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Editorial Note

Apologies are again due our readers for the delay in appearance of this issue, a result, basically, of the break-down of antiquated equipment at the Silliman University Press. We can only hope that *SJ* is worth waiting for, and try to do better in the future.

Nonetheless, *SJ* is happy to help celebrate the eightieth anniversary of Silliman University. Two articles by Silliman alumni now teaching in the United States focus the journal's contribution. Ivor Thomas writes in a vein that made many listeners uncomfortable when his remarks were first delivered on the Silliman campus. Unfashionable as it may seem in this age of ferreting out imperialists, Thomas is forgiving of the American Protestant missionaries that accompanied soldiers and administrators to these, and other, shores during the heyday of American colonial expansion. Although their enthusiasm sounded much like that of their secular counterparts, the missionaries, says Thomas, were in general "innocents," whose actions must not be classed as imperialism at all. Note that the views expressed by Everett Mendoza and Stephen Lowrie in their review articles run sharply counter to Thomas's.

In another *"balik*-Silliman" article, Lily Kapili makes a useful connection between the teaching of literature and the teaching of language. Her common-sense reminder, the result of research on teaching texts widely used in the Philippines, is that we should not expect too much too soon from students learning English as a second language. Texts for literary study should be geared to language proficiency.

Alan White's notes on turtles alert readers to yet another environmental emergency facing the Philippines. Although now illegal, sea turtle exploitation continues, but must be stopped—perhaps by unorthodox means—if this important animal is not to disappear from our country.

Perla Makil on women and Anthony Tan on literature should both be welcome to readers perhaps tiring of history and science, both heavily represented in *SJ* the past few years. We hope future issues will further emphasize the fact that this journal aims to be *general* in its presentation.

Finally, we welcome Ceres Pioquinto, of the Silliman University Department of English and Literature, as Assistant Editor of *SJ*.

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 acknowlege 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.

The Missionary Imperative in an Age of Destiny and Innocence

Ivor B. Thomas

Kenneth Scott Latourette, great historian of the expansion of Christianity, entitled the three volumes of his magnum opus which were devoted to the nineteenth century "The Great Century." In doing so, Latourette wished to celebrate an unprecendented missionary expansion of Christianity which led him to conclude that "in the nineteenth century Christianity had a far larger place in human history than at any previous time."[1] Coming late to the arena of foreign missionary activity (indeed, having been the recipients of it for the first two centuries of their history), American Protestants, once they discovered the call and the lure of serving God in foreign lands, devoted themselves to missionary work with great zeal and confidence. Indeed, by the time that World War I broke out American foreign missions dominated the entire Protestant missionary enterprise.

The story has often been told of the origins of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. In a rainstorm in the summer of 1806 a group of Williams College students took shelter in a haystack and pledged to dedicate themselves to missionary service in other lands. From this beginning an enterprise grew which was to have an incalculable effect on the American churches, the American public's perception of the rest of the world (especially the non-Western world), and the American government's foreign policy—not to mention its effect on the beneficiaries of this missionary activity.

The concern of this paper is with the interrelationship between the missionary imperative, which is an authentic and important religious concern of Christians, and the American people and nation's sense of destiny, which if it is religious, belongs more to the sphere of what the sociologist Robert Bellah has termed "American civil religion" rather than to that of Christianity. In particular, the focus is upon that interrelationship during the two decades at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century when the foreign missions movement in American Protestantism reached its climactic phase.

What follows is an attempt to understand the connection between an important chapter in religious history and the social environment out of which it arose. Medieval historian R. W. Southern's wise observation

provides a license for the endeavor. Southern writes that

> it is important to appreciate the forces which continued and directed the development of the church, for ecclesiastical history is often written as if these forces did not exist, or existed only to be overcome. The truth is that they could not be overcome because they were invisible to contemporaries. The historian can recognize them in retrospect only because he can observe their influence over a wide field of human behaviour.[2]

Consequently, I believe that it is important to examine the missionary activity of the American Protestant Churches in a broader context than is usually done, at least by churchmen. It is not sufficient to consider it as solely a response to the "great commission" of Jesus in Matthew 28:10-20, as one more episode in the long history of Christian devotion and faithfulness. It is, of course, that, and I have no intention of minimizing or belittling the heroic faith of a multitude of missionaries. But if there are "social sources of denominationalism," as H. Richard Niebuhr reminded us in 1929, there are also cultural sources of missionary activity. We must, if we are to understand the phenomenon of American missionary activity, look at it in the context of at least two very significant aspects of American life in the three or four decades before World War I. These aspects are the growing awareness that the United States must assume what Congregational clergyman Josiah Strong regarded as its imperial duty to Anglo-Saxonize the world and the pervasiveness in American life of a spirit which historian Henry May has called "American innocence." We shall find, I think, that the two are very much intertwined.

An Age of Innocence

In his important study, *The End of American Innocence,* Henry May argues that a momentous change took place in American civilization in the years between 1912 and the end of the first World War. Ideas, values, and convictions which had reigned virtually unchallenged in American culture were so effectively shattered that after the war "it was hard to find a convincing or intellectually respectable spokesman for the prewar faith."[3] What was that faith which held such a powerful grasp on the American mind of the nineteenth century? May suggests that nineteenth-century American civilization was characterized by three central doctrines which in their various guises dominated American thought. "These were first, the certainty and universality of moral values; second, the inevitability, particularly in America, of progress; and third, the importance of traditional literary culture."[4] The world which was shaped

by these doctrines was a rather simple one in which problems could be expeditiously dealt with, truth easily discerned, assurance of the right readily attained, and a glorious future counted upon. Complexities such as are commonplace in the modern world, the troubling relativity of values which confronts us at every turn, the perplexing lack of clarity, and the alarming possibility that we live in a world without meaning—all of these were foreign to the American mind of the late nineteenth century. May calls it an age of innocence and asserts that

> Innocence, the absence of guilt and doubt and the complexity that goes with them, had been the common characteristic of the older culture and its custodians, of most of the progressives, most of the relativists and social scientists, and of the young leaders of the pre-war Rebellion.[5]

Among the custodians of the older culture who were marked by this innocence and held captive by the optimistic tenor of the age were most of the leading spokesmen of American Protestantism. All across the religious spectrum the American Protestant temperament was unremittingly optimistic. This was obvious in the case of the liberal clergy in the major urban pulpits, men like Henry Ward Beecher and Phillips Brooks, who were secure in their defense of the social and economic status quo. It was less expected but clearly present among leaders of the Social Gospel movement like Walter Rauschenbusch, who, while discerning a social crisis in American society, nevertheless remained convinced that the social order could be (and was being) Christianized. More surprising still was the essential optimism of the great revivalist Dwight L. Moody, who, while he inveighed against sin, did not link it to the social realms, and who all the while remained both a representative and strong supporter of the American bourgeois way of life. Only on the fringes of the culture, among the premillennialist precusors of American fundamentalism, was there a pessimistic assessment of the world and its future. But these were voices which could easily be ignored, if they were even heard, by the leaders of the Protestant community who remained convinced that Christian civilization was emerging in an America which would lead the way to the Christianization and democratization of the whole world. For them, the shape of this Christian civilization was, not surprisingly, remarkably like the civilization that May describes: one marked by moral idealism, faith in a nobler future, and cultural standards rooted in America's Puritan tradition. How could it be otherwise in a society in which "Protestantism. . . permeated the social structure and the value system of the nation"?[6]

A characteristic aspect of American Protestant thought in the nineteenth century is its optimism both about man himself and the world in which he dwells. Living in a land which was changing more rapidly than they could keep up with, citizens of a nation whose people and resources were expanding at a dizzying rate, Americans were, almost without reflection, firm believers in progress. They were convinced that the democratic civilization they were advancing and the religious faith on which it was grounded—an increasingly liberal form of evangelical Protestantism—were twin champions of ideals and values which would soon transform both humankind and the world itself into the glorious kingdom of God.

This optimism is not confined to those early theological liberals who, believing with William Ellery Channing in man's perfectibility, transformed much of the early New England tradition in the direction of Unitarianism, nor is it confined to the later liberal heirs of Horace Bushnell, who exhibited so much confidence in the redeemed man's ability to act upon the "susceptibility to good" which each man possesses. One expects theological liberals, with their diminished understanding of the magnitude and extent of man's sinfulness, to be optimistic, but many of the leaders of the more conservative wing of evangelical Protestantism shared their optimism. This was especially true of the leading revivalists of the nineteenth century, who, while insisting that salvation is by grace, nevertheless encouraged men to use their native capacities to the fullest in bringing about their own salvation. "Religion is the work of man," said Charles Grandison Finney, and only by seizing the initiative can men expect revivals of religion with the benefits they bring.[7] "Let all take hold and help," exhorted Dwight L. Moody, " and then religion will be like a red-hot ball rolling over the earth and nothing can stand against it."[8] Sin was real to these men, but it was not debilitating, not a weight that drags one down in a Pauline sense. Nor were they sensitive to that profound truth which Luther discussed so eloquently in *Contra Latomus,* the persistence of sin in the actions of the saints in accordance with the statement in Ecclesiastes: "Surely there is not a righteous man on earth who does good and sins not" (Eccles. 7:20). Quite the contrary, these two great revivalists both tended in the direction of Christian perfectionism, the strange doctrine which assumes that it is within the range of possibility for redeemed men to become perfect in this life. Such an idea is almost to be expected in an American context.

It should not be surprising that men like Finney and Moody were as optimistic about man as they were when one considers the nature of their audiences. They did not, as one might on first thought expect, preach

primarily to the unchurched, but rather to church members who sought spiritual reinforcement or rejuvenation. James F. Findlay says of Moody's meetings that it was not possible to enter one "without noticing that Christianity apparently had become the religion of the comfortable and the well-to-do."[9] The revivalist's message was essentially one in which his audience was assured of God's love rather than reminded of His judgment. Moody identified himself with the businessmen who supported his work and never really questioned the ideals and values of America's "gilded age."

If conservative churchmen like Moody shared the optimistic outlook of the age, it was, however, among the spokesmen of the liberal wing of evangelical Protestantism that its most enthusiastic expression was found. These men sought to reconcile the Christian hope of a redeemed society with the evolutionary ideas which were in the air. In a juxtaposition which Darwin would have rejected, they identified evolution with progress, and then boldly asserted that this was God's way of doing things. The material progress which was undeniable was extended to embrace all of life—from Creation, through the present age, to the Kingdom of God, there was a continuous line of development. As H. Richard Niebuhr has observed, the idea of the kingdom was thereby robbed of its dialectic element. This naively optimistic liberalism had a "one-sided view of progress which saw the growth of the wheat but not of the tares, the gathering of the grain but not the burning of the chaff."[10] This is the innocence that May says characterized the whole culture. Niebuhr's harsh and accurate judgment of such a stance would have fallen on uncomprehending ears: "A God without wrath brought men without sin into a kingdom without judgment through the ministrations of a Christ without a cross."[11]

A National Destiny

Turning from the optimistic innocence of nineteenth-century American Protestantism, we encounter another belief that helped to shape the missionary enthusiasm of the period, the idea of America's divinely ordained mission. American Protestants have long cherished the conviction that God was acting decisively in their midst, that they and their nation were to play a major role in the concluding drama of human history. The Puritans settled Massachusetts in the belief that they were God's "New Israel," called to establish "a city on a hill" which would stand as a beacon and guide for all the world. Jonathan Edwards, perhaps the

greatest theologian the American churches produced, reflecting on the momentous events associated with the Great Awakening, expressed his conviction and that of many of his countrymen that "the latter-day glory is probably to begin in America." The millennial age which Christians had earnestly awaited since the resurrection of their Lord was at last in the offing.

Edwards' faith was of the type that is called postmillennialist, meaning that he expected the return of Christ after the establishment of the kingdom of God on earth. He sketched clearly the contours of that Kingdom in his *Work of Redemption*:

> Then shall all the world be united in one amiable society. All nations, in all parts of the world, on every side of the globe, shall then be knit together in sweet harmony. All parts of God's church shall assist and promote the spiritual good of one another. A communication shall then be upheld between all parts of the world to that end; and the art of navigation, which is now applied so much to favour men's covetousness and pride, and is used so much by wicked debauched men, shall then be consecrated to God, and applied to holy uses.[12]

The instruments of God in bringing this to pass, Edwards believed, were the newly reawakened American Christians.

This faith was reinforced with the establishment, later in the century, of the new American nation, a nation which Americans (and many Europeans as well) saw as a new type of nation, democratic in polity and committed to the idea that individuals had certain inalienable rights granted to them by their Creator. The expansion of the United States across the continent gave birth to a secularized concept of the American purpose, labeled "manifest destiny" and focused on the specific destiny of the United States of America. But in Protestant circles, the old millennialist vision of Edwards remained strong, the vision which viewed America as God's agent for bringing His glory to all the world. As the quotation above testifies, Edwards was convinced that the new age which was dawning would benefit not only Americans but all peoples—the world would be united in one amiable society, all nations would be knit together in harmony, the world's commerce would redound to God's glory. Such was the postmillennialist faith, and where it was present, one found an earnestness and sense of mission that was, at its best, concerned with the well-being and upliftment of others. Thus Leonard Bacon in 1845 told the Foreign Evangelical Society that "our country

is destined to act upon the world, not by conquest and dominion, but by moral influences" and expressed the concern that "every thoughtful Christian citizen would feel the relations of his country to the world."[13] That such a concern could go hand-in-glove with a self-satisfied smugness and arrogance can not be denied, but it is my contention that often its companion was simply that which May has called "American innocence." The assurance of American Protestants that they and their nation were instruments of the Divine Providence made them blind to their own limitations, the narrowness and relativity of their vision, and their too obvious willingness to believe that their moralistic values were writ in stone.

Not all American Protestants who embraced the millennial hope in the nineteenth century, however, were postmillennialists. As the century wore on, an increasing number of evangelical adherents of a vital belief in the second coming of Jesus adopted an alternative form of millennialism, i.e., premillennialism, according to which the millennial age would come only after the return of Christ. Such a faith is essentially individualistic rather than social; it believes that the message of the Gospel is primarily directed to individuals rather than to the world itself and that only individuals, not society, can be redeemed. This is a more pessimistic attitude and, as such, it has not had as long a tradition in America. Where it appears, one finds a certain failure of nerve, a rather un-American loss of confidence brought on by a sense of no longer being in control of things. In certain circles, this attitude became widespread as America moved from a homogeneous society, essentially rural and Protestant, to an ethnically and religiously pluralistic one, in which influence shifted from the countryside to the large industrialized cities. Many Protestants feared that America was in mortal danger of forsaking her ideals and losing her way. Consequently, the old confidence that they were God's instruments gave way to a new vision in which God would act unilaterally to achieve His purpose.

The premillennialists were appalled by the new world in their midst, and they saw the problems which it engendered—problems which other Americans sought to combat in the conviction that a spirit of reform would lead to their eradication—as evidence of God's disfavor and signs of the impending judgment. Their sense of foreboding was dismissed by most of the leading Protestant spokesmen, and premillennialism came to be one ingredient in the faith of those who made up the fundamentalist wing of Protestantism. In the face of the fundamentalist belief that modern culture was scientific and secular in spirit, there was no room for

confidence in the emergence out of it of a millennial age. If such an age were to come, it would only be through a total destruction of this age and the appearance of a totally new age inaugurated by the second coming of Christ.

Such a view would appear to eliminate premillennialists from the considerations to which this paper is addressed. American premillennialists can not, however, easily be lumped together; one must be wary of drawing obvious conclusions. When they give expression to the urgency which a belief in the imminent return of Christ arouses, these millennialists are starkly aware of the deficiencies, indeed the evil, of the world around them. They look out upon the social order—in the period with which we are concerned, one in which the social order is changing at a dizzying rate and which can better be characterized as a disorder—and they do not like what they see. They are equally certain that God does not like it either. The result is a message of judgment and condemnation which is both sweeping and categorical. Corruption, evil, godlessness—these are everywhere, and the social order contrasts sharply with the glorious beginnings of God's new Israel. In the face of such a message, one does not expect the American premillennialist preacher to be a spokesman for and defender of American society. Yet from Dwight L. Moody down to Billy Graham and Jerry Falwell in our own day this expectation has gone awry.

The major revivalists have all been, in their patriotic or civil religious moments, optimistic champions of the United States. They believe that God has blessed the nation richly in the past and will do so more fully in the future. They believe that American culture at its best is deeply Christian, and they are confident that with a renewed effort on the part of the Christian people of the country the aberrations of the present can be righted and a new glory can descend upon the nation. This has a postmillennialist ring to it, yet the premillennialist preachers can not detect it. They see no contradiction between their pessimistic convictions about the state of the world and their optimistic faith in the state of America. Not seeing the contradiction makes it possible for them to believe that they are the instruments of God in proclaiming the impending return of Christ to judge the world and also His instruments in proclaiming the glories of Christian, i.e., American or Western, civilization. We are not confronted by hypocrisy here; we are confronted by intellectual confusion.

Thus we must conclude that the difference in the millennial expectation, profound and striking as it is with respect to the social implications of the Christian message, has no real effect on the belief in America's

unique destiny, more especially the unique mission of American Christians. It is not without significance that two of the early leaders of the Student Volunteer Movement, which optimistically sought to mobilize American young people to evangelize the world in their generation, Robert Wilder and Robert E. Speer, were premillennialists.[14] Like the naively optimistic belief in the progress of civilization toward the kingdom of God on earth, the sense of American destiny was an aspect of the climate of innocence out of which the great missionary activity of the period emerged.

If our argument has merit, we who gather to celebrate the eightieth anniversary of the establishment of this jewel in the crown of the American Presbyterian missionary enterprise[15] can not have the luxury of uncritically praising that establishment as a manifestation of a selfless response to the commission of Christ to preach the gospel to all men or of cynically viewing it as another instance of American cultural imperialism in which a people who were blind to their own faults self-righteously sought to uplift others to their level. In one sense it was both of these things; in another, it was neither. When American Protestants in 1901 saw themselves as instruments of God for the transmission of the Christian civilization through which they had already experienced great blessings, they were not really aware of the magnitude of their own arrogance. Their whole national experience had reinforced the basic soundness of their faith, and their obstinate unwillingness to face the contradiction between their ideals and their actions—a contradiction which their treatment of blacks and Indians at home revealed—made them both sincere and confident that the rest of the world, particularly those peoples living in tropical lands, waited eagerly and hopefully for the message of the gospel of Christian civilization. On the foreign mission field, the great crusade for a redeemed world moved to its inevitable final battleground as American Protestants, in the optimistic spirit which characterized them, sought to "evangelize the world in this generation."

These generalizations can be substantiated, I believed, by examining the role which arguments arising both from the conviction that America had a God-given destiny to proclaim the benefits of its experience to other people and from the overpowering confidence of American optimism play in promoting missionary activity at the beginning of the twentieth century. The former set of arguments will be taken from two works which sought to encourage American Protestants to assume their responsibilities toward the Philippines, Josiah Strong's *Expansion under New World-Conditions* (1900) and Arthur Judson Brown's *The New*

Era in the Philippines (1903). The latter set of arguments will come from John R. Mott's examination of the Student Volunteer Movement's watchword in his *The Evangelization of the World in this Generation* (1900).

