First and Second Quarters 1983

SILLIMAN JOURNAL

A Quarterly Devoted
to Discussion and Investigation
in the Humanities and the Sciences

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The SILLIMAN JOURNAL (ISSN 0037-5284) is published quarterly under the auspices of Silliman University, Dumaguete City, Philippines. Entered as second class mail matter at the Dumaguete City Post Office. on September 1, 1954.

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION RATES

Dumaguete	₱50.00
Other Philippine	₱75.00
Foreign	$12.00

BACK ISSUES
₱22.50 / $4.00

Both current and back issues of SJ are available on microform from University Microfilms International, 300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106, USA.

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Volume 30, No. 1-2
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Editorial Note

SJ is proud to bring its readers a substantial contribution to Philippine history. Janice Beran's "A History of Philippine Physical Activities: Pre-Spanish to 1946" traces play, sport and physical education through the centuries from ancient times to Philippine independence. Of special interest in Beran's article is analysis of the social and political impact of sport, perhaps particularly appropriate in an Olympic year (Because of production delays, this issue is actually being printed in October 1984).

Of current, vital interest is Keith Erickson and Paul Heideman's study of birds in the Negros mountains. "Notes on the Avifauna of the Balinsasayao Rainforest Region, Negros Oriental, Philippines" not only complements earlier articles in **SJ**, but it also underlines how precarious the situation of this beautiful lakes region is today. As the rainforest shrinks, perhaps disappears, all of our lives are adversely affected. A revised version of the report on the Silliman Balinsasayao Project by Betty Abregana, mentioned by Erickson and Heideman, will appear soon in **SJ**.

Notes by Valentino Sitoy and Lino Arquiza round out this issue. Arquiza's "The Future of Christian Universities in Asia," again, is very current. As we go to press, rumors have several major universities in Manila about to close their doors. Saddled with a large debt, Silliman University itself looks toward the future with uncertainty.

Sitoy's eulogy gives readers a glimpse of the life of Peter Gowing, whose work often appeared on these pages. Gowing's sudden death is indeed a blow to scholarship as well as to Muslim-Christian relations. In addition, **SJ**, Silliman University and this editor have lost a good friend.

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.

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

Janice A. Beran

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

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

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

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

I. THE PRE-SPANISH PERIOD

Historic and ethnographic records indicate that while early man in the Philippines was basically of the Malay race, there was considerable intermixing of racial strains. Migration of southeast Asians such as those from areas now Cambodia and Thailand influenced race and culture. Contacts with India came as early as the second century A.D. During the late T'ang Dynasty (600 A.D.) Chinese traders visited the Philippines. Waves of Arab traders and missionaries likewise left their impact in the form of religion, laws, calendars and literatures. The Spaniards arrived in the archipelago in 1521; the first time the name *Filipinas* appeared on a world map was on a map of the East Indies drawn by an Italian cartographer in 1554.[3]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

II. THE SPANISH PERIOD: 1521-1898

At the time of Spanish conquest it is believed that the population in the Philippines was approximately half a million. These people were grouped into sixteen cultural-linguistic groups.[1] Researchers have determined that most of these languages were written. The writers used an iron point[2] for a pen and the writing was done on bamboo, the bark of trees, palm leaves, wood such as that used for scabbards of bolos (knives) and, occasionally, earthenware vessels. Currently, there are four language groups that still practice the syllabic writing of earlier times; they, too, principally use bamboo. The genealogies, legends and myths have been recopied time and again, but there are no historical, religious or legal documents found to have existed through the generations.[3] Thus it is that records of early Filipinos and their reactions to the Spanish are not available .The researcher must turn to the records of the secretaries of the explorers, to the artists and to chroniclers to gain information regarding life during early Spanish rule in the Philippines.

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

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

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

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

Physical Activities Requiring Physical Strength and Skill

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Adult Games Activities

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

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

Darangan, oldest Filipino epic, made mention of this sport; it is thought to have preceded the introduction of Islam before 1380.[36] The game was called *sipa.* An account in 1619[37] describing activities associated with the celebration of a patron saint day indicated that the men spent the afternoon playing ball, possibly an early observance of the game of *sipa.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Children's Games

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

shell placed on the outer perimeter to attempt to move the shell placed in the small circle. Culin described other games played indoors and describes two puzzles in the same article.[62]

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

Play Associated with the Natural World

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Courtship Related Activities

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

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

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

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

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

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

Activities Associated with Celebration

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Dance

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Games Requiring Mental Ability

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

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

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

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

Games Associated with Gambling

By the mid 1800s the Spanish had what they considered a problem on their hands. The Philippine love of gaming was closely associated with gambling. This pan-Filipino trait was common to Christian and Muslim alike[104] From the north to the south, gambling was a major part of the activity of cockfighting. It was recognized as a problem in family life and contributed to absenteeism and low work production. Wilke, an American traveler in the Philippines, 1838-42, noted that "little business would be transacted after breakfast and then they played at various games including cards."[105]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Physical Activities in Formal Education

The Spanish civil government authorities attempted to bring education to the Philippine masses in 1863.[110] A 1899 report of the United States Commissioner of Education indicated that while public elementary schools were required under Spanish law for every village of more than 500 people, very few knew Spanish, the language of instruction.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

III. THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE: 1898-1901

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

IV. SPORT AND EDUCATION: 1898-1946

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

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

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

The Philippine Commission

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

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

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

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

Commission Report

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

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

President McKinley accepted the report and Congress passed an act establishing the education system for the Philippines in 1899.[22] A centralized organizational plan with seventeen divisions was created under local Philippine leadership. Wealthy people were selected to serve as local leaders. It was reported that it was difficult to get local boards to show much enthusiasm because of class difference.[23] While the report of the Commission correctly assessed one of the barriers to local school board leadership, it seemed to have overlooked the fact that Filipinos under Spanish rule had had little opportunity for leadership and participatory decision making.

Controversy and Commitment

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

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

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

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

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

The American Educational Plan

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

One analyst of the program of American education concluded that the teachers from the United States were accepted beause they never threatened the Filipino teacher's position. Another contributing factor was that through the teacher training courses at the normal schools the Filipino teachers were made to feel they were important.[41] In 1903, a law was enacted that provided for the selection of students of sound physical condition and good moral character between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one to pursue a course of instruction and education in the United States.[42] The one hundred and twenty-five students selected the first year were given allowances to cover all expenses. An American adviser counseled and visited them during their study in the United States. This program continued for several years and was one of the reasons that the number of American teachers decreased to 310 by 1925.[43]

Physical Education, Sports and the Teacher-Coaches

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The American teachers throughout the islands recognized the Filipinos' love for competition and amusement and began to develop a physical education and sports program. Primary instruction included physical education by 1904.[57] Mary Fee wrote that manual training began as play in the primary grades.[58] In 1910, the Bureau of Education issued an Athletic Handbook and awarded athletic badges to encourage individual achievement.[59]

School Sport

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Sports for Girls

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Non-government Sport Program

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

Community Sport

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

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

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

Indigenous Sport: The 1904 Sub-Olympics

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

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

Sports Organization

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Americans and Existing Sport Activities

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

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

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

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

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

Philippine Folk Dance and Sport

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

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

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

SUMMARY

Through sports, the American flag did literally and figuratively remain aloft. During the years of American occupation, the singing of both the American National Anthem and the Philippine National Anthem[95] accompanied the daily opening exercises in all schools. Sporting events were not excluded from this practice. They, too, began with ceremonies designed to enhance patriotic fervor for both the motherland—the United States—and the Philippines. While this may seem to have been of minor importance in the cultivation of allegiance to the United States, it did serve to strongly identify the Philippines with America. Philippine adults schooled during pre-independence often comment that they knew the national anthem of the United States better than their own. Many of these "old timers" have from time to time spearheaded efforts toward American statehood for the Philippines.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

NOTES

I. The Pre-Spanish Period

[1]Chirino, Fr. Pedro, *Relación de las Islas Filipinas*, 1604, in Emma H. Blair and James A. Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*: 1793-1898, Vol. 12 (Ohio, Arthur Clark, 1903-09): 235.

