

# Social Science Information

Vol. 26 No. 2

July-December 1998

## CENTENNIAL ISSUE



*With articles contributed by the Philippine National Historical Society:*

Between Two Centuries  
A Hundred Years of Civic Education  
The Philippine Demographic Transition:  
    Implications for National Development  
    and Identity  
The Ethnic Chinese in the Philippines  
Ang Rebolusyon sa Kapanahunan ng 1898  
Ang Kumbensyong Teheros sa Iba't Ibang Pananaw  
Ang Kabayanihan sa Labas ng Bayan:  
    Ang Buhay at Pamumuhay ng mga  
    Rebolusyonaryo sa Ibang Bansya  
The Oil Lamp of Freedom

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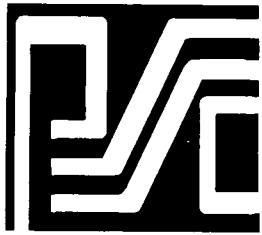
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# Mula sa Patnugot

Nakatuon ang natatanging bilang na ito ng *PSSC Social Science Information* sa mga bagong pananaliksik, pananaw at pag-aaral kaugnay ng sentenaryo ng rebolusyong Pilipino bilang handog ng Philippine Social Science Council sa pambansang pagdiriwang. Natatangi din ang isyung ito ng *PSSC SSI* dahil sa isa sa mga kasapi ng PSSC, ang Philippine National Historical Society na siyang pinakauna sa mga samahang pangkasaysayan sa Pilipinas, ang siyang nagsakatuparan ng paglalathala.

Bilang paglilinaw sa papel ng agham panlipunan sa pagdiriwang ng sentenaryo, sinisimulan ang isyung ito ng artikulo ni Samuel K. Tan ng pagtalakay sa kabuluhan ng pag-aaral ng kasaysayang pampook at pasalita bilang isa sa pangunahing gawain sa pagbubuo ng pagkakakilanlang pambansa. Ang mga sumusunod na artikulo matapos nito ay tumalakay naman sa iba't ibang aspekto ng buhay at kabuhayan ng sambayanan sa loob ng nakaraang isandaang taon. Sinuri sa artikulo ni Paul A. Dumol ang ilang mga isyung kaugnay ng kasaysayan ng *civic education* sa Pilipinas. Ang papel na tinalakay naman ni Zelda C. Zablan ay nakatuon sa kalagayang pampopulasyon na pinagdaanan ng Pilipinas sa nakaraang dantaon. Ang papel naman ng mga Tsinong Pilipino sa rebolusyong Pilipino ang tinalakay sa artikulo na isinulat ni Teresita Ang See.

Nakatuon ang mga sumunod na tatlong artikulo sa pangkalahanan at partikular na mga isyung pangkasaysayan at panlipunan sa pagsusuri ng rebolusyong Pilipino. Ang artikulo ni Eden M. Gripaldo, halimbawa, ang tumalakay sa kalagayan ng kapanahunan ng 1898 bilang pangunahing panahong ginalawan ng himagsikan. Sa kabilang banda, sinuri ni Emmanuel F. Calairo ang mga nagtutunggaling pananaw sa kontrobersyal na Kumbensyong Teheros na siyang nagdala sa himagsikang Pilipino sa kakaibang kalitatibong kalagayan. Samantala, tinalakay naman ni Ronaldo B. Mactal ang kahalagahan ng mga pakikibakang inilunsad ng mga Pilipinong nanirahan sa labas ng Pilipinas sa panahon ng rebolusyon.

Ang panghuling bahagi ng isyung ito ay sinimulan ng artikulo ni Samuel K. Tan na nagpapahayag ng metaporika ng lampara ng kalayaan bilang gabay sa paninindigan at pagsusuri ng kalayaan, pati na ang hamon na kinakaharap ng lahat ng mga mamamayan upang panatilihin may ilaw ang lamparang ito ng kalayaan. Bilang panghuli, isinama sa natatanging bilang na ito ang ilang mga gawaing isinakatuparan ng mga akademiko at mga historyador sa nakaraang taon sa pagdiriwang ng kalayaan. Ilang mga larawan at balita ang isinama dito upang maisakatuparan ang pagbibigay ng salamin sa naganap na pagdiriwang ng nakaraang taon.

Sa inakala ng maraming mga mamamayan, nagtatapos ang pagdiriwang ng sentenaryo ng rebolusyong Pilipino sa taong 1998. Ang higit na kinakailangan nating bigyan ng pansin, na hanggang sa kasalukuyan ay nakaaapektu pa rin sa kalagayan ng lipunang Pilipino, ay ang mga pangyayari matapos ang 1898. Ang digmaang Pilipino-Amerikano at ang ibinungang pananakop ng kolonyalismong Amerikano sa Pilipinas, ay naihudyat sa mga pangyayari na ang ilan ay nagsimula lamang sa 1898. Sa katunayan, ang kabuluhan ng mga pagdiriwang ng sentenaryo ng sambayanan ay makikilala sa kabayanihan ng pagpapatuloy ng pakikipaglaban sa bagong mananakop. Ang natatanging bilang na ito, kung gayon, ay maaaring tingnan bilang simula lamang ng kinakailangang kaharaping malalimang pagsusuri sa kasaysayan at lipunang Pilipino sa nakaraang isandaang taon.

Francis A. Gealogo  
Issue Editor

# Between Two Centuries<sup>1</sup>

SAMUEL K. TAN

*The year 1998 is increasingly becoming the point of reference of both public and private concerns regarding plans for major activities in relation with the Philippine's Centennial celebrations. In fact, the most often referred to event for practically all kinds of celebrations or promotional activities is the Philippine independence centennial grand celebration on June 12, 1998. Various meanings are given to the centennial. The business sector looks at it from the "profit and loss statement" in anticipation of good profitable sale of products or services with centennial motif or color. The artists and artisans look upon this year as a time for meaningful creativity in designs, forms, while the literary and intellectual sector can view this year as an opportune time for works of art and publications. The religious sector has its own way of remembering and celebrating independence with its emphasis on religious cultural heritage. The military undoubtedly likes to ruminate on the sounds and scenes of the battles for freedom especially those where the Filipino army was victorious. The educated youth looks for inspiration from the young revolutionists and propagandists like Rizal, Lopez-Jaena, Maria-Panganiban, Jacinto, Bonifacio, Aguinaldo and many others who lost their lives at a young age fighting for the ideals of independence.*

*But how about those who belong to the grassroots level of our society? How do they regard the centennial plan and celebration? The truth of the matter - we do not know. What was obvious late last year and in January this year was that the media has been critical of the National Centennial Commission for not doing enough to bring a centennial consciousness to the masses. From the perspective of the National Historical Institute, one of the coordinating and supporting government agencies of the Commission, the answer to the question is the Local and Oral History Centennial Seminar series which begins today in Vigan, the first of the 15 regional seminars planned for this year.*

How can local and oral history help? This is the issue I hope to present to you as you discuss the theme of the regional seminar series and as you look at the destiny and future of the country at the close of the present century. Let me begin with the meaning of local and oral history in our time, in our century.

One of the persistent issues in the relations between the national government and the localities is the centralization of the powers and privileges in the national hierarchy. It has marked the history of the Philippines since colonial times until the passage of two legislative landmarks: the Local Government Code and the Autonomous Act for Muslim Mindanao. These two laws have one thing in common: the devolution of power from the national to the local units of government. This event marked the beginning of a new political history in the Philippines and, therefore, has profound significance and implication to the development of local history.

<sup>1</sup>Keynote speech during the *Oral and Local History Regional Seminar-Workshop* of the Philippine National Historical Society held in Vigan, Ilocos Sur on 19-20 February 1998. Dr. Samuel K. Tan is Chairman and Executive Director of the National Historical Institute.

### ***Local and oral history is basic to autonomy***

Autonomy implies an exercise of freedom with limited control or influence from the national government. It means more room for local initiatives to develop and local potentials for progress. More importantly, it encourages creative and innovative responses to development from people with special talents and potentials. Autonomy allows the locality and its people to plan their life and implement programs and projects to achieve their goals. Consequently, the localities will be expected ultimately to shape their future, create their identities, and foster the evolution of their own traditions.

It is at this stage of searching and rediscovering the local potentials and resources for progress that the localities also rediscover the richness of their own heritage that has been literally taken for granted and even hidden for a long time. It cannot be ignored that in all the processes generated by local initiatives in an atmosphere of meaningful freedom, the role of local history is vital. Why this is so may be suggested by certain specific uses of history as a discipline of knowledge.

First, history which is simply an organized record of the meaningful past, becomes the essential reservoir of local data and memories of events, realities, and things that constitute the essence of local life. From this inexhaustible reservoir, the people can draw patriotic strength in times of crisis, inspiration in moments of despair, and directions in periods of ambiguities and dilemma. Without history, the past which represents the infinite time of human existence, in which the present is but a dot, becomes altogether inscrutable and elusive. And the tendency of peoples and nations without a sense of history or recorded past is to view the meaning of existence only through the narrow mirror of the present.

Second, local history performs the vital task of putting in meaningful perspective the essence of community life in both space and time. It is at this point in local development, when things are seen in context or social perspective in what social scientists call *sociology of knowledge* that

the local people begin to appreciate the meaning of existence, the purpose of all individual and social acts. But for the Filipino nation which is composed of over a hundred ethnolinguistic groups distributed into 16 regions, 78 provinces, and 1,537 municipalities, 69 cities and 41,925 barangay, local history has an equally important relation to national interests.

### ***Local and oral history is fundamental to national interests***

By the very nature of the Filipino national community—an example of *unity in diversity and diversity in unity*—national interests cannot be dictated by one race, as in colonial times. Neither can it be influenced by one sector and a few ethnolinguistic groups—as in the post colonial era—wherein numerical dominance has remained the determinant. National interests, by reason of national purpose and will, as expressed in national policies and the constitution should represent the numerous localities, sectors, and ethnic groups from Batanes to Tawi-Tawi regardless of creed, origins, race, age, and gender.

This is the direction we are taking. This is what we hear and see in the development processes of the nation. This is what is articulated in every forum on public policy and information. This is what we hope to see and realize. The question that should be asked now is: *what role does national history play in the task of nation-building through the pursuit of specific national interests?* Clearly, national history seeks to bring together all local interests into national interests. But national history cannot really perform this role meaningfully and justly until it is first liberated from the persisting premises of colonial historiography.

By *colonial historiography*, we mean the Hispano-American historiographical tradition we have preserved in our Filipino national historiography. The only difference between the Spanish and the American historiographical heritage is: in the former, it is autocratic and prescriptive, while in the latter it is liberal and democratic. The Filipino integrates both approaches to national history. The premises are the same and may be stated simply as *national history emanating from the national*

*center of power and culture.* In this case, Manila is the national center from which all processes of history ensue.

Consequently, the decolonization of national historiography is the principal concern and task of the historian. It is in this regard that local history becomes vital as an instrument of decolonization. In a sense, Filipino national history cannot truly be written without local history. It must derive substance and sustenance from local history data and interpretations before it can establish valid national generalizations. In short, national history without its local counterpart is shallow. In the same vein, local history without national interests is parochial and divisive.

Necessarily, every local history should have a theoretical and practical direction. It has to have a framework to guide the organization of data as well as the analysis. The way things stand, it is common to see local histories presented as nondescript data from A to Z in an encyclopedic manner. This type is undoubtedly useful as data source. However, the kind of local history we are seeking to develop and promote is one that is coherent, cogent, and methodologically-determined — a historical construction that is artistically crafted by a proficiency of language and appropriateness of illustrations.

The framework may vary from one local history to another. In some local historical works, it begins as a tentative assumption based on a broad survey of representative literature. But in the end, the data collected from all possible sources should be able to provide the basis for either supporting the tentative assumption or modifying and even changing the framework. This is usually the result of months or years of data gathering and analysis. Without this validation by a preponderance of sources and evidence, the framework becomes a mere speculative, imaginative creation of the mind usually from personal bias or extraneous impositions.

Finally, local history cannot be ignored without disastrous consequences to national unity and destiny. It is one of the means towards the meaningful exercise of freedom as a creative

force in local development and progress. Moreso, it is the only substantial and just basis for the national history of the various ethnolinguistic and sectoral diversities of the Filipino people.

Consequently, the practical steps that should be taken by all concerned especially the State and its agencies are:

- to promote local history as a discipline of knowledge by curricular integration into the educational system and by the creation of the position of local historians through appropriate legislation or redefinition of local functions;
- to institute training programs for local historians by state agencies mandated to carry out such a task. For instance, the National Historical Institute is in the process of establishing and institutionalizing a training program for local and oral historians; and
- for everyone with interest and/or expertise in local history to begin the self-imposed mission of collecting local data and writing the history of her/his own locality not waiting for any external support; undertaking the task as a matter of patriotic duty to people and country.

What I have just said is what constitute our approach to the challenges of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. It cannot be denied that the next century brings both the perils and prospects of growth and progress. The country is in a dynamic transition from the 20<sup>th</sup> to the 21<sup>st</sup> century. It is this dynamism that becomes an interesting focus of local historical or oral historical research and studies. What contributes to transitional dynamism is the revolution in technology and science especially in the area of information. At no time in history has the world been brought so close to even the remotest part of the world via the Internet.

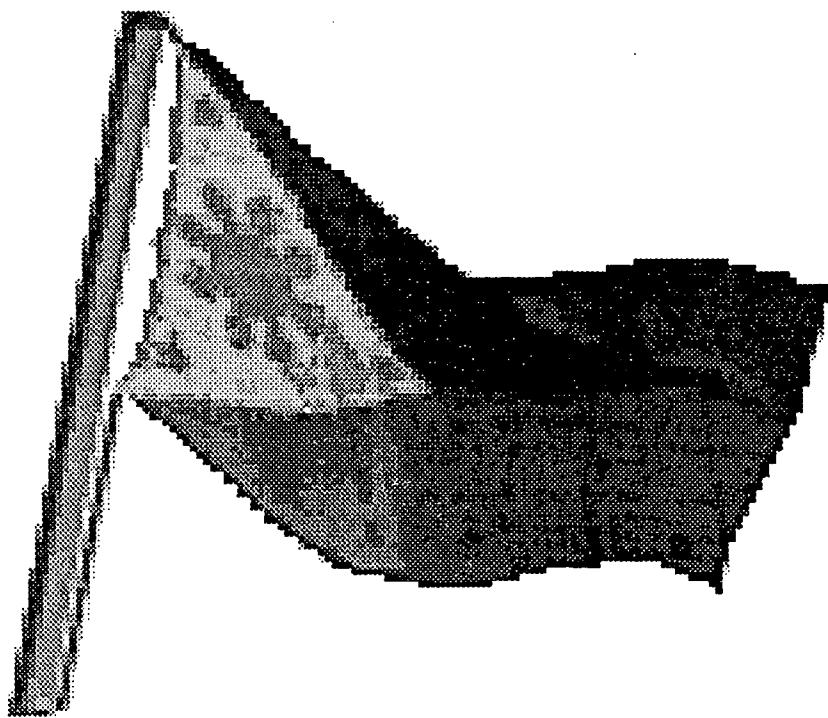
What this modern transformation implies is that the boundaries of history have changed. Geographic limitations are no longer as crucial in historical reconstruction as it was in the distant past. Cultural isolation has ceased to

be a problem except in some traditional or pre-modern societies. In these cases, determined resistance continues to be advocated and encouraged by political leaders on account of their ideological orientation or political leverage.

Local history has not been freed from the profound effects of modernization whose more visible feature is portrayed in the various aspects of urbanization. Its theoretical framework is necessarily more dynamic due to rapid social changes, due to information technological breakthroughs. Consequently, the methodology of local history becomes more and more multi/interdisciplinary as oral history becomes meaningful and relevant to historical validation. Contemporary realities can be effectively analyzed and utilized for local historical construction through interviews (structured or open) as a methodological tool. Unlike

documentary sources, especially those beyond the range and limit of human memory, the sustained interviews of eyewitnesses to events and processes can yield insights and data otherwise difficult to expect from documentary sources. It is therefore the oral historical component that provides the dynamic link between the distant past and contemporary history.

Let me now conclude with the hope that as you discuss the various aspects of local and oral history, you will not only be able to draw the essential links between local and oral history and national history but as importantly, to link the value of history as a discipline of knowledge with nation building. I trust your discussion will also bring into light the creative meaning of freedom as the very essence of our centennial celebrations. \*



# A Hundred Years of Civic Education

PAUL A. DUMOL<sup>1</sup>

*1998 marked a hundred years of Philippine independence from Spain. It also marked almost a hundred years of civic education. Civic education was introduced by the Americans and came with the public school system that was set up in 1901.*

*This circumstance, together with the centennial celebrations, constituted an irresistible invitation to attempt an assessment on how the country has politically matured in the last hundred years.*

*Civic education in the Philippines has not been a total failure. It also has its successes. If it indeed failed, it would seem to have been in the area of teaching our people the meaning of democracy and of citizenship in a democracy. Our national hero—Dr. Jose Rizal—his life and ideas, will be used as the points of departure for this short discourse on civic education.*

## **Civic education as a failure?**

There are two reasons, apparent or otherwise, for the failure, of civic education in the Philippines.

*Democracy is a foreign concept in our political tradition; a tradition that had its beginnings with the first inhabitants of these islands in time even before Spanish contact.* This means more than the obvious fact that before this century the Philippines was not a democracy. The very structure of Philippine society even today, was not and is not propitious to democracy. Rather, one may recollect what sociologists and anthropologists call the *patron-client structure* of our society. It is a structure described by the first missionaries and Spanish soldiers in their chronicles, a structure which they preserved and which survives to this day: a two-tiered structure composed of those who serve and those who are served. At the time the Spaniards came the upper tier was

composed of the *datu* and *maharlika* or *timawa*; the lower tier, of the *alipin*. Today the lower tier is called the *masa*, and the upper, the A-B crowd. The activists of the 70s called it a feudal structure, but it is not quite that. The two tiers are in fact neither castes nor classes. The patron-client structure of Philippine society is more a mentality than anything. As such, it crosses social classes: there are people in the A-B crowd that have a client mentality and people among the *masa* who have a patron mentality.

Rizal has a famous remark in the long speech of P. Florentino at the end of the *El Filibusterismo* which goes, *What is the use of independence if the slaves of today will become the tyrants of tomorrow?* The remark may be glossed over as a prophetic reference to what has become the history of the Philippines in this century in many ways and at different scales, sometimes at a regional scale and in one notorious instance at a national scale. In fact, there is no need to stop at the regional level. There are little tyrants who are the mayors of cities or towns or municipalities or even of barangays, little tyrants in government offices

<sup>1</sup>Dr. Dumol teaches at the University of Asia and the Pacific.

who ask for tributes and are ready to subject you to long periods of suffering if you do not give them what they want. Rizal, however, meant something more than the mere acknowledgment of the existence of tyrants even among Filipinos. He talks of slaves becoming tyrants, of those who submit to tyranny as actually being enamored of it. He speaks of a mentality. It is a mentality occasionally seen as demonstrated by individuals who are obsequious and subservient to their superiors, but arrogant bullies to their inferiors. Thus, class or caste mentality, Filipino-style, connotes the mentality proper to each tier possessed by the Filipino, regardless of the tier, or that most Filipinos occupy both tiers at the same time, since almost all are both someone's inferior and someone's superior.

The patron-client structure of Philippine society is hostile to democracy, considering that the latter requires the active participation of all citizens in the political life of the nation. In a patron-client relationship, the client abdicates all political concerns, passing them on to the patron. The patron, on the other hand, is expected to fulfill his duties as such. Candid and spontaneous illustrations of this relationship often come to play daily in every Filipino's life. Take for example a taxi driver who was asked by his passenger regarding the former's choice for the Presidency of the country. The taxi driver answered that he was voting for X, no matter what people say about him, because X is truly *makamasa*. X knows what the *masa* wants. In effect, this brief exchange was a clear manifestation and articulation of the patron-client mentality. To someone with a client mentality the best candidate is someone (a) she/he knows personally and (b) who has demonstrated friendliness to her/him or to those in his/her tier by, for example, giving him/her money for her/his vote. Both these qualifications far outweigh others, such as experience, education, or even a platform. Once a patron wins, the clients entrust all political decisions to him. The patron can do what he wants, so long as his clientele is assured of food, shelter, and clothing. The clients do not usually participate in government, unless the patron reneges on his duties. The outrage of employees who are laid off even if for cause is often the outrage of a client at his patron. Vote-buying and the focus

on personalities instead of issues complement each other in a democracy which is also a society with a two-tiered structure.

Civic education at the moment does not address the patron-client mentality in Philippine society, and until such time when it does, civic education can not be said to have succeeded already.

*Filipinos have a narrow practical concept of the common good.* By common good, what is meant is the good of a society to which citizens belong, say, the family, a firm or corporation, or the nation. For most Filipinos the concept of the common good does not extend beyond one's own family or one's immediate neighborhood. To illustrate with anecdotes:

*A Senator, around ten years ago found himself campaigning in Marikina. He entered a house, and his host cheerfully told him the story of his life, how he had been unemployed for more than a year but had found a very profitable job. He said that this good turn of fortune was granted to him by the Sto. Niño, whose statue was prominently displayed in his house. The fellow's dream-come-true job was at the Bureau of Customs.*

*An uncle of a friend saw a group of workers in Marinduque. They were busy mixing cement, but had obviously put in too much water. He called their attention to it, and their reply was that, if they did not do that, they would soon have no work to do.*

In both examples, the players do not perceive themselves as doing something wrong; they see themselves simply as earning a living for their families. The common good does not enter the minds of persons, at least not if by common good one understands the good of people other than one's family and neighbors.

Does civic education at present teach students a concept of the common good that goes beyond the boundaries of one's family or immediate neighborhood? It would seem to whenever the concept of the nation is taught. Civic education

at present is steeped in the notion of *Filipinoness*, and yet this education seems to ail when it comes to translating love for the nation into daily action. This is so because of the prevalence of two different concepts of nationhood. The first of which is taught in our schools: *vis-à-vis*, the external aggressor, the foreigner, whether this be Spanish, American, or Japanese. We as citizens are, in short, prepared for war, but are not prepared for peace. The second concept has to do with the two-tiered social structure—*patron-client system*—where nation is understood to mean as one of patrons and clients. It is perhaps easier for patrons to understand the common good as embracing the good of all citizens, than, for example, Athenian property-owners understanding common good to include their own slaves. Clients, however, by the very nature of their position in the social structure, would tend to understand the common good in terms of their own families and immediate neighborhood and the family and property of their patron. Other patrons and their clients would not be included. The patron-client mentality is compatible with a concept of the nation as conspiracy. In such a concept, the patron is careful to give the client everything he wants in order to be able to do what he, the patron, wants. Consequently, the client allows the patron to do whatever he wants, so long as the latter gives the former what he wants. Should circumstances promote the client to the status of patron, the erstwhile client will behave as his old patron did, and there we have the mentality Rizal referred to as the slaves of today becoming the tyrants of tomorrow.