The Missionary Imperative

R. Pierce Beaver has pointed out that the basic assumption underlying American Protestant missionary work with the Indians remained constant from the seventeenth century on, viz., "that 'evangelization' and 'civilization' were the two primary goals and that they must be effected simultaneously."[16] One can argue that this observation applies equally well to the assumptions behind the foreign missionary enterprise. Certainly his further assertion that "the inevitable product of evangelization was believed to be civilization, the Gospel bringing the desire for and persistent effort toward the Anglo-American culture which was the very flowering of the Gospel"[17] reflects the convictions which Josiah Strong, following the lead of President McKinley, used to justify the American assumption of sovereignty over the Philippines and which a missionary leader like Arthur Judson Brown used to encourage the Presbyterian Church to assume its responsibility for the evangelization of these islands. For American Protestants it had become impossible to separate from each other ideas arising from their understanding of the nature of the Christian faith and ideas arising from American political democracy.

Josiah Strong.

In our discussion of the postmillennialist hope dominant in American Protestantism at least since the time of Jonathan Edwards, we saw the faith that God was at work in the experience of the American people and that out of this activity would come the climactic event of all history, the establishment of the kingdom of God. In the century since the establishment of the United States, this divine activity had taken the form of perfecting the Christian civilization that was being shaped in the new nation. Confident that that civilization had progressed to a point that it was almost fully Christianized, spokesmen for the evangelical churches, like the Congregationalist clergyman and social gospel leader, Josiah Strong, began to urge their countrymen to remember that God's actions were not merely for the sake of Americans (or in Strong's case, Anglo-Saxons in general). America had been blessed by God not for herself alone, but so that she might be an instrument for the blessing of

others as a transmitter of the faith and a teacher of democracy. When, following this line of thought, American Protestants and the nation itself were urged to assume their God-given responsibilities, the summons was always cast in selfless terms. It was a burden, an obligation, something that must be done as a sacrifice. Yet there was always another dimension, one that was never fully admitted by evangelical churchmen, though often, as in Strong's case, it was painfully transparent. This dimension was the feeling of American pride and glory; an arrogance, if not yet of power, of destiny. One sees it in McKinley's famous assertion that there was nothing left for America to do with the Philippines "but to take them all, and to educate the Filipinos, and uplift and civilize and Christianize them."[18] One sees it even more in Strong's invocation of the spirit of Anglo-Saxon imperialism. The Anglo-Saxon race, he asserts "has been made powerful and rich, and free and exalted—powerful, not to make subject, but to serve; rich, not to make greater gains, but to know the greater blessedness; free, not simply to exult in freedom, but to make free; exalted, not to look down, but to lift up."[19]

The problem with all of this is that Strong was convinced that this, vocation of service, of making others free and lifting them up, was not a temporary vocation but a permanent one. Most white Americans in the late nineteenth century accepted the ugly doctrines of racial superiority, and Strong articulated their implications for America's role in the world. In his view, the differences between races and civilizations were fundamental, and not differences of degree and time. There was no way for "belated races" to catch up to "advanced ones," since they were "not traveling the same path."[20] Since the tropical races were thus seen as inherently inferior, the responsibility which God had placed on the Anglo-Saxons was a perpetual one. There is in Strong's call to duty the language of service, the appeal to altruism and Christian charity, but the overwhelming spirit of the summons is imperialistic.

This becomes clear as he sketches out the "new world conditions" which necessitate American expansion. These conditions are essentially economic and geo-political. Since American manufacturers were on the verge of becoming the masters of the world market, Strong examined the fundamental conditions for success in manufactures and concluded that American supremacy in this area was likely to be permanent. Thus, the enlargement of America's foreign markets became a great necessity if the nation were to remain prosperous and avoid the perils of revolution at home. If, as seemed likely, the European nations began to protect their own manufactures, America would have to look to Asia and the

tropics for these markets. China becomes especially important in this respect, and Strong insists that it is essential for America's future interests that she play a major role in the awakening of China. An awakened and prosperous China, yoked in interest with the United States, would make the Pacific Ocean the "new Mediterranean" of the world, the center of commerce. In the face of this reality, Strong asserts that "it is not difficult to see a providential meaning in the fact that with no design of our own, we have become an Asiatic power."[21]

In a strangely prescient chapter, Strong argues that it is essential that this new Mediterranean be an Anglo-Saxon sea, controlled economically and militarily by the two great Anglo-Saxon nations, along with Canada and Australia. The alternative would be control over it by the Slav—Russia. Strong maintains that these two races, which are roughly equal in numbers but both rapidly growing, both possessed of remarkable powers for assimilating other peoples, and convinced of their unique religious missions, are locked in a "stupendous struggle" for the future. Their differences are absolute—"the Anglo-Saxon is the supreme representative of civil and religious liberty; the Slav is the supreme representative of absolutism, both in state and church."[22] Anglo-Saxon civilization is based on the development of the individual, Slavic civilization on his suppression. In a touch of irony, Strong suggests that Russia is "deeply imbued with the dangerous notion that Heaven especially favors 'Holy Russia.' "[23] The obvious question, especially for such a determined advocate of the holy mission of the Anglo-Saxons, of why such a notion is dangerous when it is Russian and not dangerous when it is American does not occur to him. At any rate, in the face of this great struggle for the future, Strong insists on the strategic importance of Hawaii and the Philippines to the United States. This, coupled with our duty—religious and civilizing—toward these peoples, requires America to possess them. Only then does he speak of the blessings that this possession will bring to these Pacific islands. One can not help but conclude that it is the political motive and not the religious one that leads Strong to say that for America to abandon the Philippines would "be treason to ourselves, to the Anglo-Saxon race, to humanity, and to Western civilization."[24]

Having quoted with approval an incredible statement by a Columbia University professor, Franklin Giddings, to the effect that Dewey's victory in Manila Bay was the most important historical event since Charles Martel's victory over the Muslims in 732 A.D., Strong insists that the victory ushered in a new age for America, one in which isolation was

no longer a legitimate option. Washington's famous strictures against foreign involvement are no longer appropriate for the nation's manhood.[25] In the face of the new conditions, ideas, ideals, and necessities of the twentieth century, in which America has already willy nilly expanded, the only recourse for the United States is to courageously and intelligently adapt to this new situation with "a new world policy, the aim of which shall be not national aggrandizement, but the noblest ministry to the new world life."[26]

Strong thus tries to soften the blatantly political character of his argument by speaking of America's ministry and asserting God's providential role in the events that have made America a Pacific power (no pun intended). This has all come to pass because God's interest in human affairs stems from His concern for progress and the advancement of civil and religious liberty. It is to promote civil liberty that American sovereignty over the Philippines has been asserted and it is to promote religious liberty that Protestant missionaries are sent there. Strong rejects the arguments of the anti-imperialists against such a role and concludes that "it is time to dismiss 'the craven fear of being great,' to recognize the place in the world which God has given us, and to accept the responsibilites which it devolves upon us in behalf of Christian civilization."[27]

In all of this discussion, the innocence that we have said characterized the American mind of the age is apparent. In fact, the only thing that prevents one from viewing Strong's work as the rantings of a dangerous imperialistic racist is that innocence. Clearly, he did believe that America was called to serve and lift up—also to rule and lead. He believed that armies in Anglo-Saxon lands no longer did what armies have always done, but rather they now served as builders of civilization. He sincerely believed that the time called for "an enlightened world conscience" by means of which men realized that their "interests, sympathies, and opportunities have become as wide as the world" and that their duties had expanded commensurately.[28] Believing all of this, he could argue that the world good must supersede and take precedence over national good, that nations must be held to an ethical standard common to all the world, and that America was called to show the way by demonstrating "the practicability of righteousness in international affairs."[29] There is nothing here to find fault with except the naivete of it all—the incredible naivete. In Strong's view, "the world is gradually being civilized and civilization is gradually being Christianized."[30] Christianity will in due course eliminate the cause of war, war itself will be made impossible, and human nature itself will become "unselfish and pacific." Realizing that this new day

has not yet dawned, he nevertheless invokes its vision as a summons to action.

While Strong's book is primarily aimed at summoning the American people to assume their responsibilities as an imperial power, his argument, coming from the pen of one of Protestantism's most influential spokesmen, provided support for the advocates of foreign missions. Strong himself had always been a vigorous supporter of missionary activity, as his earlier influential work *Our Country* had shown. There he pleaded for greater financial support for the church's missionary endeavors[31] and argued as well for the missionary's role in the great task of Anglo-Saxonizing mankind.[32] "I believe," he wrote, "it is fully in the hands of the Christians of the United States, during the next ten or fifteen years, to hasten or retard the coming of Christ's Kingdom in the world by hundreds, and perhaps thousands of years."[33] A principal means of doing this would be through the nation's fidelity to the task of evangelizing the world.

Arthur Judson Brown.

In Arthur Judson Brown's *The New Era in the Philippines,* one finds an assertion of the missionary responsibilities of American Protestants which complements Strong's argument while addressing the same new conditions. Though Brown does not cite Strong's book, there is ample evidence to suggest that he was influenced by it.

Brown, the Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., wrote his book after a tour of the Philippines in 1903. He sought on the one hand to acquaint American churchmen with the need and challenge of missionary work in their new possession and on the other defend the legitimacy of American sovereignty over the Philippines. His concern was to emphasize the moral obligations that the United States had in the Philippines. As a result, he says very little about the islands' strategic importance and not much more about their commercial significance. The moral obligations that he stresses are grounded in America's role as an instrument of God for the Christianization and civilization of the Filipinos, and they are such that if America refused to assume them "it would be condemned by the moral sense, not only of the world, but of its own people."[34] Assaying the possible objects which America might seek in the Philippines, Brown rejects as motives for American activity both the pursuit of national glory and commercial profit. Such motives are "unworthy of us because they ignore the interests of the people over whom we rule and because

they involve a betrayal of the trust which God has committed to us as a nation."[35] The only legitimate object, then, for our sovereignty is the welfare of the Filipinos.

Brown's view of America's options in this new world situation is not markedly different from Strong's, in spite of their different emphases. He believes that the United States' aloofness from the rest of the world in the first century of her existence was a self-centered policy of "a hermit country"—a phrase which Strong also used—which must now be cast aside. George Washington's advice against entangling alliances was the product of the gloomy prospects for the nation in his day, and not at all indicative of what a man like him, possessed as he was of common sense and Christian patriotism, would do in the twentieth century. Now, the nation had no moral right to vacate its responsibilities. Like individuals, nations must minister to the poor, the sick, the weak, the half-civilized races. "The wrongs of feeble and oppressed peoples are our affair, and we cannot pass by on the other side, pleasant though it would be if we could."[36] Since the United States had been made safe and strong and prosperous by Providence, it could hardly evade duties which that same Providence set before it. Clearly Brown is using the idea of national destiny and responsibility to challenge American Protestants to fulfill their missionary obligations.

Deeply imbued with the optimistic idealism of his countrymen, Brown has no doubts that America, as a Christian nation, can give order and justice to the Philippines. The role of Protestant missionaries in this endeavor is crucial, since they are uniquely equipped to build up character in the Filipino people. By "character," Brown meant the familiar American Protestant virtues—thrift, industry, temperance, godliness, etc.[37] Lamenting the fact that too many of the Americans in the Philippines adhered to moral standards lower than those which, under the influence of family, religion, and a purer public opinion, prevailed in the United States, he appeals to the churches to send forth missionaries who will set an example by representing "the purest and highest types of American Christian culture."[38] (The unshakeableness of American optimism can be seen in the fact that neither Brown nor Strong allows his candid acknowledgments of deficiencies in American behavior to cast doubt upon the positive nature of his assessment of American civilization.)

A major element in Brown's argument is his criticism of what he calls "Spanish Filipino Romanism." He justifies the sending of missionaries to a Christian country by asserting that the "Christianity of the Filipinos is only a veneered heathenism."[39] At the heart of this polemic

is a conviction that Protestantism is a more vital form of Christianity, which not only changes men's hearts but controls their conduct. Missionaries are needed to preach this new form of Christianity to the Filipinos, to provide them with the Scriptures in their own languages and with schools (like Silliman) to educate the souls as well as the minds. The prospect before American Christians is unparalleled in their history, and if they were to undertake it in the right spirit, Brown believed that they would be "the means of bringing to [the Filipinos] untold blessing."[40] Like McKinley, whom he cites with enthusiasm, Brown is confident that America and her churches have received a great trust of civilization which they must unselfishly discharge. Again, both the President and the mission executive are steeped in the innocence of their age.

John R. Mott.

Earlier, it was suggested that the emergence among conservative Protestants of a premillennial expectation may have been caused by a failure of nerve, a loss of optimism in the face of problems bred by a society which was no longer ethically homogeneous, rural, and overwhelmingly Protestant. Perhaps it is not farfetched to suggest that the widespread appeal which foreign missionary work held for young American Protestants was also related to the changing character of American society. The problems arising from this change—large urban concentrations of people, large-scale industrialization, waves of new immigrants, political corruption, the intellectual challenge of new biological, historical, and social-scientific ideas—may have seemed so formidable a challenge that preaching the Gospel to non-Western peoples appeared as a more appealing and manageable one. Only those, however, who were wrapped in innocence could have failed to see the magnitude and difficulties of such an enterprise.

It is noteworthy that when Dwight L. Moody held his first Northfield Conference for students in 1886, it was not his expectation that out of the conference would spring what one of the participants called "a missionary gusher" in the form of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions.[41] Moody always sought to involve the young college students who were attracted to him in that work which he believed to be of primary importance, namely, home missionary evangelism in the cities of the United States. But the students who came to Northfield that momentous summer were not inclined to adopt Moody's priorities. Whether they shied away from them because they sensed that

the task was not quite as simple of solution as Moody with his revivalistic methods believed, is not clear, but it is certain that they chose instead the exciting opportunity to evangelize Asia and Africa. They did so with an awesome naivete about the peoples and cultures of those two great continents and an equally spectacular optimism which saw nothing to prevent complete evangelization in a generation. Confident products of a confident age, they had no doubts about the superiority of Christianity—especially in its Protestant form—to all other religions, and the superiority of the civilization that was that religion's finest product. Indeed, the Student Volunteer Movement is almost a perfect paradigm of American innocence.

John R. Mott's name has always been intimately associated with the Student Volunteer Movement and also, one might add, with the history of the ecumenical movement in the first part of this century. He was for many Americans the foremost spokesman of both movements; to the former, his name has remained inseparably yoked. In *The Evangelization of the World in this Generation,* Mott seeks to justify the great watchword of the movement and, more importantly, to mobilize young men and women to undertake the great task. One is impressed by his deep commitment to the missionary task and also by the depth of his personal religious convictions. One is further impressed by his sense of urgency, his refusal to be dismayed by great obstacles, his persuasiveness. His is a voice which, unlike that of Strong, seems to rise above the concerns of national destiny and glory. In fact, it is refreshing to note Mott's candor in acknowledging how "the selfish and unjust treatment of non-Christian nations and races by nominally Christian powers" is a hindrance to the work of missionaries by making them suspect as political agents of imperialism.[42]

Yet Mott is also a parochial creature of his day. He can speak of all of those living in the non-Christian world, regardless of the antiquity and attainment of their cultures, as "living in ignorance and darkness, steeped in idolatry, superstition, degradation and corruption."[43] All of the non-Christian religions have failed to accomplish that which Christianity has done in regenerating individuals and transforming society.[44] The world is divided into benighted and enlightened nations, the former being those in Africa and Asia, the latter being those of Europe and America. The most enlightened are the Protestant nations.[45] Mott rejoices in the fact that in the past fifty years almost the whole of the Roman Catholic world has opened to Protestant missions[46] and he counts among the difficulties in the way of accomplishing the task of

evangelization the fact that many millions of people adhere to the corrupt forms of Christianity as well as to non-Christian religions. The reference to the Roman Catholic Church is obvious.[47] While he does not speak the language of destiny, he cannot forego the opportunity to suggest that the spiritual interests of America and the West are inseparably bound up with the evangelization of the world. Consequently, "the dictates of patriotism, as well as loyalty to our Lord, call upon us to give ourselves to the world's evangelization."[48]

Parochialism, with its inability to see value in other cultures and religious traditions, frequently accompanies the innocence of the nineteenth-century American. In looking at the other great world religions, Mott and his contemporaries were unable to see anything but "heathen superstitions and false systems of belief."[49] When they encounter the scholars of China and India, men whose intellectual tradition is as ancient as the Western one, they speak of the refusal of those scholars to apprehend Christian truth as stemming from intellectual pride and conceit. Either there is no awareness of how easily the charge might be turned around or, as in Mott's case, there is a categorical rejection of the relativistic notion that Christianity is not the absolute religion and that other religions also might have saving power.[50] As May pointed out, a belief in the certainty of their own moral absolutes is an essential aspect of nineteenth-century innocence.

But the most prominent aspect of this innocence is, as we have argued, its unassailable optimism. The whole idea of evangelizing what Mott conservatively estimated to be 750 million people, let alone the proposal to do it in a generation, is mind-boggling. To be sure, Mott argues that the aim is to evangelize and not to convert, and he acknowledges that it will take centuries to fully Christianize the world. Conversion and Christianization are up to God, but evangelization, the task of making the knowledge of the Gospel accessible to all men so that they will have the opportunity to make a decision for or against Jesus Christ, is well within the realm of human possibility.[51] Not that Mott is unaware of the difficulties, indeed he enumerates them at length[52]: the sheer numbers of those to be reached, the fact that most of them live in rural areas far from lines of commerce, the inaccessibility of many lands either as a result of geography or politics, the hindrances thrown up by hostile governments, the bad examples of other Westerners, the taint of being associated with imperialist nations, intellectual pride and closed minds, indifference both at home and among those to be evangelized, the lack of a sense of sin in non-Christians, secularism, the difficulty of trans-

lating Christian ideas, materialism, disunity in the church, lack of enthusiasm at home, the spirit of relativism, and worldliness in the church. Do these difficulties daunt him? By no means; he optimistically insists that "not one of these difficulties is insuperable."[53] In fact, to him difficulties are advantages, since they bring forth the best in Christians and make them rely more upon God.

Mott would probably dismiss our criticism of his optimism by asserting that his optimism is really in God. Yet the whole tenor of his argument suggests otherwise. It is to individual Christians that he hurls the challenge: "You don't know what you can do until you try."[54] He argues that this formidable task will be accomplished if this generation of volunteers has the "obedience, courage, and determination to attempt the task."[55] While one is reminded frequently that the enterprise is not man's but God's, it is individual Christians working together who hold the key to success. As Mott's long-time colleague and another early leader of the S.V.M., Robert E. Speer, says: "Our position on the question of possibility [of evangelizing the world] will be largely determined by our views of its desirability."[56] Nowhere in Mott's book does one find any doubts that contemporary Christian young people will be united on the task's desirability or that they possess the necessary obedience, courage, or determination. Mott is sure that the great task will be performed. Perhaps nowhere else did the American Protestantism of this period provide such a clear example of its optimistic innocence. The great century was ready to yield to an even greater one.