[2]Bauzon, Leslie, "Food for thought: Some recent findings on Prehispanic Philippines," *Collegian*, 1973 (Quezon City, U. of the Phil.).

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

[4]Fox, Robert B., quoted in "Asian Odyssey" in *Filipino Heritage*: *The Making of a Nation*, Vol. 7 (Manila, Lahing Pub., 1977); 83-86.

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

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

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

[8]*Ibid.*

[9]*Ibid.*

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

[11]Nance, John, *The Tasaday, A Stone Age People*, (New York, Harcourt, Brace and Jovanovich, 1977).

[12]Fernandez, Carlos, "The Tasaday" in *Filipino Heritage*: *The Making of a Nation*, Volume 7: 102.

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

[14]Ylanan, Regino R. and Carmen Wilson Ylanan, *The History and Development of Physical Education and Sports in the Philippines* (Manila 1965): 205.

[15]Alzona, Encarnacion, *A History of Education in the Philippines* (Manila 1932): 10.

[16]Ylanan and Ylanan: 201.

[17]Jocano, F. Lando, "Isla de Gigantes" in Avelina Gil, Lily V. Kapili and Jesus I. Martinez, *Reading for Skill and Pleasure*, (Quezon City, Phoenix Pub., 1967): 124-315.

[18]*Ibid.*: 113-16.

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

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

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

II. The Spanish Period: 1521-1898

[1]Fox, Robert B., "Contacts with Great Tradition," *Manila Sunday Times Magazine*, March 3, 1963: 23.

[2]Chirino, Fr. Pedro *Relación de las Islas Filipinas,* 1604. in Blair and Robertson, Vol. 12: 235.

[3]Rogel, Amelio O., "The Hanunoo, a mountain people of southeastern Philippines," *Esso Silangan* 14.3 (1969); 16.

[4]Rice, Delbert, "An Ancient Philippine Democracy: Pre-Hispanic Social Structures and their Modern Implications," *Silliman Journal,* 19 (1972): 235.

[5]Blair and Robertson, Vol. 33: 141.

[6]Zaide, Gregorio. *Philippine Political and Cultural History,* Vol. 1 (Manila, Phil. Education, 1957): 158. The Spanish never completely subjugated the Muslim Filipinos of Mindanao and Jolo. "Like the Muslims of the south, the mountain groups escaped early incorporation with the Spanish colonial state and managed to conserve well into the twentieth century much of pre-Hispanic culture." Marcos, Ferdinand. *Tadhana: The History of the Filipino People* (Manila, 1976).

[7]Blair and Robertson, Vol. 1: 293. To this day the fishermen of the Sulu Sea area, the Samal and the Badjaos, are expert pearl divers, diving at a depth of 15-20 fathoms and remaining below the surfae for 3-5 minutes. When ready to ascend they tug a rope which has been attached to a boat into which they put their catch.

[8]*Ibid.,* Vol. 2: 113.

[9]*Ibid.,* Vol. 2: 198.

[10]Chirino, Fr. Pedro, in Blair and Robertson, Vol. 2: 212.

[11]*Benarios* was the name given to the Manobos, one of the more than twenty tribal minorities in Mindanao.

[12]Blair and Robertson, Vol. 2: 140.

[13]Scott, William Henry, *The Discovery of the Igorots: Spanish Contacts with the Pagans of Northern Luzon* (Quezon City, New Day Pub., 1974): 179.

[14]Blair and Robertson, Vol. 2: 214.

[15]Ribadeniera, Marcelo de, *History of the Philippines and other Kingdoms,* Trans. Pacita Guevara Fernandez, (Makati, Conservation Soc., 1971): 341.

[16]Pigafetti, Antonio, *First Voyage Around the World* (Manila, Filipiniana Book Guild, 1969): 63.

[17]Loarca, Miguel de, "Relación de las Filipinas," in Blair and Robertson, Vol. 5: 1582.

[18]Morga, Marcelo de, Carlos Quirino and Mauro Garcia, *The Manners, Customs, and Beliefs of the Philippine Inhabitants of Long Ago,* chapters of a late 16th century manuscript translated in *Philippine Journal of Science* 5 (Dec. 1958): 417.

[19]Pigafetti, *First Voyage Around the World*: 75.

[20]Quirino in Blair and Robertson, Vol. 7, 1588-1591.

[21]Quirino and Garcia, *The Manners, Customs and Beliefs of the Philippine Inhabitants of Long Ago*: 395.

[22]Legazpi, Miguel Lopez de, "Relation of the Voyage to the Philippines," Cebu, 1565, in Blair and Robertson, Vol. 2: 201.

[23]Miranda, Augusto, *Daily Mirror Magazine,* June 12, 1971.

[24]Scott, William Henry, *The Discovery of the Igorots*: 189-90.

[25]Scott, William Henry, *On the Cordillera,* (Manila, MSC Enterprises, 1969).

[26]One *vara* equaled three *pies* (feet), so the length of the lance was 6-7 feet and a shield was 1 1/4-2 feet in width.

[27]Ebony wood is known in the Philippines as kamagong.

[28]Yambao, Placido and Buenaventura Mirafuentes, *Mga Karungan sa Larong Arnis* (Quezon City, U. of the Phil., 1957).

[29]Presas, Remy Amador, *Modern Arnis* (Manila, Modern Arnis Pub., 1974): 10.

[30]*Ibid.*: 11.

[31]Schurz, William L., *Manila Galleon* (New York, E.P. Dutton, 1939).

[32]Zaide, Gregorio F., *Great Filipinos in History,* (Manila, Verde Bookstore 1970). 482. Rizal, a patriot martyr, has become the national hero.

[33]Presas, *Modern Arnis*: 11.
[34]Zaide, *Great Filipinos in History*: 108.
[35]Pastells, Fr. Pablo, letter written from Mindanao to Father Provincial Vikyne, in Manila, April 20, 1887, in Blair and Robertson, Vol. 43: 270-73.
[36]Ader, Mustapha D., "Kasipa, Maranaw's Oldest Sport", *Far Eastern Advocate*, 1962: 29.
[37]Blair and Robertson, Vol. 19.
[38]Ader. "Kasipa, Maranaw's Oldest Sport": 31.
[39]*Ibid*
[40]Scott, *On the Cordillera*: 215.
[41]Anima, Nid, *Filipino Ethnic Games*. (Quezon City, Omar Pub., 1977).
[42]Manuel, *Filipino Heritage*, Vol. 2: 469.
[43]Anima, *Filipino Ethnic Games*.
[44]Aduarte, Fr. Diego, *Historia de la Provincia del Santa Rosario de la Orden de Predicadores in Filipinas, Japon y China*, En el Colegio de Santo Tomas, Conlicencia, Manila, 1640.
[45]Malay, Armando J., "Games of the Philippines," *Asean Journal*. 1.2 (Manila, National Media Prod., 1973): 23.
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[47]Malay, "Games of the Philippines": 26.
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Notes on the Avifauna of the Balinsasayao Rainforest Region, Negros Oriental, Philippines

Keith R. Erickson and Paul D. Heideman

ABSTRACT. Fifty species of birds were recorded within a 300 ha watershed that lies within approximately 2400 ha of primary forest in the mountains of southern Negros. Thirteen of those species had not been recorded previously at the site; a total of 114 species of birds have now been recorded at the site. An immature male *Zoothera andromedae* is the first specimen of that species taken on the island of Negros.

The published bird records for the Philippines are not extensive, and only a few authors attempt to list the variety of species present at a single site. The bird records and discussion which follow supplement a fairly extensive set of papers dealing with the birds of a single location on southern Negros (Rand 1951, Rand and Rabor 1952, Rabor et al. 1971, Alcala and Carumbana 1980). The most recent of these (Alcala and Carumbana 1980) differs from the earlier papers in several respects, principally: (1) the focus is primarily ecological, rather than systematic; and (2) extensive species lists are given for two rather small (less than 600 ha) areas.