The *El Filibusterismo* proposes through P. Florentino's long speech that the elimination of the patron-client/tyrant-slave mentality is a pre-condition so that Filipinos will value political freedoms for what they are. How did Rizal come to such a conclusion? The answer to this question is not to be found in the *Fili*, but rather in Rizal's own life, specifically in the events immediately preceding the writing of P. Florentino's speech. What occurred in Rizal's life from February 1888, three years before he finished writing the *Fili*, is what is sometimes called the *Calamba hacienda troubles*. This episode in Rizal's life, on which our history

books do not linger too long, is usually seen as a struggle between the Filipinos and the Spaniards, between Calambenos on one side and the Dominicans and the Spanish government on the other. Rizals' brother-in-law described the circumstances of Rizal's exile in Bohol in a letter dated 01 February 1889, in response to accusations, to wit:

*It is absolutely false. There is no truth to it, having been concocted exclusively by the administrator of the hacienda, Francisco Gobeas, the lieutenant of the guardia civil of Calamba, D. Juan N. Lopez, and Panong who is very close to the Hacienda and bears a grudge against me for serving a warrant of arrest for his son, Isidro, who...was implicated in a robbery with murder which occurred in the barrio of San Cristobal...Panong and this lieutenant, after spreading that it was they together with the administrator who were responsible for my exile, go about saying, above all the first, that they will try to send Neneng [Rizal's sister] to Jolo and confiscate our property. [Letter of Manuel Hidalgo to Jose Rizal, Tagbilaran, Bohol, February 1, 1889 in Escritos de Jose Rizal: Tomo II: Correspondencia Epistolar: Libro Segundo: Cartas entre Rizal y el Profesor Fernando Blumentritt: Segunda Parte (Edicion del Centenario; Manila: Comision Nacional del Centenario de Jose Rizal, 1961), 481; translation mine]*

Another letter from a friend of Rizal's in Calamba and dated January 14, 1891, described the judge assigned to Calamba in the heat of judicial proceedings:

*He was appointed at the instance of the Dominicans so that when the latter sue for the eviction of an inquilino, the inquilino may lose even if he is on the right. This is why he does not wish to listen to any motion for appeal nor does he want to grant any, reasoning that his judgment cannot be changed to matter where any countersuit may be lodged. The reason for this is that he has been paid and given a ricefield, twenty sacks*

*of rice grain for planting, and a plot of grassland, that came from poor people. He has warned the inquilinos that whoever is brought before him will lose, because one should not fight the friars, and he will be reduced to beggary. [Letter from Nicasio Eigsani to Jose Rizal, Calamba, January 14, 1891 in Escritos de Jose Rizal: Tomo II: Correspondencia Epistolar: Libro Tercero: Cartas entre Rizal y sus colegas de la Propaganda: Segunda Parte (Edicion del Centenario; Manila: Comision Nacional del Centenario de Jose Rizal, 1961), 608-609' translation mine]*

This description is followed by one of the new capitan municipal, no less a lackey of the Dominicans. By 1891, to Rizal's eyes, it was not only the friars and the Spanish government who were the villains in the Calamba hacienda troubles: there were also the opportunistic Filipinos.

Rizal first describes such Filipinos in an article for the Solidaridad in 1889:

*In every town there are two parties taking shape: one, the educated, the independent, which is economically self-sufficient and without any need for support or patrons, thirsty for justice and peace, the party full of reproaches for the excesses and tyranny of certain classes, the party, finally, denounced by its enemies as separatist, because they are composed of self-respecting persons, and from whom genuine separatists will come, if the baneful system followed up to the moment continues. The other party is that of vagabonds, sowers of dissent, improperly called the party of the friars because they obey and serve the latter since they consider them a strong support, but for whom they profess neither love nor respect and of whom they would be the worst enemies the day the friars cease to be useful. [La verdad para todos in Escritos de Jose Rizal: Tomo VII: Escritos politicos e historicos (Edicion del Centenario; Manila: Comision Nacional del Centenario de Jose Rizal, 1961), 93-94; translation mine]*

In the following year, in an article written once again for the Soli, he is more trenchant in his criticism:

*The national spirit is beginning to emit its first cries; previously, there was only the sentiment for the family or tribe, hardly that for the region, which meant that no senseless measure would elicit strong protests from public opinion, except from those whose relatives would be more or less directly harmed. When it comes to the fatherland, each Filipino thinks: Let it solve things by itself, let it save itself, let it protest, let it struggle; I don't have to do anything, I don't have to be the one to solve things; I have enough with my own interests, my passions and my caprices. Let others take the chestnut from the fire, we will eat it later. [Como se gobiernan las Filipinas in Escritos de Jose Rizal: Tomo VII: Escritos politicos e historicos (Edicion del Centenario; Manila: Comision Nacional del Centenario de Jose Rizal, 1961), 285; translation mine]*

The definitive confirmation for Rizal of this new diagnosis of Philippine society occurred at the beginning of 1891, in his falling-out with Marcelo del Pilar, which eventually led to Rizal's abandonment of all political activity and his decision to return to the Philippines. Rizal described that incident in a letter to Marcelo ten months later:

*What a pity that the work on which the two of us were cooperating should have been split! I understand that deep inside you hold me in esteem and I will always hold you in esteem, even more perhaps than you believe, because in me all sentiments, all love, all hatred or all rancor are lasting, not to say eternal! I have this defect, I forgive but I forget with difficulty, and just as I do not forget that you were my first defender and my best champion, in the same way I also remember that you were the first rock with which people tried to topple me! What a pity that we have not been able to continue one beside the other, and since I stood to a certain extent as the*

*political head, you wanted to overthrow me in order to raise yourself and be the chief of all! But this is natural to the human condition. [Letter from Jose Rizal to Marcelo H. del Pilar, Paris, October 13, 1891 in *Escritos de Jose Rizal: Tomo II: Correspondencia Epistolar: Libro Tercero: Cartas entre Rizal y sus colegas de la Propaganda: Segunda Parte (Edicion del Centenario; Manila: Comision Nacional del Centenario de Jose Rizal, 1961), 73; translation mine]**

Rightly or wrongly, Rizal thought del Pilar was likewise stained by self-interest.

It would be a mistake, however, to think that P. Florentino's speech was the fruit exclusively of incidental events attending the Calamba hacienda troubles and of Rizal's misunderstanding with del Pilar. As early as 1885, in a speech written for a New Year's Eve party in Madrid, Rizal alluded disapprovingly to the frivolous lifestyle of Filipino students two years earlier. In 1889 and 1890, Rizal received disturbing reports of the reputation of Filipinos in Madrid as womanizers and gamblers and wrote letters to del Pilar urging him to do something about their countrymen.

In sum, the conclusions Rizal placed on P. Florentino's lips were the natural fruit, not so much of the plot of the *Filibusterismo*, but of a very painful chapter in Rizal's own life. During the first quarter of 1891, as he weathered the nervous breakdown he was undergoing, he saw, with a clarity sharpened by suffering, that the tyrant-slave mentality which permeated much of Philippine society had to be eliminated. At the root of this mentality was a blindness to the dignity of the human person, something which civic education does not usually examine.

#### **What should we do today?**

Rizal championed civic education. It is quite clear at the end of the Fili that he saw this as the solution to the problems of the Philippines as a political society. Needless to say, he maintained this opinion to the end of his life, as is obvious in his open letter denouncing the

revolution. He was, however, no utopian. The Fili is quite clear that the transformation of Philippine society for the better, if it were to occur, would take generations and require as well the spilling of blood. The tyrant-slave mentality, Rizal realized by the time of the Fili, was not a creation of the friars, as he had mistakenly thought when he wrote the *Noli* and his annotations to *Morga*. It was something much deeper, ingrained in Philippine culture; hence, requiring the many generations it would take to eliminate it. Given the depth of Rizal's insight, he did not restrict the martyrs required for the transformation of Philippine society to mere victims of the struggles between Filipinos and foreign aggressors. He also saw the inevitability of the struggles between the Filipinos themselves, and between those with the tyrant-slave mentality and those without it. We have had such martyrs and their numbers are increasing. Unfortunately, we have not yet begun to sing their praises as a nation, with the important exception, of course, of Ninoy Aquino. Rizal in fact saw himself as one such victim. In the private notes he prepared for his defense, he was quite bitter in his denunciation of the Filipinos who called the *Liga Filipina* a revolutionary society and identified him as the mastermind of the revolution. He accused them quite simply of lying. Rizal was condemned to death by a Spanish military court, but the sentence was pronounced on the strength of the testimony of various Filipinos.

Why is the transformation of Philippine society taking so long? One reason is poverty. In the private notes Rizal wrote for his defense, poverty is mentioned as an impediment to genuinely enjoying political freedoms. He states that to have political freedoms with nothing to eat is the same as to listen to speeches and fast. Poverty favors the two-tiered structure of society, it favors the client mentality, which willingly gives up political freedoms to receive food from the patron. The task of transforming the Filipino people then cannot proceed with dispatch until a significant proportion of our people is lifted above the poverty line. Aristotle avoids this problem by limiting democracy to the upper tier of his own two-tiered society. This, of course, is impossible to do in the Philippines today.

Another reason is that civic education is something we saw earlier: it is attempting nothing less than a cultural transformation. The difficulty of such a task is something teachers, especially grade school and high school teachers, are very much aware of. The world outside the classroom is continually subverting what is being taught. Sometimes the very school in which teaching is done engages in such a subversion. One way of course by which the country might hasten cultural transformation is through laws which prohibit acts that obstruct cultural transformation or encourage those which promote it. Yet, what is the Filipino people to do when the lawmakers themselves are tainted by the very culture their laws should change? And what can be said of the executors of laws? Or of the judges who interpret laws?

The frustrating nature of the task at hand may seem like standing up against something genetic or against the fruit of centuries of cultural brainwashing. At such moments of discouragement one must remind oneself of the success of many thousands, perhaps millions, of Filipinos abroad in societies radically different from ours. Their success informs us that Filipinos can adjust to a totally different culture and succeed within that culture. We behave as we choose to. But precisely the problem is that we choose to behave following what the surrounding culture demands in order to survive. In America we are ready to behave like Americans because the situation so demands it, and in the Philippines we behave like Filipinos.

How can the vicious circle of culturally determined behavior be broken? There are two answers, although neither will give quick results.

The first answer comes from philosophy. In a sense, civic education must persuade younger generations of Filipinos to be other than their parents or grandparents are or ever were. What argument is there strong enough to persuade children to behave otherwise than their parents? There is none other than one based on ethical principles, on a clear philosophical vision of what a human being is. This is, of course, precisely the point of P. Florentino's

remark that Filipinos must be taught to appreciate the dignity of the individual and of Rizal's remark in his open letter to the revolutionaries that civic virtues are necessary for redemption. Civic education must be an education in ethics. This is a point Aristotle made more than 2000 years ago. Aristotle as well reminds us that loyalty to a political society, in contrast to loyalty to the family, is not something innate, but learned. Ethical principles are easy enough to grasp; it is their application to concrete situations that is difficult. New customs and traditions must be established.

The second way out of our cultural rut comes from the study of history. When Rizal described the transformation of Philippine society at the end of the *Fili*, one can see that he relied above all on the example given by the victims of tyranny. With this, Rizal sketched the significance to civic education of the study of history. History represents the collective memory of the race, and memory here serves the purpose of guiding action in the present. In the task of civic education towards establishing new customs and traditions, an important source of strength in doing so is the example showed by Filipinos who have grasped the meaning of nationhood deeply. Thus far, the examples being held up to us are of Filipinos who opposed foreign invaders. There exists a dearth of examples of Filipinos who have opposed tyranny, and who have challenged any and all aspects of our culture that oppose an authentic understanding of nationhood. There is a need for an honest history of the Philippines, one that would show warts and blemishes and skeletons in the closet. Philippine history is *cosmeticized*, and has left unmentioned the unpleasant. How many of our students know that Graciano Lopez Jaena seriously considered migrating to Cuba and did not do so, probably only because he could not raise the necessary funds for his endeavor? How many know why Rizal eventually refused to write for the *Solidaridad*? How many know that del Pilar died in poverty in Barcelona, abandoned by most of the Filipinos in Spain? How many know that Rizal was condemned to death because of the testimony of fellow Filipinos? How many know that he wrote an

open letter against the revolution, and of those who know about it, how many have read that letter? How many know that the first major attack of the Katipunan against the Spaniards was delayed because Bonifacio overslept and failed to give the signal at the hour agreed upon? How many know of Bonifacio's battle in which there were only some 30 survivors from a group of more than 1300? How many know the battles lost by revolutionaries whether against the Spaniards or against the Americans? How many know of the possible role that Aguinaldo's mother played in the assassination of Antonio Luna? How many know details of Antonio Luna's arrogant behavior towards his fellow army officers? How many know the circumstances of Bonifacio's death. How many know of the assembly Bonifacio summoned in Naik? How many know that Mabini blamed Aguinaldo for the failure of the Philippine Revolution? How many know the details of just how unprepared Filipinos forces were against the Spaniards and the Americans and the price paid for this? How many know who pressed for the sale of friar lands and benefited from it?

Why an uncosmeticized history of the Philippines? Because what the cosmeticizing historians hide—the warts and blemishes, wrinkles and stains—are precisely the golden opportunities we have to learn from. An uncosmeticized history of the Philippines is one which grabs controverted episodes by the horns. There is much to learn from the Rizal-del Pilar disagreement, Rizal's refusal to bless the Philippine Revolution, Rizal's retraction, the Tejeros Convention, the meeting at Naik, the trial and execution of the Bonifacio brothers, and the assassination of Antonio Luna, to mention a few episodes which go unmentioned or are glossed over in history textbooks. Often what there is to learn in these episodes of our history is precisely the existence of aspects of our culture that need to be eliminated or transformed. The study of a frank history of the Philippines would also allow us to go about the task of developing a civil society deliberately. At present, most if not all history textbooks use the term Filipino as though it is a designated ethnic group. In fact, the term Filipino designates a political community, in contrast

to the terms Tagalog, Sugbuhanon, Kalinga, or Tausug which designate ethnic groups. There is something deceptive then when history textbooks refer to the peoples the Spaniards met in these islands as *Filipinos*. There is something equally deceptive about the commonplace explanation of three and a half centuries of Spanish colonization, that is, that the Spaniards divided and conquered us. Division implies a prior unity and there was no unity among Philippine peoples before Spanish contact and during practically the whole of Spanish rule in the Philippines. In fact, the conceptualization of unity sounded the death knell of Spanish sovereignty. It would make a difference if a Filipino student knows that the attempt to build a Filipino civil society is something completely new in Philippine history, something therefore for which there is no support from the past by way of customs and traditions. On the contrary, we may have values and attitudes inimical to the establishment of civil society. The Filipino student then should be invited by civic education to look at this society critically and change what needs to be changed. Fortunately, certain accidents of history are forcing us to make an effort to understand clearly what a Philippine civil society should mean. This is in reference to the incorporation of the Cordillera peoples and the Mindanao Moslems into the body politic. Their incorporation to Philippine civil society means that we cannot define the Filipino by a common history and culture. We are forced rather to define the Filipino by a common goal, precisely the development of a civil society, the implications of which are not, as yet, clearly projected.

Civic education has been successful in at least one outstanding instance, where it has inculcated in the Philippine peoples that they make up a single nation. It is easy to be skeptical about such an achievement or to deprecate it. After the discussion regarding the narrow concept many Filipinos have of the common good, it would seem that our sense of belonging to a single nation is hollow or superficial. Yet, even granting that, the very obvious way we all accept our belonging to the Republic of the Philippines with its flag and its national anthem and its heroes is an achievement. This has become commonplace,

something taken for granted. Yet, a hundred years ago, the idea was entirely new, not yet shared for the most part by people outside the Tagalog provinces and Pampanga. Two hundred years ago, the very idea of all Philippine peoples forming a single nation was the farthest from anyone's mind, and four hundred and fifty years ago, eighteen years before Legazpi's arrival in Philippine waters, the idea was utterly unthinkable. In fact, what would have seemed more probable to some impartial observer like the Chinese merchants visiting Butuan, Sugbu, and Maynilad was the development of several independent nations on a string of islands that would in time come to be known as the Philippine Archipelago. The sense of belonging to a single political community, with all its present-day limitations, is an achievement.

The second thing that rises to the defense of the civic education we have received thus far is that the transformation of Philippine society is going on, slowly perhaps, but it is going on. Recall the denunciation of the son of a Justice of the Supreme Court made by security guards some weeks back for the former's having maltreated them. Months back there was a similar case filed against the daughter of a popular actor by housemaids for the same reason. Consider the increasing number of young girls denouncing the sexual abuse they have received from their father, grandfather, or a close relative. The mere fact, of course, that small groups meet and discuss civic education issues is a sign that the transformation is going on. \*



# The Philippine Demographic Transition: Implications for National Development and Identity<sup>1</sup>

ZELDA C. ZABLAN

*The paper describes the growth of Philippine population from 1591 to 1995 and attempts to analyze the determinants and consequences of population growth in four periods: The Pre-colonial and the Spanish Colonial Eras, the American Period, and the Philippine Republic. Development goals of the Philippine Republic over the 1974 to 1998 period are discussed in greater detail in relation to population growth and composition in an effort to analyze the population perspective held by the leadership throughout the period. The analysis shows that leadership efforts at regulating population growth was vigorously pursued in the 1970s but has lost momentum and direction in the late 1980s owing to religious opposition and the lack of political will. However, there appears to be an increasing effort in regulating population growth in the 1990s. The Philippine demographic transition is far from complete. The current means adopted to achieve Philippine demographic objectives appear limited and calls for the adoption of a sound population perspective that is shared and acted upon by all sectors and citizens of the Philippine Republic.*

## **Demographic perspective**

In commemoration of our Centennial existence as a nation, this paper takes this opportunity to look back at our demographic past and assess the present status and future prospects of its growth in an attempt to identify the demographic aspects that need changing for the achievement of our national development goals.

*Objectives.* The paper has three objectives:

- to describe the growth of the Philippine population, the determinants and consequences of such growth;

- to assess the perception of the leadership of this country of Philippine population growth and how this was taken into account in the specification of our country's development objectives; and
- to discuss the future prospects of population growth and how it might affect the achievement of our national development goals and in the strengthening of our national identity.

To do this, we need to first discuss the *Demographic Transition Theory*, to review the demographic perspectives that developed over time, and to understand our own demographic transition.

*What is the Demographic Transition Theory?* In the 1940s, the demographic transition was merely a picture of demographic change, not a theory. It was a paradigm used to describe population change in three stages, namely:

<sup>1</sup>Paper read during the International Conference 1898 and the World: *Actors and Contexts, Transitions and Transformations*, held at the UP Diliman Campus on 9-11 June 1998 under the sponsorship of the UP Lupon ng Sentenaryo and the National Centennial Commission for Culture and the Arts. Dr. Zelda C. Zablan is with the UP Population Institute, College of Social Sciences and Philosophy.

- **Stage I. High Potential Growth:** where both birth and death rates are high at this stage.
- **Stage II. Transitional Growth:** characterized by high birth and declining death rates, otherwise known as the *Vital Revolution* or the *Demographic Revolution*.
- **Stage III. Incipient Decline:** where the death rates are low and fertility continues to decline to the point that population becomes stationery (*Zero Population Growth*) and starts to decline in numbers.

Between the mid-1940s and the late 1960s rapid population growth became a worldwide concern, and the demographic transition paradigm developed from a mere description of events to a demographic perspective. From there it evolved into the full blown *Demographic Transition Theory* which purports to predict and to explain population processes.

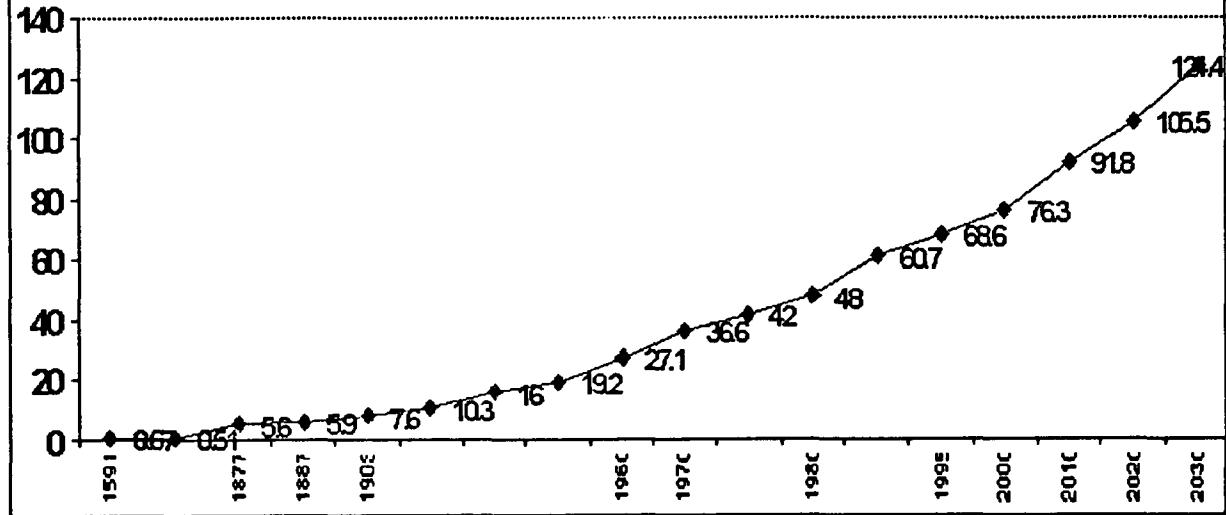
#### **Growth of Philippine population: 1591-1995**

**Pre-Colonial Era.** Traditional Filipino villages usually occupied the narrow island coasts in pre-colonial times, influenced largely by Malay

sea migration into the country. Most of the small islands remained uninhabited, as the native population was sparse. Most villages were nothing more than 30 to 100 houses with populations ranging from 100 to 500 persons (Plasencia, 1909 as cited in Perez, 1977). There was, however, a tremendous variation in barangay size. Most communities rimming the narrow coasts in the Visayas were merely villages of eight to ten houses. A handful of giants existed such as Manila with about 2,000 inhabitants and Cebu following closely. The settlement of Cainta, located east of Manila, had 1,000 persons. Several agglomerations of 700 to 1,000 persons were also reported in Mindanao.

**Spanish Colonial Era.** From the time of Magellan's voyage to these islands in 1521, the Philippine population numbered to over two-thirds of a million (see Table 1). The first population estimate was derived from the records of encomiendas who were authorized to collect taxes from residents of the encomienda. It was estimated that each tax payer (*tributo*) had three dependents. Based on an average family size of four, a total of 667,612 souls were registered in the *Relacion' de las Encomiendas* in 1511. At the time of enumeration, Spanish sovereignty was confined to the

**Figure 1. Philippine Population: 1591-2030 (in Millions)**



lowlands of Luzon and the Visayas. Early chroniclers estimated an additional 75,000 to 150,000 persons in the heavily forested mountains of the islands north of Mindanao.

The war between Spain and Holland, forced labor, and the epidemics of cholera, smallpox and influenza then raging the Islands severely reduced the Philippine population such that by 1655, the population was estimated at 510,000.

However, increments in the population were felt in succeeding years.

*American Period.* After Spain ceded the Philippines to the Americans in 1898, the Philippines became a protectorate of the United States of America and was administered through a Governor General. The United States government conducted three censuses: the first in 1903, the second in 1918 and the third in 1939.