Notes

[1] Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity* (New York, 1943), vol. 5, p. 1.
[2] R. W. Southern, *Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages* (Harmondsworth, England, 1970), p. 15.
[3] Henry F. May, *The End of American Innocence* (New York, 1959), p. 384
[4] P. 6.
[5] P. 393.
[6] Herbert G. Gutman, "Protestantism and the American Labor Movement: The Christian Spirit in the Gilded Age," in *Dissent: Explorations in the History of American Radicalism*, ed. Alfred F. Young (Dekalb, Illinois, 1969), p. 162.
[7] Charles Grandison Finney, "What a Revival of Religion Is," in *The American Evangelicals*, 1800-1900, ed. William G. McLoughlin (New York, 1969), p. 87.
[8] Dwight L. Moody, "How Can Non-Church-Goers Be Reached?", in *The American Evangelicals*, 1800-1900, p. 175.
[9] James F. Findlay, Jr., *Dwight L. Moody: American Evangelist*, 1837-1899 (Chicago, 1969), p. 272f.
[10] H. Richard Niebuhr, *The Kingdom of God in America* (New York, 1937), p. 193.

[11] P. 193.
[12] Jonathan Edwards, "Work of Redemption," quoted in Alan Heimert, *Religion and the American Mind* (Cambridge, Mass., 1966), p. 99.
[13] R. Pierce Beaver, "Missionary Motivation through Three Centuries," in *Reinterpretation in American Church History,* ed. Jerald C. Brauer (Chicago, 1968), p. 136.
[14] Findlay, pp. 351-52.
[15] This paper was originally presented at Silliman University, Dumaguete City, Philippines, on August 13, 1981, during celebrations marking the eightieth anniversary of the founding of the University.
[16] R. Pierce Beaver, *Church, State and the American Indian* (St. Louis, 1966), p. 156.
[17] P. 156.
[18] Quoted in Reinhold Niebuhr, *Moral Man and Immoral Society* (New York, 1932), p. 102.
[19] Josiah Strong, *Expansion Under New World-Conditions* (New York, 1900), p. 213. See also Josiah Strong, *Our Country* (New York, 1891, revised ed.) pp. 208-27.
[20] Strong, *Expansion Under New World-Conditions,* p. 36ff.
[21] P. 133.
[22] P. 190.
[23] P. 192.
[24] P. 204.
[25] P. 247.
[26] P. 264.
[27] P. 302.
[28] P. 265.
[29] P. 273.
[30] P. 280.
[31] Strong, *Our Country,* p. 239ff.
[32] P. 224ff.
[63] P. 227.
[34] Arthur Judson Brown, *The New Era in the Philippines* (New York, 1903), p. 26.
[35] P. 290.
[36] P. 23
[37] P. 157ff.
[38] P. 153.
[39] P. 168.
[40] P 292
[41] Findlay, pp. 345-55.
[42] John R. Mott, *The Evangelization of the World in this Generation* (New York, 1900), p. 31f.
[43] P. 17.
[44] P. 18.
[45] P. 111.
[46] P. 46.
[47] P. 36.
[48] P. 25.
[49] P. 12.
[50] P. 43.
[51] P. 3.
[52] Pp. 30-44.
[53] P. 45.
[54] P. 104.
[55] P. 105.
[56] P. 153.

Protection of Sea Turtle Habitat and Prevention of Exploitation: A Philippine Emphasis

Alan White

The Philippine Islands have traditionally provided an extensive habitat for sea turtles. Taylor (1921), quoting seventeenth-century Spanish accounts, infers dense populations of sea turtles of "great size." The 7000-island archipelago with its 18,000 km coastline is endowed with beaches, mangrove lagoons, protected reef areas, and estuarine lagoons, all suitable for use by sea turtles for nesting, mating, feeding, and basking (See Fig. 1).

Sea turtles and their products are known throughout the archipelago; yet today turtles are rarely observed in coastal waters of the central Philippines, aquatic researchers from Silliman University have found. Interviews of coastal residents and turtle sightings by only one of every ten scuba divers contacted confirm their scarcity (Alcala, 1980). There are still a few locations where turtles are numerous, for example, in the Turtle Islands of the Sulu Archipelago. Domantay (1953) reported for five years following World War II 433,223 to 963,473 eggs per annum gathered from the Turtle Islands. Current egg harvesting is not recorded but thought to be reduced. Lesser numbers of turtles occur around Palawan Island and its many islets, Negros Island, parts of Mindanao, and other small island groups in the southwestern region (Gomez, 1979).

Normally, small numbers or single turtles are sighted. The Green Turtle, *Chelonia mydas*, is most commonly observed; the Hawksbill Turtle, *Eretmochelys imbricata*, is much more rarely encountered. The Leatherback Turtle, *Dermochelys coriacea*, while occasionally observed, is not known to nest in the Philippines. Domantay (1953) indicates *Chelonia mydas* accounted for 99% of the turtle nests checked during his survey in the Turtle Islands. Alcala (1980) observed at least equal numbers of *E. imbricata* in the central Visayas but with infrequent sightings. An early (1624) account from Taylor (1921), "the fisheries of fine-shelled turtles [Hawksbill?] are also abundant...," may be evidence for a larger Hawksbill population, compared to present Green Turtle domination.

Turtles are actively hunted for their meat, eggs, and shell. An extensive export industry once thrived on turtle shells, stuffed turtles, handcrafted products from turtle shells, and turtle oil. Since 1980, the killing of sea turtles, collecting of their eggs, and exporting turtle products have all been illegal. The current scarcity of turtles makes most of these illegal activities economically unfeasible, but nesting turtles continue to

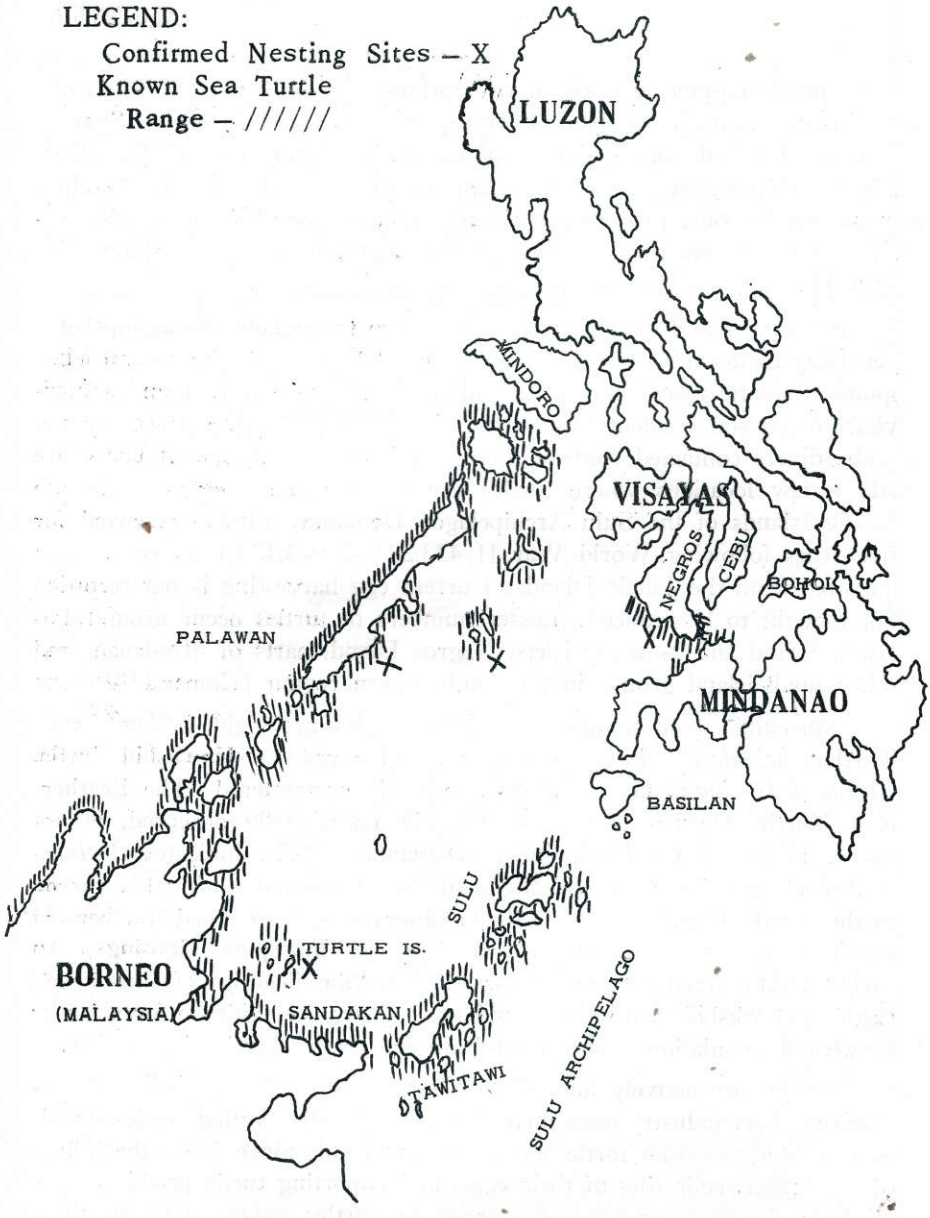

Figure 1. Map of the Philippines showing prime sea turtle nesting areas.

be collected for local consumption and possibly as sale items for the tourist market (personal observation; Alcala, 1980).

Sea Turtle Habitat Characteristics and Requirements

The Green Turtle, *Chelonia mydas,* occupies an oceanic and estuarine habitat and appears to prefer shallow water inside reefs, shoals, and lagoons with marine grasses and algae. The Green Turtle has also been shown to be a long distance migrant (William, 1976). The Hawksbill Turtle, *Eretmochelys imbricata,* is found in shallow or oceanic waters, coral reefs, shoals, lagoons and lagoon channels, and bays, and appears to be a regional animal rather than a migrant. Alcala (1980) emphasizes this turtle's association with coral reefs, The Leatherback Turtle, *Dermochelys coriacea,* is an open-ocean, deep-water species occasionally found in bays and estuaries, and is considered the most oceanic of the marine turtles. All marine turtles are linked to the shore, where nesting occurs (Shabica, 1979b).

The Green Turtle will be used here as an example of nesting habits. This most common Philippine turtle is also the most observed in other parts of the world. Bustard (1972) has personally observed hundreds of these turtles and noted the following habits. Green Turtles lay their eggs in soft sand, choosing a site above the high tide line where the sand is dry. They excavate a deep pit, and lay an average of 110 eggs before covering the eggs with sand; average nesting time is three hours. This turtle normally only emerges from the water under cover of darkness, coming ashore one hour before to two hours after high tide. The turtles appear nervous upon leaving the water but as they climb the beach become more tolerant to the presence of other animals or man. The Green Turtle markedly favors beaches with a deep-water approach and which lack bands of beach rock. On its first approach, a turtle may wander all night without finding a suitable spot, or may eventually encounter a log or obstruction near which a pit is excavated. Gibson (1979) suggests that the attractiveness of a beach might be related to its size as seen from the sea. The amount of energy required and level of exertion to accomplish nest excavation must be high; it is not uncommon for a female to die, presumably of heart failure, during the nesting process (Bustard, 1972).

Basking and mating of these turtles usually occurs in quiet water, inside reef areas, in mangrove lagoons, or in open water on calm days. They usually copulate at the water's surface. This activity is evident to

the on-looker by the disturbance of normally smooth water (personal observation).

Threats to Habitats

In the Philippines, as in most parts of the world, the primary threat to turtle habitat is from the direct and indirect actions of man. Man is not only a part of the environment, but he is inextricably linked with all ecosystems. Unfortunately, this close relationship with nature in which man participates is not a balanced one. Man often does not fully comprehend his role in an ecosystem, unaware that his actions may be detrimental, however innocent they are from his own perspective. The direct exploitation of sea turtles by man is a case in point. The only negative implication man perceives in overharvesting sea turtles is that he has to expend a little more time and effort to find the next turtle. He rarely thinks in terms of the depletion of total sea turtle populations or of ecological relationships among populations.

Simple turtle-by-turtle harvest at the subsistence level is exemplified in "The Tragedy of the Commons" (Hardin, 1968), which shows that the individual exploiter has nothing to lose; he can only gain by taking additional turtles—or even an egg clutch—when these are encountered. As people encroach on turtle nesting sites and on coastlines where turtles rest, it is inevitable that slow-moving, shallow-water sea turtles will decrease in numbers. In the Philippines, they are being sighted in alarmingly low numbers (personal observation; Alcala, 1980).

Reports from other areas have implications for Philippine turtle conservation. Dean and Talbert (1975) observed that increasing development along South Carolina beaches in the United States has resulted in the displacement of Loggerhead females to more protected nesting grounds. Shabica (1979a) cited several examples of similar displacement of turtles to park beaches along the southeastern United States seaboard. Clark (1977) suggests that while there are no standards quantifying ". . . tolerable losses of habitat," it is obvious that "the loss of vital habitat area must be presumed to be adverse." This statement may apply equally to sea turtle nesting grounds, hibernation sites, lagoons, bays, and even migration routes where sea turtles nest, congregate, feed, grow, and disperse (Shabica, 1979a). In Australia, Bustard (1972) sees the establishment of national parks as a means of protecting sea turtle nesting grounds from habitat degradation, although the exploitation rights granted aboriginal populations wihin these areas remain a problem. In the Gala-

pagos Islands, where existing laws prohibit any harvest of turtles or eggs excepts by locals in selected sites and for their consumption only, poaching still continues by foreign vessels which anchor during the turtle mating season. The limited patrol capacity of the Ecuadorean National Park Service is not able to prevent the harvest of large numbers of turtles (personal observation and communication with park officials).

Primary turtle nesting grounds in the Philippines normally occur on the larger islands, where sand beaches are extensive enough to meet the needs of a nesting turtle. But sufficient sandy areas above the high tide line coincide with the increasing incidence of human settlements. The smaller coral-limestone islands often lack sand of sufficient depth, quality, and quantity. Thus, it is not surprising that the rate of turtle survival has decreased substantially.

Habitat Protection

According to Shabica (1979b), "Planning for habitat protection includes two steps: the identification of the habitat upon which the resource is dependent, and the elaboration of criteria and implementation of regulations to insure habitat degradation will be prevented and/or habitat improvement will occur."

Many attempts are now being made to protect turtle habitats and to regulate the harvest of turtles. The World Conference on Sea Turtle Conservation in Washington, D.C. in 1979 discussed such management efforts as the creation of national parks or reserves and simple limitation of access or of activities in specific areas at specific times. Habitats to be protected include the following: Terrestrial: (1) concentrated nesting beaches, (2) diffuse nesting beaches, (3) basking sites; Aquatic: (1) inter-nesting areas, (2) migration routes, (3) feeding grounds, (4) hibernacula.

In developed countries with resident sea turtles, national parks and reserves provide unmolested sea turtle habitats. On the southeastern coast of the United States, in the Virgin Islands, on certain beaches in Australia and in a few developing nations, successful reserve efforts have lessened somewhat the decline of sea turtle habitats. These efforts are dependent on the effective implementation of legislation which enforces, at the local level, management guidelines. The creation of parks and reserves is a small step at best, in attempting to protect sea turtles, with their diverse habitat requirements and so large a geographical disbursal. Carleton Ray (1976) notes that "...what...reserves cannot do is sur-

vive intact outside...the ecosystem of which they are only a part." A buffer zone, therefore, "must be established to include the support systems which usually derive largely from outside [the reserve] . . .," to provide protection to the habitat. Normally small reserves, Ray suggests, "... are a series of fragile, simplified habitats in an otherwise altered land or seascape, that is, islands which are highy unstable and which can hardly be called natural at all. . .." This is because ". . . natural communities which we seek to protect are not stable in time or space, nor are they independent of their ecosystems."

Sea turtles have such a wide range of habitats—a very large ecosystem linking a series of more specialized ecosystems— that their successful protection and management requires a wide perspective. A site manager cannot do it on his own. It is appropriate to look toward changing the attitudes of the people who adversely affect these complex ecosystems.

Habitat Protection in the Philippines

The Philippine Ministry of Natural Resources is in the process of setting up a Marine Park program in which a few smaller islands will be completely or partially protected from all forms of exploitation or destruction. Of the numerous sites being considered, probably only one, Apo Reef, Mindoro, is an actual turtle nesting ground. The Turtle Islands in the Sulu Archipelago have been recommended repeatedly as a reserve, but no active management has as yet begun. Furthermore, the principal large-island nesting sites in the Philippines have not been protected in any form, and for a number of reasons. These areas generally do not meet the criteria for marine parks; people are present and the environmental condition is generally poor.

Laws exist protecting the turtles, but they are relatively meaningless without a comprehensive educational campaign informing residents of what is illegal and, more importantly, educating them to the ecological consequences of sea turtle exploitation. Workable protection for turtles which frequent these sites can come only if local residents take it upon themselves to leave them alone. Policing can help prevent major infractions, but the true desire to protect these reptiles must come from the people themselves. The national government in the Philippines, and in other developing countries, has generally failed at this task, yet municipalities, universities, local voluntary organizations can begin to act as educators. The process has already begun in the Philippines. A

few municipalities have begun to set up marine reserves to prevent overfishing and coral destruction to preserve habitat for fish (White, 1980). Such local conservation programs could easily be extended to include sea turtles as well.

Management Recommendations

Successful management and protection of sea turtles in the Philippines will depend on the solution of a variety of general problems. Among current needs are the following:

1. Better basic biological and habitat data on distribution and frequency of sea turtles in the Philippines is needed, especially surveys to identify critical areas and buffer zones upon which these critical areas depend. Included should be nesting beaches, hibernation lagoons and bays, growing lagoons and bays, and migration routes. A tagging program should yield valuable information in this regard.
2. Legislation must establish reserves which will actually benefit sea turtles, as in the Turtle Islands where a joint effort of the State of Sabah, Malaysia and the Philippines is needed. Other reserved areas should include the northern Palawan Islands and southern Negros Island. Municipal and provincial government and private institutions should be involved in the reserve system. Local beliefs and customs concerning turtles should be included in the conservation context as well.
3. A comprehensive educational campaign should inform coastal residents of their responsibility to their environment, and explain what resources management can mean to them. Sea turtle management might be only part of a broader presentation. Educational techniques previously used with success include the following:
   a. nonformal educational workshops conducted by community workers in the local language;
   b. posters, stickers, T—shirts, leaflets, and comic books with an appropriate message;
   c. news media coverage;
   d. outdoor movies and slide shows.
4. Communities already showing an interest in marine conservation should be identified, for possible use as pilot projects using these non-formal educational techniques to raise awareness of

what sea turtles mean as a resource—why and how they should be protected.