We present a list of bird species netted or observed in the Twin Lakes region of the Balinsasayao rainforest (Negros Oriental, Philippines: 9° 22' N, 123° 11' E, 14 km W, 6 km N of Dumaguete City, elevation 830 — 1200 m). This is one of the two sites studied by Alcala and Carumbana (1980). We collected most of our data during monthly 2-3 week field sessions completed during the period 26 June 1982 — 7 June 1983. Also included are a few additional data collected by Heideman, 8-15 June 1981.

The Twin Lakes area is sparsely populated by subsistence farmers who employ "slash and burn" agricultural techniques. Approximately 25% of the roughly 300 ha comprising the study site has been cleared in the last 30 years; most of that cleared area is now second growth or currently under cultivation. Certain topographic and climatic features promote the heterogeneity characteristic of Balinsasayao rainforest habitats (Abregana 1983); however, the most striking habitat variations result from agricultural activity.

In order to discuss habitat usage by Balinsasayao bird species, each habitat sampled was characterized as one of the following: (1) primary dipterocarp forest; (2) secondary forest (old second growth in areas known to have been cleared after World War II); (3) second growth (areas cleared within the last ten years and colonized by fast-growing trees, shrubs, weeds and cogonal grasses); or (4) ecotone-like areas at

the edges of primary forest (generally not true ecotones, rather areas of abrupt habitat change created during forest clearing).

Methods

Birds were caught in Japanese mist nets (mesh size 26 mm) set for bats as part of a study on bat reproduction. Most data contained herein are day or night net-capture records. The remainder are field sightings. We identified a few species in the field; however, most were identified for us by R. W. Storer, S. M. Goodman and J. G. Hinshaw of the University of Michigan Museum of Zoology, Ann Arbor, Michigan, U.S.A., from specimens we provided. These specimens are deposited at the University of Michigan Museum of Zoology and at the National Museum of the Philippines, Rizal Park, Manila (Table 1 lists the locations of these specimens). Species not represented by preserved specimens and difficult to identify in the field are not included in the species list (Table 1). Our listing follows the systematic order used by Medway and Wells (1976).

Results and Discussion

We positively identified 50 species (Table 1), of which 8 were recorded only from observations, and 42 species were netted at least once (Table 2). Of the 42 species captured at least once, 24 were captured one to four times, 10 were captured five to ten times, and the remaining 8 were captured ten or more times. Nine of our 24 "uncommon" species were not observed by Alcala and Carumbana (1980) during their nineteen-month survey of the birds of the Twin Lakes area in 1976-78. They also missed two of the 10 species for which we have five to ten records and two of the species for which we have only sight records, but with the possible exception of *Phylloscopus cebuensis,* they recorded all of the species for which we have more than ten records. Conversely, 63 of the 99 species reported by Alcala and Carumbana were not noted during our study. One species, *Chaetura gigantea,* was not recorded at the Twin Lakes during either study, although Rand (1951) referred to specimens collected at Lake Balinsasayao. We did not record the hornbill *Aceros leucocephalus;* unaware of the potential presence of a second species of hornbill, we assumed that all of our records (usually of individuals in dense foliage) were of *Penelopides panini*. It seems likely that both species still occur at the site. Alcala and Carumban

(1980) listed *M. cinerea* as the only motacillid observed at the Twin Lakes. Although we did not collect *Motacilla,* some of the individuals we observed were a much deeper shade of yellow below, suggestive of *M. flava.* However, two specimens collected by Heideman in 1984 were identified as *M. cinerea.* (Although dated 1983, this issue of *SJ* was actually printed in late 1984 [Ed].)

While Alcala and Carumbana (1980) reported *Phylloscopus borealis* and *P. trivirgatus* at the Twin Lakes, ten of our eleven preserved specimens (i.e., those deposited at the University of Michigan Museum of Zoology) were identified as *P. cebuensis.* The remaining specimen (deposited at the National Museum of the Philippines) has not been reexamined. Alcala and Carumbana relied on field sightings, and Alcala (pers. comm.) has suggested that their specific identifications for this genus may have been in error. Rand and Rabor (1952) took only *P. cebuensis* at Lake Balinsasayao, and our material matches their description of *P. cebuensis.*

We believe that the differences between our study and that of Alcala and Carumbana reflect three factors: (1) our study relied almost exclusively on net-captures, a technique which may be advantageous for obtaining secretive or nocturnal birds, while they relied on field sightings; (2) many tropical rainforest bird species are relatively rare, and thus both studies are likely to have missed a number of species; and (3) temporal variation in the movements of migrants through the area may have influenced the results of either survey.

We report one new record for Negros:

Order PASSIFORMES

Family MUSCICAPIDAE

Zoothera andromedae (Temminck)

An immature male *Z. andromedae* molting into adult plumage and weighing 68.7 g was captured in a small clearing in primary forest, approximately 830 m above sea level, on 2 July 1982. Our specimen matched specimens of immature *Z. andromedae* in the collection of the Delaware Museum of Natural History. Rabor et al. (1970) did not list *Z. andromedae* among the birds of Negros, and DuPont (1971) gave the distribution of this species in the Philippines as Luzon, Mindanao and Mindoro. The presence of an immature individual implies that this species breeds on Negros.

Habitat Usage

Because our net-capture data would provide highly biased estimates of relative abundance, we have not made such estimates. Our data can, however, be grouped according to capture frequency for each species in each habitat (Table 2). Having corrected in each case for the unevenness of our netting effort relative to habitat type, we offer the following comments concerning habitat usage by a few of our most frequently captured species.

Sitta frontalis is a typical nuthatch in its habits and therefore it is not surprising that they were not captured in second growth (Table 2), although they were frequently taken in the "edge" habitat just outside primary forest.

Phylloscopus cebuensis were not taken in second growth (Table 2). Delacour and Mayr (1946) stated that *Phylloscopus* species are insectivorous leaf and twig gleaners, continually on the move. These habits may explain why we caught *P. cebuensis* within (or adjacent to) primary or secondary forest, probably the most attractive foraging areas.

Rabor (1977) described *Parus elegans* as gregarious and hyperactive, foraging primarily in the lower stories of mature forest. Our capture data (Table 2) do not contradict his characterization, although we did occasionally capture *P. elegans* outside of mature forest.

Rabor (1977) and Delacour and Mayr (1946) stated that *Phapitreron leucotis* live in forest or second growth habitats, amid thick foliage near the ground. Our data (Table 2) show a similar pattern, for we captured *P. leucotis* in all habitats.

Hypsipetes philippinus (= *Microscelis gularis* of Delacour and Mayr 1946) was the most frequently captured species. It is apparently very common throughout the Philippines, and reportedly frequents forest edges and open areas. Our capture rates for the species were similar in primary forest, second growth and edge habitats, but were approximately double in secondary forest (Table 2).

Our second most frequently captured species was *Rhipidura cyaniceps*. We found *R. cyaniceps* in all habitats, but it was more common in primary forest (Table 2). This is consistent with Delacour and Mayr's (1946) characterization of the species as common in forest and forest edge habitats.

While we captured ten or more of *Aethopyga siparaja* and *Dicaeum trigonostigma*, our data for these and all of the remaining species listed in

Table 1 and 2 are too few and too ambiguous to merit any generalizations.

Summary and Conclusion

In our twelve-month study we recorded considerably fewer species than did Alcala and Carumbana (1980) at the same study area. Nevertheless, we captured or observed 13 species not included on their list, including one species, *Zoothera andromedae,* previously unknown from Negros. This suggests either that relatively uncommon species are yet to be reported for the site, or that the avifauna of the Twin Lakes region is a dynamic fauna undergoing changes in species composition. Although we suspect that the two studies together yield a relatively complete list of the avifauna of the Twin Lakes area, the area certainly merits further long-term ornithological study.