**Table 1. Philippine Population and Average Annual Rate of Growth: 1591-1995**

Year	Population Count	Average Annual Rate Growth (%)	Remarks
1591	667,612	-	Report of Gov. Gomez Perez Dasmariñas to King Philip II of Spain
1655	510,000	-	War between Spain and Holland, forced labor and epidemics (cholera, smallpox, influenza)
1877	5,567,685	-	1 <sup>st</sup> Census instructed by Royal Decree under Spanish Administration
1887	5,985,000	0.8	2 <sup>nd</sup> Census instructed by Royal Decree under Spanish Administration
March 2, 1903	7,635,426	1.60	1 <sup>st</sup> Census under the American Administration
Dec. 31, 1918	10,314,310	1.90	2 <sup>nd</sup> Census under the American Administration
Jan. 1, 1939		16,000,3032.19	3 <sup>rd</sup> Census under the American Administration
Oct. 1, 1948		19,234,1821.90	1 <sup>st</sup> Census under the Philippine Administration
Feb. 15, 1960	27,087,685	3.01	2 <sup>nd</sup> Census under the Philippine Administration
May 6, 1970		36,684,4862.95	3 <sup>rd</sup> Census under the Philippine Administration
May 1, 1975		42,070,6602.74	4 <sup>th</sup> Census under the Philippine Administration
May 1, 1980		48,098,4602.68	5 <sup>th</sup> Census under the Philippine Administration
May 1, 1990		60,703,2062.33	6 <sup>th</sup> Census under the Philippine Administration
Sept. 1, 1995	68,616,536	2.30	7 <sup>th</sup> Census under the Philippine Administration

*Note: Population growth rate was calculated using the exponential rate of growth formula.*

*Sources:* Perez (1977) for population estimates in 1591 and 1655; Regudo and Murphy (1966) for estimates in 1877 and 1887; National Statistics Office for population counts in the 1903 to 1995 censuses.

In 1903, the Philippines had 7,635,426 inhabitants. It was growing at 1.6 percent annually on average over the 1887-1903 period. By 1918, the population reached 10,314,310 and was growing at an annual rate of 1.9 percent between 1903 and 1918. The population enumerated in the 1939 census was 16,000,303 persons and showed a higher annual growth rate of 2.19 percent between 1918 and 1939. These increases in number over the 1918-1939 period were due mainly to improved health and sanitation conditions through public health measures which started in 1927, and to improved nutrition resulting from increased food production, and to widespread education of the people under the American administration.

The outbreak of World War II in 1941 put the Philippines at war with the Japanese, and the internal conflict that characterized the war years up to 1945 decimated the population and presented a temporary setback on its growth. The American government gave the Philippines its independence in 1946 and two years after, a census was conducted.

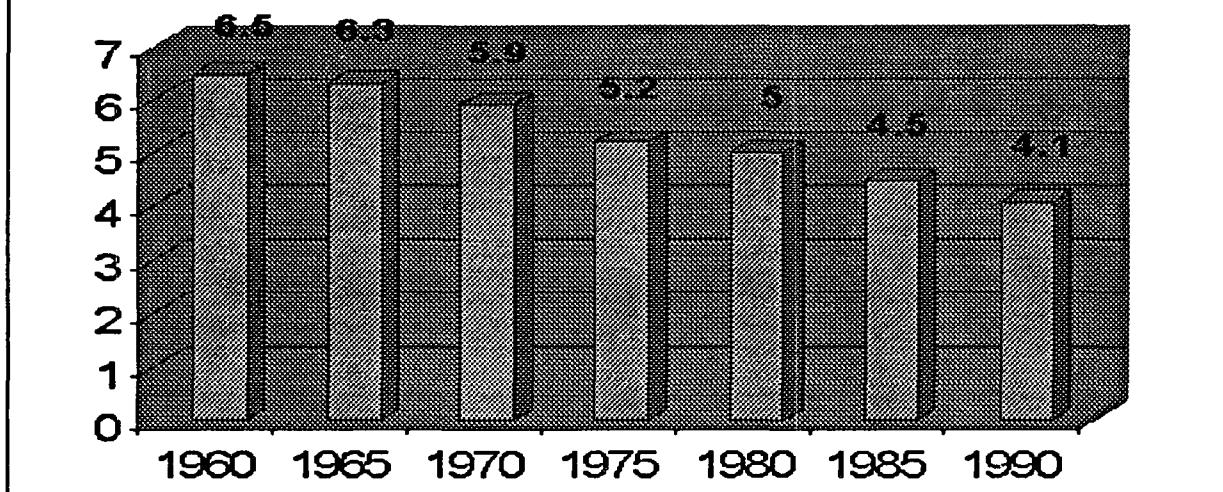
*Philippine Republic.* The first census conducted under the Philippine Republic was held in 1948 and showed a total count of 19,234,182 persons representing an average annual growth rate of 1.9 percent between 1939 and 1948, a rate which was lower than the 2.19 percent rate of growth observed between 1918 and 1939. Lorimer (1966) estimated the war losses to Filipinos in military service or Japanese prisons camps to be 110,000 deaths. Moreover, he estimated a total of 182,000 Filipinos who had out-migrated mainly to Hawaii and the continental United States.

The 1960 Census of the Philippine population showed a population size of 27,087,685 persons and an unprecedented rate of growth of 3.01 percent between 1948 and 1960. This was the highest population growth rate ever recorded in the country. This rapid rate of growth was due mainly to the reunion of broken families after the war and to the continued high level of fertility in 1960 of 6.49 children per woman (de Guzman, 1994). Moreover, the period 1948-1968 saw the most rapid declines in mortality (Zablan, 1976).

The 1970 census enumerated 42,070,660 persons in the Philippines with an average annual growth of 2.95 percent between 1960 and 1970. Fertility started to decline with each woman bearing 5.92 children in her lifetime in 1970 (de Guzman, *ibid*). Mortality continued to decline at a moderate pace. Aside from rapid population growth in that period, the developmental challenges were the high unemployment (5-7%) and underemployment (16.2%) rates, inadequate infrastructure and tight balance of payment situation which needed the expansion of exports (Four Year Development Plan, 1974-77). Although the GNP was growing at 5.8 percent per year, income distribution was poor. The oil crisis worldwide also brought about escalation in prices of prime commodities and exacerbated the already tight balance of payment problems. In view of the high rate of population growth in the past decade, the labor force grew by 400,000 new entrants per year which required the economy to generate more than 450,000 new jobs. To curb rapid population growth, the Philippine Population Program was launched in 1971 with a stress on fertility reduction. The programs of government contained in the 1974-77 Four Year Development Plan consisted of *Integrated Regional Projects* which emphasized regional development and industrialization. The implementation of land reform was pushed and cooperatives developed, both to promote a more equitable distribution of income. Martial Law was proclaimed in 1971 to effect improvements in peace and order which were considered critical to sustained economic growth and development. Fertility declined rapidly during the 1<sup>st</sup> half of the decade from 5.92 in 1970 to 5.20 children per woman in 1975. This was due to the increase in age at marriage and a rise in the proportion of couples using contraception in the late 1970s.

In 1980, the census count reached 42,070,660 persons with an average annual growth rate of 2.74 percent between the period 1970 and 1980. Fertility decline slackened showing the total fertility rate (TFR) moving from 5.20 in 1975 to 4.96 children per woman in 1980 (Figure 2). Mortality continued to decline but at a slackening pace (Zablan, *Ibid*). The continued growth in the labor force placed unemployment at 5.2 percent and underemployment rate at 10.7 percent in August 1976. GNP was growing

**Figure 2. Total Fertility Rate (per Woman) 1960-1990**



at 3 percent per year but had not alleviated the conditions of the urban and rural poor who comprised more than half of the total population in the past 4 years. A few urban areas of more developed regions continued to experience rapid migration from the countryside of people seeking employment. This premature migration made urbanization more an aspect of poverty than a symbol of growth and resulted in congestion problems in urban areas. The rapid expansion of human settlements and accelerated development activities in agriculture, mining, forestry and manufacturing resulted in environmental problems such as soil erosion, floods and pollution which needed environmental protection measures. The 1978-1982 *Five-Year Development Plan* with its goal of promoting social development and social justice adopted the strategy of balanced agro-industrial growth. Industrial development was to be pursued to complement agricultural development. Development activities were spatially located in conformity with environmental standards. Human resources development was promoted through an educational system that was relevant to the country's development requirements. Population policy was vigorously pursued without prejudice to the health status and religious beliefs of individuals. Meanwhile, the *Family Planning Program* registered an increase in the current use of contraceptives from 15 percent in 1968,

17 percent in 1973, to 38 percent in 1978, among currently married women (CMW) 15-44 years. Fertility decline over the 1975-1980 period decelerated with TFR estimated at 4.96 children per woman in 1980 from a 5.20 level in 1975. This was on account of the declining proportions of couples practising contraception. By 1983, only 32 percent of CMW 15-44 were using family planning. The inability of the *Family Planning Program* to provide wider access to information and services during this period was due in part to the growing number of women of reproductive age. This, in turn, as a result of the Baby Boom years of the 1950s and 1960s, effected a decrease in the mean age at marriage from 24.4 years in 1975 to 23.3 years in 1980. The financial crisis experienced over the 1975-1980 period affected all sectoral programs including the health, family planning and nutrition sectors.

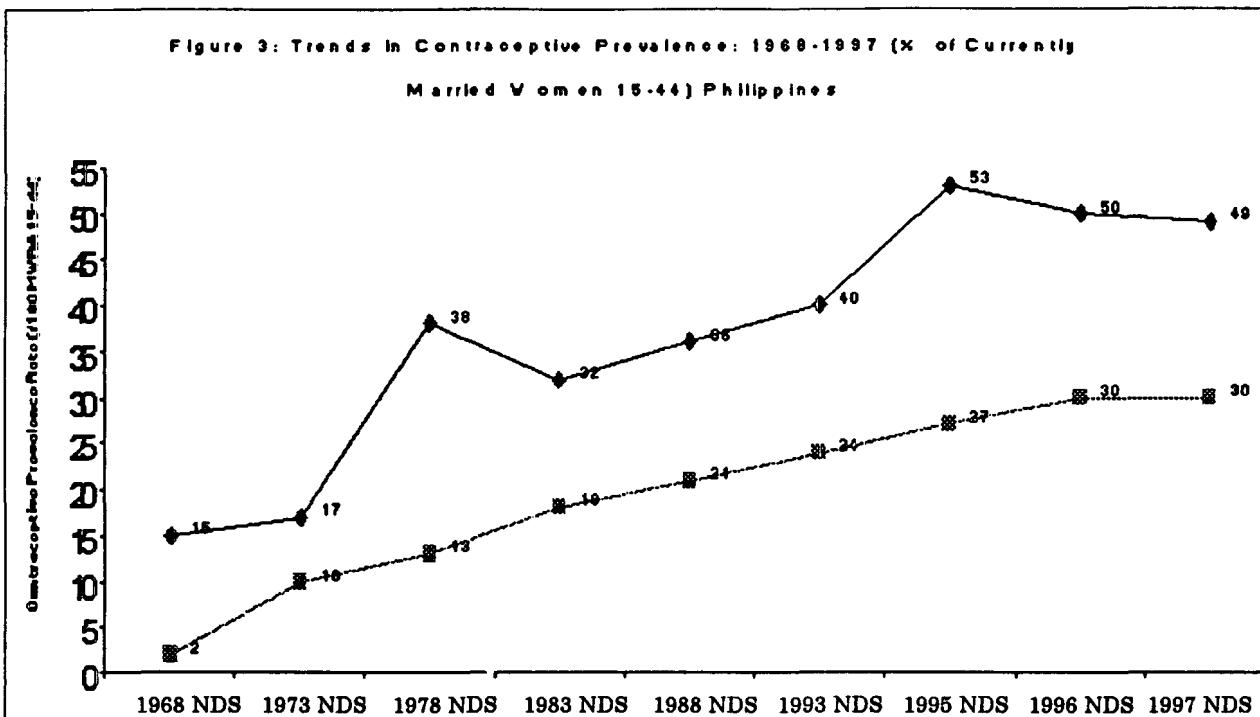
The major challenges that faced the Philippines in the latter part of the 1980s after Martial Law and during the Aquino administration (1986-1992) was the economic and financial crisis which began in 1983. This later put 59 percent of the Filipino families by 1985 below the poverty line. The persistent problems of poverty and income inequality, unemployment and underemployment, urban-rural and regional disparities in economic opportunities, and structural inefficiencies that contributed to low

and negative growth rates in GNP, led the Aquino government to direct its efforts at poverty alleviation. Thus, the *Medium-Term Philippine Development Plan: 1987-1992* was principally directed towards the alleviation of poverty, generation of more productive employment, promotion of equity and social justice, and the attainment of sustainable economic growth, together with the reduction of population growth. The previous fertility reduction rationale of family planning was subjected to intense criticism. One of the most vocal was a well-organized group supported by some leaders of the Catholic Church hierarchy, which called for the dismantling of the *Philippine Family Planning Program* (Herrin and Costello, 1996). By 1990, the population census enumerated 60,703,206 persons and placed the average annual rate growth at 2.33 percent between 1980 and 1990. The MTPDP: 1987-1992 stipulated the strengthened promotion of family planning in the context of reproductive health. The Aquino administration's Population Policy was to continue to promote the attainment of small family size on a voluntary basis and a reduce population growth rate aligned with replacement fertility<sup>2</sup> level by 2010. The Policy was, however, ambiguous on how fertility preferences will be modified. Family welfare was to be enhanced through the promotion of small families and responsible parenthood and this was to be achieved through the improvement of maternal and child health and the inculcation of small family size norms to adolescents but not to couples of reproductive age. Meanwhile, the total fertility rate in 1991 was estimated at 4.1 children per woman and the mean desired number of children was 3.1 (NDS, 1993). The MTPDP: 1987-1992 adopted the principle that *health is a fundamental human right and that adequate nutrition and well-spaced children are important prerequisites to good health*. Thus, the family planning program became essentially a health program with the primary goal of improving the health of mother and child. Consequently, the National Family Planning Program's leadership was transferred from POPCOM to the Depart-

ment of Health in 1988. Meanwhile, the proportion of couples currently using a family planning method rose by a mere 4 percent, from 32 percent in 1983 to 36 percent in 1988 and to 40 percent in 1993.

With the restoration of the country's democratic institutions as a result of the 1986 EDSA Revolution, the Ramos administration (1992-1998) set out to transform the country into a newly industrialized nation. Over the period 1986-1991, the Philippine gross domestic product (GDP) was growing at a very modest rate of 1.3 percent per year, the lowest in Southeast Asia at that time. The major challenges facing the Philippine society was the continuing high level of poverty incidence which was estimated at 44.2 percent in 1985, 40.2 percent in 1988 and 40.7 percent in 1991. The distribution of income continued to be inequitable with half of the country's total income flowing to the richest 20 percent of the population. Rapid population growth posed as a continuing constraint to raising the income per person. Moreover, the degradation of the environment accompanied high population density not only in urban areas but also in environmentally critical areas such as shore-lines and hillsides as pressure of increasing numbers continued to mount. The vision of the *Medium Term Philippine Development Plan: 1992-1998* was people empowerment which was anchored on the strategies of: (1) developing human resources; (2) attaining international competitiveness; and (3) pursuing sustainable development. This was popularly known as *The Philippines 2000* program of the Ramos administration. The goals of the Plan were to enable the majority of the population to meet their minimum basic needs (MBN); to provide basic services to the disadvantaged sectors; to harness the productive capacity of the country's human resource base towards global competitiveness; and to promote a balance among population, resources and environment to ensure sustainable development. Under this Plan, population concerns were integrated in all social and economic development efforts. Family planning was embedded in poverty alleviation and employment generation efforts such as direct public resources targetted at disadvantaged regions and specific poor groups (e.g. *Social Reform Agenda*). Thus, the Ramos

<sup>2</sup>Connote that all women in the population would expect to bear two children on average, which would include only one daughter to replace her. By that time the crude birth rate shall have fallen to around 18 births per 1,000 population.



administration supported the key population policy goal of reducing fertility more vigorously than the Aquino administration by making the policy of fertility and population growth reduction and the role of family planning context explicit. However, the burden of reducing fertility in the MTPDP: 1992-1998 still appears to be borne almost entirely by the *National Family Planning Program* rather than by a broader range of development activities (Herrin and Costello 1996).

The 1995 Census gave a count of 68,616,535 people with an average annual growth rate of 2.3 percent between the 1990-1995 period. With a total fertility rate (TFR) of 4.1 children per woman in 1991, it is not likely that the TFR targetted in the MTPDP: 1992-1998 of 3.2 children per woman by 1998 will be achieved due to the lack of specificity on how fertility preferences are to be modified. At best, the *National Family Planning Program* can be expected to serve the 26.2 percent of couples in 1993 with *Unmet Need* for family planning services (i.e., those who want no more children but are not using a contraceptive method). Unless the population policy is coordinated with other development policies in health, education, housing and employment as the country

proceeds to develop socio-economically, it is not likely that the fertility preferences of couples estimated at 3.1 children in 1993 would change.

**Extant Philippine Demographic Perspectives.** Using the *Demographic Transition Theory* as a heuristic approach to explain demographic events of births and deaths, and connecting these trends with changes in the economic and social situation, we shall attempt to analyze the Philippine demographic transition. As stated at the outset, the theory is closely linked with modernization. Thus, the discussion that follows will largely dwell on the causes and effects of modernization and the role of population in modernization.

During the Pre-colonial and Spanish Colonial Eras, the growth of the Philippine population was kept at a low level of around one percent per year. The period prior to the 15<sup>th</sup> and up to the 18<sup>th</sup> century was characterized by economic stagnation resulting from merchantilism through the exclusive trade relations that existed between Manila and Acapulco. With the last departure of the Manila-Acapulco galleon in 1815, merchantilism effectively ended with the opening of Manila to foreign vessels at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Conspicuous economic

and social development took place from 1780 onwards such that some scholars insisted the use of the number five generally as the multiplier for each *tributo* in estimating population size since this brought the figure very close to the 1903 census count (Corpus 1966). Throughout the 15<sup>th</sup> to the 18<sup>th</sup> century, epidemics of cholera, smallpox and influenza ravaged the population at intermittent intervals. Moreover, the last quarter of the century was strewn with political events and violent incidents which affected Filipinos at all levels. This kept the population from growing rapidly.

The greatest contribution to population growth of the American period (1903-1946) was in the areas of public health and education. In 1927, the *Philippine Public Health Program* was created which consisted of the construction of deep wells and toilets, the conduct of mass vaccinations and the setting up of hospitals and clinics. This brought the level of mortality down and prevented epidemics from ravaging the population. The introduction of the *Public School System* in the same period has brought education to the easy reach of the masses. Particularly for females, increasing education delayed their entry to marital unions, made them more receptive to new ideas and information, and allowed them to participate more meaningfully in economic pursuits and social activities. Higher education invariably reduces fertility since it gives women alternatives to childbearing. Increases in education have not, however, been effectively translated into fertility decline, as can be seen in Figure 4. The crude birth rate remained high at around 50 to 55 births per 1,000 population over the 1903-1948 period indicating that fertility was not affected by improvements in education. The crude death rate started to decline from 39 deaths per 1,000 population in 1903 to 27 in 1939, probably as a result of improvements in health services, sanitation and mass education.

The outbreak of World War II temporarily halted the improvements in the birth and death rates. The war losses raised the crude death rate to 37 per 1,000 population in 1948 and the crude birth rate rose to 56 births per 1,000 population.

The peace and order that prevailed after World War II improved the socio-economic conditions of the population. Death rates plunged to low levels of around 10 per 1,000 population between 1960 and 1970. The rapid decline in mortality was accompanied by a slow decline in fertility. By 1960, the crude birth rate was estimated at 46 births per 1,000 population, declined modestly to 44 by 1965 and to 39 by 1970. The population censuses conducted in 1948, 1960 and 1970 showed that the population was growing at around three percent in the period 1948-1960 and 1960-1970. This implied that the population could double in 23 years. The stable high fertility and rapidly declining mortality rates experienced during this period produced a young population age structure where over 40 percent consisted of individuals 0 to 14 years of age. This meant that for every person in the working ages of 15 to 64, almost one person is dependent on him, or a dependency burden of around 83 percent. Starting from 1960, the Philippines may be considered to be at the early part of the second stage of the *Demographic Transition* which was characterized by a period of explosive growth.

Several countries around the world shared the experience of a rapid rate of population growth after World War II. The 1960 world census which was sponsored by the United Nations showed that poor countries were growing at a rate of around 3 percent per year, while the rich countries were growing at 1 to 1.5 percent per year. Rapid population growth was at that time considered to be a hindrance to the achievement of a country's socio-economic development goals. By 1969, the world leaders, including President Marcos, signed the *United Nations Declaration on Population* which emphasized the need for Governments to recognize population problems as a key element in long-range planning. The Philippine Population Commission (POPCOM) was established in 1971 to coordinate the formulation of policies and programs relative to population. The amendment to the 1939 Philippine Constitution in 1972 also included a provision that placed on the State the responsibility of maintaining population levels conducive to national development. The POPCOM was attached to the National Economic and

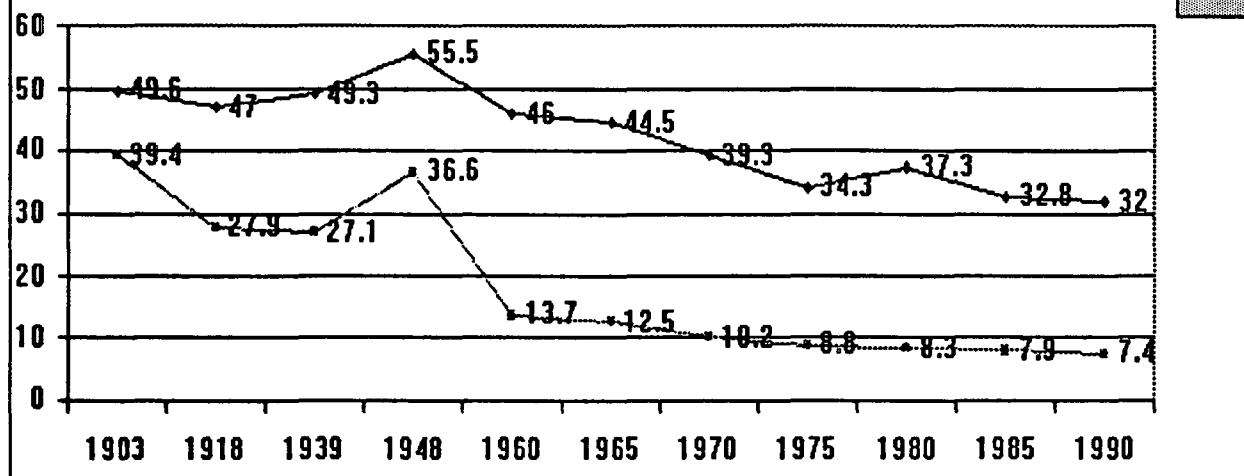
Development Authority (NEDA) in 1972 to facilitate POPCOM's role in coordinating population activities.

It should be noted that despite the full mandate bestowed on agencies to regulate population growth, the population in 1980 was still growing at a high rate of 2.7 percent per year, and the 1995 census showed this to have declined slowly to 2.3 percent per year. The total fertility rate (TFR) which was estimated at 6.5 children per woman in 1960 declined to 4.1 children in 1991. Part of the reason for the sluggish decline in the population growth rate is the continuing improvements in mortality and the preference among Filipino couples for a large family size which was estimated at 3.1 in the 1993 National Demographic Survey.

