researcher who is struggling for a place to start looking for materials. As the authors themselves admit, and as the subtitle indicates, the bibliography is not comprehensive. No one bibliography, for that matter, can really be comprehensive. *Asian Journalism* is eclectic; the entries have been selected according to the following criteria: 1. pre-1960, 2. historical and descriptive, 3. newspapers, 4. China, 5. Southeast Asia, primarily Malaysia, Singapore, and Indonesia, 6. Chinese press in the United States, and 7. secondary materials.

Each entry contains the name of the author, title of article, source (whether newspaper, journal, or book), language in which written, chronology (the historical period with which it deals), methodology of research, geography (country covered), and subject (history, press control, etc.). Most of the entries are in English; a few are in Chinese. The bibliography does not include articles from such specialized journals as *Media Asia, Asian Messenger,* and *Media* because they are readily accessible. This is one of the volume's limitations.

The bibliography is oriented more to print media, although radio, television, and film are included. The question is, where did the authors draw the line? Their answer: "These non-print items were noted and entered, but remain secondary to the main work." The question is left unanswered.

The bibliography also has a bias for articles that are historical and descriptive. According to the authors, journalism in Asia has not been a particularly fertile field of historical endeavor, and general descriptive and historical works are lacking. How true! Mass communication research in Asia in recent decades, particularly that coming out of universities, has been a product of the new schools of sociological and statistical

research. Good old-fashioned historical and descriptive research has been neglected.

This bibliography should help put journalism researchers back on the main track. Much more historical and descriptive research remains to be done before we can jump into the sophisticated computer-assisted correlation-coefficient research now the fashion in the West.

A note on the printing of the book: As the authors say, the volume is essentially a "formatted print-out of the authors' data." They highly recommend this use of the computer for making a bibliography: "It is extremely efficient, it allows infinite and easy corrections, can be readily updated and permits extensive cross referencing."

We have three little criticisms of the volume. The Introduction is set in five-point agate type—too minute for the usually worn-out eyes of scholars and researchers! The Table of Contents lists Introduction, Appendix, and Index, but nowhere is the body of the book (pages 1 to 391), the Bibliography itself, indicated in the Table. A little confusing at first. Finally, we think the title of the book is too narrow to accurately reflect its contents. It does not take into account the fact that journalism in the last two or three decades has expanded into the broader field of mass communication.

Crispin C. Maslog

Briefly Mentioned

A rather unusual periodical, **The Filipinas Journal of Science and Culture** (Vol. 1, 1981), has recently made its appearance. On the jacket flap of the large-format, hard-bound volume appears the notice that "this journal is published twice a year by the Filipinas Foundation Inc." (Box 259 MCC, Makati, Metro Manila), although information on frequency appears nowhere in the periodical itself and volume 1 is the only issue known to me.

The Filipinas Journal of Science and Culture is lavishly illustrated and unsually well printed, but it is difficult to imagine how it might reach its intended audience: "readers around the world who have a sincere interest in the ideas of the scientists, scholars and artists of the Philippines as they relate to the global community" (Foreward). Its cost, though unspecified, would obviously put it far beyond the reach of university libraries and most private subscribers; a newspaper release announcing that corporate donors would be recruited to subsidize library subscriptions provides little reassurance. The random and uneven content of this issue—some beautiful photogaphy, some art and poetry, some low-key scholarship in the humanities, a couple of book reviews, much that can only be described as journalism—would make **FJSC** an unlikely choice for library acquisition in any case. Add that pompous Foreward, and even those pretty color pictures on glossy paper and, incidentally, contributions by Silliman authors **Crispin C. Maslog** and **Edith L. Tiempo** fail to redeem what seems a sad waste of our increasingly precious resources.

Dale Law

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The undersigned, NENA S. GUASA, business manager of the SILLIMAN JOURNAL, published quarterly in English at Silliman University, Dumaguete City, after having been duly sworn in accordance with the law, hereby submits the following statement of ownership, management, circulation, etc., which is required by Act 2580, as amended by Commonwealth Act. No. 201.

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