A number of comments concerning habitat usage based on netting records for our most frequently captured species may be of use to other researchers in the Balinsasayao rainforest area. Since forest clearing continues in the area, bird species requiring undisturbed forest habitats face eventual extirpation. We cannot state how many species share this prospect, nor can we predict the species which would colonize the open areas and second growth which would come to predominate. We can state, however, that none of the most frequently captured species appear to prefer second growth to forest or forest edge habitats. While a variety of bird species could inhabit a deforested Balinsasayao region, we suggest that the transformation would approach complete replacement of the area's natural avifauna.

Acknowledgements

We thank Dr. Angel C. Alcala and Dr. Luz Ausejo of Silliman University, Dumaguete City, for supporting and facilitating this research. Special thanks also to Prof. R. B. Gonzales, Mr. C. Lumhod, Mr. O. J. L. Delalamon, Ms. R. B. C. Utzurrum and Mrs. P. Raterta of Silliman University for assistance. Mr. L. Tagat and Ms. R. L. Thomas provided invaluable field assistance.

Thanks also to Mr. Pedro C. Gonzales, Curator of Vertebrates at the National Museum of the Philippines for help with specimen processing and exchange, and to Dr. R. W. Storer, J. G. Hinshaw and S. M.

Goodman of the University of Michigan Museum of Zoology, who identified our specimens.

We were privileged to serve as Visiting Research Associates of the Institute of Philippine Culture of Ateneo de Manila University, Manila, and Silliman University, Dumaguete City during our 1982-83 tenure in the Philippines. We thank the directors and staff of both institutions for their assistance and enthusiastic support.

S. M. Goodman, R. B. Storer, P. Myers, A. C. Alcala and L. R. Heaney read drafts of the manuscript and provided many helpful comments. We thank them.

Our research was carried out while Heideman was supported by a National Science Foundation predoctoral fellowship. Other funds were supplied by the Rackham School of Graduate Studies at the University of Michigan, the American Society of Mammalogists, Sigma Xi; the Explorer's Club and the Bird, Insect and Mammal Divisions of the University of Michigan Museum of Zoology.

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Table 1. Bird species captured or observed in the Lake Balinsasayao study area, 8-15 June 1981 and 27 June 1982 - 6 June 1983. Systematic order follows Medway and Wells (1976). An asterisk indicates a new record for Balinsasayao. "Photo" indicates a species identified from photographs. "N" indicates preserved material of the species has been deposited at the National Museum of the Philippines. "M" indicates preserved material of the species has been deposited at the University of Michigan Museum of Zoology.

Order CICONIIFORMES
Family ARDEIDAE
Butorides striatus
Order FALCONIFORMES
Family ACCIPITRIDAE
Pernis sp.
Haliastur indus
Photo *Accipiter trivirgatus extimus* Mayr
Order GALLIFORMES
Family PHASIANIDAE
M *Gallus gallus gallus* (Linnaeus)
Order COLUMBIFORMES
Family COLUMBIDAE
Chalcophaps indica
M *Macropygia phasianella tenuirostris* Bonaparte
N,M *Phapitreron amethystina maculipectus* (Bourns and Worcester)
N,M *Phapitreron leucotis nigrorum* (Sharpe)
M,* *Ptilinopus occipitalis* G. R. Gray
Order CUCULIFORMES
Family CUCULIDAE
N,M,* *Cacomantis variolosus sepulcralis* (P.L.S. Muller)
Centropus viridis
Order STRIGIFORMES
Family STRIGIDAE
Photo *Otus bakkamoena nigrorum* Rand
Photo *Ninox philippensis centralis* Mayr
Order CAPRIMULGIFORMES
Family PODARGIDAE
Photo,* *Batrachostomus septimus menagei* Bourns and Worcester
Order APODIFORMES
Family APODIDAE
* *Collocalia troglodytes* G. R. Gray
N,M *Collocalia esculenta marginata* Salvadori
Chaetura picina Tweeddale (recorded at Balinsasayao by Rand, 1951)
Order CORACIIFORMES
Family ALCEDINIDAE
M *Halcyon lindsayi moseleyi* (Steere)
Family BUCEROTIDAE

Penelopides panini

Order PICIFORMES

Family PICIDAE

* *Dryocopus javensis philippensis* (Steere)

M *Chrysocolaptes lucidus xanthocephalus* Walden and Layard

Order PASSERIFORMES

Family HIRUNDINIDAE

M *Hirundo tahitica javanica* Sparrman

Family PYCNONOTIDAE

N,M *Hypsipetes philippinus guimarasensis* (Steere)

Family DICRURIDAE

N,M *Dicrurus balicassius mirabilis* Walden and Layard

Family ORIOLIDAE

M *Oriolus xanthonotus steeri* Sharpe

Family PARIDAE

N,M *Parus elegans albescens* (McGregor)

Family SITTIDAE

N,M *Sitta frontalis aenochlamys* Sharpe

Family MUSCICAPIDAE

M *Stachyris speciosa* (Tweeddale)

M *Brachypteryx montana brunneiceps* Ogilvie-Grant

M,* *Zoothera andromedae* Temminck

N,M, *Phylloscopus cebuensis* (Dubois)

M * *Prionochilus olivaceous*

M,* *Locustella fasciolata* (J. E. Gray)

M *Orthotomus atrogularis rabori* Parkes

M *Muscicapa panayensis panayensis* (Sharpe)

N,M,* *Ficedula hyperythra nigrorum* (Whitehead)

N,M,* *Culicicapa helianthea panayensis* (Sharpe)

N,M *Rhipidura cyaniceps albiventris* (Sharpe)

M *Hypothymis azurea azurea* (Boddaert)

N,M,* *Pachycephala cinerea winchelli* (Bourns and Worcester)

Family MOTACILLIDAE

* *Motacilla flava*

Family LANIIDAE

Lanius cristatus

Family NECTARINIIDAE

N,M *Aethopyga flagrans guimarasensis* (Steere)

N,M *Aethopyga siparaja magnifica* Sharpe

Family DICAEIDAE

M,* *Dicaeum bicolor inexpectatum* (Hartert)

N,M *Dicaeum trigonostigma dorsale* Sharpe

Family ZOSTEROPIDAE

N,M *Zosterops montana pectoralis* Mayr

M *Zosterops nigrorum nigrorum* Tweeddale

Family PLOCEIDAE

N,M *Lonchura leucogastra manueli* Parkes

M *Lonchura malacca jagori* (Martens)

Table 2. List of captures and associated habitats. Only those captures for which we have positive identification—either in the field or subsequently — are included.

Species	Habitat				
	primary forest	secondary forest	second growth	edge	total
Accipiter trivirgatus	—	—	1	—	1
Chalcophaps indica	—	1	—	—	1
Macropygia phasianella	—	1	—	—	1
Phapitreron amethystina	1	—	1	—	2
Phapitreron leucotis	6	2	5	2	15
Ptilinopus occipitalis	1	—	—	—	1
Cacomantis variolosus	—	—	1	1	2
Otus bakkamoena	5	—	2	1	8
Ninox philippensis	—	2	3	2	7
Batrachostomus septimus	2	—	—	—	2
Collocalia troglodytes	—	—	—	1	1
Collocalia esculenta	—	—	—	4	4
Chaetura picina	—	—	—	1	1
Halcyon lindsayi	2	1	1	—	4
Chrysocolaptes lucidus	1	—	—	—	1
Hypsipetes philippinus	30	11	22	14	77
Dicrurus balicassius	4	2	2	1	9
Oriolus xanthonotus	1	—	—	—	1
Parus elegans	10	2	1	—	13
Sitta frontalis	4	—	—	8	12
Stachyris speciosa	4	—	5	—	9
Brachypteryx montana	5	—	2	1	8
Zoothera andromedae	—	—	—	1	1
Phylloscopus cebuensis *	6	3	—	5	14