The trends in the birth and death rates at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century appear to indicate that Stage II of the Philippine Demographic Transition which began in 1918 (see Figure 4) was temporarily halted by the outbreak of World War II. Death rates started to decline in 1918, at first at a slow pace and then accelerated in the immediate post-World War II period. However, the birth rate decline occurring after World War II did not match the rate of decline in the death rate leaving the population to grow at well over two percent up to the 1980s. The sluggish decline in the Philippine birth rate in

the 1980s was often a subject of discussion in the international arena. Comparisons were made with Thailand, Singapore, Indonesia and South Korea whose family planning programs succeeded in reducing fertility levels just above replacement. Why has the *Philippine Family Planning Program* which began in the 1970s as other programs in Southeast Asia not succeeded in reducing fertility? Most observe that the Philippines has a high level of literacy even among the women. The *Philippine Family Planning Program* adopted similar strategies as its Southeast Asian neighbors in expanding the program reach to the rural poor couples, was multi-sectoral in its implementation, broadened its scope to include women's health concerns, and yet the use of contraceptives did not prosper. As shown in Figure 3, the highest use of the more effective modern methods grew at a slow pace starting at two percent before the program began and reaching only to a level of 24 percent in 1993, while Thailand and Indonesia reached a level of 44 and 47 percent, respectively in 1993. It was conjectured that religion or the Catholic teachings, which were against the use of modern contraceptive methods, may be the reason for low contraceptive use levels. Yet, all demographic and other surveys hardly showed religion or religiosity to be a strong determinant of contraceptive practice.

**Figure 4. Estimated Rates of Birth, Death and Natural Increase,  
Philippines 1903-1990**



What then is preventing fertility from declining the way they have in other countries? Poverty is one probable reason. Since World War II, the Philippines has experienced just a very brief period of economic prosperity, particularly in the 1970s when GNP per capita was growing at 5.8 percent per year. Yet this growth in income was not well distributed. There was progress in health, but some sectors (rural, lowly educated, farm workers) did not gain benefits. This probably caused them to follow their traditional ways of life, and in fact did little in increasing the effective demands for health care. The persistent backwardness of these sectors of the population probably retarded social and economic integration. Fertility started to decline through increases in age at marriage. However, marital fertility increased undoubtedly due to improvements in health.

The development plans reviewed earlier showed that in the period 1974-1977, regionalization, land reform and the development of cooperatives were the centerpiece programs of the government to improve income distribution. This was followed in 1978-1982 by the government thrust towards balanced agro-industrial development. The growth in GNP per capita which was placed at 5.8 percent per year in 1975 declined to 3.0 percent in 1980. There was mismanagement and abuse of power in the last few years of Martial Law to the point that by 1985, GNP growth was negative and 59 percent of Filipino families fell below the poverty line. Although family planning use increased to 38 percent in 1978, this declined to 32 percent by 1983 on account of the inability of the government to provide financial assistance to the Family Planning Program. Most importantly at a time when a big group of women of reproductive age resulting from the baby boom in the post-World War II period needed family planning services.

Poverty, income inequality, unemployment and structural inefficiencies were the problems that the Aquino government inherited such that poverty alleviation was its centerpiece program. This is perhaps the most significant development in population in this era of our history. In a way, it reduced the importance of population growth in national planning with the

adoption of the perspective *development is the best contraceptive* (UN 1975) and of the principle of Christian sexual ethics *increase and multiply*. Strongly influenced by the Catholic hierarchy, the Aquino administration's population policy was diametrically opposed to the aggressive posture of the Marcos administration in curbing rapid population growth. The broadening of population concerns was seized by the leadership as an opportunity to render ambiguous efforts to reduce fertility by pursuing family planning for its health objective. Although this is not necessarily bad in itself, it has removed the urgency of regulating population growth as a prerequisite to the achievement of the country's developmental objectives. In effect, the government has taken our current fertility behavior as a given and relied on improvement in income to reduce fertility preference and promote fertility regulation behavior. This is evident from the fact that the MTPDP 1987-1992 reflected a delay in the achievement of replacement fertility from year 2000 in the 1974-78 Plan to year 2010 which will bring the population count of 91,851,266 persons.

The Ramos administration, conscious of the implications that rapid population growth imposes on the economy and society placed stronger emphasis in the MTPDP: 1992-1998 on population growth rate regulation. The Plan integrated population concerns in all social and economic development efforts and embedded family planning in poverty alleviation and unemployment generation efforts especially of the poor groups. However, the Population Bill which aims to strengthen the integration of population concerns in all socio-economic and environmental development efforts of the country has not been supported by the leadership and has been shelved by the last Congress. The lack of urgency placed on the population issue by the leadership of this country can have grave implications on the quality of life of Filipinos in the 21<sup>st</sup> millennium. Should population growth be left to stabilize in 2020, there will be 105,509,325 persons in the Philippines. Alternatively, if we delay stabilization by another decade more, there will be 124,383,044 persons in this archipelago by 2030 (Medium Assumption of NSO Projections 1997). In 1995, the Philippines had a density of 196

persons per square kilometer. With these population prospects in the next millennium, we shall witness a density of 262 persons per square kilometer should population stabilize in 2010. This density shall have increased to 301 persons per square kilometer if stabilization were to be achieved by 2020, and to 358 persons per square kilometer by 2030. The choice made from these options will certainly determine the quality of life of Filipinos in the next millennium.

On the economic aspect, we observe that the growth of our *informal sector* or the *underground economy* has shielded us from the vagaries of the world economic crisis, particularly the most recent Southeast Asian economic crash. Our stable underground economy may be considered a response to the inability of our economy to absorb the growing number of the unemployed but it cannot be relied upon to contribute to capital formation and to the expansion of productive employment. As long as fertility remains high and as long as the pressure on land resources persists, it would be difficult to raise productivity. There is a need for a speedy decline in fertility to stimulate economic development. Economic development presupposes that new and more efficient technologies are introduced that are suitable for raising labor productivity along with total output. Unfortunately, the popularly held view in this country is that economic development will automatically regulate population growth. To contain population pressure, the government has promoted out-migration by sending our better educated and able-bodied workers for overseas employment. The leadership admits that this is only a stop-gap measure since the adverse consequences of these movements to the family are well recognized. However, unless fertility declines to replacement levels, our efforts to increase productivity will be negated by the increase in child dependency in our population.

### Conclusion

The lack of political will to support population growth rate regulation has been based on the mistaken notion that the catholic hierarchy can influence the voting behavior of people. The recently concluded 1998 elections have shown otherwise.

The thrust of poverty alleviation of all presidents in the past and present administrations is laudable, but without a determined effort at curbing population growth, achievement of economic development and improvement in the quality of life of Filipinos will be made difficult, if not impossible.

The incoming administration's resolve to improve agricultural productivity is a step in the right direction, but better results can come about if population growth was regulated since a slowly growing population allows the leadership more time to make the necessary economic adjustments.

Postponing the achievement of population stability could jeopardize our developmental goals and could dampen our pride and sense of national identity. Let us not forget how the economic crash experienced during the Post-Marcos years caused such a reduction.

We at the academe who are more theoretically capable of understanding the implications of rapid population growth on human development and national identity must take part in arousing the complacency of our leadership in taking more serious and sustained measures at regulating population growth. Individually, we can help in this endeavor by reproducing responsibly and rearing our children to be the hope of our fatherland. The time to act is now. Tomorrow may be too late. \*

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# The Ethnic Chinese in the Philippine Revolution<sup>1</sup>

TERESITA ANG SEE

*This paper attempts to reveal the hitherto little known fact that, in significant political events in Philippine history, particularly in the revolution against Spain and the United States, the Chinese had not stayed merely as neutral bystanders. In fact, the ethnic Chinese had directly participated in the revolution and had been involved and committed in various aspects of the Filipinos' fight against the shackles of colonial tyranny.*

Face to face with threats, oppression and persecution of the Spaniards, the Chinese launched a series of revolts and uprisings in much the same manner as Francisco Dagohoy's revolt in Bohol, Gabriela Silang's in Ilocos, and the Trece Martires in Cavite. The Chinese-led revolts, however, should also be included in the pages of Philippine history as part of the struggles of the inhabitants of the Philippines against their cruel colonial masters during that time. All these revolts should be taken together as the Filipinos' common struggle for independence and freedom from colonial rule.

## *Early Chinese revolts against Spain*

**1. P'an Ho Wu's revolt against Governor Dasmariñas.** The first folk hero of the Philippines is Lapu-Lapu, who in 1521, led the first anti-Spanish revolt and killed the conqueror Ferdinand Magellan. P'an Ho Wu, thus, can be aptly called a Chinese and Filipino folk hero, for having led the more than 250 conscripted Chinese galley rowers to mutiny against the ship captain, Governor General Gomez Perez de Dasmariñas.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>This paper is a shortened version of a 50-page research study presented during the *International Conference on Philippine Revolution* at the Manila Hotel in August 1996. The author is the Executive Trustee of Kaisa Heritage Center.

<sup>2</sup>Milagros C. Guerrero, *The Chinese in the Philippines, 1570-1770* and Rafael Bernal, *The Chinese Colony in Manila, 1570-1770*, in Felix Alfonso, ed. *The Chinese in the Philippines, 1570-1770*, Vol. I (Manila: Solidaridad Publishing House, 1966), pp. 15-66.

Seventy-two years after the death of Lapu-Lapu, in mid-1593, the ambitious Don Gomez Perez de Dasmariñas mounted an expedition to conquer the rich Moluccas in present day Indonesia for the Spanish crown. Needing men to row for the four fine galleys which he built, he ordered the Filipino slaves of some chieftains to be bought at two gold coins apiece.

The slaves were hardly enough for three galleys, hence for the flagship, the governor ordered that 250 Chinese be drafted. The Ming Dynasty Annals recounted that since the rowers were untrained, they could not synchronize their strokes for the precision-rowing that a galley swift for pursuit or attack, required. The rowers were thus flogged brutally, kept at their oars without rest and with little food, so that in the first days alone, several died.

P'an Ho Wu, the leader, on learning that the ship was actually on a military expedition to conquer the Moluccas, thought that they would die anyway. He knew that their deaths would come from either the atrocious conditions in the ship or from their being fed as *cannon-fodder* in a battle that was not even their own. Working within the vision that in this particular battle for the Moluccas, they ought to have a chance of saving themselves, P'an Ho Wu passed a challenge to his comrades. He asked them, *Should we submit to scourging unto death and suffer an ignominious death of this kind? Ought*

*we not rather die fighting and try to save our lives?*<sup>3</sup>

That night, when the Spaniards were asleep, the rowers struck and killed the Spanish soldiers, with an assault that can only be described as swift, bloody and deadly. This uprising against the Governor General, therefore, can also be considered as one of the many Philippine revolts against the repression and abuses of the colonizers in the more than 300 years of Spanish rule. This mutiny planted the seeds of distrust, hatred and suspicion, almost to the point of panic, in the minds of the Spaniards. The son of Governor Gomez, Luis Perez de Dasmariñas, took over as Governor and avenged his father's death by causing the massacre of 23,000 out of 25,000 Chinese in the country in 1603.

There were at least six incidents of massacre of the immigrant Chinese in the more than 300 years of Spanish rule in the Philippines. These massacres, like those in 1603, 1639, 1662, 1686 and 1762, were also called Chinese uprisings in historical chronicles. In truth, the massacres were in retaliation against the Chinese who rebelled against Spanish oppression.

**2. Revolt of the Chinese in Calamba.** The 1639 massacre, particularly, was carried out to quash a people's revolt against the Spanish colonialists that arose out of the harsh treatment and persecution of the conscripted Chinese laborers who were forced to open up the frontiers of Calamba, Laguna to cultivate rice. When food production fell due to the Spanish pre-occupation in conquering new lands, the Spanish Governor, Hurtado de Corcuera, used force to send several thousands of Chinese tradesmen from Manila to cultivate the public lands near Calamba, a virtual death trap due to infestation with malarial mosquitoes. In the first months alone, more than 300 settlers died, painfully ravaged by malarial fever.

The alcalde-mayor or *protector* of these Chinese rice planters, Don Luis Arias de Mora, exacted land-rent from them without pity, and bought their rice at low prices of his own fixing. Historians describe Arias as heartless, extortionate and thoroughly given to official robbery. Driven to desperation, the settlers armed themselves with crude bolos, fire-hardened bamboo poles and makeshift farm implements as weapons and attacked the town of Calamba on November 20, 1639. Arias was killed and the 3,000 strong land-tillers set out for Manila.<sup>4</sup>

It was, in effect, a bid for survival by cornered men. Peasants in China had a tradition of staging several such revolts under several dynasties when tyrants oppressed them beyond what people could bear.<sup>5</sup>

The revolt (called premeditated treason or rebellion in Spanish accounts) flared up and quickly spread to neighboring towns due to the panic of the Spaniards who used their armed soldiers to fire their *arquebus* and cannons on hapless and unarmed Chinese. The Spaniards set the Chinese's houses afire and pursued them to San Mateo, Calamba, Taytay, Antipolo, Cainta and Bocaue. Governor Corcuera was bent at exterminating the Chinese and carried out wholesale and deliberate slaughter of the Chinese in Cavite and Pampanga. In Cavite, more than a thousand Chinese who took refuge inside a church, were rounded up and deliberately taken out by tens and beheaded. The Chinese tried to fight back for survival's sake but there was no contest against the cannons and fire power of the Spaniards.

Chinese sources recorded more than 35,000 killed and an account found in a manuscript at the Real Academia de la Historia in Madrid described the event as a sickening record of slaughter, not just in battle, but in a cold-blooded, deliberate and systematic butchery of unarmed men. The Parian was burned, and the

<sup>3</sup>Ming Annals, Vol. 323, translated by Fr. Matthew Chen, O.P. in Felix Alfonso, ed., *Ibid.* Also see Charles J. McCarthy, S.J., *The High Price of Prejudice*, in McCarthy, ed., *Philippine-Chinese Integration* (Manila: Pagkakaisa sa Pag-unlad, Inc., 1971), pp. 83-102.

<sup>4</sup>McCarthy, S.J., *The Slaughter of the Sangleyes in 1639*, in McCarthy, ed., *Ibid.*, pp. 103-112.

<sup>5</sup>See as reference, Vincent Y.C. Shih, *The Taiping Ideology* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1967), pp. 352.

Chinese residents, including house-servants, were all killed and the merchandise either looted or burned.

As can be seen from the above account, the history of the Chinese in the Philippines during Spanish times, just like the history of the Filipinos then, was one written in blood and tears. The six massacres claimed more than a hundred thousand lives. The series of mass expulsions, the restrictions in movement through the travel pass, the excessive taxation, the legal discrimination and persecution, abuses like forced labor and other anti-Chinese racist policies of the colonial government brought untold sufferings, oppression, and humiliation to the Chinese immigrants.<sup>6</sup>

**3. Limahong uprisings.** Another threat against Spanish rule was the one waged late in 1574 by Limahong. Outlawed by the Chinese emperor for rebellion against the imperial mandate, Limahong sailed for the Philippines. With 62 war junks, 2,000 soldiers, 2,000 seamen, 1,500 women, agriculturists, artisans and shiploads of household goods and supplies, he set out to find for himself a place to relocate his people. He entered Manila Bay and was repulsed by Salcedo and his soldiers, forcing him to retreat to Pangasinan. The Spaniards laid a siege on their fort and blockaded their supplies forcing Limahong to escape through a canal leading to the sea. The lack of channels of communication between the Spanish authorities and Limahong exacerbated the fear and suspicion of the Spaniards who jumped to the conclusion that Limahong was out to invade the Philippines and take over the colony from them.<sup>7</sup>

**4. The Koxinga threat.** The atmosphere of fear and distrust of the Spaniards against the Chinese spawned other smaller uprisings like those of 1662 and 1686. In 1662, Koxinga, the Chinese pirate-patriot conquered Formosa from the Dutch. The Spaniards, fearing an invasion from Koxinga, disarmed the non-Christian Chinese and ordered Spanish soldiers and all

available troops to be concentrated in Manila. Residents were forced to dig ditches and fill up breastworks. The Governor-General, Manrique de Lara, ordered all Chinese in the cities or in the provinces to be confined within the Binondo-Parian interment zone for fear that they will assist Koxinga's threatened attack. The Chinese residents, seeing the warlike preparations, feared that another massacre was being planned. A demonstration of the Parian residents before the city gate was mistaken by the garrison for a general uprising and the Spaniards shelled the entire quarter with about 9,000 residents. Many tried to escape, some were drowned, while others hanged themselves. About 2,000 rose in arms to protect themselves but were all killed with the help of Pampangueño forces. Koxinga, however, never invaded Manila.<sup>8</sup>

**5. The Tingco revolts, 1686.** Another minor uprising was led in 1686 by Tingco, a fugitive from law, and his band of robbers. They attacked and looted the house of Pedro de Ortega, the alguacil mayor and the house of Captain Don Diego Vivien, the alcade-mayor of the Parian. Tingco and his eleven companions were hanged and quartered. What was in reality a robbery by desperate men who wanted to raise enough funds to go back home to China, was blown up by rumors to the dimension of a rebellion and conspiracy. As a result, many Chinese were innocently killed as a lesson in payment for the death of the Spaniards.<sup>9</sup>

**6. The Sulu revolts, 1773.** Another example to illustrate the Chinese participation in the Filipinos' struggle against colonial rule was in Sulu in 1773. There were 4,000 Chinese immigrants who helped and supported the natives of Jolo in their struggle against Spain. The support came in the form of an organized contingent that fought the Spaniards side by side with the Muslims. These 4,000 Chinese immigrants in Jolo were actually expelled by or escaped from the atrocities of Spanish authorities in Manila in 1758.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>6</sup>Felix Alfonso, *op.cit.*

<sup>7</sup>McCarthy, ,S.J., *op.cit.*

<sup>8</sup>McCarthy, ,S.J., *op.cit.*

<sup>9</sup>McCarthy, ,S.J., *op.cit.*

<sup>10</sup>Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, Vol. 50 (Cleveland: Arthur Clark Co., 1903), p. 44.

Even during the 1896 revolution, the Chinese were not spared from Spanish rampage and destruction. One example of Spanish atrocity is described in the *Historical Record of Big Events Outside China* [in Chinese] edited by Qi Jian Seng. The account, as culled from the May 1896 issue of the Star Paper in *Lu Zuo Huei*, reported the arrival in Cebu of a Spanish military expedition sent to quell the Cebu revolts as follows:<sup>11</sup>

*The Cebu ethnic Chinese suffered a great tragedy. The Spanish Governor General ordered the soldiers to torch all the native houses. The Chinese stores were completely gutted. However, all the other merchants of other nationalities were protected by their consults with the exception of the Chinese who had no protection at all. They ran hither and thither, each one trying his own escape. Some died in the fire, some died from the enemies' fire power, and some were killed outright by the soldiers. The whole town's Chinese residents numbering almost 900 people perished, with only two who were able to escape. I could hardly bear to read the accounts of such a tragic massacre.*

[Translated from Chinese]

Whether it was P'an Ho Wu's mutiny against Governor Dasmariñas or the Chinese uprising in Calamba, they were just like the hundreds of spontaneous and sporadic Filipino uprisings before the 1896 national revolution. They may have been isolated, localized or parochial and were therefore limited in effect compared to the national revolution led by the entire population to achieve independence, but they were all carried out as part of the resistance against colonial domination and abuses. Added together, these small pockets of regional revolts sparked the flame that lighted the national conflagration leading to the final revolution that ended the Spanish rule. In the same vein, all the other Chinese uprisings were also part of this long history of revolts that finally led to Philippine independence.

<sup>11</sup>Qi Jian Seng, ed., *Historical Record of Big Events Outside China* (in Chinese) citing the May, 1896 issue of the *Star Paper*.

### *The full-blooded Chinese in the revolution*

The participation of the Chinese mestizos or elite illustrados in both the reform and the revolutionary movement as well as in the formation of the Filipino nationality has been well documented. Little is known, however, of the direct participation of full-blooded Chinese in the revolution. One notable example is General Jose Ignacio Paua, the only pure-blooded Chinese general in the Philippine revolution described as more Filipino than many Filipinos by renowned historian, Teodoro Agoncillo.

As a notable representation of the Chinese contribution to the Philippine revolution, Paua was responsible for building a munitions factory in Imus, Cavite. He also holds the distinction of raising, from among his fellow Chinese, 400,000 Mexican dollars which was much needed by the depleted revolutionary coffers. Moreso, he was known to have personally risked his life in leading his men to the frontlines in the actual battlefield.<sup>12</sup>

About his prowess as a general and his baptism of fire, General Emilio Aguinaldo gave his own description:<sup>13</sup>

*... 1897. The revolutionary army fought the Spaniards in Cavite. Many Chinese sympathized with the cause of the Philippine revolution, not a few also joined the revolutionary army and carried arms. Many of them had their homes in Cavite. Jose Paua and Benito Ilapit [Hapit - sic] were the right hand and left hand [commanders]. Their wives were related to one another. They were young, and they proved themselves equal in their ranks. Paua's bravery touched and amazed the soldiers. He was at the forefront in every battle. When two*

<sup>12</sup>Philippine Revolutionary Records (PRR) Microfilm Reel 32, Document 526/8. Cited by Dr. Luis Dery, Paua monograph, *Ibid.*, p. 34.

<sup>13</sup>Liu Yuan Yan, *The Contributions of the Overseas Chinese in Developing the Philippines*, in 1935 Philippine-Chinese Yearbook, Yong Cheng Tong, ed. (Shanghai: Shanghai Society, 1935), p. 17.

*armies are locked in battle, many soldiers would hide and wait but not Paua, he would even run where nobody else dared to tread...In the Battle for Bacoor, our army encountered the Spanish troops led by Aguirre and in Zapote, Paua was hit by bullets in the left chest. His wounds were grave and the army was rattled, thinking that Paua could not rise again; but he did, as if nothing happened, and continued to lead until the enemy was defeated. When they saw Paua, the enemies were terrified. Hence, people thought he had mystic powers and the belief that he couldn't be harmed by bolos or bullets started there.* [Translated from Chinese]

Harper's *History of the War in the Philippines* recorded that the first encounter Paua had with the Spaniards was in Imus, Cavite. Paua and Pio del Pilar only had 27 men but they forced a regiment commanded by Colonel Salcedo to retreat from their stronghold. In the Battle of Binakayan on November 10, 1896, Paua headed a group of bolo-wielding men who, at several times, engaged the Spanish riflemen in hand-to-hand combat and succeeded in forcing the Spanish troops to retreat.<sup>14</sup>

As a pure-blooded Chinese who rose from the rank of lieutenant to a brigadier general because of his military exploits, and who without stint, dedicated his life for the cause of Philippine revolution, Paua's contributions were indeed unique. We should also mention the fact that Paua was one of the 52 signatories of the Biak-na-Bato Constitution in 1897. As a side note, the historical truth is acknowledged that because of General Emilio Aguinaldo's full trust in Paua, he was unfortunately one of the soldiers assigned to capture and bring Andres Bonifacio to the trial that finally led to Bonifacio's execution. However, this obedience to his Commander's order has not changed the fact that Paua has been fully accepted as a Filipino, as a Philippine revolutionary hero, and as an integral personality in the Philippines' struggle for independence. His battle records,

military skills, and his unique distinction as being the only Chinese who has ever put his name in the Philippine Constitution aptly reaffirms this.