5. There is room for much more communication with foreign resource persons and agencies. International support for specific projects should also be sought by national experts who have a grasp of the problem but no funds to implement a project or to do adequate research.
6. Tourists should be educated against the purchase of sea turtles and other marine products.
7. Enforcement of the 1980 ban on selling turtle products should be strict, to show government with a consistent attitude toward conserving sea turtles in particular and marine organisms in general.

Summary

The most effective long-term solution to protecting and preserving sea turtle habitat in the Philippines will involve the very people who are now exploiting the resource. The Philippine government and local institutions involved with sea turtle conservation should approach these people in a positive manner so that they come to see the benefits from their efforts at protection. An approach to the people themselves may sound idealistic, yet it must be considered an integral part of any long-term management scheme. Observation of marine conservation on the municipal level (White, 1980) indicates that this approach is feasible in the Philippines.

While working toward a satisfactory conservation system at the local level, we must not see the program in isolation. Coordination of various governmental and private agencies at national and local levels is mandatory. A broad perspective is required of all individuals involved, to avoid petty conflicts and to maintain open channels for innovative solutions.

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Philippine Studies of Women: A Review

Perla Q. Makil

The Filipina has been described in many ways. At times, she has been referred to as shy, submissive, and pretty, much like the traditional Maria Clara. At other times, she has been portrayed as independent, enterprising, powerful, or influential, and quite "liberated," particularly when seen in comparison with her Asian women neighbors. "The power behind the throne," she is often called, the "throne" presumably being a position of significance visibly occupied by some man.

The Filipina's enviable position of influence and power in Philippine society is often supported by an enumeration of women who have occupied (or currently occupy) important positions in public structures, whether as senators, governors, mayors, or members of the judiciary, or as occupants of university and diplomatic posts. Yet when one examines empirical data, this common observation is not quite borne out. Available studies indicate that the Filipina's access, perceived or actual, to positions of power, as well as her participation in public affairs, has been rather limited.

The Position of the Filipina

John Carroll, in his study of Filipino entrepreneurs in the early sixties, found that among the ninety-two top corporation managers he identified, there were only five women. Similar trends were shown in two studies of national and local influentials (Makil, 1970 and 1975). In 1969 there were only seven women among those pinpointed as the top 170 influentials at the national level, and in 1975, only nine out of 140. The same patterns surfaced among local-level influentials.

Other studies at the local level also indicate that only about one-third of women are members of local organizations, their membership usually concentrated in neighborhood groups and religious and socio-civic organizations, the concerns of which are those traditionally delegated to women—beautification campaigns, nutrition, and the like (Miralao, 1980).

Looking back, it seems that early study of women in the Philippines began quite unobtrusively, was perhaps even unwittingly done by social researchers. For example, questions about women's roles or activities were included in studies of the family, of family planning, or of such social structures as the bureaucracy or the corporation, or in a case study of a textile company. Their "incidental" nature notwithstanding,

these studies may be considered the foundations of later studies that were more specifically designed to look into "the woman question," providing early insights into the roles men and women play in Philippine society.

One such pioneering study is the 1967 Family Survey of the Baguio Religious Acculturation Conference (Lynch and Makil, 1967). While the major thrust of the study was to examine people's attitudes toward family planning at that time, it also sought to discover perceptions of ideal family roles, specifically those of a mother or father, a husband or wife, and a son or daughter.

In that study, sex-based distinctions of respondents' role perceptions emerged. For instance, the ideal husband was perceived as a good provider, and the ideal wife, a good household manager. The ideal wife or mother was seen as a religious woman, close to God, and without major vices of any kind. On the other hand, the husband or father need not be specifically close to God, but should be morally good, this goodness manifested by his fidelity to his wife. Sons were expected to avoid falling into "bad ways," while daughters should both do this and grow closer to God in faith and piety. Interestingly, respondents perceived the average wife, mother, or daughter as approaching these ideals more closely than the average husband, father, or son.

Later investigations, particularly those in the mid-70s (after the proclamation of the Women's International Year in 1975), became more sharply focused as studies of women. A cursory examination of these reveals a confirmation of the 1967 BRAC survey findings with respect to roles and role expectations for men and women. Women's roles were seen as revolving around the house, while those of the men, around family support (good provider, bread winner, economic security). In addition, these findings held true across community settings (rural, urban, and semi-urban) and across generations (young and old).

Outside of role perceptions, studies also looked into the actual exercise of these roles. One focus was the area of decision making in the home. Here, studies showed a tendency toward shared decision making. At least three studies (Mendez and Jocano, 1974; Licuanan and Gonzalez, 1976; Porio, Lynch, and Hollnsteiner, 1975), showed these typical areas where shared decision making occurs: choice of residence (note that legally, the husband has this prerogative), improvements on the house, choice of vacation spot, buying appliances, recreation, discipline of children, choice of school for children, planning of family ventures, and important problems that the couple faces. However, this sharing pattern notwithstanding, these studies also show that when decisions are made, the husband and the wife actually have particular decision-making spheres.

For instance, high participation among wives occurs where the issue revolves around activities traditionally considered female concerns, while husbands' participation is high when the issue involves those activities traditionally considered theirs. Falling into the wife's domain, therefore, are the household budget, child rearing, household chores, and the discipline of daughters (Mendez and Jocano, 1974; Porio et al., 1975). The men, on the other hand, take charge of matters related to occupational livelihood and the discipline of sons (Licuanan and Gonzalez, 1976).

One of the more common observations made about the Filipino woman pertains to the source of her power and influence, that of being the manager of the family budget. (Incidentally, it should be noted that this role proceeds from the legally recognized role of the wife as household manager.) Indeed, studies show that the woman *is* the family treasurer. Budgeting as well as stretching the peso are her problems, the man's obligation being simply to turn over his earnings to her (Mendez and Jocano; Licuanan and Gonzalez). Observers of this phenomenon, however, argue that "women in the lower socioeconomic bracket are unable to exercise the power and resource allocation aspects of this function to a significant degree, since they have hardly any options as to where the money should go, the choices being predetermined by the demands of survival." Parenthetically, I might observe that while the leanness of the household pocketbook may limit the wife's exercise of budgetary powers to a certain extent, what is more important perhaps is the woman's actual access to the exercise of decision making in this important sphere. Hollnsteiner, speaking of economic conditions in a recent Philippine Studies Conference (Kalamazoo, 1980) said, "Don't knock a poor purse." But how this household power is translated into the public sphere is a different question. Studies cited earlier seem to indicate that the exercise of this "power" in the household is hardly carried over to non-domestic spheres.

Legal studies on the status of women, notably that of Irene Cortes (1975), pinpoint areas where discrepancies in privileges and options based on sex occur under Philippine law. The most classic example, of course, occurs in legal separation cases, where the wife has the greater burden than her husband of proving that legitimate causes exist for legally separating from him. (A divorce bill pending before the Batasang Pambansa is intended to correct this anomalous situation.) It was noted that the husband has the prerogative of determining the family's place of residence. He also has "veto power" over a wife's decision to seek employment outside the home.

The Filipina and National Development

More recently, researchers interested in women have shifted to examining the partnership of men and women in the developmental process. Under this framework, the role of the Filipina is examined not only with reference to her domestic activities but, more importantly, to her participation in public activities. Earlier studies, after all, show the Filipino woman's significant involvement in development evidenced by her participation in agricultural activities, e.g., crop production, processing, marketing, and other productive activities, in order to augment the household income generated by the man (Miralao, 1980).

At the Institute of Philippine Culture (IPC), Ateneo de Manila University, a Women in Development (WID) research project began about two years ago, designed primarily to elicit indicators to measure women's participation in development more accurately. The study assumes "that members of the population participate in the process of national development through their involvement in various institutions and spheres of activity, as in the maintenance of the home, in directly income-producing work, and in community activities. Participation in the various spheres of activity, however, is not equally open to the population, and it is generally admitted that cultural role prescriptions favor women's entry and participation in domestic activities, and males in nondomestic ones" (Miralao, 1980: 4). A pilot study conducted in three communities in Luzon reveals the following findings in terms of men and women's participation in various aspects of development (cf. Miralao, 1980).

Domestic and market participation.

Women bear the brunt of housework, regardless of marital and employment status and developmental stages of communities. Among the married respondents, male and female spheres in the housework are highly unequal—the husbands, on the average, spend only about one-third as much time as their wives in housework. However, the wives' participation in the market reduces the time they spend on household work and increases the husband's participation in housework. Thus, while the total time devoted by a working wife to market and household activities far exceeds the man's total production time, men and women's work-share ratios within the domestic sphere are improved: husbands of working wives spend closer to one-half (43 to 46%) as much time as their wives in housework (husbands of non-working wives, only one-fourth or one-fifth).

Data on time devoted by both men and women to market activities do not show that men have greater market participation than women. Single women, in fact, give more time to work than men. Furthermore, in the more urban communities, single women tend to find jobs in lower-level occupations requiring longer hours of work. Among the marrieds, man-woman time in the market is approximately equal, except in the rural areas where wives spend considerably fewer hours in regular employment than men.

The double-dose syndrome becomes clear. While on the whole, husbands and wives devote approximately equal time to market activities, the larger share of working wives in the housework results in unequal conditions; husbands' resulting total production time is only two-thirds to three-fourths that of their wives.

Participation in the public sphere.

More significant findings suggest that unequal participation of men and women in community activities derives from their unequal shares in employment opportunities. Because of their provider role (which, consequently, accounts for their heavy involvement in market activities), men tend to be community organization members more often than women. That market participation is a determinant of organizational membership is supported by the finding that when women work, their organizational membership also increases. Moreover, when women work and remain single at the same time, they become the most active participants in community organizations.

Participation in development benefits.

No significant differences were shown to exist between men's and women's access to this area.

Special Studies

In addition to these pilot study findings, others may be gleaned from special studies conducted in conjunction with the IPC WID research. These studies cover a variety of types of women and development areas in which they are participants.

Aganon and Aganon (1979), for example, investigated men and women managers and workers in women-dominated establishments in Metropolitan Manila. They found that in general, men-women disparities among

workers in terms of working conditions (salaries, benefits, hiring, promotion, and the like) do not exist. However, discrepancies do occur among those occupying supervisory positions. Women do not participate directly in decisions concerning promotions, firing and discipline, setting of wages and fringe benefits, organization and scheduling of work, company plans and programs, and other financial issues. Their role is largely consultative, particularly in providing the data needed for a particular decision. Disparity based on sex is also felt significantly in relation to household chores. While female workers still have chores to perform after work, males do not, thus reinforcing the double-dose syndrome referred to earlier.

Imelda Feranil (1979), using data from a 1975 U.P. Population Institute work force survey, looks at women's work force participation and under-utilization. She finds that while both males and females are economically active, higher participation rates occur among rural men and women as against their urban counterparts, and among males as compared to females. Unemployment rates are highest among urban women.

Hackenberg, Lutes, and Angeles (1979) investigated premarital and postmarital labor force participation among migrant women, using data gathered from three southern Mindanao communities, and among married couples interviewed in a 1977 socio-economic and fertility survey of Region XI. They found that most women are unemployed, i.e., they are unpaid workers confined to household duties, and that women are either absent or under-represented in administrative and executive positions. They also outnumber men in small-scale sales (sari-sari stores and buy and sell) and in teaching. With respect to commercial sales, women's participation is equal to or higher than that of men, but generally limited to low-paying positions. In addition, women earn less than men in certain employment categories. In the matter of postmarital employment, Hackenberg et al. found that premarital employment is an important determinant to postmarital employment. Women married to low-income men are also more likely to be employed, but only if their earning potential is equal to or higher than the husbands', and the woman's occupational status is higher than the man's.

In a study which traces women's work history, Lauby (1979) found that women's participation in the labor force is not interrupted by such events as marriage or childbirth. Neither does the number of children significantly affect women's employment, perhaps due to the easy availability of child care services.

Costello and Costello compare three types of low-skilled working women: domestic help, factory workers, and small-scale business employees. Their findings show those in domestic jobs to have low participation in family and community affairs (e.g., political organizations, health care, the economy) but high participation in religious and neighborhood activities. They also have the greatest access to media facilities, e.g., television, comics, drama, Pilipino movies, largely as a result of their *amo's* lifestyle. Factory workers, on the other hand, have the highest participation in economic activities and voluntary organizations, the best political knowledge, and the greatest use of modern medical facilities. The small-scale workers were found to be in an intermediate position between the domestic help and factory workers.

Finally, Santiago (1979), examining the labor force participation of women in agriculture, finds that females have lower participation in farm activities than males, except in planting, transplanting, and replanting, where male-female participation is about equal. He also finds that females devote more time to non-farm activities, probably because farm jobs are seasonal and there is a need to augment family income. Decisions concerning farm production and the extension of financial aid to relatives are made by the husband, while those pertaining to housekeeping and other household activities are made by the wife.

Research Needs

It should be pointed out that the studies reported in this presentation were done in the lowland Philippines, among women and men who are members of major ethnic groups. It seems that studies of women in the uplands and among minority or tribal groups are sorely lacking. Certainly, work has been done among Muslim women, and mention has been made of the Kalinga or Ifugao women in the works of early missionaries in these areas. Yet there is need for current studies to enable us to understand these women better, to get to know them through their aspirations, expectations, roles, status, and the like.

Angangco (1980) notes the need to look into the woman question more broadly—not simply to describe conditions of women in various situations but to explain these conditions within the context of broader social structures. For instance, while it is worthwhile to know about women's working conditions in the factory, one should also look into the influence of the factory's multinational character on the women, where this is applicable. In a current IPC study of women factory workers,

there is evidence that the non-hiring of women at a point in one factory's existence was a carry-over of Japanese attitudes. It was found that a number of Filipino supervisory personnel had been trained in Japan. In the same manner, while information on working conditions of women in agriculture is enlightening, one should perhaps relate these conditions to the impact of tenurial arrangements, some of which may impose limitations on opportunities and advantages that would otherwise accrue to rural women.

Also needed is cross-cultural (comparative) research, so we can learn from fellow women, particularly our Asian neighbors. While differences undoubtedly exist, there are probably more similarities among us than we realize. Efforts at note-sharing and consultation research on issues confronting women need to be encouraged.

Our review of studies of women also indicates a gap in research of the social-psychological type. How do women feel about their status? What are their worries or problems as women? How do they react to the many issues or situations affecting them? What do they see as their roles, not only in the home, but in the larger society as well? How do they translate these perceptions into reality? We know little about these areas despite the research already conducted.

Finally, studies seem to have concentrated on rural and working women, and those who are not very well educated. Perhaps there is a need to expand this coverage to include professional (middle class?) women, in inquiring into women's participation or nonparticipation in various spheres of activity. A study of the unemployed professional woman would perhaps be particularly revealing.

Tentative Conclusions

These gaps notwithstanding, we have come a long way in terms of empirical research on women in the Philippines. No longer need we speak in broad generalizations and from intuitive knowledge; we may use evidence gleaned from these studies. The varying methodologies and the limitations of these studies, of course, prevent us from generalizing beyond each study's sampling limits. However, when similar patterns consistently emerge despite these constraints, it is hard to escape the conclusion that these common threads are of a more general application. For example, we know from various sources that while Filipino women have access to a variety of opportunities just as their male counterparts do (participation in market activities and decision making in the domestic

sphere), there remain a number of areas where this access or participation is limited, even discouraged. There is evidence that even where men occupy similar types of occupations—e.g., managerial types—a disparity of functions occurs, as when the men participate in direct decision or policy making, while women's participation is limited to sporadic consultations or providing information to male colleagues. Other studies point to inequalities in earnings between men and women who have the same kind of work.

These studies also show that when we speak of "the Filipino woman," we refer not to a single unique being but to several types of beings, each of which presents discernible patterns and trends. Further, that disparities exist not only between men and women but among these various types of women as well. Findings indicate that while the highly-educated urban women have certain advantages over the rural, less-educated women, under certain conditions these positions may also be reversed—we recall the finding that while the highest unemployment rate occurs among women, this is particularly true for urban women.

In short, we know a lot more about Filipino women today than, say, a decade ago. In fact, to some people, the problem is not a dearth of information, but too much information. One representative of a funding agency is supposed to have been overheard complaining that there were too many studies of women nowadays, wondering *why* this had to be.

Perhaps there are "too many" studies of women today, as there probably are "too many" studies of family planning. This does not, however, make continuation of this kind of research undesirable. As pointed out earlier, gaps still exist that need to be filled for a fuller understanding of what we simply call "the woman question." Furthermore, to the extent that information can be accumulated in a relatively objective and systematic fashion, studies of women can present a greater contribution—that of legitimizing minority patterns uplifting to women in this society and others as well. Through this compilation and accumulation of knowledge, environmental sanctions to what may be considered a deviance from societal norms may be lessened or changed.

The strain arising from traditional sex stereotypes has diminished, to be sure, perhaps partly due to research demonstrations that blanket stereotypes are false and that certain work rules can be "demasculinized" or "defeminized." While the idea that certain types of work are physically demanding, dirty, competitive, or ruthless, and therefore not for women, may still prevail in some quarters, there is greater recognition that

women can also participate on men's terms. Further, it seems more clear that work is not simply a matter of physical faculties but of intelligence, judgment, human relations, and such other attributes and skills that are equally possessed by both men and women.

The legitimation process is long and complex. After all, the attitudes, beliefs, ideas, and concepts about women and what they can do are rooted in socialization processes of long duration. Studies of women, geared towards a refutation or clarification of some of these problems, will help speed up the process. Perhaps then we will find women's participation in activities outside of the home and men's participation in activities traditionally assigned to women will no longer be merely the exercise of an option, but will become a duty.

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You Lonely People: Exiles in the Stories of Bienvenido N. Santos

Anthony Tan

Scent of Apples: A Collection of Stories (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1979, 178 pages) is Bienvenido N. Santos's first book to be published in the United States, but fifteen of the sixteen stories in this collection have appeared before in two books published in the Philippines: eleven in *You Lovely People* (Bookmark, 1955) and four in *The Day the Dancers Came* (Bookmark, 1967). Thus, all the stories in this new collection are familiar to Filipino readers except the first one, "Immigration Blues," whose significance in the book, apart from its own separate virtue as a story of understated pathos and the very human and selfish motive of marriage for convenience, is that it brings to the present decade the continuing story of Filipinos in America.

The common themes of these stories about Filipinos in America are universal themes of exile, loneliness, and isolation. Into these themes Santos has folded the special flavor of Filipino nostalgia for home, which, for the exiles, meant also the past. When Santos achieves a perfect blending of the universal themes and the indigenous sensibility, the results are such emotionally poignant works as the title story and the prize-winning "The Day the Dancers Came," two stories in which nostalgia accentuates the sense of exile and isolation.