Species	Habitat: primary forest	secondary forest	second growth	edge	total
Prionochilus olivaceous					1
Locustella fasciolata	—	—	—	1	1
Orthotomus atrogularis	1	—	5	1	7
Muscicapa panayensis	1	—	—	—	1
Ficedula hyperythra	1	1	3	—	5
Culicicapa helianthus	3	—	2	1	6
Rhipidura cyaniceps	24	2	5	2	33
Hypothymis azurea	1	—	2	1	4
Pachycephala cinerea	—	—	3	—	3
Lanius cristatus	2	—	2	4	8
Aethopyga flagrans	3	—	—	—	3
Aethopyga siparaja	5	—	3	4	12
Dicaeum bicolor	—	—	2	1	3
Dicaeum trigonostigma	10	—	4	3	17
Zosterops montana	—	2	—	6	8
Zosterops nigrorum	—	—	—	1	1
Lonchura leucogastra	—	—	—	4	4
Lonchura malacca	—	—	1	—	1
Number of Net-Days**	250.5	44	173	139	

Total Net-Days : 604.5

* May include other species of *Phylloscopus*. See text for explanation.

** A net-day is one net set for one day. Six-meter nets were counted as one-half net; 12-meter nets as one net. Approximately 80% of all nets set were 12-meter nets.

Notes

Peter Gordon Gowing (1930-1983): In Memoriam*

T. Valentino Sitoy, Jr.

How do you pay tribute in a few pages to a man who lived a full life, and more, for 53 years? Peter Gowing without hesitation would have impishly answered: "You absolutely can't!" Indeed, all you can do is choose from what you remember of the man certain events or incidents which tend to draw a characteristic picture of him. I was one of Peter's students from 1960 to 1963, and then aferwards his younger colleague, and it is from this perspective that I share with you this brief tribute to him.

Peter Gordon Gowing and a twin sister were born to James and Hester Gowing on May 9, 1930 in Norwood, Massachusetts, a few miles southwest of Boston. Peter spent his boyhood in Norwood and then in neighboring Westwood, till his family moved to Stratford, on the Connecticut coast facing Long Island. Through the kindness of a friend of the family, Peter started his collegiate studies at Oberlin College in Ohio in 1948. A year later he went to Bangor, Maine, where he was to spend the next decade of his life. In 1954 he earned his B.A. degree (history and government) from the University of Maine and his M.A. (history) from the Bangor Theological Seminary, and in 1955 also his M.A. (history) from the same university. Contemporaneously with his studies, he successively ministered to four rural congregations of the United Church of Christ in the U.S.A., in the Maine towns of Ellsworth Falls, Philipps and West Bethel.

Commissioned in 1954 as a lieutenant (junior grade) in the Chaplain Corps, U.S. Naval Reserve, Peter was on active duty from 1955 to 1957, serving as assistant force chaplain, Naval Air Force, U.S. Atlantic Fleet. Assigned to duty aboard the flagship of Commander, Middle East Force, one of the memorable incidents Peter Gowing would later love to tell his students of was the enthusiastic dousing he got from his mates when he first crossed the Equator on one of his fleet's Atlantic cruises. Honorably discharged late in 1957 with the rank of lieutenant, he went for his Th.D. studies (ecumenics and church history) at the Boston University School of Theology, earning his degree in 1960, despite the fact that he was concurrently pastor of the First Congregational Church in North Berwick, Maine, many miles from Boston.

*This is a slightly expanded version of a eulogy delivered at the memorial service for Peter Gowing held at the Silliman Church on Sunday, 15 July 1983.

It was soon after he was commissioned a career missionary in August 1960 by the United Church Board for World Ministries that Peter Gowing's life came to be closely associated with the Philippines and the rest of Southeast Asia. His first assignment was as assistant professor of church history and Christian doctrine at the College of Theology (now the Divinity School) of Silliman University.

Peter's letter to Dean Elmer K. Higdon of the College of Theology, dated 29 June 1960, gave his future colleagues their first inkling of what sort of fellow worker they might expect. Peter had expressed his anxiety to know what his teaching responsibilities might be, "so that I can look to some preparation for them before arriving on the scene." He also thought that some idea of his living accommodations in Dumaguete would be helpful, since at the parsonage in North Berwick, he had (aside from "eight rooms of furniture and quantities of household effects") something like "a 900-volume personal library." He would have to decide what to dispose of and what to carry with him to Dumaguete. Dr. Higdon obliged with a three-page letter, a compendium of useful tips from the accumulated wisdom of a seasoned missionary in the Philippines.

In a subsequent letter, Dr. Higdon sought to obviate a potential embarrassment that threatened to mar the faculty's first meeting with their new colleague. So he wrote: "Another question is to set us straight on how to pronounce your family name. We want to say it correctly before you arrive!!" Peter Gowing obliged by promptly writing back: "My name is pronounced by rhyming the 'ow' with the 'ow' in *cow*." Then, perhaps to dispel any further uncertainty in Dumaguete as to whether the choices offered to him for accommodations would suffice (Dean Higdon had half-apologetically described one as "intended for a single person"), Peter Gowing added that he and his mission board were "appropriately grateful that I am single — at least for this period of suspended animation."

Thus, appropriately commissioned, cautioned and charged, Peter Gowing embarked on his missionary career. What his colleagues and students saw on his arrival was a man in love with scholarship — witty, intriguing, at times controversial, but most characteristically, a veritable bundle of energy. Peter Gowing was the first Silliman faculty member to scoot about on a Honda. On his faculty information sheet, in the section on membership in civic clubs and other organizations, he made this entry soon after his arrival: "None in Philippines — but I am a

Mason and a member of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows and a registered scouter of the Boy Scouts of America."

From the start, Peter impressed everyone with his zeal for work, efficiency and thoroughness. As a young professor, he prepared for his lectures by burning the midnight oil and came to class armed with his ubiquitous 4" x 6" cards. The coverage of his lectures was inevitably encyclopedic, and the information precise and limited to the interesting and the relevant. In time, Peter's lecture notes gradually disappeared, though the comprehensive and dynamic character of his discourses neither slackened nor diminished.

Within a year or so of his arrival in the Philippines, Peter Gowing came in contact with Philippine Islam, which had drawn his interest since earlier reading about the Maranaos in the works of the famous American Protestant missionary and literacy expert Dr. Frank C. Laubach. Peter's little volume titled *Mosque and Moro* (1964), followed three years later by *Islands Under the Cross: The Story of the Church in the Philippines,* launched his lifetime scholarly endeavors. His researches increasingly concentrated on the study of Islam, which lured him to visit Indonesia and the Islamic communities in Thailand and Taiwan.

How was Peter to his colleagues and students? The most salient impression one immediately had of him was of his meticulous scholarship. He was the kind of teacher whom you would sometimes hate for his seemingly outrageous demands, but later cherish and admire for those many things you would discover you had learned (or had been forced to learn) from him. As a student, I was constantly flabbergasted to find that every book on history I picked up in the library inevitably had "Peter G. Gowing" scribbled on the borrower's card. It was with child-like glee, as if I had stumbled upon a rare discovery I could really call my own, that I came one day upon an important historical volume in the library unmarked by Peter's tracks.

Peter also had an impish sense of humor, reflected in his witty repartees, and even in the way he moved about with bouncing steps, often humming a tune. While marching to his classroom, he would greet a group of students in the hallway with, "Good morning! Good morning! Good morning!" without breaking stride. Occasionally he would breeze into the lecture hall, and with no more than a casual hand salute and greeting of "Ladies and gentlemen," would launch into his discourse before he had hardly cleared the door. Sometimes he would continue talking to the very last second of the class period, his closing sentences

marked by the rhythmic retrieval of his books and notes from the table, his closing words floating back from the door as he made his exit. He would stand by his office door as late as 9:00 or 10:00 p.m. to greet "last-minute filers" of term papers, pronouncing "Safe!" — as would a baseball umpire — on those who came a shade within the absolute deadline. His sense of humor was seen also in his liberal appropriation of historical personalities, as when he named his two cats after tragic medieval lovers, "Heloise" and "Abelard." He spared not even himself in his jests. In the November 1966 issue of his printed "NEWS from Peter Gowing," which included an exceptionally fine picture of himself, he remarked in a postcript: "The mug-shot is what appears on my new passport — it's a wonder they let me in anywhere."