### *Direct participation*

The list of Chinese who directly participated in the revolution and stood shoulder to shoulder with the other revolutionists goes beyond General Ignacio Paua. For example, another Chinese served as Paua's assistant when he built the arsenal and foundry in Imus, Cavite.<sup>15</sup> Likewise, as reported in the *Singapore Nan-an Village Associations' 1977 Journal*, in an article written by Shi Gong entitled *General Jose Paua's Biography*, there is mention of 3,000 Chinese revolutionists recruited and led by General Paua.<sup>16</sup>

Other forms of direct Chinese participation in the revolution were mentioned in the following sources:

*General Emilio Aguinaldo said: The Chinese who supported the Philippine revolution are many and those who directly joined the ranks of soldiers are also numerous.*<sup>17</sup>

*... the Chinese were considered by the Filipino revolutionists as their allies in the common fight for freedom.*<sup>18</sup>

Burguete mentioned that *in looking for the roots of the Philippine revolution, the authorities traced it to many Chinos, who were a part of the revolutionary movement.*<sup>19</sup>

One of the 13 martyrs of Cavite was Francisco Osorio, son of a prominent Chinese merchant. Historian Rafael Guerrero noted: "Calmly, Chino Osorio did not weep even up to his execution." Likewise, in a box owned by Bonifacio was found a picture with L. Osorio

<sup>14</sup>Reverter, *op.cit.*, p. 48.

<sup>15</sup>Golden Anniversary Souvenir Program of the Nan-An Village Association of Singapore (Singapore:1977).

<sup>16</sup>Reverter, *op.cit.*, p.132.

<sup>17</sup>PRR reel 79 (Manila).

<sup>18</sup>Burguete, *op.cit.*, p. 435.

<sup>14</sup>Marion Wilcox, ed. *Harper's History of the War in the Philippines* (New York: Harper and Bros., 1900), p. 365. Cited in Dery, *op.cit.*, p. 23.

(brother of Francisco Osorio). Although other sources considered Osorio a Chinese mestizo, most cited that his father was pure Chinese. Since both of his sons were active participants in the revolution, it is not far-fetched to surmise that the old Chinese Osorio himself would have been directly a supporter or sympathizer of the revolution, especially considering the fact that Osorio was accused of buying 250 guns and concealing them in his house.<sup>20</sup>

- PRR Box RL 21 (Revolutionary Leader - 1899) cited Isidro Torres' report on Chinese Spy —Chinese Wenceslao Lim—working for the revolutionists.<sup>21</sup>
- PRR reel 81 mentioned the list of those who were implicated (including those who were captured) among the Filipino revolutionaries. This includes 160 names of Binondo residents including the father-in-law of President Quirino, Gregorio Sy Quia. Aside from these are numerous names of residents from Tondo, San Nicolas, and Quiapo. A number of these names are sinicized. Of course, we cannot conclude that since the names are sinicized, they were all Chinese. But among these numerous Binondo residents at least, especially those with Chinese surnames, must be a number of ethnic Chinese.<sup>22</sup>
- PRR reel 72-1, January 23, 1899, mentioned the organization of a regiment in Binondo.<sup>23</sup>
- PR reel 209-36, September 23, 1899, reported that some ammunitions were discovered in the Binondo cemetery.<sup>24</sup>
- .... *From time to time, our police unearthed small native and Chinese shops, where in inconspicuous and inaccessible back rooms,*

<sup>20</sup>Rafael Guerrero, *Cronica de la Guerra de Cuba y de la Rebellion de Filipinas—1895-1896* (Barcelona: Publisher and date unreadable, the library puts the date as probably 1897), pp. 270 and 252; Jose Nava, *The Blackest Chapter of Spanish Rule in Cavite*, in Kahirup Magazine (1995 Philippine Provincial Series, N. 7), pp. 15-16, 20 and 24.

<sup>21</sup>PRR Box RL2-revolutionary leader.

<sup>22,23,24</sup>PRR Microfilm reels 81, 72-1, and 209/36.

*bolos were being made and insurgent uniforms manufactured.*<sup>25</sup>

- PRR reel 55 *Historia Civil de Filipinas Tomo 11 Cartas de P.P. Dominicanos sobre la Insurrection de 1898* mentioned, A Chinese in Pampanga supplied ammunitions. Each Mauser had 200 bullets and the others had 100.<sup>26</sup>
- There is a house made of stone in Cagayan de Oro called Balay nga Bato. This house was built by the Chinese, Insik Yqua, from two boat loads of bricks shipped from Amoy. During the revolution, a number of Filipino revolutionists were killed by the Americans in that house and were buried in its backyard. Up to now, during All Saints Day, there are still people who light candles around the house to commemorate the death of these soldiers.<sup>27</sup>

#### *Financial contribution*

Chinese financial contributions to the Philippine revolution were largely solicited by General Paua. Money that went through Paua's hands were recorded meticulously and from the names and amounts we could discern the big contributions brought in by the Chinese. Other mentions of financial contributions are as follows:

- John Taylor's *Philippine Insurrection* pointed out: *Voluntary contributions from a number of provinces show that the Chinese contributions always come up to twice the amount contributed by anybody in the town.*<sup>28</sup>
- In November 1898, Aguinaldo ordered the release of 20 million pesos worth of public

<sup>25</sup>Edwin Wildman, *Aguinaldo: A Narrative of Filipino Ambitions*, in Cornejo's Pre-War Encyclopedic Directory of the Philippines (Boston, Lothrop Pub., Co., 1901), pp. 50-69.

<sup>26</sup>PRR Reel 55.

<sup>27</sup>*The Brick House of Insik Yqua in Del Mar-Victoria Streets*, in Francisco Demetrio, S.J., ed., *The Local Historical Sources of Northern Mindanao* (Cagayan de Oro: Xavier University, 1995); Part II Cagayan and Her Environs, p. 176.

<sup>28</sup>Taylor, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 212-123.

bonds. On June 12, 1899, under Paua's efforts, the Chinese in Nueva Caceres were urged to buy 100,000 pesos worth of these public bonds. On June 21, Paua also invited the Chinese in Albay and Camarines to voluntarily contribute 44,790 pesos to the revolutionary coffers. On October 28, he reported to Aguinaldo that as the special emissary in Southern Luzon, he had personally solicited for the revolutionary coffers 220,000 pesos.<sup>30</sup>

- From May 18, 1899 to October 28, 1899, Paua delivered to the national treasury a staggering 400,000 Mexican dollars. Zaide said that in *Bicolandia alone, historical records reveal that the amount Paua collected was P386,000—the largest cash sum ever collected by an authorized agent of the Philippine Republic.*<sup>31</sup>
- Edwin Wildman pointed out: *The rich Chinese in Manila and everywhere else in the island, were urged to give huge financial contributions to the revolutionary cause... its [the revolutionary government] main source of contribution came from the rich mestizos and the Chinese merchants.*<sup>31</sup>
- Zaide recounted in his *A Chinese General in the Philippine Revolution* (October 1899): *Paua solicited 160,000 silver dollars and was traveling through the Ragay Gulf toward the Tayabas Coast when he encountered American gunboats which pursued them. He almost lost his life then but was fortunately able to maneuver to the shallow waters near the banks where he dumped all the silver coins. The Americans ceased their pursuit and Paua retrieved the coins the next day.*<sup>32</sup>
- In the list of those who gave monthly contributions to the revolutionary coffers were unmistakable names of Chinese: Tan-Cao, Tao-Chien, Loa Tico, Tan Dianco, Loa-

Siengco, Yu-Dongco, Lao-Chichon. Other Chinese sounding names in the list were Angguico, Guison, Guason, Quionson who may be pure Chinese or at least, mestizos.<sup>33</sup>

#### Material resources

Supplying material resources needed by the revolutionaries appeared to be the more prevalent form of assistance given by the Chinese then. For instance, General Santiago Alvarez recounted that on August 26, 1896, after Andres Bonifacio led the Katipuneros to signal the start of the revolution in Balintawak, they moved to Mandaluyong where they were given by two Chinese stores *two packets of La Insular cigarettes, two boxes of matches, five cans of sardines and five pesos in cash.*<sup>34</sup> These contributions may be little but they nevertheless demonstrate that at the very start of the revolution, there were already Chinese who sympathized and supported the cause and supplied material resources to the Filipino revolutionaries.

#### Other recorded forms of Chinese support:

- Based on the Philippine Revolutionary Records, the Chinese supplying material resources were recorded in Angeles and Malolos, Tayug in Pangasinan, Catmon in Cebu, Vigan, San Fernando in Pampanga, Samar, Iloilo, Masbate, Iba in Zambales, Tarlac and Apalit in Pampanga, La Union and Calumpit in Bulacan, among others. Aside from cash contributions and other donations, materials provided included rice, oil, salt, dried pork, carabaos and other food. Otherwise, they helped solicit gunpowder, matches, pen and paper, clothing, hats, and medicine. There were also Chinese who helped transport the goods of the revolutionaries. In fact, some Chinese were even sent by Antonio Luna to cut dried leather and bake galletas for the revolutionary army.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>30</sup>Taylor, *op.cit.*, vol. 2, p. 478.

<sup>31</sup>PRR reel 32, document 526/8. Cited in Dery, Paua Monograph, *op. cit.*, p. 34; Zaide, Paua Monograph, *op.cit.*, p. 11.

<sup>31</sup>Edwin Wildman, *op.cit.*

<sup>32</sup>Paua monograph, *op.cit.*, pp. 11-12. Also Taylor, vol. 3, p. 581 PIR T-30, letter book, original Spanish.

<sup>33</sup>PRR reel 93.

<sup>34</sup>Santiago V. Alvarez, *The Katipunan and the Revolution: Memoirs of a General* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1992), p. 22.

<sup>35</sup>Philippine Revolutionary Records from various provinces. A more detailed listing of some of these records are given in Appendix II with the numbers indicated on top.

- A cursory look at the photograph of Tarlac's revolutionary hero, Francisco Makabulos, would show that he was unmistakably of Chinese descent because of his very Chinese features. There are numerous mentions of the Chinese helping to provide the Tarlac revolutionists with their needs. Paua himself also assisted Makabulos in fighting General Monet's army in Mount Kamansi during the tumultuous days of September and October 1897. There was also a Capt. Mariano Lim, Makabulos' military commander in Dagupan, whose being of Chinese descent must have enabled him to solicit supplies from the Chinese.<sup>38</sup>
- Rafael Guerrero writes: *The Chinos have supplied the separatists with falsified stamps and seals of the government. The separatists have much to thank the Chinos.*<sup>37</sup> The underground manufacture of government paraphernalia was apparently uncovered when a Chinese warehouse was raided.
- The Chinese support and contribution to the cause of the Philippine revolution can also be seen in the pronouncements and documents of the Philippine revolutionary government itself:

Mariano Trias, Secretary of the Treasury, in a letter sent to the governor of Ilocos Sur on January 3, 1899, pointed out: *Considering that the Chinese in the country pay various contributions, especially the capitation tax, by which act they are assimilated with the natives of the country, a circumstance which excludes them from the obligation of requesting authority to exercise any industry, provided they pay the proper license.*<sup>38</sup> The letter ordered that the

Chinese be exempted from paying a war tax required of other foreigners in order to conduct business.

- A letter from Quesada on March 11, 1899 to the provincial governor of Pangasinan and some local government officials said: *By order of the Honorable President, you will see that the Chinese residing in the towns under your command who have sympathized [sic] with our cause and continue making contributions for the needs of the war, shall not be annoyed by our brothers and that they be defended from the aggressions of an unjust character of which they are the object.*<sup>39</sup>

### ***Chinese revolutionaries overseas***

Aside from the participation of the mestizos and the ethnic Chinese in the Philippine revolution, there was also extensive link between the revolutionaries in China and those in the Philippines. Chinese documents reveal how the Chinese revolutionaries idolized the Filipinos for daring to fight not just one white colonizer but two. For instance, renowned Chinese revolutionary, Liang Chi Chao, said: *The Philippines, our brothers from the same continent and race, struggled with the white men twice, without losing hope in their defeats. I look towards the south [the Philippines] and prostrate myself to kowtow to the Filipinos.*<sup>40</sup>

Another Chinese revolutionary lamented the weakness of China, *China is big but is afraid of the small while the Philippines is small yet fighting the big.*<sup>41</sup>

Support from the Chinese revolutionaries abroad was also given through the two shipments of arms that they sent to the Philippines. Unfortunately, one sunk in the waters off the

<sup>38</sup>Lino L. Dizon, *Francisco Makabulos y Soliman: A Biographical Study of a Revolutionary Hero* (Tarlac: Tarlac State University, Center for Tarlaqueno Studies, 1994), pp. 70-71.

<sup>37</sup>Guerrero *op.cit.*, p. 286.

<sup>39</sup>Taylor, *op.cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 581 citing PRR T-30, letter book, original in Spanish.

<sup>40</sup>Taylor, *op.cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 771 citing PRR 1157, no. 3, original in Spanish.

<sup>41</sup>Min Pao, Yokohama, October 1906, no. 9; Xin Min Cong Pao, eighth issue, 1902; Liang Chi Chao, *New Treatise on How to Annihilate a Country*, No. 4, Qing-Yi Pao Compilation, vol. 7, all cited in Zhou, *Ibid.*, p. 37.

<sup>42</sup>Au Ji-jia, *The Independence of the Philippine Islands*, in Qing-Yi Pao Compilation, vol. 4, cited in Zhou, *Ibid.*, p. 37.

Marianas while the other was intercepted by the Americans before the ship even sailed from Japan.<sup>42</sup>

Aside from the support of the revolutionaries overseas, another interesting and revealing historical fact is the shared destiny of the Chinese and the Philippines.

Historical sources reveal that in 1521, Spain colonized the Philippines because it desired to use the Philippines as the takeoff point to evangelize or christianize China. In the same vein, in 1899, when the United States annexed the Philippines, the major intent was also to use the Philippines as its jumping board to penetrate the rich China market, invade its territory, and eventually conquer China. This fact is most convincingly discussed in the book, *Republic or Empire: American Resistance to the Philippine War*. The discourse revealed that McKinley's final decision to colonize the Philippines was actually motivated by America's ambition to conquer China.<sup>43</sup>

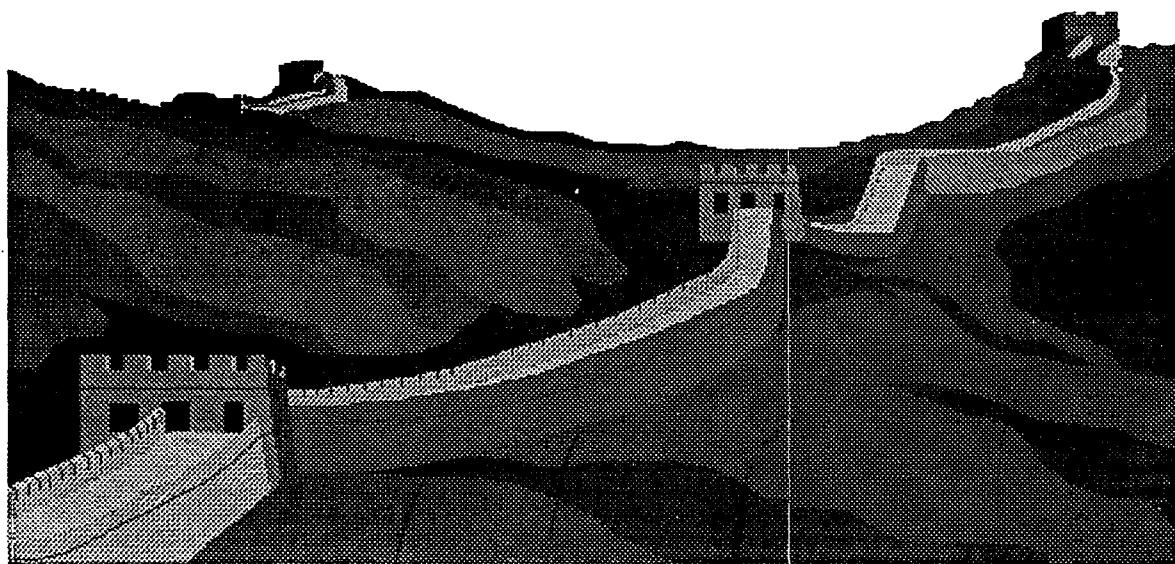
<sup>42</sup>Peng Zi-you, *History of the Revolution*, vol. 4 (Commercial Press, 1936), pp. 80-91, cited in Zhou, *Ibid*, p. 36. Also cited in Carlos Quirino's *Dr. Sun Yat Sen and the Philippine Revolution*, Fokkien Times Yearbook, 1963, pp. 267-268.

<sup>43</sup>Daniel B. Schirmer, *Republic or Empire: American Resistance to the Philippine War* (Cambridge: Schenkman Publishing Co., 1972), 298. pp.

From the early times, when the Chinese immigrants were forced to leave China due to famine, poverty, and political unrest up to the time when they finally settled and built their homes in the Philippines and raised a new generation of Philippine-born and Filipinized offsprings, Philippine-China relations indeed have been *as close as the lips and the teeth*, to use a Chinese expression, or *tied together in one umbilical cord*, to use a Filipino expression.

### Conclusion

For four centuries, our colonizers—the Spaniards, British, Americans, Japanese—unfurled their imperialist ambitions to conquer our country. The Chinese, who came to Philippine shores looking only for a chance to better their lives, suffered, as the Filipinos did. Contrary to certain perceptions that as a people, the Chinese would rather docilely accept their fates, no matter how untenable, the ethnic Chinese likewise had their moments of dauntless defiance. One hundred years ago in the country's struggles against three centuries of Spanish colonialism, oppression, and abuses, the Chinese, together with their Filipino brothers, also gave a bit of their strength, also suffered, and also poured their blood for the revolutionary cause. The red color for bravery in the Philippine flag also has some drops of ethnic Chinese blood in it. \*



# Ang Rebolusyon sa Kapanahunan ng 1898<sup>1</sup>

EDEN M. GRIPALDO

*Ang ating himagsikan noong taong 1898 ay may tatlong katotohanang maaaring talakayin tungkol dito: (1) Ang paglaganap ng Himagsikan 1896, (2) Ang tagumpay ng himagsikan sa pamamagitan ng malaya't matagumpay na pamamahala ng malayang Pamahalaang Mapanghimagsik (Revolutionary Government) na itinatag noong Hunyo 1898; at (3) Ang pamumuno ng mga elitista at pagsakop sa atin ng mga Amerikano.*

## *Ang paglaganap ng himagsikan sa taong 1898*

Salungat sa paniniwala ng ilan, patunay ang pagtupad sa atas ng Supremo na palaganapin ang Katipunan sa Bisayas simula sa Aklan, na naisagawa sa unang buwan pa lamang ng 1897, na ang Himagsikang 1896 ay hindi isang Himagsikang Tagala lamang. Ang katotohanang ito ay lalong napagtibay pagpasok ng taong 1898. Ang pagsuko ni Emilio Aguinaldo sa pamamagitan ng Kasunduang Biak-na-Bato ay hindi nagtapos o naging hadlang sa pagpatuloy ng himagsikan. Nagpatuloy ang himagsikan sa pamamagitan ng mga rebolusyunaryong hindi sangayon sa pagsuko ni Aguinaldo. Sila ang bumuo ng pwersang binalikan at pinamunuang muli ni Aguinaldo noong 1898 na humantong sa pagkatalo ng mga Kastila sa halos lahat ng lugar sa bansa.

Naging kasiya-siya para sa mga Kastila ang pagpasok ng unang buwan ng 1898. Nakaalis na si Emilio patungong Hongkong at mukhang tinutupad namang ng mga naiwang rebolusyonaryo ang pagsuko ng mga armas kahit na mukhang mabagal ang pagdating ng mga inaasahang dami nito, bilang kapalit ng perang napagkasunduang isusunod sa naunang

P400,000 na dala dala ni Aguinaldo. Kung tutuuisin, tanging perang pangsuhol—*bribe money*—kapatawaran sa mga may kinalaman sa himagsikan, at kalayaang mandayuhan *exile* sa labas ng bansa lamang ang ipinangako ng mga Kastila bilang kapalit sa pagtigil ng himagsikan.<sup>2</sup>

Ang dahilan ng mabagal na pagdami ng isinukong mga armas ay ang sinadyang pagtago ng mga rebolusyonaryo sa mga ito. Kahit na pansamtala nilang itinigil ang pakikilaban sa mga Kastila ayon sa kasunduan ng Biak-na-Bato, hindi ito nangahulugan na sang-cccyon silang lahat sa pagsuko ni Aguinaldo at buo na ang paniniwala nila sa pangakong ipatutupad ng mga Kastila ang mga repormang ipinaabot nila sa mga ito sa pamamagitan ni Pedro Paterno. Samantala, malaki ang magagawa ng P200,000 bilang kapalit ng mga armas na kanila nang naisuko sa mga susunod na hakbanging kanilang gagawin.

Maliwanag na hindi nagkatugma ang inaasahan ng magkabilang panig sa kasunduang nangyari. Kung kayat, ang katahimikang namayani sa unang dalawang buwan ng 1898 ay napalitan ng muling pagsiklab ng labanan sa pagitan ng mga Kastila at rebolusyonaryo simula sa kalagitnaan ng Marso. Isa sa mga ito

<sup>1</sup>Binasa sa Kumperensya ng Manila Studies Association, ika 18-19 ng Hunyo 1998 sa Teatro Teodoro Locsin, Sr., NCCA Building, Intramuros, Manila. Si Eden M. Gripaldo ay Kasamang Propesor sa Departamento ng Kasaysayan, UP Diliman.

<sup>2</sup>PIR, Vol. 1, p. 83. As of November 1897, Primo de Rivera says *Pardon, permission to emigrate, and money were what Paterno repeatedly represented them as demanding in return for surrender of their arms.*

ay ang nangyaring labanan sa ilang lugar sa lalawigan ng Zambales na pinamunuan ng dating rebolusyonaryong si Heneral Francisco Makabulos. Sa Kailukohan na dating tahimik noong nagsimula ang himagsikan ay nagkaroon din ng labanan sa bayan ng Candon noong ika-24 ng Marso sa ilalim ng pangunguna ni Isabelo Abaya na dating ring rebolusyonaryo. Ganon din ang nangyari sa lalawigan ng Bulacan sa pagpasok ng buwan ng Abril. Sinasabing higit na mahusay ang pagkabuo ng mga Bulakenyo sa Malolos ng kanilang muling pag-aalsa sa pangunguna ni Isidoro Torres.