For one reason or another Santos's Filipino expatriates stay on in America even when their dream of success in the land of plenty has finally vanished. Ambo, the narrator in many stories, has attempted to return, only to be disappointed at home, not so much by the yearly typhoon that plagues his home in the Bicol region as by the betrayal of a friend whom he used to help in Washington, D.C. So he seeks another passage, perhaps a final one, back to America. Celestino Fabia can never return to his native shore in the Visayas because, having stayed twenty years on a remote farm in Michigan, no one will remember him. His only link with the Philippines is a faded picture of a Filipina he does not even know. Filemon Acayan can only make a symbolic return by welcoming and attempting to entertain the Bayanihan Dancers in Chicago. When they turn down his offer to drive them around the city and to eat at his apartment, he makes what seems a desperate effort at preserving the last moorings with his country: he attends their show and records their songs and the sounds of their agile, dancing feet doing the *tinikling*. However, when he plays the tape recorder at his apartment for the benefit of his dying friend, another Filipino exile, Filemon presses the

wrong button, and in one clumsy moment erases what he has tried so hard to preserve—his last link with his people and country—thus making his isolation more devastating and complete.

Many more like him never return, even symbolically, and many do not even dream of returning. Lost and confused in strange cities among strange people, they drift aimlessly, and to forget a weariness which is more than physical they play poker or billiards, and drink and seek momentary solace in the faithless arms of women. They have become spiritual drifters, suffering as much ruin as the war-ravaged Philippines. In a sense, they are the people to whom the words of Father Ocampo in "For These Ruins" accurately apply: "We have seen pictures of our blasted cities. But there are ruins other than the eyes can see."

It is the mark of Santos's genius as a fictionist to have portrayed these ruins in story after story, to have given a spiritual and cultural counterpart to the physical ruins suffered by the Philippines during the last war. To be sure, the stories of Santos in this collection are not about the Filipinos in the Philippines who, having suffered the physical effects of war, have also suffered its spiritual effects. The scarred psyche caused by the war remains for other Filipino writers to record, and many have attempted to do so. Having spent the war years in America, Santos could only write about those who have been, literally, far from battlefronts. Yet, it is a further measure of his genius that his stories are no less memorable and true, his characters no less lonely, for that fact.

If the outbreak of the war gave Santos the personal opportunity to travel and lecture extensively in America and enabled him to meet many Filipino expatriates, the consequent occupation of the Philippines by the enemy gave him the artistic fulcrum to elevate reality into art. It fired his imagination so that he began to see the war as one more dimension in the isolation of the expatriates. It became for him as a writer, if not as a man, the ultimate symbol of the *lostness* of his countrymen in America. I say this notwithstanding the fact that in the present book only three stories have something to do with the war, and even here the war is a mere backdrop: because in many stories he has transmuted the physical ruins of his country into the spiritual ruins of his countrymen abroad.

In exploring the many dimensions of the isolation of the expatriates, Santos, however, has not stopped with the war. War, after all, is a historically contained event, and although a people may suffer its consequences long after it is over, the isolation it imposes on its victims comes from the outside and from foreign enemies. Besides, the Filipinos about whom Santos has written were not direct victims of the war. If they suffered from

isolation from their country as a result of the war, their isolation is somehow lessened by their own helplessness and by a great deal of historical inevitability. What is more painful is that isolation for which they were responsible and which to a certain degree they could prevent. In almost all the stories this is the kind of isolation that Santos has tried to explore.

There are at least four sources of this isolation. One is excessive nostalgia for the homeland. Another is betrayal by fellow men, by fellow-Pinoy. The third is the death of a dream of success, ironic in that the dream dies in the land which has caught the imagination of the world, and of Filipinos especially, as the land of promise, the land of opportunity. The characters of Santos, after a brief fling with the ideal, wake up one morning to find that America has turned out to be the land of unfulfilled promises, of lost opportunities. The last source of isolation is the confusion brought about by trying to live in two culturally different worlds.

Two of the best stories in this collection explore the pathos of nostalgia. In "Scent of Apples," Celestino Fabia travels thirty miles from his farm to the city just to listen to a Filipino talk about the Philippines. This certainly is not bad, but his keeping a picture of a Filipina when in fact he is married to an American is something else. It is not fair to his wife, to say the least. His wife happens to be a faithful woman, who saved him from freezing in the snow when he had appendicitis, and who worked as a scrub woman in the hospital to pay the bills. She is worthy of her namesake, the biblical Ruth. He has a good-looking son and an apple orchard which gives him more apples than he can sell. The surplus apples rot in the storeroom, and he gives them to the pigs. His wife, his son, and the apple orchard are abundance enough, but his excessive nostalgia for home, where nobody remembers him, makes him blind to all these blessings. He wastes his abundance, like the apples he gives to the pigs, throwing, so to speak, the proverbial pearls to the swine. Hence, we note in passing, the aptness of the apple-symbol and the title. This story should make the exile rethink his idea of home: not a place where you were born and grew up, but where you are at present, where your love is. But man, especially the exile, is an incorrigible dreamer. How often in the solitude of an exile do the images of home crowd into his lonely mind! And in this lies the pathos of the story.

Another such dreamer is Filemon Acayan in "The Day the Dancers Came." Growing old in a foreign country is sad enough, but if one could accept it as inevitable, if one tried to make the best of the situation, one would suffer less. This seems to be what Acayan is trying to do in Chicago until he hears of the coming of the Filipino dancers. Then he begins to

dream: welcome the dancers, entertain them, show them around the city, invite them to eat Filipino dishes at his apartment, so that when they return to the Philippines they will remember him. But all his efforts at trying to establish a link with his countrymen are frustrated. When he accidentally erases what he has recorded in his "sound mirror" he loses the last link with what he knows as home. In a symbolic way, this underscores the irony and pathos of longing.

"The Door" and "Letter: The Faraway Summer" explore the other source of isolation. Betrayal, especially by a friend, is so crushing that it could burst even the mighty heart of a Caesar. This allusion to Caesar is not uncalled for. Santos himself deliberately, albeit implicitly, alludes to Caesar's "Et tu, Brute." In the story "The Door," Delfin knows that his American wife is unfaithful, but he cannot do anything, does not do anything, because he loves her. She entertains men in their apartment, and when he comes and finds the door locked, he waits on the stairs until her lover comes out. One Christmas evening, Ambo, a friend of Delfin and the narrator of the story, visits him and his two little daughters. Delfin is not at home, and Ambo, while waiting for him, takes time to fix the blinkers of the Christmas tree. The girls lock the door. When Ambo finally leaves the apartment he finds Delfin waiting outside. To Ambo's Christmas greetings Delfin can only ask the stabbing question in the dialect, "Why you also, Ambo?" (*"Bakit ikaw rin ba, Ambo?"* in Tagalog.) It is significant that Delfin expresses his most profound hurt in his mother tongue. The pathos is that Delfin does not know the truth, and it is cold comfort to say that at least Ambo has not actually betrayed his friend, because for Ambo it is as if he has.

In "Letter: The Faraway Summer" betrayal comes in the form of one man's, one Pinoy's, lack of *utang na loob* and the other man's sensitivity to such cold and general reference as "just one of those Pinoys" when friendship demands a warmer reference. In "For These Ruins" betrayal comes from one who does not understand the special value we Filipinos attach to *utang na loob*. Julia Flores, an uneducated Filipina, has a son by an American soldier whose life she has saved in Bataan. She is left by her husband and is driven away with her son from America by her in-laws.

Beginning with "And Beyond, More Walls" and ending with "Lonely in the Autumn Evening," seven stories must be taken as one long story (the stories being merely episodes); Santos here chronicles the aimless lives of Filipinos whose dream of success has come to naught. The focal story is that of Nanoy, a taxi driver, whose death brings the Filipinos to-

gether in communal suffering, and in whose misfortune they see their own. In these stories we see the resiliency, humor, and *bayanihan* spirit of the the Filipinos abroad, three qualities which sustain them and earn for them from their American friends the sobriquet "you lovely people." It is also in these stories that the real name of Ambo, Pablo Icarangal, takes on a larger significance, for it is he who goes around soliciting contributions in order to help defray the funeral expenses of Nanoy. Ambo's act may be seen simply as an expression of basic human sympathy and charity. As Filipinos we see it as a concrete example of the values of *damay* and *bayanihan,* of *awa,* or pity, for someone who has suffered at the hands of fate. In Ambo we see a praise-worthy Filipino who has not lost his soul even in a foreign land.

The other story that deals with frustrated dreams is "The Contender," the story of a former boxer who, doomed to sell pencils because he is going blind, loses in the larger arena of life.

The story that deals with the confusion of trying to live in two culturally different worlds is "Quicker with Arrows." In love with Fay Price (an unfortunate choice of name), Valentin Rustia cannot make up his mind whether he should marry this American cashier in a government cafeteria or a pampered Filipina heiress. As long as there is war and he is in America, he need not make a decision, but the war ends, he has to return to the Philippines and he has to decide. Unfortunately, the decision to marry Fay comes too late and he loses her; and the price for such procrastination, which in Rustia is a result of "cultural stress" (Leonard Casper's phrase in the Introduction to the book), is loneliness and isolation.

Memorable and sad as most of these stories are, they, nevertheless, leave the reader unsatisfied. Even "Scent of Apples" falls short of being great. The reason, I think, is that Santos, consciously or not, leaves his protagonists groping in the darkness of their isolation. He denies them that sudden moment of illumination of their condition, that "epiphany," as James Joyce calls it, that moment when the protagonist, provoked by an image, a sound, or a smell, realizes something about himself, or about the nature of life in general. It need not be a full awakening, an apocalyptic vision, such as we have in the novel or novella. An intimation, a glimpse, a flash, would suffice in a short story, provided that it allows the protagonist to experience a change in perception or attitude; to become, if slightly, a different person, though not necessarily a better one, at the end of the story from what he was at the beginning. A more useful term for this change than Mark Schorer's imprecise "moral evolution" would

be Robert Frost's "momentary stay against confusion." This term suggests more accurately that the moment of illumination need not be, in a short story, as clear, final, and irrevocable as the shout of "Eureka!" or Mr. Kurtz's "the horror! the horror!"

The protagonists of Santos's stories draw us into their world by the force of their isolation and loneliness. Indeed, pathos is the most arresting emotional quality of these stories. Depending on one's aesthetics, it may or may not be enough. However, the stories of Tolstoy, Mann, Conrad, Kipling, Joyce, and Marquez show us that pathos can, artistically, be more poignant and satisfying if the protagonist is made aware of his condition, of some meaning in his experience or other people's. It does not matter if that meaning is not positive or wholesome so long as the protagonist becomes aware of it, and to a certain degree it clarifies an aspect of his experience. Reading the stories of Ivan Ilych, Aschenbach, Arsat, Dravot, Conroy, and Colonel Buendia elevates our sympathetic identification with them from mere pathos to tragic pity. The mature aesthetic experience does not remain in a nether world of feeling because the pain of knowing experienced by the protagonist illuminates both his understanding and ours. In his conscious suffering the protagonist elicits, if not actually demands, respect from the reader, and this respect expunges the temptation of the reader to feel, in his pity, superior to the protagonist. An unconsciously suffering protagonist is looked down upon as somebody to be pitied without necessarily being respected. Shakespeare and the Greek tragedians understood this important psychological point in the aesthetic experience of literary art. If we examine our feeling of pity toward Fabia, Acayan, and Rustia, we will discover that we harbor a certain degree of superiority to them. Not so with Ambo, especially in "Letter: The Faraway Summer," because, even in his inarticulateness, he seems to know.

Santos, a professor of English and Distinguished Writer-in-Residence at Wichita State University, Kansas, is now an American citizen. But like many of his characters, he dreams of returning to the Philippines. He writes in the Preface that he has in fact made several attempts; the last one did not materialize because of the declaration of martial law. Whether he will ever return or not is not too important for Philippine literature. What is important is that he continue to write about the Filipinos wherever they are, in America, in the Bicol region, or in the slums of Sulucan. And whatever in the vast heartland of America stirs him to creative efforts, be it the scent of apples or that of "calamondin fruit and fresh papaya blossoms," be it a wintry landscape or the memory of a tropical skyline dominated by Mayon, the important thing, we need hardly remind him, is to carve in high relief the peculiar character of the Filipino soul.

Notes

Commonly used Syntactical Patterns in English and American Poetry: Their Relationship to Teaching English as a Second Language

Lily V. Kapili

Among the arts, literature may be distinguished by the strongly socialized nature of its medium. The language which the poet accepts to work with has set sounds, set associations of its words and rhythm, and sentence structures conditioned not only by literary conventions but by social situations in time and place. The language of poetry, therefore, is an interaction between the author's individuality, his free choice, his unusual forms and associations, and the nature of his medium, whose words and sentences are loaded with meaningful associations at the outset.

This paper tries to see clearly this interaction, this compromise between individual poets and the social nature of their medium, focusing on the usual and common combinations poets use in their poems. These common patterns reveal not only what poets accept from the medium as meaningful for their poetry but also the fact that free poetic choices in all their variations are built on the language materials of a poet's time and place. The description summarized here was limited to fifty English and American poems of the seventeenth and twentieth centuries selected by stratified random sampling from six literature textbooks used in freshman courses in Philippine colleges.[1] The seventeenth and the twentieth centuries have been chosen because a great percentage of the poems included in the basic textbooks belong to these two centuries.

The attempt to discover the structural differences and similarities in the poetry of these two centuries is an effort in language pedagogy, emphasizing the syntactic relationships of utterances of the poem as reinforcers of its meaning. It is an attempt to point to linguistic difficulties a Filipino second-language learner of English may meet when faced with English and American poetry and to general syntactic principles that may prove aids in choosing poems for introductory courses in poetry for second-language learners.

This analysis assumes that poetry is language; that is, what is called a poem lies completely within the system of language.[2] As such, linguistic methods may be applied in arriving at grammatical descriptions that can be used to identify the arrangement, rearrangement, and modification of structural patterns that the poem uses in re-creating an

experience. In the linguistic analysis of each poem, a form of tagmemic grammar, *sector analysis,* developed by Robert L. Allen of Columbia University was used. In this grammar, each unit of the written utterance is identified primarily on the basis of the position which it occupies in a larger construction of that utterance. Therefore, each poem in the sampling was considered as a significant utterance, a context consisting of a nesting of various constructions.

The variety of pattern combinations in the fifty poems selected for this study does not turn out to be infinite, nor are the combinations extremely deviant. Neither is there a total breaking down of traditional language structures. The analysis shows that even those poets who show unusual cross-cutting and juggling of linear units which disturb syntactical relationships preserve enough sectors in their utterances to make the structural units identifiable. Structure does not entirely dissolve in the poets' utterances, and none has proved neglectful of conventional syntax. All obey some of the constraints of language, thus allowing the reader to bring his linguistic ability into play as he structures his own experience of the poem. Every poem offers logical relationships of grammatical structures, a tentative framework which the reader can use as he participates in the poetic process. (See Table 1)

Table 1. Syntactical combinations most frequently and consistently employed and combined.

Seventeenth Century (% in relation to 334 utterances)		Twentieth Century (% in relation to 668 utterances)	
1. SVC	16	1. SVC	22
2. SXC*	15.5	2. SXC	20
3. SVO	14.4	3. SVOC	14
4. SVOC	14	4. SVO	12.7
5. SXVC	11	5. SV	10
6. SXVCO	9.5	6. SXVCO	8
7. SV	8	7. SXVC	4
8. SXVO	5	8. SXVO	4
9. SXV	4.2	9. SXV	3
10. SXO	1.5	10. SXO	1
11. SX	.6	11. SX	1
12. SXOC	.3	12. SXOC	.3

* "X-word" = "helping verb."

The language of the fifty poems appears to accentuate certain structural forms shared by all the poets selected. Although each poem has a

special syntactical arrangement, the choice stresses not only singular forms but also shared ones, statement forms also stressed by the other poems. Most of the utterances in the poems seem to be bound by these shared choices of structural forms. It is important that the shared choices of the seventeenth century are the same as those of the twentieth century. The range of choices in either century shown in Table 1 is almost identical. Even the percentage of the choice in relation to the total number of utterances in the poems is not much different.

The Seventeenth Century

The seventeenth-century poems show a heavier nesting of structural units in their utterances than those of the twentieth century. In most instances the number of clausal combinations in the seventeenth-century poems (Beaumont, Cowley, Donne, Herrick, Herbert, Marvell, Milton, Vaughan) is half or more than half the number of utterances, and in some instances (Donne, Jonson, Lovelace, Milton, Shakespeare) the number of clausal combinations exceeds the number of utterances. This means that the poems gather complexity because of the delayed completion of thought or delayed completeness of syntactical relationship.

The following are the most common deviations from the usual arrangements:

1. Nesting of structures; nesting of a clause within a clause.
2. Inverting and shifting the sectors of the utterance that dwell on prepositional phrases occupying the subject, complement, and object positions embedded on different levels.
3. Placing the adjectival modifiers quite a distance from the word they modify, usually after the verb, or after the completion of the basic structural pattern itself. This distancing of modifiers is coupled with a heavy nesting of layers.
4. Omitting the sectors of the utterance. If the reader misses the first complete utterance which is the guiding pattern, he loses the basic pattern of the succeeding utterances.

These structural devices are illustrated in the first stanza of Abraham Cowley's poem "The Wish."

> Well, then; I now do plainly see
> This busy world and I shall ne'er agree.
> The very honey of all earthly joy
> Does of all meats, the soonest cloy;

And they, methinks, deserve my pity
Who for it can endure the stings,
The crowd, and buzz, and murmurings
Of this great hive, the city.

Note, for example, that the clausal combination,

Who for it can endure the stings,
The crowd, and buzz, and murmurings
Of this great hive, the city,

modifying the pronoun *they,* which is the subject of the whole utterance, is placed at the end of the utterance. Likewise, in these lines from stanza three,

Here's wealthy Nature's treasury,
Where all the riches lie that she
Has coined and stamped for good,

the clausal combination,

... that she
Has coined and stamped for good,

modifying the noun *riches,* the subject of the whole modifier,

Where all the riches lie that she
Has coined and stamped for good,

comes after the verb *lie.*

John Donne uses this distancing of modifiers coupled with a heavy nesting of layers in stanza five of "A Valediction Forbidding Mourning":

But we by a love, so much refin'd
That our selves know not what it is,
Interassured of the mind,
Care less, eyes, lips, and hands to miss.

The distance between the pronoun *we* and the phrase *inter-assured of the mind* is increased by the heavy nesting of shifted structural layers in the complete thought.

Cowley's "The Wish" also illustrates the common practice of omitting the sectors of the utterance. In this instance the poet's use of written end signals does not help the reader recognize the pattern because the succeeding utterances are really structural parts of the preceding guiding pattern. Notice the arrangements of the sentence units of stanza two:

Ah, yet, ere I descend to the grave
May I a small house and large garden have!
And a few friends and many books, both true,
Both wise and both delightful too!
And since love ne'er will from me flee,
A mistress moderately fair,
And good as guardian-angels are,
Only beloved, and loving me.

The guiding pattern is the first two lines. All the succeeding utterances omit the helping verb *may,* the subject *I,* and the verb *have.* The complete succeeding utterances following the guiding pattern would be:

And may I a few friends ... have
And since love ne'er will from me flee
May I a mistress moderately fair ... have

Each of the thirteen poets selected from the seventeenth century used these inversions, heavy nestings, abundance of prepositional phrases, shifts of units plus omissions, and placing of adjectival modifiers far from the nominals they modify.