Aside from his scholarship, Peter Gowing was a veritable "workaholic." In his newsletter of November 1969, for example, he spoke of a number of "outside activities" besides his responsibilities at Silliman University. These involvements included co-editorship of an anthology of papers presented at the Baguio Religious Acculturation Conference (BRAC) of 1969, and membership on the board of trustees of Dansalan College, the board of managers of the Dumaguete YMCA, the continuation committee of BRAC, and the continuation committee of the Annual Seminar on Islam in the Philippines and Southeast Asia. He then continued:

> In addition to these outside committees and boards, I serve on 12 committees, councils and boards in the University (4 less than last year!), including the Board of Directors of the Silliman University Medical Center. . . .
>
> Thus I spend a good deal of time attending meetings (I even chair some of them) but my greatest satisfactions are found in teaching. I have two courses in Southeast Asian studies (one in history, the other in politics). Next semester I'll offer two courses in Asian religions, one in church history, one in geography of Southeast Asia and a new course (for me) in the history of Africa. Should be lots of fun!

Indeed, more than anything else that he could possibly want to be, Peter Gowing was first and last a teacher — who loved teaching. In 1968 he wrote:

> It is a great joy to be a teacher — to connect with the minds of other human beings, to learn with and from them. I have a toothache and before long I will have to take courage and seek out a dentist. I should be grateful

> that there are dentists; but for the life of me, I can't figure out why anyone would want to be a dentist when he could be a teacher!

Behind those heavy demands on his students, Peter Gowing was a warm-hearted individual. It just seemed that he had no mercy for lazy-bones and malingerers, nor sympathy for any hard-line traditionalists. As a human being, he had (aside from books, truth and knowledge) three simple loves: pizza, chocolates and movies. He once told in his newsletter how he amused himself in his leisure time — by seeing all the movies in town. It did not matter whether they were good or bad: "Us addicts don't care!" declared Peter.

Perhaps because he often affected a disinterest in the more tender of human emotions, many people did not know that there were soft spots in Peter Gowing. But Dr. Proceso U. Udarbe, former Dean of the Divinity School at Silliman, recalls how Peter cried like a baby when the former broke to him the news of John Kennedy's assassination. Then again in 1966, when it seemed for a time that his mission board in New York would want him to move to Indonesia, Peter wrote Dean Udarbe:

> Proceso, I wish I could convey to you some means of the agony I feel in this whole matter. I am 36 years of age and am not 'tied down' anywhere — I am rootless. I began to feel that the Philippines was where I could belong, could make a contribution, could live a worthwhile life that was useful and purposeful. Now suddenly that is gone and I am cast adrift on an unknown sea again — go to Indonesia, be a stranger again, start all over again. Will I be acceptable? Will I be able to communicate? Will I come to know and love Indonesians as I came to know and love Filipinos? Will I get on with my colleagues? — These and a thousand similar questions are constantly on my mind as I contemplate the move to Makassar. They amount to self-pity in some instances, and in my best moments I know that I do the right thing when I put myself at the Board's disposal. That is, after all, how I happened come to Silliman in the first place. I had never heard of Silliman and Dumaguete City, and I had only the foggiest knowledge of the Philippines prior to 3 July 1960--and in a month I was on my way. My life is destined to be a series of happenings, it seems — fearful in the contemplation, satisfying in the completion. I accept it.

His closing words in the passage above lead naturally to the further observation that Peter Gowing was also a man of God, ordained

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into the Christian ministry in 1954 through the United Church of Christ in the U.S.A. Trained in liberal Protestant circles, he nevertheless had a profound respect for the Catholic tradition, as well as the highest ideals of other faiths, even non-Christian religions. His spirituality was that of a man whose life was a constant prayerful openness to God. Some of his public prayers compare with the best of Christian prayers through the ages. Some of his sermons were classics. The baccalaureate sermon he preached at Silliman University Church in March 1981, titled "In a Land of Falling Coconuts," has been recalled time and again by many as one of the most moving sermons they have ever heard — simple, sincere and profound. The church was packed with some 1,500 candidates for college graduation and their parents. When Peter spoke of Christian faith in the midst of life's uncertainties ("falling coconuts"), hardly anyone moved for fear, it seemed, that the mere rustle of paper or graduation gown would break the solemnity of the charged atmosphere. Mist formed in the eyes of practically everyone when Peter spoke of the fortitude and unwavering hope of friends of the Rev. Dr. Lloyd and Maise Van Vactor during the trials and tribulations arising from his kidnaping for ransom in 1979 and her passing away while he was in captivity. Indeed, only a man who walked with God, as Peter Gowing did, could pray such prayers and preach such sermons.

Peter's last position was directorship of the Dansalan Research Center (now the Peter G. Gowing Memorial Research Center) for the study of Islam in the Philippines and Southeast Asia, and for the improvement of Muslim-Christian relations. His first involvement with Dansalan came in 1969 while he was still with Silliman University, when he became a member of the board of trustees of Dansalan College (soon after he returned from study/furlough in the United States, earning a second doctorate, a Ph.D. from Syracuse University). After a brief stint (1971-1974) as Regional Professor of the South East Asia Graduate School of Theology, Peter came back from Singapore to head the Dansalan Research Center.

The last years of his life were marked by energetic endeavors to bring about better understanding, closer relations and peace between Christians and Muslims, spearheading seminars attended by representatives of both communities, and sharing with the outside world the facts of the conflicts in Mindanao. His column "We Are Constantly Asked..." kept his friends and acquaintances up to date on both the spectacular and the simple (though significant) events in Mindanao. To the end

of his days, Peter kept the vision of seeking to bring about peace and goodwill among all those who call themselves children of God.

Peter Gowing as mentor, colleague and friend — a meticulous scholar; indefatigable researcher; and zealous advocate for truth, justice and peace — that is how his friends and acquaintances (and even strangers who have read his writings) remember him. Immediately upon receiving the sad news of his sudden death on July 10, 1983, the Divinity School of Silliman University sent a cablegram to President Eulalio G. Maturan of the Dansalan College Foundation in Marawi City. Signed by the dean, the faculty and staff, and the students of the Divinity School, the cable expressed in simple words the seminary community's appreciation of the man:

> DIVINITY SCHOOL COMMUNITY JOINS DANSALAN IN SORROW AT THE PASSING AWAY OF PETER GOWING CHERISHED MENTOR COLLEAGUE AND FRIEND BUT REJOICES THAT BY GOD'S GRACE HE LIVED AND ENRICHED OUR LIVES.

The Future of Christian Universities in Asia*

Lino Q. Arquiza

The political situation of a country, its social climate and cultural milieu, religious preferences, mission support, faculty and staff quality and cooperation, quality of managerial expertise, and the local, national and global economic conditions are some of the factors, pressures and tensions which will influence institutional decision makers in their decisions for future expansion, retrenchment, retention or abolition of programs or projects from their curricular offerings. These factors will either enhance, or curtail the growth and progress of Christian universities in Asia.

Government policies dictated by political considerations may not allow new Christian universities to be established in a country. Such countries as Singapore, Burma, Vietnam, Malaysia, the People's Republic of China and Pakistan, to mention a few, may not be receptive to the establishment of a strong Christian university. On the other hand, such countries as the Philippines, Indonesia, India, Hongkong, Taiwan, Japan and Korea may tolerate Christian universities in their midst. In fact, a number of good Christian universities already exist in these countries.