Noong ding Marso, sa lalawigan ng Cebu kung saan sinimulan ang pagtataugtong ng KKK noong unang buwan ng 1898 nina Anastacio Oclarino, isang dating rebeldeng Tagalog, at ng Cebuanong si Florencio Gonzales, nagkaroon na rin ng labanan sa ilalim ng dating rebeldeng si Pantaleon Villegas, na higit na kilala sa pangalang Leon Kilat.<sup>5</sup>

Pagpasok ng buwan ng Abril (ika-14-18) ang mga rebolusyonaryong naiwan ni Vicente Lukban sa Camarines Norte ay nag-alsa sa Daet sa ilalim ng pamumuno ni Ildefonso Moreno. Matagumpay na nasugpo ng mga Kastila ang pag-aalsang ito ngunit muli itong sumiklab at lumaganap sa karatig lalawigan ng Camarines Sur pagpasok ng buwan ng Septiembre.<sup>6</sup>

Samantalang sa Panay, kung saan sinimulan ng mga sugo ni Andres Bonifacio na sina Francisco del Castillo at Candido Iban ang pagpalaganap ng KKK at pagsimula ng labanan sa lalawigan ng Aklan noong kalagitnaan ng taong 1897, ang impluwensyang naiwan nila ay nagbunga sa pagsimula ng rebolusyonaryong gawain ni Esteban Contreras sa Capiz, ni Leandro Fullo sa Antique at pati na rin ni Martin Delgado nang banda huli sa lalawigan ng Iloilo kung saan malakas ang naging sabwatan ng mga ilustrado't mayayamang mamamayan nito at mga Kastila sa simula ng

himagsikan hanggang sa kasunduan ng Biak-na-Bato.<sup>7</sup>

Katulad ng mga Ilongos sa Iloilo, ang mga Tayabane sa Quezon (dating Tayabas) na kusang nagpadala ng tulong sa mga Kastila laban sa mga rebolusyonaryo sa simula ng himagsikan ay unti-unti na rin nasasangkot kahit na nga hindi dito naitatag ang mga struktura ng marubdob at dibdibang eksplorasyon tulad sa mga lalawigan ng unang mga nakisangkot sa himagsikan at wala ring mahabang talaan ng panggigipit ang mga prayleng Fransiskano. Mismong ang mga Tayabane ang nagsabing ang pakikisangkot nila ay bunsod ng kanilang pakikisimpatiya sa ipinaglaban ng kanilang mga kababayhan sa mga karatig-bayan ng Laguna at Batangas.<sup>8</sup>

Kahit na sa pulo ng Negros na dating nagbigay ng suporta sa mga Kastila sa pamamagitan ng mga boluntaryong ginamit laban sa mga rebolusyonaryo sa Luzon, nakisangkot na rin sa himagsikan nang pumasok ang ika-apat na bahagi ng 1898. Kahit na nga kusang umalis ang mga Kastila sa Negros Oriental, nandiyang ang desisyon at aktwal na pakikisangkot sa muli at nag-iinit na pagpatuloy ng himagsikan sa katauhan ni Don Diego de la Vina.<sup>9</sup>

Masasabing halos patapos na ang himagsikan nang ang alingawngaw ng pagsiklab nito sa Kamaynilaan ay nagsimulang magbunga sa kamalayaan ng mga taga Mindanao. Sa Zamboanga, halimbawa, kung saan nagkaroon din ng mga *boluntaryo*<sup>10</sup> ang mga Kastila para mapanatili ang kanilang pamamahala dito, pumanguna ang rebolusyonaryong si Vicente Alvarez sa pamumuno ng puwersang kinapalooban ng mga dating boluntaryo at depor-

<sup>5</sup>Dionisio A. Sy, *A Short History of Cebu 1500-1890's and The Anti-Spanish Revolution in Cebu* (Cebu City: Bathalad, Inc., 1996).

<sup>6</sup>Danilo Madrid Gerona, *From Epic to History: A Brief Introduction to Bicol History* (Naga City: A.M.S. Press, 1988).

<sup>7</sup>John E. Barrios, *The Katipunan in Aklan*, A paper submitted to the National Commission for Culture and the Arts, Manila in 1995; Rex S. Salvilla, *The Philippine Revolution in Iloilo*, Proceedings of the 1<sup>st</sup> Conference on West Visayas History and Culture (Iloilo City: Center for West Visayan Studies, 1990), pp. 74-82. <sup>8</sup>Elsie S. Ramos, *Kampihan: Problema ng mga Tayabane sa Panahon ng Himagsikan*, MSA Conference.

<sup>9</sup>Caridad A. Rodriguez, *Negros Oriental and the Philippine Revolution*, Vol. 1 (Dumaguete City: The Provincial Government of Negros Oriental, 1983), pp. 81-110.

<sup>10</sup>Kasama dito ang mga Kristyano, Sama, Tausugs, Subanons, Katutubong Visaya at Zamboangeño.

tatdos.<sup>9</sup> Naitatag na ang isang konseho ng rebolusyon nang napilitang kumanlong ang Gobernador Diego de los Rios. Tulad ng sa Iloilo, napilitan din likasin ng Gobernador ang Zamboanga matapos ipagkaloob ang pama-halaang lokal kay Alvarez. Hindi naglaon, lumalawak ang puwersa ni Alvarez bilang paghahanda laban sa tagumpay ng pagpasok ng mga Amerikano.

Sa Kordilyera kung saan ang balita tungkol sa Katipunan at sa napipintong pagsiklab ng labanan ay nasagap ng mga mangangalakal na Ibaloy sa mga Ilokano sa kapatagan, nagawang sumali ng ilan sa kanila (sina Kustacio Carantes at Mateo Cariño na nagmula sa timog ng Benguet) sa Katipunan. Bukod sa paminsaminsang nakararating ang mga ito sa Maynila, madalas din silang pinupuntahan ng mga Ilokanoong Katipunero.

Bagamat walang gaanong tala tungkol sa labanang namagitan sa mga katutubo maliban sa tangkang pag-alsaa ng pinunong Ibaloy na lusubin ang comandancia sa La Trinidad na nasugpo ng mga Kastila bago ito naipatupad, patuloy ang pakikipag-ugnayan ng mga ito sa pamahalaan ni Aguinaldo. Ilan sa mga ito ay kasali sa puwersa ni Heneral Tinio, bukod sa pagbigay tulong kay Isabela Abaya matapos mailunsad nito ang pag-alsaa sa Candon noong Marso 1898.

Dumating sa Kordilyera ang puwersang rebolusyonaryo noong Hunyo 1898. Kahit na nakalilito sa mga katutubo ang pagsiklab ng himagsikan dahil sa walo o di gaano ang pang-aaping naranasan di tulad ng sa kapatagan, masasabing nakilahok din sila sa simpatiyang kanilang ipinadama sa mga rebolusyonaryong Tagalog at Ilokano. Bandang Septiembre na nang maagaw nito ang Bontoc. Sa pagpasok ng buwan ng Nobyembre 1898 dumating si Aguinaldo na tinutugis ng mga Amerikano. Sa lahat ng bayan ng Benguet na dinaanan ni Aguinaldo, tulong na pagkain, gamot at

serbisyon kargador ang naiambag ng mga katutubo.<sup>10</sup>

Sapat na siguro ang mga nabanggit ko sa itaas na mga pagsiklab na muli ng labanan laban sa mga Kastila at di naglaon laban sa mga Amerikano sa taong 1898 bilang patunay na natupad ang mithiin ni Andres Bonifacio na ang himagsikang kanyang inilunsad noong 1896 ay sakop ang buong kapuluang Pilipino.

#### *Ang Pamahalaang Rebolusyonaryo ng 1898<sup>11</sup>*

Nitong nakalipas na ika-12 ng Hunyo 1998, tayo ay nasangkot sa mainit na mga gawaing may kinalaman sa pagdiriwang o paggunita sa sentenaryo ng proklamasyon ng ating kalayaan. Sa aking klase, isa sa mga tanong ng aking mga estudyante na may kinalaman dito ay: Bakit natin ginugunita ang sentenaryo ng 1898 samantalang napatalsik lang naman ang mga Kastila sa pamamagitan ng pagdating ng mga Amerikano na siyang pumalit sa mga Kastila?

Ang isang implikasyon ng ganitong tanong ay ang pananaw na hindi tayo nagtagumpay sa ating paghihimagsik laban sa mga Kastila. Ito ay hindi totoo. Ang pagtatag at pamamahalang nagawa ng Pamahalaang Rebolusyonaryo sa halos lahat ng sulok ng kapuluan simula noong Hunyo ng 1898 hanggang sa ito ay napalitan ng Pamahalaang Malolos noong 23 ng Enero 1899 ay nagpatotoo sa diwa ng proklamasyong ng ating kalayaan.

Naipakita ko sa unahan ng aking papel na ang himagsikan ay hindi si Emilio Aguinaldo, kung kayat ang pagsuko niya sa mga Kastila sa pamamagitan ng Kasunduan Biak-na-Bato ay hindi nagputol sa himagsikan na nanatiling buhay sa puso, diwa't gawain ng mga karniwang mamamayang Pilipino. Masasabing nagkaroon ng pagkakatang muling mamuno si Aguinaldo dahil sa may mga puwersa siyang nabalikan. Sa nakita niyang init na pagtanggap

<sup>9</sup>Composed of convicts, parolees and political prisoners from Luzon, the Bicol area, Samar, Bohol at Iloilo. Fe S. Alvarez, General Vicente Alvarez: The Revolutionary, PNHS.

<sup>10</sup>Delfin Tolentino, Jr., *Resistance and Revolution in the Cordillera* (Baguio City: UP Baguio, 1994).

<sup>11</sup>Teodoro A. Agoncillo, *Malolos: The Crisis of the Republic* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1960).

sa kanyang pagbabalik, agad agad na nanungkalan siya bilang diktador ng Pamahalaang Diktatoryal. Sinundan ito ng proklamasyon ng ating kalayaan para lalong maglagablab ang pagnanais ng sambayanang Pilipino na makamtan ito sa kanilang pakikipaglaban sa mga Kastila. At sa loob lamang ng walang pang isang buwan, nabawi na ng mga rebolusyonaryo ang kapuluan sa mga kamay ng Kastila, maliban sa lugar na nakapalibot sa daungan ng Cavite at ang Maynila.

Masasabing ang mabilis na pangyayari tungo sa tagumpay ng paghihimagsik ay nakita sa simula pa ni Apolinario Mabini, na siyang naging tagapayo ni Aguinaldo. Bagama't salungat siya sa proklamasyon na ipinahayag ni Aguinaldo, iginiiit niya ang paghanda sa magiging epekto ng tagumpay sa malawakang layunin ng himagsikan na walang iba kung hindi ang maging malaya ang sambayanang Pilipino sa pamamagitan ng isang mapagpalayang pamahalaang Pilipino. Kung walang ganitong paghahanda, higit na kaguluhan ang mamamayani na maaaring magbubunga ng pagkawatak-watak ng kapuluang Pilipino. Di baga nagsimula na nang mangyari ito sa Negros kung saan nagtagtag ang mga Negrense ng sarili nilang republika na hiwalay sa pamahalaan na pinamumunuan ni Aguinaldo.

Ang ganitong paghahanda ay sinimulan ni Mabini sa paghikayat kay Aguinaldo na palitan ang pamahalaang diktatoryal (May 24-Hunyo 23) ng Pamahalaang Rebolusyonaryo (simula sa ika-23 ng Hunyo 1898). Ang legal na basehan ng bagong pamahalaan ay ang mga batas na sinulat ni Mabini at ipinahayag ni Aguinaldo noong Hunyo 1898.

Ang unang batas ay inihayag noong ika-18 ng Hunyo na nagpanibagong-tatag (*reorganize*) sa istruktura ng mga pamahalaang lokal, lalo na sa mga lugar na nabawi na sa mga Kastila. Sa pamamagitan ng demokratikong halalan, malayang mamimili ang mga mamamayan ng kanilang pinuno na siyang babalikat sa pagpatupad ng pagkakaroon ng panloob na katahimikan, pagkokolekta ng buwis, at pangangasiwa sa pagpatupad ng katarungan. Magkakaroon din ng mga Sangguniang Bayan sa bawat lalawigan. Itinadhana din sa batas ng

ika-18 ng Hunyo ang pahahalal sa mga kinatawan ng bawat lalawigan na bubuo ng Kongresong Mapanghimagsik (*Revolutionary Congress*).

Ang batas ika-18 ng Hunyo ay nasundan ng batas ika-20 ng Hunyo kung saan malinaw na itinakda kung paanong patatakbuhan ang lokal na pamahalaan para sa epektibong pamahala ng mga ito. Kasama din itinadhana na ang Kodigong Kastila, na hindi salungat sa alin man sa mga kautusan ng Pamahalaang Pilipino, ay patuloy na magkakabisa.

Ang panghuling batas na ipinahayag noong ika-23 ng Hunyo ay nagtakda ng pagtatag ng Pamahalaang Mapanghimagsik bilang kapalit ng naunang pamahalaang diktatoryal. Ang pangunahing layunin ng pamahalaan ito ay ang *pagpupunyagi sa ikapagkakaroon ng kasanrlan sa bansang Pilipinas bilang handa sa pagtatag ng tunay na republikang kikilalanin sa buong mundo*. Ito ay pamumunuan ng pangulo na siyang tatayong pangunahing tagapagpaganap (*chief executive*) sa tulong, sa simula ng apat, na gagawing anim sa mga susunod na mga araw, ng miyembro ng gabinete na siyang kakatawan sa mga kagawaran (*departments*), tulad ng Kagawaran ng Panlabas, Nabeo, at Komersyo, Kagawaran ng Digma at Gawaing Bayan, Kagawaran ng Pulisia, at Kaayusan, Hustisya, Edukasyon at Kalinisan, at ang Kagawaran ng Pananalapi, Agrikultura, at Industriya. Bukod dito, itinadhana din ang pagkakaroon ng Kongreso, na ang mga kinatawan ay ihahalal ayon sa itinadhana ng kautusan ika-18 ng Hunyo.

Sa madaling sabi, isang buong sistema ng pamahalaan ang itinadhana na hindi nanatili sa papel lamang. Bagkus, ipinatupad ito bilang kapalit ng Pamahalaang Diktatoryal simula din noong ika-23 ng Hunyo. Upang matiyak ang pagpatupad ng sakop ng pamahalaan ito sa lahat na sulok ng bansa, nagpadala ng mga *expeditionary forces o liberation units* si Aguinaldo sa mga lalawigan na siyang tutulong sa mga lokal na puwersa para tuluyang magapi ang mga natitira pang mga kalaban. Ito din ang mga grupong pinangungunahan ng mga sugo ni Aguinaldo ang siyang mangangasiwa sa pagpapatupad ng halalan ayun sa itinadhana

ng batas ika-18 at ika-23 ng Hunyo. Di naglaon, sinundan ito ng pagpatawag ng mga nahalal na kinatawan para sa Kongresong itinadhana din ng mga nasabing batas sa Malolos noong ika-4 ng Setyembre 1898.

Ang pagsugo ng mga *expeditionary forces* sa mga lalawigan ay maituturing na isa sa mga magandang nagawa ni Aguinaldo noong kapanahunan ng 1898. Hindi maitatutwa na may mga problemang lumitaw sa ilang lugar sa pagitan ng mga lokal na rebolusyonaryo at ilang mga sugo ni Aguinaldo. Ngunit, sa pangkalahanan, sa pamamagitan ng mga ito nadama ng mga pamamayan ang katotohanan ng pagkakaroon ng isang pamahalaang nanunungkuluan (*functioning government*) para sa kapakanan ng mga mamamayang Pilipino.

Para sa akin, nanalo ang mga Pilipino sa paghihimagsik laban sa mga Kastila. Naitatag ang isang pamahalaang malayang nanungkuluan, kinilala at sinusunod ng mga mama-mayang Pilipino kahit na sa gitna ng nagbabantang panibagong unos dala ng bagong mananakop. Ito ang Pamahalaang Rebolusyonaryo na itinatag ayon sa mga batas ika-18, 20, at 23 ng Hunyo 1898. Isang tagumpay na napakihi lamang nang ang Pilipinas ay sakupin ng mga Amerikanong akala nito ay kaibigan—iyon pala ay kaaway na kailangan labanan simula sa mga unang buwan ng 1899 para mapanatili ang tagumpay na nakuhna na sa paghihimagsik laban sa mga Kastila.

#### *Ang pamumuno ng mga elitista at pananakop ng mga Amerikano<sup>12</sup>*

Ang pamumuno ni Emilio Aguinaldo bilang kapalit ni Andres Bonifacio ay nagbigay daan sa pagyabong ng pamumuno ng mga elitista sa natitirang panahon ang ating himagsikan. Sila ang mga dating kasangga ng mga Kastila na sila ding unang tumalikod sa Pamahalaang Malolos at nakipagkasundo sa mga dayuhang Amerikano bago pa man sumiklab ang labanang Pilipino-Amerikano.

<sup>12</sup>Maliban sa pagtukoy ng pinagkunan, ang impormasyon na tinutukoy ay nanggaling kay John R.M. Taylor, *The Philippine Insurrection Against The United States*, Vol. I and II (Pasay City, Philippines: Eugenio Lopez Foundation, 1971).

Upang pagtibayin ng mga elitista ang kanilang panunungkuluan sa pamahalaan ni Aguinaldo, nahikayat nilang pag-ibahin ang layunin ng Kongresong itinadhana ng mga batas ika-18 at 23 ng Hunyo 1898. Ayon sa plano ni Mabini, ang Kongreso ay itinatag hindi upang gumawa ng Konstitusyon, kundi magpayo at magsuhay sa opisina ng pangulo para maging matatag ito, lalo na sa panahon ng krisis na kinakaharap pa ng bansa. Ayon sa kanya, ang paggawa ng isang saligang batas ay dapat gawin sa panahon ng katiwasayan at kapayapaan upang magkaroon ng maganda at sapat na pagkakataon na makapag-isip ang mga kinatawan para makabuo ng magiging haligi ng tunay na demokrasya sa bansa. Ngunit ang ganitong plano at pag-iisip ni Mabini ay sinalungat ng mga kinatawan ng Kongreso, na ang pinakamalaking bahagi ay nabibilang sa marurunong at mayayaman. Sa likod ng pagkatalo ni Mabini, ipinadala niya ang kanyang nakahandang *Programa Constitucional de la Republica Filipina* sa pag-aakalang maaari pang masawata ang anumang makasariling plano ng mga kinatawan. Sa kasamaang palad, ito ay hindi binigyan pansin ng mga kinatawan na nagpatuloy sa kanilang paggawa ng Konstitusyon. Ang naging bunga ng kanilang trabaho ay ang Saligang Batas ng Malolos na siyang basehan ng Republika ng Malolos noong ika-23 ng Enero 1899. Ito ang itinuturing ng ating pamahalaan at nakararami sa atin ngayon na unang Pamahalaang Republika ng bansa at si Emilio Aguinaldo ang unang Presidente.

Sa aking pa-aaral ng kasaysayan ng ating rebolusyon, naging mahirap tanggapin ang ika-22 ng Marso 1897 bilang araw ng pagkatatag ng isang mapagpalayang pamahalaan dahil sa nangyari sa pulong ng Tejeros noong 1897 na humantong sa kamatayan ni Andres Bonifacio sa kamay ng kapwa niya rebolusyonaryo. Ganon din kahirap para sa akin tanggapin ang Republika ng Malolos na siyang napiling kapalit nito bilang *kaunaunahang mapagpalayang pamahalaang Pilipino*. Hindi lamang sa katotohanang may naunang dalawang pamahalaan nang itinatag (ang Republika ng Katagalugan ni Andres Bonifacio at ang Pamahalaang Mapanghimagsik ni Mabini), bagkus kara-

mihan sa mga taong bumuo at namuno nito ay siyang ring mga unang tumalikod dito.<sup>13</sup>

Mahalaga sa isang pamahalaang demokratiko, na siyang ipinahihiwatig ng Pamahalaang Malolos, ang pagkakapantay-pantay ng sangay ng ehekutibo, lehislatibo at hudikatura. Ngunit alinsunod sa probisyon ng Konstitusyon ng Malolos, di hamak ang kapangyarihan ng lehislatibo kung ihahambing sa ehekutibo at hudikatura. Ang kapangyarihan lehislatibo ay nasa kamay ng Asembleya na binubuo ng mga kinatawang inihalal sang-ayon sa batas. Hindi ang buong bayan ang hahalal sa presidente kundi ang Asembleya. Ang Gabinete, na binubuo ng mga kalihim ng ibat-ibang kagawaran ng pamahalaan, ay mananagot hindi sa Pangulo, kundi sa Asembleya. Ang Punong Mahistrado ng Kataastaasang Hukuman ay hihirangin ng Asembleya. Ang pagsang-ayon ng Pangulo at ng gabinete nito ay isang pormalidad lamang. Kung gayon, ang lehislatibo at hindi ang ehekutibo o ang Pangulo ang siyang tunay na makapangyarihan.

Karamihan sa mga kinatawang bumuo ng Asembleya ay ang mga taong sa simula ng ating paghimagsik ay marubdob na nanawagan sa mga mamamayang Pilipino na panatilihin ang katapatan sa Espanya. Sila din ang nagtulungan para mapawalang saysay ang mga pagsisikap ni Mabini na maitatag ang isang malayang pamahalaang matibay na masasandigan ng mamamayang Pilipino.

Sila din ang unang tumalikod sa Pamahalaang Malolos bago pa man nagsimula ang labanan Pilipino at Amerikano. Ito ay pinatunayan ni William Cameron Forbes na nagsabing<sup>14</sup>:

*Maliban kay Mabini, tinalikuran nila ang Pamahalaang Malolos bago pa*

<sup>13</sup>Ilan sa mga ito ay sina Felipe Calderon, Pedro Paterno, Felipe Buencamino, atbp.

<sup>14</sup>All of these, with the exception of Mabini, withdrew from the Malolos government prior to the outbreak of hostilities with the United States. They represented the conservative, well-educated class, and following them many others in minor posts also withdrew from the Malolos government and brought their families within the American lines.

*sumiklab ang labanan laban sa Estados Unidos. Kinakatawan nila ang mga konserbatibo't may pinag-aralan uri sa lipunan. Sumunod sa kanila ang iba pang nananungkulan sa mga mababang posisyon kabilang ang kanilang mga kaanak papunta sa panig ng mga Amerikano (akin ang pagsasalin).*

Hindi nakapagtatakang natalo tayo sa ating digmaan laban sa mga Amerikano.

### ***Konklusyon***

Noong ika-5 ng Mayo 1997, isa ako sa naanyayahan ng Opisina ng Presidente sa pamamagitan ni Asst. Executive Secretary Ernesto P. Martinez, na magbigay liwanag kung kailan natin dapat gunitain ang pagkakatag ng Opisina ng Presidente.

Naniniwala akong pinakauna ang Republika ng Katagalugan ni Andres Bonifacio. Ngunit, ang pangangailangan ng karagdagang dokumento upang matiyak kung kailan nagsimulang nanungkulan ang Katipunan bilang isang pamahalaan ay isang dahilang katanggaptanggap sa akin na pansamtalang isantabi ito sa ngayon. Siguro sa susunod na pagdiriwang natin ang sentenaryo, ang Republika ng Katagalugan na ni Bonifacio ang kikilalanin nating unang Pamahalaan at ang bagong halal na si Joseph Estrada ay panglabing apat na pangulo simula kay Andres Bonifacio.

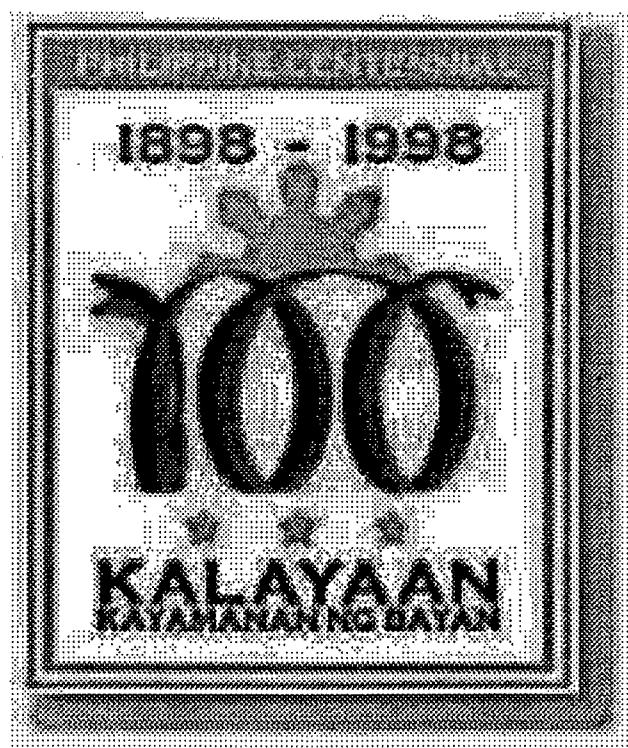
Samantala, alin sa ika-22 ng Marso 1897, ika-23 ng Hunyo 1898 o ika-23 ng Enero 1899 kaya ang dapat nating gunitain? Ang pamahalaang itinatag ayon sa nangyaring halalan sa Tejeros noon ika-22 ng Marso 1897 ay nagtagtag ng isang malakas na opisina ng presidente. Masasabing diktatoryal ito dahil sa ang paghihiwalay at pagkakapantaypantay ng tatlong sangay ng pamahalaan na itinadhana sana ng Konstitusyon ng Biak-na-Bato ay hindi nabigyan ng pagkakataon na maipatupad nang sumuko si Emilio Aguinaldo ayon sa kasunduang Biak-na-Bato.