The Twentieth Century

Through the 674 utterances of the selected twentieth-century poems run the same structural arrangements commonly used during the seventeenth century, but there are significantly fewer instances of inversions and shifters (except for Wallace Stevens, Edna St. Vincent Millay, and Gerard Manley Hopkins) and a lesser degree of nesting of layers of clausal combinations. But there is still an abundance of prepositional phrases within prepositional phrases. The poems follow the usual sequencing of sentence units, unlike the seventeenth-century poems, and there is minimal use of levels of clausal combinations. Ezra Pound's "A Pact" shows structural simplicity and phrasal quality very common among the twentieth-century poems.

A Pact

I make a pact with you, Walt Whitman—
I have detested you long enough.
I come to you as a grown child
Who has had a pig-headed father;
I am old enough to make friends.

It was you that broke the new wood,
Now is a time for carving.
We have one sap and one root—
Let there be commerce between us.

All the utterances except utterance six begin with the subject followed by the usual sequencing of verb, object, and complement on the same level.

The analysis of the fifty poems seems to suggest deeply shared syntax; the poets maintain agreements with others in their own time. Nevertheless, it is important to recognize not only the likenesses between poems but also their individuality, since the singular choices of a poet, his departure from the practice of his fellow poets, present the principal linguistic difficulties in approaching a poem.

Unusual Structural Variations of the Individual Poem

The poems selected for this study used common structural devices (nestings, inversions, shifters, distancing of modifiers, etc.) and basic structural patterns, but each poem achieves freshness through manipulation of available linguistic material and utilization of the possibilities inherent in human language. It is not surprising, therefore, to note that no two poems, among the fifty selected from both centuries, are structured alike.

Consider, for example, "My Father Moved through Dooms of Love" by E. E. Cummings. The first four stanzas are presented here.

My father moved through dooms of love
through sames of am through haves of give,
singing each morning out of each night
my father moved through depths of height

this motionless forgetful where
turned at his glance to shining here;
that if (so timid air is firm)
under his eyes would stir and squirm

newly as from unburied which
floats the first who, his april touch
drove sleeping selves to swarm their fates
woke dreamers to their ghostly roots

and should some why completely weep
my father's fingers brought her sleep:
vainly no smallest voice might cry
for her could feel the mountains grow.

There are no sentence signals like capital letters for the beginning of an utterance. The flow of patterns is continuous. The end signals are not consistent, sometimes a comma, other times a semi-colon. Frequently there are no written signals for end or beginning of utterances. Yet, Cummings's primary pattern combinations are not rarities. Except for utterances four, five, and seven, where sentence units and some positions show four shifts and one inversion, Cummings has consistently used two structural combinations, SVC and SVOC. The extreme variations are in the strange use of such subordinating conjunctions as *where, which, why, if,* and *who* as nouns occupying the positions of subjects, objects, and complements, and in the use of verbs like *am, have,* and *give* as nouns occupying the positions of objects of prepositions.

Teaching Objectives

How do these arrangements existing in seventeenth and twentieth-century poetry compare with the English grammatical arrangements taught in Philippine high schools or even in courses for college freshmen? Does a Filipino freshman today possess the basic language skills required to meet the linguistic demands of the English and American poetry frequently included in his literature textbooks? Does he possess the basic tools needed to figure out the peculiar nuances of English and American poetry?

The teaching of English to Filipinos must be guided by objectives. If the objective of language teaching in the Philippines has literary ends, a closer relationship between English language teaching and the teaching of English and American literature has to be developed. This would call for a serious consideration of the linguistic complexity of American

and English poems (or American and English short stories, novels, essays) included in the literature textbooks in relation to the English language skills of the students.

Filipino teachers of literature often assume that their students possess basic skills of interpretation. The college instructor, conscious that his students have had four years of high school training that includes the study of literature, tends to forget that the essential act of disentangling the inversions, deletions, and shifts of sentence units frequent in poetry is particularly hard for second-language learners of English.

An examination of textbooks and supplementary materials used in Freshman English and Introduction to Literature reveals a discrepancy between the linguistic complexity of the literary works included in the literature text and the relative simplicity of the linguistic codes stressed in the other text. In Freshman English, the student is drilled on patterns of agreement between subject and verb, between pronouns and antecedent, on sequence of tense forms, on the use of prepositions, on complex and compound sentences often following the usual sequencing of units, but his reading selections exhibit the complexity of Hopkins' "The Windhover" or Cowley's "The Wish." The language gap is overwhelming.

If it is assumed that the difficulty level of the literature selections is correct, then the language lessons are far too simple. If the level of the language lessons is correct, then the grammatical complexity of the literature selections is hopelessly high. There is a need for coordination of the sequencing of structural patterns from easiest to more complex and unusual in the language text and the sequencing of linguistic complexity of literary selections in the literature text to allow the students maximum achievement in both areas. The language text should emphasize the flexibility of the English spectrum of patterns. In creating combinations of structural units signaling ideas and feelings, poets stretch this flexibility to unusual limits. If there is lack of emphasis on the flexibility of forms and arrangements of the English language in his language text, the Filipino student cannot become a sophisticated reader of English and American poetry, not having been exposed to delicacy and subtlety in the use of language in poetry. Because he does not have control of the foreign language, he may not be able to intuitively respond to the language, discovering the patterns of relationship among the statements in a poem as they support or modify one another by the poet's special arrangement.

Clearly, linguistic suitability is one criterion teachers and authors in the Philippines cannot afford to overlook. All the poets included in this study point a reader toward significance through the intelligible

structure of their utterances. All the poems selected, even those that deviate extremely from the usual patterns of English assumed for sector analysis, find room for a focus-context relationship between words in all their utterances. It has been suggested that "where authentic syntax appears in modern poetry, it is a sort of tribute paid by one poet to the beautiful humane cities."[3] It may be that the poets are cognizant of the complex relationship of several elements involved in any communication process. The poem when read becomes a communication process, and as such always involves this complex relationship of several elements before it can be effectively fulfilled.[4] And one element that communication theory emphasizes is that "a message sent by the encoder must have the decoding and response capabilities of the decoder clearly in view in the choice of code, and in encoding for optimal communication."[5] This implies that the mastery of the code, although by itself not leading automatically to effective communication, is an important component of the communication process. The student's command of the structural relationship present in the poem may mean command of one of the clues to whatever is communicated in a whole utterance of a poem; and this structural clue, as a part that is highly visible, may prove a check on what a student thinks he knows of the poem or, more significantly, a check on the student's own projections upon the poem *without regard to the text.*

For this reason, the second-language learner's control of the language in relation to the linguistic demands of a poem must be considered in a study of any poem. If poets can afford to pay tribute to the "beautiful humane cities" by using forms of conventional syntax to guide, prepare, and control the reader's expectations, those who handle young minds in introductory courses in literature (teachers as well as textbook writers), should likewise pay tribute to their learners by considering linguistic capability in relation to the linguistic complexity of individual poems, perhaps not individual poets, in choosing works for both literature and language study. The success of this interrelationship between language teaching and experiencing literature will result from the desire and willingness of the teacher to exploit, adapt, or create literature materials that are based on his knowledge of the strengths and weaknesses of his students. In this way only may the teaching of a foreign language achieve its desired literary end.

Notes

1. This paper is an abstract from the writer's doctoral dissertation at New York University.

2. This assumption is supported by authorities on linguistics and literature: Robert L. Allen, "Better Reading through the Recognition of Grammatical Relations," *The Reading Teacher* 18(1964); Richard Ohmann, "Literature as Sentences," *College English* 27(1966); Seymour Chatman, "Linguistics and Teaching Introductory Literature," in Harold B. Allen (ed.), *Readings in Applied English Linguistics* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts), pp. 500-06.

3. Peter Allt, "Yeats, Religion and History," *Sewanee Review* 60(1952), as quoted by Donald Davie, *Articulate Energy: An Inquiry into the Syntax of English Poetry* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1955), p. 129.

4. For a detailed explanation of the elements involved in communication, see Charles Fries, "Meaning and Linguistic Analysis," in Harold B. Allen (ed.), *Readings in Applied English Linguistics* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1964), pp. 98-100.

5. William Marquardt, "Cross-Cultural Communication in the City Schools," presented at the Campus School Program, Board of Education, City of New York, Nov. 15, 1966 (Mimeographed), p. 2.

Review Articles

"Christian Ecology" and Beyond

Earthkeeping: Christian Stewardship of Natural Resources. Edited by Loren Wilkinson. Grand Rapids, Mich.: William Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1980. viii + 317 pages.

Everett Mendoza

To one who is not familiar with the biological sciences, a book such as *Earthkeeping* opens a world of information about ecology. It is astounding to note that while there is a wealth of highly readable literature on the subject, those who know and passionately talk about it are easily in the minority.

Earthkeeping (thanks to a group of teachers and students of Calvin College's Calvin Center for Christian Scholarship) marshals before the reader an impressive array of facts and arguments that should make an unbeliever look like a clown or a devil. The authors — seven of them from various disciplines, with Loren Wilkinson as principal writer — claim that they are driven, first of all, by a common Christian conviction that the planet earth and humanity belong to the same creation and that the latter is given the responsibility of stewardship over the whole of creation. Starting from this religious position, they proceed to show in the manner of scientists that man and nature belong to the same material and biological reality, such that when man endangers the future viability of the environment and the creatures that it shelters he in effect endangers his own future. Ecosystems ("an ecosystem is any set of interacting plants, animals and nonliving things ... which can be viewed as a functioning unit") have self-regulating and self-perpetuating mechanisms that rest on a very complex balance of relationships among elements. Under normal circumstances they can absorb shocks, such as a forest fire, but when disturbances become more massive and persistent the delicate balance may be lost and the process of destruction may become irreversible.

On the other hand, humankind is being pressed to further squeeze the earth of its mineral and energy resources (especially fossil fuels) in order to meet the increasing needs of an exponentially increasing human population. The book paints us a scenario of an overpopulated world that will eventually be stabilized through the natural mechanisms of starvation, war, and disease, unless we learn to exercise restraint. The constant need for more food and energy gives humans an excuse for wreaking havoc on the environment and driving lower creatures to extinction and at the same time hastening their own.

However, while it is true that most of the world's population does not have enough, a very tiny minority gobbles up what is available. Six percent of the world's people who live in North American consume 33% of the world's non-renewable and mineral resources, 63% of its natural gas, 33% of the petroleum, and 42% of its aluminum. The average American consumes 63.6 times as much as the average Indian. In summary, the authors picture for us the following situation: (1) environmental destruction goes on unabated; (2) for our energy needs we draw heavily from limited and nonrenewable sources; (3) population growth shows no signs of slowing down; and (4) resources are not justly allocated and distributed among peoples.

The writers seek an explanation for mankind's apparently suicidal use and enjoyment of nature by going deeply into these tendencies' historical and ideological roots. They believe that by being able to locate the "springs of action" that underlie humankind's conduct toward nature, we may find a way of correcting this conduct. Today's attitudes, they say, toward the utilization of the earth are mainly based upon two models, that of the frontier and that of the spaceship. The former gives man the feeling of unlimited resources which may be used without restraint; when something seems to be used up there is always some more just beyond it. The spaceship model, on the other hand, recognizes the limits of the planet earth and prescribes living within our means. These are opposite models: one encourages us to use up resources indiscriminately, the other advises restraint, recycling, and restoration. The authors believe that the frontier model is slowly giving way to the other, but they also recognize certain roadblocks that prevent the frontier's final demise. And these roadblocks are located in the realms of attitudes, values, and ideology.

Earthkeeping was written in a manner reminiscent of the way that the Gospels in the New Testament were written. The Gospels tell the wondrous story of the resurrection of a man; every part of the Gospels was designed to unfold that resurrection story. Similarly, the writers of *Earthkeeping* are arguing for the final abandonment of the frontier model in favor of the spaceship model. The entire book is so arranged as to convince the reader that the only sane option to follow is that advocated by the authors. In effect, the writers are evangelists proclaiming the spaceship gospel.

These writers are both committed Christians and serious scientists, and they endeavor to be faithful to both callings. As Christians, they have tried to let the Gospel bear upon a particular datum of human experi-

ence — man's relationship with nature. As scientists, they have tried to handle their materials according to the strict standards of scientific investigation. Whether to call them Christian scientists or scientific Christians is as easy a task as identifying a Gospel passage as memory of the earthly Jesus or testimony about the Risen Lord. Consequently, the reader is faced with the choice — to take the book as a treatise for critical scientific analysis or to take it as a message of faith which he may accept or reject. But one may take it in both ways, as one may face the biblical witness both critically and theologically.

A layman (in the field of the natural sciences) is certainly not equipped to question in depth the merits of the research done; he may as well presume it to have been done correctly. Theologically, the book ably states its witness with the authority of those who know their Bible and are convinced of its message. But it is in the practice of these convictions, the adoption of practical strategies, where serious questions might be raised. The authors argue that it is attitudes that provide the "springs of action" to the suicidal way we deal with the earth. Ergo, a change of attitudes on a global scale will start a chain reaction that will finally lead to the adoption of the spaceship model. A massive educational program coupled with some lobbying and influence-peddling in the corridors of policy-making will do the trick. Those who wield power and call the shots will eventually be convinced (they are as reasonable and as sane as we are, aren't they?), have a change of heart, and implement the spaceship model.

This analysis of the situation and strategy of change reveals a naivete the magnitude of which is matched only by the guile of those who make the decisions. Firstly, attitudes, values, and worldview are but reflections or afterthoughts of what is empirically experienced; in the original sense, these are not the mainspring of action, although they later serve to reinforce the same experience. The so-called frontier spirit is but a euphemism for the spirit of crass materialism engendered by capitalist society. The obsessive drive for profit and growth of capital knows no law, ethic, or future. The enormous growth of the forces of production, particularly technology, propelled capitalist America to pillage nature in order to provide fodder for its monstrous factories. The new capitalist mode of production that was displacing the decadent feudal society at the time formed a new consciousness that pervaded not only the owners of capital but the entire American society as well. The "frontier spirit" is a necessary companion of capitalism, being its spirit; thus, one cannot do away with it without doing away

with the social system that generated it. (The so-called Manifest Destiny and White Man's Burden were the spirit of imperialist expansionism, American style.) Any project that aims at replacing the frontier model (or more precisely the capitalist ideology) and that does not include on its agenda the dismantling of the structures of capitalism and imperialism is nothing but an exercise in futility.

Secondly, a tiny portion of the world's population controls society and by virtue of this control occupies the apex of the social pyramid. Any program aimed at abolishing the existing system and its structures is deemed to be a threat to the very existence of those in power. They will use all the weapons at their disposal to ward off attacks on the status quo. Confronted with these realities, the task of restructuring our relationship with the material world seems formidable. To tell the owners of giant corporations to desist from encroaching upon wildlife sanctuaries is like asking them to stop growing. While their consciences may command them to take heed, the imperatives of growth in the jungle of economic competition are more demanding: grow or sink, plunder or perish (some of these corporations now center their growth by plunder on Third World countries). Capitalism and imperalism have their own logic which the so-called captains of industry can only obey; for the price of disobedience is decay and eventual extinction.

A mere appeal to reason plus an assault upon conscience are not equal to the forces that are leading our planet earth on a course of self-destruction. Those who make decisions, whom we imagine we can convert to join our crusade, are themselves captives of the systems of their own making; they may give us a listening ear, but it is part of their game to keep us confined to this weak strategy.

Is there a way? There might be if one considers the obvious (it is so obvious that a great deal of miseducation and deception is needed to keep us from seeing it). The obvious way is for people who are directly affected to mobilize and take concrete action to stop the operation of enterprises that threaten to or in fact destroy the environment. Direct mass opposition to these destructive industrial programs must be the principal strategy upon which other strategies and tactics will depend. All programs of education and awareness-building, every petition and delegation to higher authorities, must be built upon and oriented toward this principal strategy. If we consider mass action only as an ultimate method or a strategy of last resort we quickly fall into the traps of technicalities and legalities that were created in the first place to shield policy-makers from disturbances

In the final analysis, the strength of this book lies in the writers' Christian idealism. But it also is the source of its weakness. For having started with the Christian Gospel as the impetus as well as the guiding principle of their endeavor, they end up confined within the parameters of Christian tradition. Their practical suggestions can only go as far as the limits of their understanding of the Christian faith will allow. And these limits have been defined for them by liberal Christianity, American style. Liberalism, both in politics and in theology, may have succeeded in winning sympathy and consciences, but it is yet to prove capable of arousing and mobilizing people to transform social systems and structures. Short of such a solution, the planet earth and humankind may soon meet their apocalypse.

Of Pipes, Politics, and Pollution

The Reserve Mining Controversy. Robert V. Bartlett. Introduction and concluding observations by Lynton K. Caldwell. Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press, 1980. xiv + 293 pages.

Stephen F. W. Lowrie

There are not many technical books based upon lengthy American court cases which are of immediate and vital interest to the poor fishermen of Negros and Cebu—but this is one. (The fishermen, no doubt, will wait in vain for a translation into Cebuano.)

This book revolves around one of the longest and most expensive environmental disputes in history. The Reserve Mining Company of Silver Bay, Minnesota for twenty-five years disposed of its mining wastes through a pipeline into Lake Superior. The Company was finally forced to stop in 1980 and to use on-land disposal. The relevance to Negros and Cebu? Atlas Mining Corporation in Cebu has been disposing of mining wastes through a pipeline into the sea for a number of years, and CDCP-Mining in Negros plans to use this method also.

Bartlett has attacked his subject on a broad front, considering the scientific, economic, political, and legal aspects of the controversy in almost diary form. This approach has the drawback that to a scientist (such as this reviewer) the detailed description of twelve years of litigation becomes rather boring and confusing. The appendix contains a very handy nine-page chronology of events, and I found myself on several occasions referring to it to find which particular case/lawsuit/appeal/hearing was being described. In a similar manner, the scientific discussions would probably be confusing to lawyers, economists, and politicians. Indeed, one of the points admirably made is the unsuitability of legal proceedings in dealing with scientific problems. "Scientists . . . accustomed to communicating with specialists using highly technical terminology, are often at a loss when asked to testify in language understandable to lay judges and juries. . . . The whole process of communication is made more difficult by the context of an adversary proceeding. Judges . . . . are expected somehow to choose between contradictory evidence, competing theories offered by [different scientists] . . . . Ultimate success in litigation may depend less on the . . . . scientific evidence presented by one party than on its lawyer's success in impugning the motives, character or qualifications of adversary witnesses. . . ." (11)

An associated problem which the book brings out is the difference between scientific and legal "truth." "Scientific truth, as pertains to ordinary

empirical research, is a tentative and often shifting thing; what scientists accept as true is subject to, and contingent upon . . . . further research. [It] is established by the consensus of opinion of the relevant portion of the scientific community. Legal 'truth,' on the other hand, consists mainly of 'findings of Fact' and 'Conclusions of Law' of those judicial decisions not subsequently reversed by higher courts. Thus there. . . often is an irreconcilable discrepancy between these two kinds of 'truth.' " (212)

Whatever the quality of "truth," the author tries to show that no one has a monopoly on it. In his introduction he makes clear his attempt to explain the controversy from both the environmentalists' and the mining company's perspectives, maintaining that Reserve's behavior is not to be seen solely as "corporate greed," but rather that ". . . Reserve and its parent companies seem to have underestimated the growing strength of the environmental movement and to have misunderstood the significance of the findings regarding change in the quality of the lake." (9) But I find the claim that the company was somehow an innocent victim of circumstances contradicted by the main body of this book.