Culture and society and religion are strong factors to be considered in determining the future of a Christian university. For example, in the Philippines, the desire that their children obtain a university degree is strong among Filipino parents. They sell their cattle, land or other material possessions just to send a child to college. On the other hand, in some countries, getting employment after high school graduation and earning for the family are more important than entering a university, especially if the requirements to enter college are so stringent that only a few bright students qualify. This is true in countries like Singapore, Thailand, Hongkong, Japan and Malaysia, where educational opportunities are limited to the highly gifted intellectually.

In Malaysia and Pakistan a strong, militant Muslim population and government may prevent the establishment of a first-class Christian university. Without massive financial support from mission boards through endowment and scholarship funds, Christians in these countries will not be able to establish a university.

Christian universities or colleges now thrive in the following countries: the Philippines, where the population is predominantly Christian; Indonesia, where existing Christian universities are tolerated by a predominantly Muslim population; India, Hongkong, Taiwan, Japan and

*This paper was read at the Reunion of United Board Fellows and Grantees in the Philippines, 4 September 1983, Silliman University.

Korea. A question uppermost in the minds of educational leaders is whether or not even these existing Christian universities have a future, given the unstable world economic conditions.

An analysis of the factors that usually affect educational planning shows that a few institutions will continue to prosper without any problem; some will experience a plateau for one or two years, then will recover after plugging financial holes; most will experience a plateau for some years; some will decline until financial rescue comes from external sources; and a few perhaps will close shop or sell out.

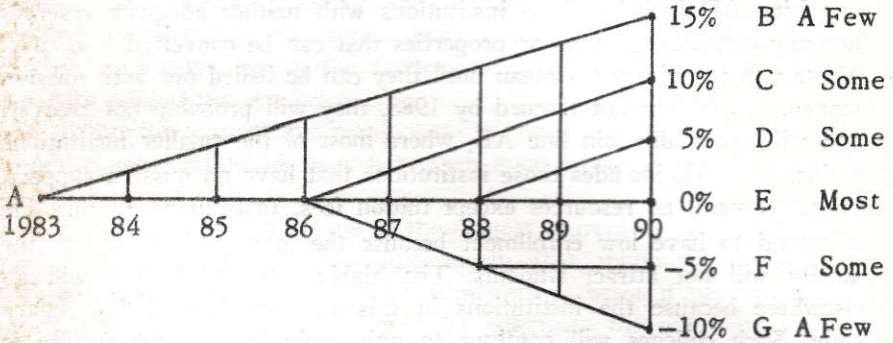

Figure 1. Prospects for university recovery or decline.

Institutions represented by line AB in Figure 1 are highly endowed universities with unencumbered fixed assets that may be converted into cash through outright sale at favorable prices. Such assets include prime commercial lots and buildings, or nearby subdivision developments where land values have risen. These fixed assets are not needed for academic purposes. One example is the recent sale of International Christian University's golf course. The proceeds were invested, with only the interest available for academic purposes. Some universities have reserved such assets to fall back on in case times become even harder.

On line AB are also found those universities that have fluid assets such as long and short term investments with interest used for academic purposes. Also included are those without debts to banks and other lending institutions. These are the institutions that should easily survive inflation and economic depression for the present.

Institutions on line AC will experience a plateau up to 1986, but should recover after readjusting their financial resources through retrenchment, abolition of some university departments, and refraining from hiring new personnel. The plateau is caused by low enrollment due to dis-

location of the local economy through factors such as typhoon, drought or low prices of sugar or coconuts. Such economic dislocation may also be caused by the national government's economic policies. For example, the government may order a wage increase of 10% for all employees. This 10% increase may trigger inflation by another 12%, making a total of 22%, while the allowed tuition increase is only 10%. The institution will, therefore, have to dig into its reserves, if it has any, and curtail new academic programs or projects. It will take two to three years of adjustment before it can again expect a climb in its growth rate.

Line AD includes those institutions with neither adequate reserves nor any endowment funds or properties that can be converted into cash. These will experience a plateau until they can be bailed out with mission money. If they are not rescued by 1988, they will probably not recover, and will eventually join line AE, where most of the smaller institutions reside. Line AE includes those institutions that have no mission support, no endowment, no resources except tuition fees. Institutions on this line will tend to have low enrollment because the low qualifications of the faculty will not attract students. The highly qualified faculty will go elsewhere because the institutions in this category have a low salary scale. Such colleges will continue to exist only because the faculty is loyal to the institution and will not allow it to close. Faculty members may even donate a part of their salary to the college, as long as they can hold out. Christian spirit will buoy them up until better times come. This was the situation at Philippine Christian College when I became president in 1969. Enrollment was less than 1000 students and faculty salaries were low, but the spirit and loyalty of the faculty had kept the college from dying. Some trustees had already suggested closure. In 1969, P.C.C. was on line AE; today, it is on line AB.

Those institutions on line AE are not necessarily hopeless cases, especially if the faculty and staff are loyal. If the faculty, staff and administration give up the struggle to survive, such colleges will join line AF or line AG. In this case, the institutions will lose their identity as academic communities.

The future of Christian universities in Asia is certainly not as rosy as one might want it. Even the highly endowed institutions face scarce resources. They have to carefully select priorities, for a mistake can spell financial disaster. Proliferation of courses, unnecessary splitting of small classes, expensive research without adequate funding, and over-expansion of building programs without adequate resources for main-

tenance can drain financial reserves; if these funds are not replenished externally, bankruptcy can result.

To stay viable, all sectors of the academe have to help keep the cost of operation down. The simple task of closing a flowing faucet or turning off lights or an electric fan inside an empty classroom may seem unimportant to the janitor, student or teacher, but water and electricity are significant expenses nowadays. Even the repair and painting of buildings is becoming prohibitive. So is keeping the grass green, the grounds well manicured and swept clean. Everyone in a university must look about him to such seemingly inconsequential things that really count a lot, and realize that the time to tighten belts is now. In order for Christian schools to survive, we in the academic community must learn to make do with what little we have.

In addition, there are many ways of raising funds for school purposes. Some institutions have not taken good advantage of all of them.

(1) Alumni support. One of the biggest sources of money is alumni contributions. Experience has shown that individual alumni can contribute from ten pesos to several million pesos if properly asked. The institutional fund raiser must anticipate the questions wealthy alumni ask themselves. The giver wonders what he is giving for. In business terms, what is the product line sold to me by my alma mater? If the product appeals to him, the alumnus does not hesitate to give a substantial amount.

(2) Professorial chairs. The alumnus who endows a professorial chair usually has been satisfied with the teachers from whom he took courses while he was in college. For example, if he enjoyed his English courses, he may endow a professorial chair in English. If he is a businessman and his courses in business administration helped him succeed, he may endow a professorial chair in business. An investment of ₱250,000 is sufficient to endow a chair, bringing an income of ₱2500 monthly if invested conservatively at 12% per annum.

Some business corporations have set up their own foundations as tax umbrellas; they are also looking for institutions where they might give professorial chairs or named scholarships.

(3) Student scholarships. Many corporations, foundations and individual givers look for opportunities to send worthy students to school. Properly cultivated, these entities can provide substantial donations toward one or all of the following: tuition and fees, books,

transportation and cash allowances for scholars.

(4) Endowment. The endowment resources of a university may include cash invested in bonds, notes guaranteed by banks, time deposits, money market placements, etc.; also included are fixed assets such as land for rental, for farm development, or for outright sale— the cash to be put on long term deposit.

(5) Research foundations. Foundations may contract with the research division of the university for specific projects. Released time for faculty researchers should be paid for by the research project and not by the university, otherwise there will be a drain on the salary budget of the institution. In addition, the research project should bring income to the university of about 10%. If this overhead is not provided for, the research offer should be rejected and the faculty members kept at teaching.