Itinatag noong ika-23 ng Enero 1899 ang isang payat na halos buto't balat na opisina ng presidente. Hindi ito malaya, at lalo nang hindi kapantay, sa dalawa pang ibang pangunahing sangay ng pamahalaang Malolos. Bukod dito, tinalikuran ito ng mga taong bumuo nito at nagbigay daan sa pagtagumpay ng pananakop sa atin ng mga Amerikano.

Isang malakas na opisina ng presidente ang itinadhana ng batas ika-23 ng Hunyo 1898. Bukod sa malakas at malaya, kapantay ito sa pagpapatupad ng tungkuling pampamahalaan ng lehislatura at hudikatura. Ang aga-agang pagpatupad nito sa katauhan ng Pamahalaang Revolucionario noon din ika-23 ng Hunyo ay nagpakita ng matapat na hangaring ng may akda nito na tuparin ang pangunahing layunin

ng Himagsikan 1896: ang maitatag ang isang malakas, malaya, kinikilala, at sinusunod ng mga mamamayang Pilipino.

Tanging ang Pamahalaang Revolucionario na itinatag noong ika-23 ng Hunyo 1898 ang may taglay ng lahat na katangiang ito. Kaya lang ang paglago at pakinabang na maidudulot sana nito sa sambayanang Pilipino noon ay dagliang pinutol ng Pamahalaang Malolos na siyang ginugunita natin bilang unang pamahalaang demokratiko ng Pilipinas at ng buyong Asya. Tila may problema ang pag-aaral natin ng ating kasaysayan. Harinawang maituwid natin ito bago dumating ang muling pagdiriwang ng sentenaryo ng proklamasyon ng kalayaan, isang daang taon mula ngayon. \*



# Ang Kumbensyong Teheros sa Iba't Ibang Pananaw

EMMANUEL FRANCO CALAIRO

*Isang daantaon na ang nakalilipas nang maganap ang makulay na yugto sa ating kasaysayan, ang laban upang tapusin ang kolonyalismong Kastila sa ating bayan. Kaalinsabay sa labanang ito ay makikita rin ang naging relasyon ng bawat Pilipino habang nakikipaghgamok sa mga dayuhan. Mula nang isigaw ang paghihimagsik sa Pugadlawin, Kalookan noong Agosto 23, 1896 hanggang sa labanan sa Halige (Imus) at Magpuri (Perez Dasmariñas), Kabite ay wala nang naging pahinga ang mga Katipunero sa kanilang pakikikipagtunggali sa pagkamtan ng kasarinlan. Ang isa sa mga dahilan kung bakit agarang idineklara ang himagsikan noon sa Kalookan ay wala nang maaari pang gawin ang mga Anak ng Bayan dahil ang lihim na asosasyon ay nadiskubre na ng mga Kastila sa Tundo. Ang pormal nilang paghayag ng kanilang layunin sa publiko ay ginanap sa Kalookan.*

Simula ng petsang ito ay binagyo ng mga kabiguan ang mga rebolusyonaryo sa Kamaynilaan dahil sa kawalan ng kahandaan kaiba sa lalawigan ng Kabite na kahit paaano'y nananalo sa labanan.

Sa pagkapanalo ng mga Kabitenyo sa paghihimagsik, ang supremo Andres na pumunta sa Kabite sa pamamagitan ng paanyaya ng kanyang tiyuwing Mariano Alvarez.

Sa naturang buwan (Disyembre) ay naganap din ang pulong ng mga Magdalo sa Imus upang pag-usapan ang pagbabago ng Katipunan bilang siyang namamahala sa pagsulong ng kalayaan. Bagama't hindi nagkaroon ng desisyon sa pulong, dito na nag-umpisang magkaroon ng samaan ng loob ang supremo at mga Magdalo. Ito ay sinundan pa ng mga pangyayari na ang kinahinatnan ay ang magulong relasyon ng Magdalo at Magdiwang sa pulong sa Teheros, San Francisco de Malabon.

<sup>1</sup>Si Emmanuel F. Calairo ay nagtuturo sa Departamento ng Kasaysayan, De La Salle University.

Sa papel na ito ay ginamit ng may-akda ang batis na sinulat nina Gregoria de Jesus, Ricarte at Alvarez kasama na ang mga sulat ni Andres Bonifacio. Ang batis tulad ng sinulat ni Ronquillo ukol kay Rillo at Memorias ni Hen. Aguinaldo at mga sulat nina Daniel Tirona at Antonio Montenegros ay sadyang hindi binanggit sapagkat hindi tumutugma sa kasalukuyan nang nalalaman ukol sa kumbensyon. Gayunpaman, ay kinakailanan itong pag-usapan upang mabigyan ng kalinawan kung hindi man maresolba ang suliranin sa mga batis ukol sa nasabing kumbensyon.

Sadya ring hindi binanggit ng may-akda ang mga sumunod na kaganapan sa Tanza, Acta de Teheros at Acta de Naik sapagkat walang pagkakasundo ang mga batis na kinonsulta ukol dito. Dagdag pa na ang papel ay tumutukoy sa kumbensyon sa Teheros. Gayunpaman, ito ay hindi maaaring mawalay sa talakayan sapagkat magkakabit ang mga pangyayari mula sa Imus hanggang sa pagpupulong sa Naik tungo sa kamatayan ng Supremo Andres Bonifacio.

### ***Mga pangayari bago ang Kumbensyon Teheros***

Ang mga naging kaganapan sa Teheros partikular na sa relasyon ng supremo at ng sangguniang Magdalo ay maaaring maipaliwanag sa mga pangayari bago naganap ang kumbensyon. Ang mga pangayaring ito ay nagbigay ng malaking epekto sa emosyonal at sikolohikal na relasyon ni Bonifacio at ng mga Magdalo partikular na kina Hen. Baldomero Aguinaldo, Emilio Aguinaldo at Daniel Tirona.

Ang una sa mga ito ay nang magpulong ang mga Katipunero sa Banlat upang pag-usapan ang sabay-sabay na pagkilos ng lahat ng lalawigan sa Katagalugan. Sa naturang pulong ay itinalaga ng Supremo ang Magdiwang sa pamumuno ni Hen. Mariano Alvarez na siyang mamumuno sa Kabite. Kaya naman hindi isinama ng supremo sa naturang pagkilos ang mga Magdalo sapagkat napagtanto ng supremo ang hindi pagsang-ayon ng balangay na ito sa maagang himagsikan. Gayunpaman, ang naturang pulong ay nakarating sa mga Magdalo dahil naroroon pala sa pulong na iyon si Domingo Orcullo, isang Magdalo. Kanyang iniulat na ang pagkilos ay pamumuan lamang ng Magdiwang. Ito'y mahalaga sapagkat nagsimulang magkaroon ng lamat ang relasyon ng supremo at ng mga Magdalo ngunit lubhang maliit lamang at hindi sapat na magbigay ng gulo sa bawat isa.

Dahil sa matinding labanan sa San Juan del Monte, umurong at nagtago sa kabundukan ng San Mateo ang tropang pinamumunuan ni Bonifacio upang makaiwas sa mga opensiba ng Kastila. Sa kabilang dako naman ay nananalo sa mga labanan ang batambatang heneral na si Emilio Aguinaldo ng Kabite. Dahil sa ganitong sitwasyon marahil kung kaya't nagpahayag si Emilio Aguinaldo na kinakailangang magtayo na ng pamahalaang rebolusyonaryo na siyang mamamahala sa rebolusyon laban sa Kastila. Ang naturang pahayag o manipesto ay lumabas noong Oktubre 1896 nang hindi man lamang kinokonsulta ang pinuno ng Katipunan. Bagaman natatalo sa labanan ay nararapat lamang na kausapin muna ng supremo sa mga bagay

na ito sapagkat siya ang pinuno ng Katipunang umiiral sa buong Katagalugan. Ang pagwalang bahala ni Emilio Aguinaldo ay maaaring nakapagdulot naman ng sama ng loob kay Bonifacio sa mga Magdalo.

Ang ikatlong pangayari ay nang dumating si Bonifacio sa Kabite kasama ang kanyang mga kaanak at nanirahan sa Imus sa bahay ni Juan Castañeda. Sa bahay na ito dinalaw ang supremo ng mga pinuno ng Magdalo kabilang sina Hen. Baldomero Aguinaldo, Daniel Tirona, at Vicente Fernandez. Nang makita ni Bonifacio si Fernandez ay kaagad na iniutos ang pagdakip dito sapagkat ang naturang Fernandez ay hindi pala tumupad ng kanyang tungkulin at pangakong mangunguna sa pag-aalsa sa Morong at Laguna. Sa kanya rin isinisisi ng supremo ang dahilan ng pagkatalo ng mga Katipunero sa labanan sa San Juan del Monte. Dahil sa ginawing ito ni Fernandez kaya mainit ang dugo ni Bonifacio at iniutos ang agarang pagdakip sa naturan. Ngunit sa halip na tumalima ang mga Magdalo sa iniutos ng supremo ay pinagtawanan lamang niya. Ito ang kauna-unahang pagkakataon na nakita ng hayag ng supremo na hindi panig sa kanya ang mga Magdalo.

Ang ikaapat na pangayari ay nang makatanggap ng impormasyon ang supremo na mayroong kumakalat na sulat sa buong lalawigan ng Kabite na nag-uudyok sa lahat ng mga tagarito na huwag nilang pag-ukulan ng anumang paggalang si Bonifacio sapagkat ayon kay Daniel Tirona, taong mababa ang pinagaralan at isang katiwala lamang na naglingkod sa bahay-kalakal ng Aleman. Ang masasamang paratang na ito ni Tirona ay nakarating sa supremo sa pamamagitan ng mga kaibigan. Nang magkita si Tirona at ang supremo sa bahay ni Andrea Nocon ay inusisa ang katotohanan sa likod ng balita laban sa kanyang katauhan. Ang balita ay pinabulaanan ni Tirona at naghitsurang palalo kaya nagalit ang supremo at siya'y tinutukan ng rebolber. Mabuti na lamang at naroroon si Nocon kaya namagitan ito sa dalawang nag-aaway. Ang pangayaring ito ay hindi matatanggihang nag-iwan sa dalawa ng galit sa isa't isa.

Ang sumunod namang pangyayari ay nang maghain ng panukalang palitan ang saligang batas ng katipunan na umiiral noon sa kapuluan. Ang gumawa ng nasabing konstitusyon ay si Edilberto Evangelista, isang Magdalo at ikinakampanyang pangulo ni Aguinaldo sakaling mabuo ang bagong pama-halaan. Ang sinulat na konstitusyon ay binasa ni Evangelista sa supremo at upang lubos na pag-usapan ng mga Katipunero ay nagpatawag ng kapulungan ang mga Magdalo na ginanap sa Imus. Nang ganapin ang pulong ay pinagtalunan ang pagpapalit ng konstitusyon at ang pag-iisa ng dalawang sanggunian sa Kabite dahil lubhang maliit ang lalawigan para sa dalawang sanggunian. Ang inisan ay muling nanukso nang dumating ang mga Magdiwang. Una, hindi man lamang nagbigay galang ang supremo sa mga nag-imbitang Magdalo. Nang dumating ang supremo kasama ang kabigan na mga Magdiwang ay hindi man lamang daw binati ni Baldomero Aguinaldo at karakarakan umupo sa harapan at pinaupo sa kanyang tabi si Mainam. Sa ginawing ito ng supremo ay tila nagpakita ng favoritismo kaya dagli namang umupo sa kabilang tabi sa Baldomero Aguinaldo kahit hindi inaanya-yahan. Ito'y nakagalit sa panig ng Magdalo dahil una, sila ang nagpatawag ng pulong kaya't nararapat lamang na sila ang mamuno sa naturang kapulungan. Ang ginawi ni Bonifacio ay nagpapakitang siya ang pinakamataas kahit saan dako man siya magtungo. Ikalawa, ang layunin ng pulong ay para mamagitan sa dalawang grupo hindi para panigan ang tiyuhi ng Supremo na si Mariano Alvarez.

Walang naging desisyon sa naturang kapulungan dahil sa kahit na sino'y ibig mamuno sa naturang kapulungan dahil sa kahit na sino'y ibig mamuno sa Kabite. Dagdag pa rito ay nakahinto din sa usapan ang pagdating ng mga kaanak ni Rizal tulad nina Josephine Bracken at Paciano Rizal. Bago matapos ang kapulungan ay sinabi ng supremo at inayunan naman ng lahat na siya'y magtatatag ng kamara lehislatura at siya ang mamimili ng mga tauhan sa naturang kamara. Hindi ito nagustuhan ng mga Magdalo sapagkat lumilitaw na si Bonifacio lamang ang nagdedesisyon. Sa kabilang dako nama'y masama rin ang loob ng supremo sapagkat iniutos niya sa mga Magdalo na itala

ang katitikan (minutes) ng mga naganap at napag-usapan sa pulong. Makailang ulti na hiningi ito ng supremo ngunit wala man lamang ibinibigay sa kanya.

Ang huli ay masasabi nating ang pagpapatay daw ng supremo sa tatlong pari na dinakip ng mga Magdalo. Ayon sa tala, ang tatlong paring ito, sina Padre Echegoyen, Cardenas at Piernavieja ay ipinadala ng mga Magdalo sa Magdiwang upang bantayan. Ang naturang mga pari ay tinrato raw ng mga Magdiwang partikular na ng magkakapatid na Bonifacio at Mariano Alvarez na parang mga hayop-pinhirapan at hindi binigyan ng makakain, at sa huli ay ipinapatay. Hindi ito nagustuhan ni Emilio Aguinaldo kaya't nagpalabas siya ng pahayag sa buong lalawigan na kinokondena ang pagpatay na ito at sinabing sina Bonifacio'y mga barbaro.

#### *Ang kaganapan sa Kumbensyong Teheros*

Dahil sa patuloy na pananalakay ng mga Kastila sa lalawigan ng Kabite ay maraming nakuhang lugar ang mga ito. Sa buwan ng Pebrero ay sinalakay ng mga Kastila ang Zapote, Bakoor at Kawit at napasok nila ang mga bayang ito nang mapabagsak nila ang mga depensa na ginawa ni Evangelista (napatay sa naturang labanan). Kaagad namang sinuyod ng kalaban ang Imus at Perez Dasmarinas na territoryo ng mga Magdalo. Ito ang dahilan kung kaya natawag ang pansin ng mga Magdiwang kaya nagpatawag ito ng pulong na ang layunin ay paghandaan ang pagdating ng mga kalaban sakaling bumagsak ang territoryo ng mga Magdalo. Ang nasabing pulong ay itinakda sa ika-21 ng Marso 1897 ngunit dahil sa matinding labanan sa mga bayan kung kaya't ipinapalibutan ang pulong sa sumunod na araw. Ang pulong ay ginanap sa Casa Hacienda de Tejeros, sakop ng Mapagtiis (San Francisco de Malabon, Hen. Trias sa ngayon) ang punong himpilan ng Magdiwang. Kinabukanan, Marso 22, 1897 ay halos napuno ang Casa Hacienda dahil sa daming taong dumalo. Ang pulong ay pinamunuan ni Jacinto Lumbrieras sapagka't siya'y tumatayong pansamantalang pangulo ng mga Magdiwang dahil si Mariano Alvarez (Mainam) ay maryoong karamdamman.

Nagsiupuan sa luklukan ng mesa ang mga nagsidalo. Sa dakong kana'y sina Jacinto Lumbresas, Andres Bonifacio, Mariano Alvarez, Pascual Alvarez, Ariston Villanueva, Mariano Trias, Diego Mojica, Emiliano Riego de Dios, Santiago Alvarez, Artemio Ricarte, Santos Nocon, Luciano San Miguel, Pablo Mojica, Severino de las Alas, at Santiago Rillo. Ang mga nabanggit ay pawang mga pinuno ng Magdiwang.

Sa panig naman ng mga Magdalo ay wawalo lamang ang pinunong nagsidalo kabilang sina Baldomero Aguinaldo, Crispulo Aguinaldo, Daniel Tirona, Cayetano Topacio, Antonio Montenegro, Licerio Topacio at iba pa. Ang karamihan naman ng mga dumalo ay nakatayo at nakapaikot sa nasabing mesa.

Binuksan ni Lumbresas ang kapulungan at kanyang ipinahayag na ang layunin ng pagpupulong ay pagtibayin ang pagtatanggol ng teritoryo ng Magdiwang sapagkat ito na lamang ang hindi pa napapasok ng kaaway. Kasunod nito ay humingi ng pahintulot na makapagsalita si Severino de las Alas na pinayagan naman. Aniya:

*Bago pag-usapan ang pagtatanggol sa munting bagay, kailangang unahin muna ang sa malaki; pag-usapan ang uri ng Pamahalaan kung ano at papaano?, at kung ito ang mapagpasyahan, ay siyang panggagalingan ng lahat ng kakailanganing kaayusan at lakas ng pagtatanggol.*

Sumagot naman sa naturang panukala ang pangulo ng pagpupulong na si Lumbresas. Aniya:

*Ang kapuluan ay pinamamahalaan na ng K.K.K. ng mga Anak ng Bayan, na siyang nagbukas ng paghihimagsik; may batas at alituntuning pinaiiral; sinusunod at ginagalang ng lahat sa pagtatanggol ng Kalayaan, pag-ibig sa mga kapatid, pag-aayos sa pamamalakd ng mga pamunuan. Ang hangad ng pulong na itinawag, pag-usapan ang lalong mabuting kapasyahan dapat itibay ng Pamahalaang Magdiwang sa*

*mga kaaway, ng huwag maagawan ng himpilan ang hukbo ng Katipunan, sapagkat ang Magdalo ay napapawi na sa guhit ng kabayanahan.*

Pagkatapos ng kasagutan ni Lumbresas ay humingi naman ng pahintulot na maka-pagsalita ang supremo ng Katipunan na pinagbigyan naman. Idinugtong niya sa kasagutan ni Lumbresas na:

*Ang kahulugan ng K sa bandila ng paghihimagsik na nakasulat sa gitna ng araw ay Kalayaan.*

*Sumagot naman si de las Alas na hindi mahihinuha sa K ng bandila ang uri ng pamahalaang naghihimagsik kung ito'y makabayan o makahari.*

*Tumugon naman ang supremo Andres na mula sa kataastaasang pamunuan ng Katipunan, hanggang sa kababababaan, ay nagkakaisang gumagalang sa pagkapatiran at pagkakapantay-pantay; namumuhunan ng dugo at buhay laban sa hari, upang makapagtataas ng sarili at malayang pamahalaan, na samaka-tuwid, ay mamamahala ang bayan sa bayan, at hindi ang isa o dalawang tao lamang.*

Pagkatapos magsalita ng supremo ay humingi naman ng pahintulot na magsalita si Antonio Montenegro (nasa panig ng Magdalo at taga-Maynila) at sumegunda sa sinabi ni de las Alas. Aniya:

*Kung di mapagpapasyahan ang isang lalong nararapat na pamunuan ng paghihimagsik, at magpapatuloy ang kasalukuyang kalagyan, tayong lahat na manghihimagsik ay magiging katulad lamang ng isang pangkat na tulisan o kaya'y mga hayop na walang isip at maninibasib.*

Ang pahayag na ito ni Montenegro ay sinagot naman ni Santiago Alvarez, na dagling tumayo, tinitigan ng matalim ang nagpahayag at galit na sinabing:

*Kaming mga Katipunang napapailalim at gumagalang sa Kataastaasang Sanggunian ng mga Anak ng Bayan, na nagtatanggol at sumasako sa mga pamahalaang Magdiwang at Magdalang Kabite, ay mga tunay na manghihimagsik sa pagtatanggol ng kalayaan ng bayang tinubuan. Hindi mga tulisan sa pangangagaw ng di kanyang pag-aari at kayamanan, at hindi rin maaaring matulad sa hayop, sapagkat marunong kumupkop at magtanggol sa kapwa, lalo sa mga dito'y nanganganlong lamang; may isip at hindi humihiya sa mga nagsasalitang matapang, ngunit walang nagagawa. Kung ibig mapairal ang ibang uring pamahalaan, ayon sa inyong isipan; tulad sa aming ginawa, umuwi at agawin ninyo sa Kastila ang inyong lalawigan, saka gawin ang inyong minamarapat, at huwag papanghimasan sa mga duwag na manunu-luyan, na maaaring mag-ukol sa nyo ng mga salitang tulisan at hayop, at upang tayo'y masiyahan, kayo'y muna'y aking dinadakip.*

Di kawasa'y pinabantayan ni Hen. Apoy (Santiago Alvarez) ang nasabing Montenegro sa kawal ni Komandante Fojas. Nagmungkahi naman ang kaanak ni Dr. Rizal (Josephine at Trinidad) na sa kanila lamang ipagkatiwala ang nasabing Montenegro sapagkat sa bahay Hacienda ng Teheros din naman sila nanahan. Sumang-ayon dito ang Hen. Apoy ngunit dahil kanyang pananalita ay nagkaroon ng tensyon sa magkabilang panig. Parehong handa sa anumang magaganap. Dahil dito kaya nahinto ang pagpupulong.

Pagkatapos mapayapa ang lahat ay nagmungkahi ang supremo Andres na ituloy ang pagpupulong. Dito'y hindi sumang-ayon ang nangungulong si Lumbres sapagkat aniya ay hindi iyon ang layunin ng ipinatawag na pulong kundi ang pagtatanggol ng mga bayan sa Kabite. Kung itutuloy ang pangpupulong na ang layon ay ang pagkakaroon ng pamahalaan ng Himagsikan ay hindi siya ang dapat mamuno kundi ang supremo ng Katipunan. Ang pahayag ni Lumbres ay sinang-ayunan ng lahat kaya

itinuloy ang pagpupulong at si Andres Bonifacio na ang nangungulo.

Nang itinuloy ang pulong ay nagsalita ang supremo:

*Yayamang ang hangad ninyo ay magbangon ng ibang pamunuan pamkalahatan ng KKK ng mga A.N.B., at pawalan ng bisa ang pinagtibay ng pulong sa bahay-asyenda ng Imus, sa pagbabangon lamang ng mga batas na dapat pairalin; Ako, sa aking pagkapresidente at supremo ng K.K.K. ng mga A.N.B., ay sumasang-ayon at sumusunod sa inyong kahilingan, datapwa't inaanya-yahan ko ang lahat, na tayo'y kumilala at gumalang sa mga wastong gawain ng ating kakayahan at karapatan, sa pulong na ito at sa lahat ng pulong; ating pagpitaganan, pahalagahan at sundin ang kapasyahan ng marami.*

Sumang-ayon ang lahat at kanilang isinigaw ang Republica Filipina. Kasunod nito ay napagyayunan ang paghahalal ng siyam na tungkulin na kinabibilangan ng Pangulo, Pangalawang Pangulo, kapitan heneral, at kalihim panloob.