Consider the following excerpts. During the course of the federal trial ". . . Reserve had presented its underwater disposal plan even though its own engineers had rejected it for technical reasons. . . . Reserve represented on-land disposal to be technologically infeasible even after it had developed complete on-land disposal plans; and Reserve had withheld documents on on-land disposal in spite of interrogatories, subpoenas, and court orders." (181) "As to the good faith of Reserve in adhering to the appeals court's order, Judge Lord noted that it had taken repeated orders from him to get Reserve to consider other possible sites for on-land disposal." (170) "[A] Reserve consultant . . . was asked to resign from a National Academy of Sciences committee studying the health effects of asbestos in drinking water after it was discovered that he had agreed to provide Reserve with access to the confidential deliberations of the committee." (266) Reserve also used the ploy of personally attacking the authority of scientists who gave evidence against the company, instead of addressing the evidence alone. The question of unethical relationships between public officials and Reserve was also raised.

Reserve's credibility was further decreased when a book by Frank D. Schaumburg about the controversy was published in 1977. "Subsequently it was revealed that a public relations firm representing Armco and Reserve had helped select Schaumburg to be the author of the book.... Armco had agreed to a prepublication purchase of 1000 copies of the book.... Nevertheless, nothing in the book advises the reader of Armco's

involvement in its publication. The book — which was poorly edited, meagerly documented, and riddled with errors of omission and commission — was denounced ... as a 'white-wash for Reserve.' " (225-26)

Perhaps most alarming is Reserve's distortion and misuse of scientific findings. When Reserve conducted its own research, samples were taken from Lake Superior "... after very heavy rains while the plant was shut down...." (136) Samples were specially selected from areas designed to show a lack of pollution from the plant. Reserve deliberately tried to mislead the court by using outdated scientific findings which were no longer "scientifically true," as these findings had previously been included in court evidence. "...As late as 1978 Reserve would devote a considerable proportion of its Minnesota Supreme Court brief to quoting the federal appeals court's 1974 and 1975 comments on fiber counting — which presumably still represented a determination of legal truth' — rather than summarizing up-to-date scientific evidence...." (212) Reserve also did not avoid totally ignoring its own scientific findings, "... Reserve officials knew that some rock fragments contained asbestos... [yet] company officials denied any knowledge of [this]."

Do these and other examples really show that Reserve was acting in good faith? However Bartlett may apologize for the mining company, one of the strengths of his book, at least in the eyes of this reviewer, lies in the way it throws into question the methods Reserve used to defend itself, and, to a much lesser extent, those its opponents used to attack the company.

Bartlett's book is probably rather technical and perhaps too detailed for the layman but, on the other hand, not technical enough for the academic research worker. It is a pity that this book will not get a wider reading, although surely environmentalists will treasure it, and it is hoped that managers of mining companies will learn from it. The author states in the preface that "This study is intended as a contribution toward understanding how and why political conflicts occur the way they do in our public life." (xi) It might serve as a good reference for political science majors, as political points are among the most important that Bartlett makes.

Although the case supposedly revolved around scientific facts concerning pollution of the lake, the decisions made were mainly political in nature. "The Reserve controversy was, first and foremost, a political confrontation, and with all its weaknesses the enforcement conference was a political arrangement for dealing with scientific conflicts.... Energetic lobbying, directly and through numerous elected representatives, enabled en-

vironmentalists to exert considerable influence at critical junctures in the controversy.... Reserve, in turn, was not bashful about presenting its case informally in Washington and elsewhere, as indicated by the various meetings with White House, Interior, Corps of Engineers, and EPA officials at Reserve's request. A subsequently subpoenaed Reserve memorandum had suggested that 'By vigorous political activity, primarily in Washington, it may be possible to amend or modify the conclusions and recommendations of the enforcement conference.' " (116-17) Various politicians also used the controversy for their own ends. "Both governors [Anderson of Minnesota and Lucey of Wisconsin] got political mileage out of attending the enforcement conference. It was an opportunity for two Democrats to show that they were doing something where Republicans appeared to have been fiddling around." (103)

The author emphasizes that the ultimate decision rested on the choice between two conflicting systems of values; whether human health was of overriding importance compared to economic matters, or if costly actions were warranted without clear proof of substantial harm. Judge Lord, the federal judge for most of the case, eventually decided that the "The application of cost-benefit reasoning where human lives and health were concerned was... wrong and immoral." (217) Another type of value-judgment is also briefly mentioned by the author. "Reserve's decisions... were apparently influenced by its forty-year mine plan. Yet the costs and potential costs of the company's use of the environment might conceivably extend hundreds or thousands of years into the future." (220) This is the crux of one of the main arguments of environmentalists against polluters and it is a little surprising that greater stress is not placed on this short versus long-term use of the environment by Bartlett, as surely it must have figured prominently in the case against Reserve.

From the record presented here, it is evident that Reserve mining and its opponents treated each other with great suspicion and that there was no attempt to work together to reach a solution to the problem. Had they done so, perhaps millions of dollars of private and public money could have been saved. Can the Philippines learn from this experience? At present the Construction and Development Corporation of the Philippines, developers of a copper mine in Basay, Negros Oriental, and its critics are not the best of friends. In a recent article, a CDCP official was quoted as complaining "we feel we are being harassed by the Silliman people. We tried to have a dialogue but we cannot get through to these people."[1]

That does make my colleagues and myself sound rather stubborn and uncompromising! In actuality, when we first learned that CDCP was planning to build a pipeline, and after some research work, Silliman University researchers asked CDCP to come to a dialogue where we presented our research findings. During the dialogue, CDCP maintained that it did not and would not pollute; since our research shows exactly the opposite, it is perhaps not surprising that CDCP representatives could not "get through" to us. In retrospect, had we "harassed" them more, would they have operated their mine for over a year with no tailings disposal system and in so doing could we have saved the Pagatban river and sea into which they disposed of their tailings?

A parallel may be drawn between some of the former claims of Reserve and present claims of CDCP. "Reserve argued that the heavy density current carried all the fine tailings down to the great trough just off-shore, where they remained." (56) It was later found that "slightly less than half of the tailings waste... was deposited on the delta above the deep trough and tailings are dispersed on the lake bottom at least 10 miles off shore and 18 miles southeast from the point of discharge." (64) CDCP officials have claimed that the tailings they deposit in the sea will not be dispersed by sea currents. To again quote from the recent newspaper article, "CDCP argues that because the mine tailing [sic] will be dropped in 300 meters of water, it will not damage the surrounding area, though Jordana [senior vice-president of CDCP Mining] said that no experiments have been carried out to see if this was the case." Silliman researchers have found that the tailings from the Atlas pipeline in Cebu are carried over long distances by the currents.

Reserve also claimed "... that tailings had no effect on chemical or biotic analysis of lake water." (75) However later research showed "... that the tailings were indeed soluble, since the concentrations of various metals were higher in plant discharge water than in intake water." (82) CDCP officials have also claimed that the tailings are insoluble and do not contribute higher heavy metals levels in seawater. Silliman researchers have recorded heavy metals concentrations more than ten times the normal values in the sea around the Atlas pipeline and in the Pagatban river and sea, whereas the Pagatban river upstream of the CDCP discharge point and other rivers in Southern Negros show normal heavy metals values.

Reserve claimed "that tailings had no adverse effect on total fish food organisms." (75) This was also shown to be untrue; in fact, "Fishermen attributed a decline in area fishing to Reserve's operations." (79) CDCP almost unbelievably claimed that its discharge of tailings into the sea, via the Pagatban river, has increased the numbers of some fish in the area. This incredible claim somewhat amazed us until we found out at a recent open forum at Basay (the closest town to the Pagatban river), that the fisherman who made this claim is involved in trading with CDCP. During this open forum one angry local fisherman remarked. "If these tailings are so wonderful that they fertilize the sea to produce more fish, why are you going to the trouble and expense to pipe them into the deeper ocean? Something does not make sense here." However, Silliman's research findings do make a great deal of sense.[2] Fish are virtually non-existent in the Pagatban river and have been drastically reduced in the sea off the Pagatban river-mouth. The bangus fish fry collectors who were gathering about 10,000 fry a day before the opening of the CDCP mine now can gather only about 1000 fry a day. (Incidentally, these are the fishermen CDCP officials claim are able to catch more fish!) In the Tañon Straits into which the Atlas pipeline discharges, Silliman research showed that fish life was very sparse and the seabed heavily silted over a wide area. Within the vicinity of the pipeline there were specimens from thirty species, but animals found were dead without exception. The levels of heavy metals (particularly copper and zinc) in the Pagatban and Tañon Strait areas are higher than levels, reported in the scientific literature, that will kill plankton and some fish. Plankton lie at the base of the food-chain, providing the source of food for fish.

In both the Reserve and CDCP cases there is a conflict between short-term exploitation and long-term destruction of the environment. "CDCP officials say the mining operations are so essential they outweigh any possible environmental destruction from the waste disposal plan." (*Business Day*) The environmentalist point of view is, needless to say, rather different. Is the operation of a marginally profitable mine for a comparatively short time worth the pollution of one of the Philippines' most important tuna fishing and spawning grounds? The construction of the pipeline would certainly make nonsense of a World Bank-financed multi-million peso project, which is being implemented by the UNDP at Bayawan (very close to the Pagatban) for the expansion of the fishing industry.

As mentioned earlier, a common practice, not only in the Reserve Mining controversy but in many other environmental disputes, has been that the pollution-causing company or mine attack its opponents rather than the issue of pollution. On several occasions Reserve Mining tried to besmirch the credibility and reputations of its opponents. Unfortunately, this has also happened in the CDCP dispute. The following is an extract from a petition addressed to Philippine President and Mrs. Marcos:

> Whereas, CDCP Mining has been continuously the subject of unwarranted attacks and velification campaign [sic] from alleged pseudo scientists of a large university who have been supplying unfounded and malicious half-baked information to the local and foreign media...

I am not sure what an "alleged pseudo scientist" is, but the reference is surely not meant to be complimentary. Incidentally, CDCP Mining is currently suing this reviewer over alleged remarks, reported in a newspaper, about the pollution from its mine. This again would seem to be attacking issues other than the real ones in the dispute.

The direct political appeal above reminds us that politics was obviously more influential than science throughout the Reserve Mining case. The situation with CDCP has been similar. For instance, CDCP officials have claimed that the pipeline received National Pollution Control Commission and Bureau of Fisheries approval, but added that no environmental impact statement was filed on the project.

> "The environmental impact statement is so complicated—the wording is lifted from foreign sources," one official said. "To prepare it would have cost ₱1 million and taken one year."
>
> "We therefore appealed to a higher authority and were granted a permit without filing an impact statement," he said.
>
> In the Philippines, the phrase "higher authority" often means President Ferdinand Marcos. (*Business Day*)

Have the National Pollution Control Commission and Bureau of Fisheries really approved a project that will pollute the environment and destroy fishing grounds? These agencies should know that the battle for pipelines has already been fought and lost in the West. However, it looks as though the battle has to be fought all over again in the Philippines. Perhaps several years from now somebody will be writing a book

entitled *The CDCP Mining Controversy*. I have a feeling that such a book would go over much of the same ground covered by Bartlett.

References

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2. S.F.W. Lowrie, R.L. Llena, and P.B. Suarez, "The Effect of Tailings from a Copper Mine in Southern Negros on the Marine Environment and Fishing Industry." Paper read during Conference of the Philippine Chemical Society, Manila, February 23-28, 1981.

Book Reviews

Philippine Lizards of the Family Scincidae. Walter C. Brown and Angel C. Alcala. Dumaguete City: Silliman University (Natural Science Monograph Series, No. 2), 1980. 264 pages.

This monograph is another product of the fruitful partnership of Brown and Alcala, who for more than twenty years have given us numerous publications on the taxonomy and ecology of the amphibians and reptiles of the Philippine Islands. In this, their second monograph on Philippine lizards—the first dealt with the Family Gekkonidae—Brown and Alcala cover the family with the richest representation in the archipelago, sixty-four species distributed in ten genera.

This review of the skinks begins with a key to the genera followed by a section on each genus, and finally a brief discussion of bio-geographic relations. Within each genus, the authors present a key to the species, and for each species within the genus, a complete synonymy, list of specimens examined, full description, range, and, when available, notes on reproductive habits and habitat.

The book and the research lying behind it reflect the care and competence we have come to expect from these authors. The keys work as the authors intended and the descriptions of species follow a consistent format. One of the most useful aspects of the book is the inclusion of tables giving scale counts, body proportions, and other data on the specimens examined. These tables will greatly facilitate the work of anyone studying the entire Philippine fauna or just one of these lizard species or genera.

Some minor aspects of the book are disappointing. The half-tone illustrations are not clear and some of the line drawings illustrating keys are too small for easy use. Although the authors went to great lengths to present data on scalation, etc., they do not give sample size for the reproductive data. How many gravid females of *Brachymeles tridactylus*, for example, form the basis for their statement (p. 28) that ". . . females have 2 large eggs or embryos. . ."? It makes a good deal of difference to someone working on reproductive patterns in lizards whether that statement represents just a single observation or the unvarying characteristic of the species.

Philippine skinks are a remarkable assemblage. They are highly diverse—sixty-four species is a large number—and the great majority (52) are restricted to the Philippine Islands. And there are more species to be discovered. The Appendix lists ten species from Palawan, which surely does not represent more than half of the actual fauna. The herpetological fauna of Palawan is notoriously under-represented in collections. Other

islands also have shorter lists of skinks than seems reasonable, given what we know of their fauna otherwise.

But it is not merely in numbers that our knowledge of Philippine skinks is deficient. As Brown and Alcala indicate at many points, very little is known about the basic biology of the majority of the species. Local biologists can make significant contributions in the areas of ecology and reproductive behavior of skinks, which are inherently interesting lizards with a variety of color patterns and broad use of the environment. Fortunately for those who may wish to study these animals, Brown and Alcala have provided the foundation—a means of identification, a summary of current knowledge, and an appreciation for the biological diversity of Philippine skinks.

Robert F. Inger

The Counterfeit Revolution: Martial Law in the Philippines. Reuben R. Canoy. Manila: Philippine Editions, 1980. x + 256 pages.

In 1971, Ferdinand E. Marcos, administrator of martial rule and architect of "The New Society," came out with *Today's Revolution: Democracy*. On the pages of this book one finds pronouncements which a year later would serve as rationalization for the imposition of Martial Law in the Philippines. Clad in euphemism, the regime was often paraded as "constitutional authoritarianism" or a "democratic revolution." The author justified it in this manner:

> If we accept life as a struggle, and history as the continuing struggle for freedom, we realize the necessity of revolution, and from that, the imperative of a militant creed.
>
> I believe, therefore, in the necessity of Revolution as an instrument of individual and social change, and that its end is the advancement of human freedom.
>
> * * * * * *
>
> I believe that while we have utilized the Presidential powers to dismantle the bloody revolution and its rightist, communist and other apparatus, we must not fail our people; *we must replace the bloody revolution with the authentic revolution—liberal, constitutional and peaceful.* [stress supplied]

Reuben R. Canoy's book is obviously the anti-establishment's answer to the Marcos claim that the New Society (which, incidentally, has now been metamorphosed into the "New Republic") is the "authentic revolution." As the title itself suggests, the Marcos revolution is no authentic revolution, but a counterfeit one. Written in 1980, after eight years of martial rule in the country, Canoy's book debunks the Marcos claim, thus:

> President Ferdinand E. Marcos, the man who brought this about, calls it a "democratic revolution" or sometimes a "revolution from the center" — one staged by the government itself in order to abolish poverty, injustice and inequality.
>
> The arrogation of extraordinary powers that Marcos justified as a democratic exercise in the name of "constitutional authoritarianism" might have served as a model for the leadership of other developing countries confronted with the same problems that the Filipino nation was said to be facing in 1972, but for the fact that after eight years of martial rule conditions in the Philippines have, instead of improving, become worse than ever.
>
> If anything, martial law, Philippine style, stands as a reproof to all Third World leaders who claim that a strong, authoritarian government—really a euphemism for dictatorship—is the answer to poverty and underdevelopment, and that if people want abundant rice they must be willing to forfeit their freedom.
>
> Though it has become increasingly clear that his New Society never got off the ground for sheer lack of credibility and the moral strength that all reform movements require, Marcos still boasts of resounding successes in political, social and economic reforms and development. With the complicity of the controlled media, he has rendered it extremely difficult for most Filipinos to distinguish between reality and illusion.

As far as Canoy is concerned, the only "credible" thing about Marcos's so-called "democratic revolution" was the "computer-like efficiency" that characterized its launching. Based on a smoothly orchestrated plan, code-named OPLAN SAGITTARIUS, the Marcos-led revolution was meant not only to arrest the forces of anarchy that threatened Philippine society in the late 1960s but to reform and restructure society itself. The "New Society," the "New Filipino," the "Maharlika Soul" — all these served as symbols of the revolution.

Beneath the veneer of symbolism, however, the Marcos-designed revolution, so Canoy argues, was one big charade. But has not Marcos always gone to the people through a series of referenda whenever he needed popular sanction and support? Considering the manner in which these political exercises were conducted and the pre-ordained results produced thereby, no objective observer could possibly accept their authenticity. Quoting from Samuel Finer, Canoy labels the whole process as "facade-democracy" — "a system of rule where liberal-democratic institutions, processes and safeguards are established by laws but are in practice so manipulated or violated by a historic oligarchy to stay in office." Here is Finer's elaboration of the concept:

> The constitutive freedoms which are the prerequisites of a liberal democracy are the freedoms of speech and press, of association and of elections. If any of the first three are curtailed or abolished, the elections become pro tanto less than a true expression of public opinion. If, in addition, the elections themselves are falsified, then those in office perpetuate their hold on it or freely dispose of it on the strength of an entirely fictitious claim to the support of public opinion. In some way or another, this is precisely how facade-democracy operates.

However irrefutable the political indictment of the New Society might be, there is no gainsaying the fact that the Marcos-launched revolution has indeed made some concrete gains. The Republic, old or new, is very much alive. Without Martial Law, this comment would have had no basis. Also, look at the infrastructure being erected—land reform, rural electrification, human settlements, peace and order, etc. No one, not even the most rabid anti-Marcos critic, can deny their reality.