(6) Mission support. Funding from foreign mission organizations has been decreasing every year. However, mission giving is still there to be tapped on a highly selective basis. Mission boards are interested in projects or programs that are meaningful to the institution; the money is not a dole to be wasted by the recipients. Proof of this is the annual announcement of the United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia, inviting all its related institutions and agencies to submit project proposals for funding.

(7) Dormitories. Dormitory fees should bring in money. If private dormitories can make money, why cannot university dormitories? Christian universities are sometimes criticized for making money. This criticism usually comes from church members. When one asks these same people to contribute to the university, they say they have no money. Instead they ask the university to contribute to their churches. It seems safe, therefore, to disregard such criticism.

(8) Cafeterias and canteens. University food services should also bring in profits. If private restaurants can make money, why should not those operated by a university? Here again, if the university is sensitive to criticism, then these services may be leased to a private business at a good price.

The idea that a Christian university should not make a profit on any of its operations is no longer tenable today. No one will help the university if it cannot help itself. Not even the so-called Christian commu-

nity will help if bankruptcy looms. The academic community must help itself if a university faces financial disaster.

To stay viable and competitive, a university must generate a substantial surplus each academic year; this surplus should be reserved for future use. If a reserve is not built up, the institution will remain on the plateau of line AE in Figure 1. Many Christian institutions find themselves today in serious financial difficulties. However, given intelligent management, and time to recover as economic conditions improve, most should be able to attain stability.

Book Review

Peasants in the Hills. Violeta Lopez-Gonzaga. Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1983. 226 pages, including a glossary of terms in the vernacular, appendices, maps, figures, tables and index.

Peasants in the Hills presents a microcosmic study of the dynamics of social change. Its subject matter is the culture of a small community of swidden (slash-and-burn) agriculturalists, the Buhid on the island of Mindoro, Philippines. The Buhid are one of six Malayan ethno-linguistic groups generally known as Mangyan.

Dr. Gonzaga's familiarity with the socio-cultural dimension of Mangyan lifeways in general, and the Buhid in particular, extends across a good number of years of study and research. She also published a monograph entitled *The Mangyans of Mindoro: An Ethnohistory* in 1976. Chapter 2 of the volume presently under review reveals a great debt to the earlier work. And it clearly shows the propensity for history in this young anthropologist. However, the approach in *Peasants in the Hills* might be described as more anthropological than the "naturalistic" type of study which characterizes ethnohistory.

In the text, social situations are portrayed with fine clarity, supplemented by photographs that make the report more vivid than it would have been without the pictures. Thirty-six different black and white pictures of Buhid life appear in this volume.

Reading through the narrative text, one sees evidence of real anthropological fieldwork and reporting in the tradition of Ruth Benedict and Margaret Mead. The usual tools for ethnographic investigation are used: selective participation—as one does observation; informant interview, keenly mindful of diligent asking of questions; language learning; and the inevitable but seemingly endless pacing off of village ground.

The particularized study setting has been contextualized into the framework of the Third World, specifically the Asian situation. This is discernible in the conceptual frame of reference into which all facets of the author's work fall. In this regard, citation of such social scientists as Gunnar Myrdal, Edmund Leach, Julian Steward, Marshall Sahlins, Robert Carneiro, Gundar Frank and Harold Conklin serves well. Thus, as one particular ethnic group is described, delineating the social and economic aspects of its existence which are rooted in its traditional past, more recent politico-legal relationships that have arisen in this developing nation also emerge.

This compact but highly informative and stimulating book of eight chapters is recommended as a reference in Philippine history, anthropology, sociology and economics.

Salvador B. Vista

Briefly Mentioned

The United States military bases in the Philippines provide a favorite topic for newspapers in this country. Labor problems and "body searches" at the gates make headlines. Editorials endlessly air the pros and cons of the bases: Is the amount paid the Philippine government for their use indeed "rent"? Are the moral and cultural costs of the bases intolerably high? Are the bases an economic asset or a drain on the economy? Do they actually defend the Philippines or might they attract a military attack?

Roland G. Simbulan considers these question and many more in his **Bases of our Insecurity: A Study of the U.S. Military Bases in the Philippines** (Manila: BALAI Fellowship [Box SM-366], 1983, 309 pages). Using such U.S. government sources as transcripts of House and Senate committee hearings and Defense Department documents released under the Freedom of Information Act, Simbulan presents a comprehensive study of the history and prospects of the bases.

From time to time, the book becomes a bit extravagant; "...during this period the US gave military aid to the French colonialists in their aggression against Vietnam, triggered the Korean War, and perpetuated adventurous military acts against Arab countries in the Middle East and Near East [sic]. At the same time, it put into practice the so-called stategy of freeing 'imprisoned countries' in Eastern Europe, and engineered the counter-revolutionary putsch in Hungary (1956)" (34). In the same vein are mention of the seizure of the U.S. embassy in Teheran in 1979 (182) and of the U.S. Peace Corps (184). By and large, though, Simbulan presents much good sense in an admirable prose style. The book is also well printed and relatively free of typographical errors.

Especially noteworthy are Simbulan's analyses of the moral cost of the bases—prostitution, bribery, etc.—and of how the bases might contribute to bringing nuclear war to this country. We can also thank him

for reproducing, in the original U.S. Navyese, a number of really obnoxious documents emanating from the Subic Bay naval base. From them we learn that Filipino workers "...must be escorted everywhere...," on a ship under repair, as they "...will steal anything they can get their hands on" (259-60). On the other hand, no reason if given why Negritos must "...hide themselves in the jungle...," other than that "...the Office of the Provost Marshal has noticed many Negritos walking, talking and just being seen in public places in and around the the golf course area" (266). Presumably, the original residents of the Subic Bay area are esthetically unacceptable to the current residents of those parts.

Simbulan's book has spawned discussion on this campus and elsewhere, and also further publication. "Militarization: Philippines" by P. N. Abinales is a 42-page pamphlet published by the Nationalist Resource Center of the Ecumenical Movement for Justice and Peace. "Mindanao: Pawn to U.S. Global Military Strategy" by Bobby Mejia (16 pages, mimeographed), produced by the Forum for Approaches in Research, Media and Development, Butuan City, also appears in a Cebuano language version, in **Agusdiwa: Bulitin sa Agusan-Surigao 3** (1984).

A not totally unrelated publication is **Filipinos and Americans: A Love-Hate Relationship** by Virginia Benitez Licuanan (Manila: Baguio Country Club, 1982, 176 pages). This attractive, lavishly illustrated, large-format history of the Baguio Country Club is certainly not your usual "coffee table book"; neither is it simply a "house history." Licuanan uses the Club as a foundation upon which to build a folksy history of relations between Americans and Filipinos in the Philippines, with heavy emphasis on American assertiveness, insensitivity, and out-and-out racial prejudice. The account is a most readable and balanced one; the old photographs are a positive delight. It is easy to forgive the — quite favorable — reference to "Siliman University" [sic] on page 48.

Finally, a new publication by a Silliman author has recently appeared. Albert Faurot, professor emeritus of music and fine arts, has produced a little book which promises to be the first of a series. **Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart: Portraits of Musicians in Word and Picture, No. 1** (1984; no place of publication or publisher, 96 pages) is an illustrated biography of the composer, apparently for school use. Of special interest is the last chapter, containing personal notes on Faurot and Mozart's music in wartime China and later at Silliman University.

Dale Law

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Republic of the Philippines
Ministry of Transportation and Communications
BUREAU OF POSTS
Manila

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NAME	ADDRESS
Editor: Dale Law	Silliman University, Dumaguete City
Owner: Silliman University	Dumaguete City
Publisher: Silliman University	Dumaguete City
Printer: Silliman University Press	Silliman University, Dumaguete City
Office of Publication: Silliman University	Dumaguete City

Total number of copies printed and circulated of the issue dated Volume 29 No. 3-4, 1982.

1. Sent to paid subscribers	105
2. Sent to others than paid subscribers	305
Total	410

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Business Manager

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