Nonetheless, there is one aspect of Marcos's revolution which even the most fanatic Marcos apologist will find difficult to defend, much less rationalize, and that is the rise of a "new oligarchy" in the country. The Marcos revolution was ostensibly designed to dismantle, if not totally eradicate, the so-called "old oligarchs." The evidence, however, completely points to the contrary. While some of the old society oligarchs (e.g., the Lopezes) may have been destabilized, oligarchy as an evil remains very much in view. What has changed is merely the *dramatis personae*. Otherwise, the reach of the oligarchic tentacle is even more pervasive, if not more vicious. As Canoy so bluntly describes it in what could easily be the most "revealing" chapter of the book:

After eight years of martial law, many of the "old oligarchs" are still very much around, a little less influential perhaps but just as wealthy, if not more so. And, added to their ranks is an aggressive breed of new oligarchs to whom prosperity and success had been elusive goals before that fateful September day.

* * * * * *

Because husband and wife operate as separate political entities and deal independently with distinct groups of people, even their supposed business connections have been construed as a "His" and "Hers" situation. While Marcos allegedly works through members of his own clan and friends—like Ambassador Roberto S. Benedicto, Antonio Floirendo, and the brothers Ramon and Eduardo Cojuangco—Mrs. Marcos reputedly moves through her favorite brother, Leyte Governor Benjamin Romualdez, who, in turn, relies on such well-known business leaders as Cesar Zalamea, Emilio Abello, and the father-and-son team of Sixto and Ramon Orosa.

In this intricate maze of relationships, their interests are said to mesh perfectly in the group of companies set up by Herminio Disini, a known Marcos protege and golf partner. Disini is married to Dr. Inday Escolin, Mrs. Marcos' cousin and personal physician.

What other indicia of the "counterfeit revolution" does Canoy discuss in his book? Pretty familiar subjects, and predictably, his analysis runs a consistent thread. The Batasang Pambansa (i.e., the pre-April 7 plebiscite vintage) is a sham. One assemblyman described the parliamentary body as "programmed to fail." The Mindanao War? It is all orchestrated by Malacañang. The Barangay system? It is a well-knit network whose principal thrust is the "deification" of the First Couple. The Media? It is not only controlled by Malacañang, it is downright timid and an embarrassment. And yes, human rights! Culling from the reports of Amnesty International and the Catholic Church, and recalling the Shah of Iran and Somoza of Nicaragua, Canoy calls the New Society record on human rights a "black chapter in the history" of the nation.

One may not entirely agree with Canoy's polemic against the New Society, intended as it is as an indictment of the Marcos regime, but one thing stands out in bold relief throughout the book—not only is Canoy the principled oppositionist that he is, but he has the indomitable courage

of his convictions. And to the eternal credit of the man he has so fiercely indicted—Ferdinand E. Marcos—Canoy has not been subjected to any form of reprisal as a direct consequence of the book, nor has he been called to account for any of the charges he has leveled against the Martial Law regime. In that respect, it may not be amiss to say that for all its alleged faults and failures, the "revolution" which Canoy has branded as "counterfeit" has been, at least, capable of the tolerance and magnanimity which permitted such a book to be written and published.

Teodoro V. Cortes

The Recruiting Game: Toward a New System of Intercollegiate Sports. John F. Rooney, Jr. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1980. xviii + 204 pages.

The *Recruiting Game* is a game many can play: university presidents, professors, athletes, coaches, trainers, alumni, professional hunters, the solicitous. It is anybody's game, with no fixed rules and no written code of conduct. The results are chaos, ills, and excesses.

Much has been written on the excesses involved in the hunting, recruiting, pampering and/or mistreatment of young athletes. James Michener, the beloved American author, in *Sports in America* (1976), dealt at length with the scandalous recruitment programs in the United States. Criticisms and exposes also have come from many other quarters, most notably, the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching report of 1929 and the American Council on Education study in 1974.

Sports is everybody's business. But what has a professor of geography to do with sports? The answer is personal. Just as George Leonard wrote *The Ultimate Athlete: Re-visioning Sports, Physical Education and the Body* (1974) from the perspective of a "pounding heart and aching lungs, of injuries suffered in pursuit of physical skill," or Michener wrote *Sports in America* out of "personal indebtedness for hearty athletic competition that saved my life," Rooney wrote *The Recruiting Game* because of a "deep love and affection for sport." "I'm part of the system," he confesses.

What is the root of the problem? The bottom line, Rooney points out, is that big-time college sports satisfy two public demands: the desire for high-level sports entertainment and the need for national recognition of local accomplishment. To meet these needs, colleges and universities must recruit. Sports and school officials are in agreement that a successful

athletic program is dependent on the effective recruitment of players and coaches. Recruitment is a justified pursuit. It is a necessary evil.

The evils that beset the recruiting system are many. But the three major ones, the author stresses, are geographical, ethical, and economic in nature. It is a geographical problem, the author maintains, because nearly every major institution has come to believe that the entire nation is its source region for the truly great prospects. Urbanization, suburban sprawl, and the rural exodus have had a profound effect on the geography of athletic supply, the author points out. The geographic problem boils down to two: state pride that demands an equitable distribution of talents and the need for national recognition of local accomplishments.

The problem is ethical in nature because young athletes are brought to college campuses for the wrong reasons. They become commodities sold to the highest bidder. Ethical problems related to recruiting and financial subsidies include altering high school records, threatening to bomb the home of a high school principal who refused to alter transcripts, having substitutes take admission tests, fabricating grades for athletes in courses they never attended, using federal work-study funds to pay athletes, and many others. The problem is also economic because colleges and universities spend a huge amount out of their school budget to subsidize athletes and "erect colossal structures to house their gridiron show."

Parallel situations exist in the Philippines. Young athletes (even elementary pupils) are plucked out of their homes and studies in the provinces to play big-time sports in Manila. The worst offenders are not the colleges and universities but the government agencies and corporations, notably, the Philippine armed forces. Talented athletes fresh from high school are lured by promises of a sure income and fat allowances and privileges to join the army. Deprived of a college diploma, they never hope to rise much above the rank of private.

In brief, the recruiting game—its national dimensions, high costs, reliance on people from outside the university, and pervasive dishonesty—is collegiate sports' most miserable affliction.

To his lasting credit, Rooney comes up with timely solutions or remedies to the problems of recruiting. To solve the geographical problem, he argues for a regional recruiting system. Regional recruiting represents an attempt to reduce the amount of movement of players across the country. It calls for a halt to the migration of Pennsylvanians to Arizona and Californians to Indiana. It means an end to *national recruiting,* the author stresses. He is optimistic that by utilizing TRANSUB, a computer program which first allocates players to the home state, then

minimizes the distance they may travel to out-of-state schools, it will be possible to redistribute talent far more efficiently.

To the ethical and economic problems, the author offers one practical solution: separate the athletic function—the revenue sports—from traditional forms of university control, and allow a select group of collegiate teams to become second-order, or minor league, professional franchises in the university communities. The Philippine schools suffering from the burgeoning costs of athletics and expensive sports organizations like the UAAP and NCAA should seriously consider this practical solution presented by the author.

By professionalizing big-time sports and methods of player acquisition, both the distasteful aspects of recruiting and the unethical practices so often associated with student-athletes would be eliminated. There would be no need for watered-down courses, brain coaches, transcript meddling, and jock-favoring professors and alumni. This is the exhilarating possibility John Rooney presents in this stimulating book. *The Recruiting Game,* in summary, is a forceful argument for the reform of the intercollegiate sports in the United States or anywhere else. Rooney's dreams are possible, even now becoming reality. I should at least like to think so, or hope so.

Maro C. Blauta

Philippine Ancestral Houses. Fernando N. Zialcita and Martin I. Tinio, Jr. Photographs by Neal M. Oshima. Manila: GCF Books, 1981. 264 pages.

My candidate for the award, *HBOTY,* Handsomest Book of the Year, if there were such a thing, would be this book. It is one of many beautiful books edited and published in recent years by Gilda Cordero Fernando. Though there is not a colored picture in its 264 pages, the arrangement of the carefully chosen photographs of house exteriors, rooms, and carpentry details—printed in brown ink on coated paper—is highly artistic, and the rare subject matter is fascinating. The excellent photographer was Neal Oshima of the Design Center.

The author, Fernando Zialcita, is a young professor of anthropology at Ateneo de Manila University; the emphasis throughout the book is on the social milieu of the Philippines from 1810 to 1930 and its effect on house design. Interesting chapters were also contributed by Martin Tinio, Jr., gentleman farmer and art connoisseur. Headings of

the twelve sections are gracefully framed in scroll-work and tracery copied from old houses. To vary the look of the text on the out-sized pages (31x31cm) here and there a page or paragraph is framed, or printed on tinted ground. Manuel Baldemor has provided attractive drawings, ranging from miniatures to full-page sketches, which supplement the photographs and illustrate the many floor plans.

The writing is smooth and lucid, and presents its unusual data and interpretation in a light conversational tone. Besides the chronological progression, there is a look at old houses from the point of view of the builders, the owners and occupants, the neighbors, communities, and regions where they are located. Foreign and outside influences are traced and their significance evaluated. A fascinating addendum is the complete description and inventory of a house built in Intramuros in the late sixteen-hundreds, based on documents found in the Dominican archives. From this material the authors have virtually reconstructed the house, and given us a vivid idea of a now vanished dwelling and its life.

Distinctly Filipino features of architecture and differences from Spanish and other Asian types of building are convincingly brought out throughout the volume. The house on stilts dates back to pre-Christian times all over Malayan Asia. It is surprising to learn that the later so-called stone houses (*bahay na bato*) are also built on wooden supports, which are really larger stilts, and that the stone wall of the ground floor, which makes them look so firmly anchored to the earth, is merely a screen or curtain. This gives a flexibility to the upper structure, a safeguard against earthquakes.

The book traces how various features of the houses grew out of economic conditions, available materials, social relations, climatic factors, legislative acts, wars and peaceful invasions, and provincial differences. Some of the unique aspects of the houses are the various types of covered balconies, the detached kitchen with breezeway, nipa and tile and galvanized roofs, and capiz shell windows.

Pictured examples come from all over the Philippines. The Visayas is well represented by houses in Negros Occidental, Cebu, and Panay. A helpful addition would have been a map showing the various regions. Though technical terms and native words are explained and illustrated in the text, a separate glossary of these would also have made the book more complete, as would be the addition of an index.

Philippine Ancestral Houses is a book to live with, to return to over and over, each time finding something new. It is to be hoped that it will inspire a desire to preserve the beautiful ancestral houses of the Philippines. It might in addition have a wholesome influence on contemporary residential architecture.

Albert Faurot

T'boli Art. Gabriel Casal, O.S.B Makati: Ayala Museum, 1978. 228 pages.

T'boli Art by Father Gabriel Casal opens a door to the fascinating world of the T'bolis atop the "Splendor in the Highlands" (Ch. 1), heretofore unseen by most citizens of this land. Except for a few fortunate ones like the author and the Roman Catholic missionaries of the Santa Cruz Mission who have lived among them, Filipinos are generally ignorant of this isolated tribal group of Mindanao. We thank Father Gabriel Casal for this significant work on the T'bolis, and hope more will be forthcoming.

What started as a call to "adapt the Christian liturgy to the cultural forms of the T'bolis," (15) by the Santa Cruz Mission to Father Casal, who had just finished his graduate studies in Liturgy and Art in Europe in 1966, led him to another but related path. Finding himself quite inadequate for the challenging task, he enrolled in courses in anthropology. Along with field and library research in between teaching responsibilities in Manila, he finally finished the master's thesis upon which this volume is based.

Consistent with the title and content of the book, Father Casal immediately exposes the reader to T'boli art by using samples of it on the cover and in the beginning of each of the five parts of the volume. True to the three traditional T'boli colors reflected on the cover, he appropriates the black for the geometric samples and some pictures, the over-all red or reddish-brown for the beautiful colored photographs, and white for the paper of this cloth-bound volume. But perhaps appropriating the traditional red or reddish-brown color against the white, instead of the black for the geometric sample, would have made the cover more attractive.

Father Casal makes clear his coverage, "a discussion of T'boli visual art as affected by and as an expression of the socio-cultural aspects of T'boli society" (17). With this in mind, he proceeds in the first three

chapters to a presentation of the land and people — their comeliness, fashion, houses, marriages, family, burial and after-life, creation myth and religion, hunting-fishing-agriculture, metal making, and weaving. This is followed by a discussion in the next three chapters of the char acteristics of T'boli art. Casal then moves to an analysis of the art.

The survey of the different facets of T'boli life is quite revealing in its connections to lowland life. For example, the vanity of T'boli women, which is "hard to match" (32), is vanity in any age and clime. Plucked and lined eyebrows, lipstick, hairdo, earrings, necklace, bracelets, and even anklets are indeed amusing in their continuity from ancient Cleopatra to modern-day Maria Clara. They only differ in their sources: nature for the T'bolis, such as fruit juice for lipstick, but drugstores and bazaars for today's lowlanders or citybreds. The lowlanders' white teeth are pallidly funny to the T'bolis, who find it difficult to understand why they are left in their natural state like those of animals, for a T'boli's filed and blackened teeth are considered signs of superiority. In this regard, one may have second thoughts about parting his lips before T'boli women, who giggled at Fr. Casal's white, toothy smiles, which made him "look like *busaw*" or an evil spirit (34). "Unbelievable and extraordinary" to the uninitiated is the T'bolis' use as sauce to go with kamote of a greasy substance distilled through the coffin of an illustrious and well-loved datu suspended over a fire. They believe that the datu's qualities are passed on to them as they partake of his body (114).

The presentation of these socio-cultural elements provides perspective for an analysis of T'boli visual art. The analysis is thoroughly buttressed by reference to the cross-cultural investigation of other scholars of the art of both pre-literate and highly literate societies. Father Casal's examination is categorized in five ways, bearing always in mind the following characteristics of T'boli visual art (158, 175): regularity (invariant), with repetitive elements; geometrical stylization which avoids figures except in simple and stylized animal and human forms; stasis; formal rigidity and immobility; simplicity, with very limited elements; rich and exuberant ornamentation.

Economic development. The T'bolis are barely out of the hunting-gathering stage but already within the vicinity of a still primitive agriculture. Theirs is a static economy with relatively little trade and flurry of the outside business world. This stage of economy is expressed in a visual art which is geometric in its repetitive components, regularly static, formal, and immobile (176-79).

Community structure. T'boli society has been isolated through the years. The cohesive community retreated farther back into the hinterlands, into mountains safe from the onslaught of the lowland Muslims, the fiercer Manobos, and the landgrabbing Visayan Christians. This condition is expressed in an art of simplicity and regular abstraction. The "calm" and "orderly" style signifies cohesiveness. The invariant geometric and stereotyped design with its repetitiveness projects a rigidity caused by social "ossification" or T'boli isolationism (180-82).

Indistinct social barriers. T'boli society does not possess a strong structure of political authority. It is egalitarian, with power shared by many datus. But the T'boli have a "consciousness of high status," a feeling of superiority over the tribes surrounding them. Normally, the obsessive desire for social prestige is indicative of a mobility which is mirrored in the rich ornamentation of an art style. For the T'bolis, however, status-striving in their equalitarian ideology does not mean acceptance of elaborateness. So this egalitarian society is reflected in an art style that gives equal treatment to all details in a geometric regularity and repetition that is static, formal, and simple (183-84).

Projection of religious qualities. The T'bolis adhere to a belief-religion rather than a feeling-religion. Religious rituals which normally provide a psycholgical source of religious emotions and experience are lacking. What is present is more of an intellectual conformity to the values found in their myths and epic. While their religion is unstructured, hence flexible, their attitude is one of formal assent, rigidly traditional and conservative. The T'boli religious beliefs, their concepts of the after-life, and their folktales mirror a sense of cosmic harmony with no exaggerated show of supernatural fear. This should be reflected in an art style that is naturalistic or reality-imitating, in which forms of nature are copied, probably over-idealizing some aspects but not totally eliminating or forcing them into patterns inherently alien to the model (189). However, the T'bolis' regular repetition, static yet highly stylized, with exuberant ornamentation in the non-figurative component, point to a design that is not reality-imitating or naturalistic (195-92).

Value orientation theory. The T'bolis have a low need for achievement, as is seen in their immobility, restricted area of habitation, and acceptance of monotony. This is associated with the concept of "being," the spontaneous expression of conceived givens in human personality, as well as "being-in-becoming," the development of the self into an integrated whole. These orientations are shown in their visual art, which is static and repetitively regular. They have a preference for red, expressing

effective spontaneity and a relaxed attitude towards time, and black, which represents repressed aggression and internal restraint in their social structure. The relational orientations in their egalitarian structure are "linear" and "collateral," which value authority and solidarity of equals. Hence their art gives equal attention to parts in repetitive simplicity.

Their orientation of mastery over nature is conceived in their being part of, in harmony with, and having an intimate interaction with nature. This is manifested in the geometric character and the angular zig-zig outlines not existing in nature but imposed as part of man's purposeful design. Their visual art is schematic and well planned, as again manifested in regular repetition.

Again, the geometric principle is affected by their orientation, suggesting mastery rather than threat. The absence of an exact equivalent to "sin" in T'boli terminology suggests a concept of human nature which is ethically neutral, not congruent to the view of man as "evil." Hence, the non-figurative style in which man as model is not imitated but made highly stylized, indicating the artist's purposeful scheme (193-202).

Having traveled along with the author in his analysis, the reader now sees with deeper appreciation the T'boli visual art as he rereads the descriptions in Chapter XIII of T'boli elements of design and Chapter XII of weaving, a major source of design. The presentation of the sociocultural factors of T'boli life now comes alive in the facinating T'boli visual art.

However, the flow of the reader's thought is sometimes interrupted by inaccurate cross-references, as in the case of Chapter XIII given for Chapter XII on pages 143-44. Moreover, the occasional neglect in providing page numbers sends the reader searching through the book for an exact spot. The employment of too many T'boli words can also be distracting. A glossary would be a great help. And one wishes that information were given on the many folktales referred to. Are they available in print? Some footnotes do not make clear if the tales were simply related or were actually transcribed.

Regardless of these little problems, which can be easily rectified in future printings, the delightful reading of this informative and clearly printed volume has drawn us closer to our fellow Filipinos in the south, the colorful T'bolis. For this we are truly grateful to Father Casal.

Elena Maquiso

Contributors

Maro Blauta is a member of the Department of Physical Education at Silliman University. **Teodoro Cortes,** a political scientist, is dean of the graduate school at Silliman. **Albert Faurot,** now retired, taught music and art at Silliman for many years. **Robert Inger** is Curator, Division of Amphibians and Reptiles, Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, U.S.A. **Lily Kapili** directs the English as a Second Language program at Brooklyn College of the City University of New York. **Stephen Lowrie** teaches chemistry at Silliman University. **Perla Makil** is associated with the Institute of Philippine Culture at Ateneo de Manila University. **Elena Maquiso** taught at the Silliman University Divinity School for many years before her retirement; **Everett Mendoza** presently teaches at the Divinity School. **Anthony Tan** is a member of the Department of English and Literature, Silliman University. **Ivor Thomas** teaches religion at Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Virginia, U.S.A. **Alan White,** a former Peace Corps Volunteer in the Philippines, is in graduate studies in Hawaii.

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