Nang sisimulan na ang halalan ay muling nagsalita ang pangulo ng kapulungan na si Andres Bonifacio at kanyang inihayag na ang mahahalal sa dami ng boto ay siyang susundin, at igagalang ng lahat, maging anuman ang abot ng pinag-aranan o hanapbhay, kailanma't di taksil sa karangalan ng lahat.

Tinugon siya ng ilang sigawang Ganyan, pantay-pantay; walang mababa at walang mataas; maghari ang ibigin ng bayan.

Itinalaga ng pinuno ng kapulungan si Artemio Ricarte bilang kalihim ng pulong. Pagkatapo nito ay ipinamigay na ang mga papel na susulatan ng kanilang boto.

Sa pagkapangulo ay nanalo si Emilio Aguinaldo kay Andres Bonifacio. Ipinagbunyi ng lahat ang resulta sa pamamagitan ng hiyawang mabuhay. Kasunod nito ay nagsalita na si de las Alas na

yaman din lamang na pumangalawa sa dami ng boto si Bonifacio ay siya na lamang ang gawing pangalawang pangulo. Walang tumugon sa munghaki kaya inihayag ni Andres Bonifacio ang pagpapatuloy ng halalan. Sa pangalawang pangulo ay naglaban sa posisyon sina Andres Bonifacio, Mariano Trias, Mariano Alvarez at si Séverino de las Alas. Sa ikalawang pagkakataon ay natalo ang supremo at nagwagi si Mariano Trias. Isinunod kaagad ang paghahalal ng kapitan heneral at nanalo sa posisyon si Artemio Ricarte. Tumanggi ito sa kanyang pagkakahalal at nangatwirang kulang ang kanyang kakayahang para sa nasabing posisyon. Sa huli ay pumayag din dahil sa kagustuhan ng kapulungan.

Pagkatapos ng pagbubunyi sa kahahalal na kapitan heneral ay nagmungkahi si Hen. Baldomero Aguinaldo na ipagpatuloy na ang halalan at upang hindi na abutin ng gabi ay pumanig na lamang sa isang tabi ang hindi umaayon sa tungkulin sa kabilang tabi naman ang umaayon upang sa ganoo'y madali ang bilangan. Ang lahat ay umayon kaya ang mga sumunod na posisyon ay isinagawa sa ganitong sistema.

Sa kalihim pandigma ay nanalo si Emilio de Dios laban kina Santiago Alvarez, Ariston Villanueva at Daniel Tirona. Pagkatapos papurihan ay isinunod na ang kalihim Panloob kung saan naglaban sina Andres Bonifacio at Mariano Alvarez. Lumabas na nanalo sa naturang posisyon si Andres Bonifacio kaya siya'y pinagbunyi din ng mga nahalal. Sa gitna ng papuring ito ay humingi ng pahintulot si Daniel Tirona na makapagsalita at aniya:

*Mga kapatid, ang tungkulin director del interior ay totoong malaki at maselan, at hindi maaaring hawakan ng hindi abogado. Mayroon dito sa ating isang abogado, siya'y si G. Jose del Rosario, kaya'y ating tutulan ang katatapos pang nahalal, na walang anumang katibayan ng pinag-aralan.*

Pagkatapos ay buong lakas niyang isinigaw ang paghahalal kay Jose del Rosario. Dahil sa ginawing ito ni Daniel kaya tumindig ang nahalal na Andres Bonifacio at nagsalita:

*Ating pinagkaisahang igagalang ang kapasyahan ng marami sa paghahalalan, maukol sa anumang uri ng kalayagan ang taong minarapat na bigyan ng anumang tungkulon o mapahalal. Dahil dito, hinihingi ko sa inyo, G. Daniel Tirona, na bawiin sa kapulungan ito ang iyong ipinahayag, at bigyang-karangalan ang sinirang-puri ng manghahahal at ng nahalal.*

Pagkatapos magpahayag ay binunot ang kanyang rebolber at itinutok sa nasabing Tirona ngunit imbes na bawiin ang kanyang sinabi ay nagpawala ito sa mga naroroon. Ang kalihim ng pulong ay agad namang hinawakan ang kamay ni Andres Bonifacio upang hindi maituloy ang pagputok nito. Naglulo ang lahat at dahil sa nawala ang kapayapaan at nagsalita ang supremo:

*Ako sa pagkapangulo nitong kapulungan, at sa pagkapresidente supremo ng K.K.K. ng A.N.B., na kilala sa talastas ng lahat, ipinahahayag kong lansag at walang kabuluhan ang lahat ng bagay na pinagkayarian at pinagtibay sa pulong na ito.*

Pagkatapos magsalita ay nilisan ng supremo ang lugar kasama ang mga kabig nito.

#### *Mga interpretasyon ukol sa Kumbensyon*

Dahil sa kakupusan ng mababasa o datos kung ano nga ba talaga ang dahilan sa pagkakagulo ng naturang pulong ay naging palaisipan sa mga historyador. Upang maipaliwanag ito ay naghain ng iba't ibang interpretasyon na makakasagot sa mga naging suliranin sa kumbensyon.

#### **A. Rehiyonalismo**

Ang pagiging rehiyonalistiko ay sinasabing umiral sa kumbensyon sapagkat kaya raw nanalo si Emilio Aguinaldo bilang pangulo ay dahil sa mga alsa-balutan ng mga taga-Batangas na pinamumunuan ni Santiago Rillo. Si Rillo ay isang Magdiwang ngunit bagama't kapangkat ni Andres Bonifacio ay hindi boboto ito sapagkat ang supremo'y taga-Maynila. Wika

nga'y higit na panatag ang loob ng mga Batangenyong sa Kabitengyo kung ang mamumuno sa kanila ay katulad nila ang kulturang kinagisnan. Sa puntong ito ay ang kultura ng timog Katagalugan. Sa pagkapangulo ay tatlo lamang ang naglaban, sina Emilio Aguinaldo, Andres Bonifacio at Mariano Trias. Samakatwid dalawang taga-timog Luzon at isang taga-Maynila.

#### B. Pagiging kilala o popular

Bagama't ang karamihan ng mga nagsidalo sa kumbensyon ay mga Magdiwang at ginanap ito sa Teheros na nasa territoryo ng Magdiwang, ay hindi garantiya na makukuha nila ang lahat ng boto sa kumbensyon. Ito sa dahilang higit na kilala sa buong lalawign ng Kabite ang kabayanihang ginawa ni Emilio Aguinaldo sa mga labanan kaysa kay Andres Bonifacio na kasasalta lamang sa Kabite at napabalita pang isang masamang tao kaya hindi dapat igalang. Nakita rin na marami sa mga Magdiwang ang pumanig sa bandang huli sa mga Magdalo dahil ang kanilang identipikasyon ay kay Aguinaldo.

#### K. Pagkiling sa kababayan

Ito raw ang nagpanalo kay Aguinaldo bilang pangulo, ang pagkiling kababayan ng kandidato o Cavitismo. Si Andres Bonifacio ay isa lamang dayo sa Kabite kaya ang sentimyento ng tao ay nasa kanilang kababayan, kilala man nila ito o hindi. Sa halalan sa ngayon ay kadalasang nangyayari na kung saan lumaki ang isang kandidato ay doon siya nakakakuha ng maraming boto. Ito marahil ay isang dahilan ng pagkatalo ni Andres Bonifacio.

#### D. Kamag-anak

Sa pag-aaral ni Dr. Isagani R. Medina ay napagtanto niya na ang mga Magdalo at Magdiwang ay magkakadugo magama't malalayo na ang relasyon sa isa't isa. Gayunpaman ay pinanaig daw nito sa halalan ang pagiging kamag-anak ng inihahalal kaya

nanalo si Emilio Aguinaldo. Si Andres Bonifacio ay hindi naman kasama sa kaanak na ito kundi naging malapit lamang kay Mariano Alvarez dahil sa tiyuhi nito ng kanyang asawang si Gregoria de Jesus.

#### E. Mga halagahan Pilipino (Filipino values system)

Batay sa nabanggit sa unahan ng papel na ito ay mahihinuha na ang dahilan ng hindi pagiging popular ni Andres Bonifacio ay ang kanyang hindi pagpapahalaga sa mga gawain ng mga Magdalo. Kung mapaniniwalaan natin ang kumalat na sulat laban sa supremo ay lumilitaw na bumagsak ang kanyang populariad (bilang supremo ng KKK) dahil kinondena ang kanyang mga gawain ng mamamayan. Dagdag pa rito ang sinasabing arogante ng supremo at pagtingin sa sariling siya lamang ang susundin ng bayan. Ito rin ang naging suliranin sa panig ng mga Magdalo na hindi man lamang pinahalagahan ang pagkasupremo ng Katipunan ni Andres Bonifacio.

#### G. Ilustrado

Sa pagtingin ni Renato Constantino, ito ang naging dahilan ng pagbagsak ng halalan. Ang gulo ay hindi mangyayari kung hindi kinuwesyon ang pagkawalang edukasyon ng supremo. Ang halalan daw sa Teheros ay isa lamang simbolismo ng pagkokontrol ng mga elitista panglalawigan.

#### Paglalagom

Ang kaguluhan sa Kumbensyon ay mauugat natin sa mga pangyayari bago ito naganap. Maliwanang na ang magkabilang kampo ng Magdalo at Magdiwang ay nagpaligsahan para makuhang pamunuan ng himagsikan. At dahil sa kakapusang datos upang maipaliwanag ang naturang pangyayari ay maraming interpretasyon ang sumulpot na nakapagbibigay ng idea sa mga mag-aaral ng kasaysayan. \*

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# **ANG KABAYANIHAN sa LABAS ng BAYAN:**

## ***Ang Buhay at Pamumuhay ng mga Rebolusyonaryo sa Ibang Bansa***

**RONALDO B. MACTAL<sup>1</sup>**

*Sa kasalukuyan, ang paksang binibigyan ng diin ukol sa revolución ay ang papel o kontribusyon nito sa pagbubuo ng bansa. Ipinalalaganap ang kaisipan na ang Revolución Pilipino ng 1896 ay isang pambansang pag-aalsa laban sa mga kolonyalistang Espanyol at sa ikalawang bahagi, laban sa imperyalistang Amerikano. Binubuwag nito ang lumang kaisipan na ang revolución ay naganap lamang sa unang walong probinsya na unang nag-aklas laban sa Pamahalaang Espanyol kundi sa halip ang revolución ay naganap sa buong Pilipinas mula Batanes hanggang sa Jolo at ang lahat ng Pilipino, bata o matanda, magsasaka, pamayanang katutubo, manggagawa, kababaihan, kabataan at maging ano mang sektor o sinuman ay kasangkot dito.*

*Ngunit sa mga pag-aaral na nabanggit, nalimita ang Revolución Pilipino bilang isang panloob na kaganapan lamang sa bansang Pilipinas. Maliban sa pambansang katangian ng Revolución 1896, ito ay maituturing na may ekstensyon din sa labas ng Pilipinas. Ang ilang mga pangyayari sa panahon ng revolución ay nagbunsod upang magkaroon ng katangiang pandaigdig ang Revolución Pilipino: magkaroon ng mga pangyayari sa panahon ng revolución na naganap sa ibang bansa.*

Ito ang pagtutuunan ng pansin ng pag-aaral na ito: ang paglalahad at pagsusuri sa ilang mga kaganapan sa panahon ng revolución sa labas ng Pilipinas. Ang mga kaganapang ito sa ibang bansa ay maituturing na ekstensyon o karugtong ng mga pangyayari sa loob ng Pilipinas. Maaaring mahati ang naging pakikibaka at gawain ng mga revolucionario sa ibang bansa sa panahon ng revolución sa tatlong yugto o panahon. Ang unang yugto ay maituturing na ang pakikibaka bago ang Hong Kong Junta (Disyembre 1896–Pebrero 1898), ang ikalawang yugto ay ang panahon ng Hong Kong Junta (Pebrero 1898–Agosto 10, 1898), at ang ikatlong panahon ay ang panahon ng Comité Central Filipino (Agosto 10, 1898–Hulyo 1903).

Sa lubusang ikauunawa ng mga haka-haka ukol sa sinasabing pagbebenta ng revolución sa halagang P800,000, mahalagang makita at masuri ang naging pamumuhay ng mga Revolucionaryong nagtungo sa Hong Kong bilang pagtupad sa Kasunduan ng Biak-na-Bato. Susuriin sa papel na ito ang mga pinagkagastusan ng mga Revolucionary sa Hong Kong. Ipakikita sa pamamagitan ng kanilang mga pang-araw-araw na gastos kung sila lamang ba ay nagpapasaraap sa Hong Kong at nilustay ang salapi ng revolución.

Sa papel ring ito tatalakayin ang naging pamumuhay at paggastos ng mga kinatawan ng Pilipinas sa iba't ibang bansa sa panahon ng Comité Central Filipino. Aalamin din kung

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tunay bang pagpapakasakit ang kanilang ginawa o pagliliwaliw lamang katulad ng ginagawa ng maraming mga diplomatiko at mga konsul ng Pilipinas sa kasalukuyan.

Ang pag-aaral ay maituturing na kakaiba dahil ang pagtutuunan ng pansin ay hindi ang mga gawain ng mga rebolusyonaryo sa ibang bansa na may kaugnayan sa kanilang opisyal na responsibilidad o tungkulin. Sa pag-aaral na ito, ang pagtutuunan ng pansin ay ang naging pamumuhay ng mga rebolusyonaryo sa ibang bansa. Pagtutuunan ang iba't ibang pinagkaka-abalahan nila sa ibang bansa, mga bagay na kanilang pinagkagastusan, at ang naging pakikipag-ugnayan o relasyon ng bawa't isa sa kanilang kapwa rebolusyonaryo.

Pagtutuunan din sa pag-aaral na ito ang naging pagsasakripisyong pagtitiis ng mga rebolusyonaryo habang naninirahan sa dayuhang lupain. Susuriin din ang mga naging pakikiangkop (coping mechanism) ng mga rebolusyonaryo sa isang sitwasyon na kanilang kinasapitan: malayo sa pamilya at nagkakagulo at walang katatagan ang bansang pinag-iwanan, salat at may matinding kakulangang pinansyal at sa mga materyal na bagay, at higit sa lahat sila'y nasa dayuhang lupain na iba ang klima, pamumuhay, wika at kultura ng mga tao. Sa papel na ito, bibigyan ng pagsusuri ang naging karakter, katangian o di kaya'y emosyong lumabas sa isang Rebolusyonaryong Filipino sa gitna ng ganitong kondisyon.

Matapos ang pag-aaral na ito, hinahangad na maipaunawa sa lahat ng Filipino ang isang uri o halimbawa ng kabayanihan ng ilang mga Filipino sa labas ng bayan sa panahon ng rebolusyon. Ang kabayanihang ito ay bunga ng pagtitiis at pagsasakripisyong mawalay sa pamilya, sa bansa, at ang ilan ay tinalikuran ang maginhawang pamumuhay upang maiparinig lamang ang mga hangaring makalaya ang mga Filipino sa mga mamamayan, pamahalaan at bansa sa mundo.

Ang naging buhay at pamumuhay ng mga rebolusyonaryo sa ibang bansa ay hahatiin sa dalawang bahagi. Ang naging pamumuhay ng mga rebolusyonaryong kasama ni Aguinaldo na naipatapon bilang pagsunod sa Kasunduan sa

Biak-na-Bato at ito ay maituturing na panahon ng Hong Kong Junta. Samantala, ihihiwalay ang paglalarawan at pagsusuri sa naging buhay at pamumuhay ng mga kinatawan sa iba't-ibang bansa dahil kakaiba naman ang kanilang naging mga karanasan at kalagayan.

#### *Ang buhay at pamumuhay ng mga rebolusyonaryo sa panahon ng Hong Kong Junta*

Matapos na matanggap ni Emilio Aguinaldo ang paunang bayad ng Espanya na P400,000 ayon sa isinasaad ng Kasunduan sa Biak-na-Bato, kaagad niya itong idineposito sa dalawang bangko sa kanyang pangalan at mga kamaahan niyang rebolusyonaryo. Sa pagpupulong ng mga rebolusyonaro noong Enero 9, napagkasunduang hindi gagalawin ang mga naka-lagak sa bangko at ang tanging gagastusin lamang para sa kanilang pang-araw-araw na pangangailangan ay ang tubo nito na umabot lamang ng P12,000 bawat taon.

Nang mabalitaan ng mga Rebolusyonaryo sa Hong Kong ang ginawang paghahatihi ng mga naiwang Rebolusyonaryo sa Pilipinas ng ikalawang hulog ng bayad-pinsala ng Espanya na P200,000, napagkasunduan sa pagpupulong noong Pebrero 14, 1898 na ilagay sa pamamahala at pagkontrol ni Aguinaldo ang mga salaping nakadeposito ng rebolusyon at ang mga panggastos ng lahat ng kasapi ay nasa kanyang pagsang-ayon.

Sa buong panahon ng pananatili ng *Hong Kong Junta* mula Enero hanggang Mayo 1898, hindi bababa sa 65 ang naging kasapi nito. Hindi pa kasama rito ang pamilya ng ilang tulad ni Miguel Malvar at ni Mariano Llanera na kasama ang dalawang batang anak nito.

Napakahirap isipin kung paano namuhay ang mga nasabing rebolusyonaryo. Sila ay nagsiksikan sa dalawang bahay sa Daang Morrison Hill, Victoria na inupahan ng P50 bawat buwan at nagsilbing tirahan ng lahat, kasama ang pamilya ng ilan. Ang isa sa nasabing bahay, ang *Greenmount House* ay nagsilbi ring tanggapan o himpilan ng mga rebolusyonaryo sa Hong Kong. Samantala, ang rebolusyonaryo na nais manirahan sa ibang lugar ay pinagkalooban

lamang ng P12 pensyon o panggastos bawat buwan. Bunga nito, halos lahat ng mga kasamahan ni Aguinaldo ay naninirahan sa dalawang bahay na inupahan ng Hong Kong Junta dahil sa di maaaring magkasya ang P12 para sa pang-araw-araw na panggastos ng bawat kasapi sa loob ng isang buwan.<sup>3</sup>

Ang tanging pinakalooban lamang ng P12 pensyon bawat buwan ay ang mga kasamahan ni Aguinaldo matapos lagdaan ang Kasunduan sa Biak-na-Bato. Ang mga dati nang naninirahan sa Hong Kong ay hindi nakatanggap ng tulong ukol sa pananalapi sa *Hong Kong Junta* kahit na anong dahilan ng kanilang pananatili sa Hong Kong. May mga kasamahan din si Aguinaldo na nakaririwasa na humiwalay ng tirahan bunga ng nakakaawang kalagayan sa tirahan ng mga kasapi ng Hong Kong Junta tulad ng mga pamilyang Tinio, Natividad at Alejandrino.

Ang karamihan ng mga rebolusyonaryong kasama ni Aguinaldo sa Hong Kong ay namuhay sa nakakaawang kalagayan lalo na iyong mga may kasamang pamilya. Sila ay nagtiis sa lamig tuwing Disyembre hanggang Pebrero ay tag-lamig sa Hong Kong at dahil sa marami sa kanila'y walang mga dalang damit, ibinili na lamang ni Aguinaldo ang bawat isa ng ternong lana (wooden suit) at sombrero na magbibigay proteksyon sa kanila sa lamig at upang makatipid sa labada. Narito ang paglalarawan na nakakaawang kalagayan ng karamihan sa kanila:

*Ang mga rebolusyonaryo ay dumating ng Disyembre at sa kadahilanang may kakulangan sila sa pananamit at ang klima ay malamig sa nasabing pulo ang bawat isa ay binilhan ng tig-iisang ternong lana at isang gora. Ang ternong lana ayon sa kanila ay may bentaheng proteksyon sa kanila laban sa lamig at ito ay higit na ekonomikal dahil ito ay tipid sa gastusin sa pagpapalaba.<sup>3</sup>*

<sup>3</sup>Jose Alejandrino, *The Fight of Freedom: Episodes and Anecdotes of Our Struggles for Freedom* (Manila: M. Colcol and Co., 1949), pp. 81-82.

<sup>4</sup>Alejandrino, p. 82.

Ang talaan ng mga ginastos (*list of expenses*) ng mga kagawad ng *Junta* mula Enero 6, 1898 hanggang Mayo 10, 1898 na matatagpuan sa Rolyo 8 ng *Philippine Revolutionary Papers* ang maglalarawan sa pinakagastusan ng mga rebolusyonaryo sa ilang bansa. Kapunapuna na ang pinakamalaking pinakagastusan ay ang pananamit laluna ang kamiseta at trahe. Kapansinpansin din na may paggasta sa pantalon, kalsonsilyo, sapatos, kurbata (corbata), botones, medyas, panyolito, guwantes, sombrero, tsinelas at sinturon.<sup>4</sup>

Ang malaking paggastos na ito sa pananamit ay bunga ng kalagayang ang mga rebolusyonaryong nakasama sa Hong Kong ay hindi na halos nakauwi sa kanilang mga bahay upang kumuha ng kagamitan at mula sa Biak-na-Bato ay dumiretso na ng Hong Kong. Ang isa pang dahilan ay ang kakaibang klima na napakalamig noong mga unang buwan ng kanilang pamamalagi sa nasabing lugar. Kapansinpansin na sa mga unang araw pa lamang ng kanilang pamamalagi ay halos mga kasuotan ang pinakagastusan dahil marahil walang kadaladlang damit ang ilan o kung may dala man ay hindi umaangkop sa napakalamig na klima sa Hong Kong. Noong Enero 5, ang *Hong Kong Junta* ay gumastos ng P64.60 para sa kasuotan tulad ng kamisa, kurbata at terno upang ipamahagi sa ilang mga Rebolusyonaryo. Narito ang detalye ng nasabing gastusin at kung kangino napunta ang mga kasuotan at ang halaga nito:

Benito Natividad			
2 kamisa		2.80	
1 kurbata		1.00	3.80
Joaquin Natividad			
1 pares na kamisa		2.80	
Lino Viola			
tatlong pares ng kamisa		4.20	
Maximo Kabigting			
dalawang pares ng kamisa			2.80
Manuel Tinio			
dalawang pares ng kamisa			2.80

<sup>4</sup>Alejandrino, p. 83.

Gregorio del Pilar		
dalawang pares ng kamisa	2.80	
Wenceslao Viniegra		
dalawang pares ng kamisa	2.80	
Tomas Mascardo		
dalawang pares ng kamisa	2.80	
Celestino Aragon		
1 pares ng trahe (terno)	10.00	
Agustin de la Rosa		
1 pares ng trahe (terno)	10.00	
	44.80	
Joaquin Alejandrino		
isang pares na may kulay na terno	17.00	
dalawang pares ng kamisa	2.80	
	19.80	
	P64.60	

Ang sumunod na malaking pinakagastusan ay ang mga pang-araw-araw na pangangailangan sa bahay. Masasabing ang mga gastusing ito ay karaniwang binubuo lamang ng pamalengke para sa pagkain ng mga rebolusyonaryo sa araw-araw. Walang malinaw na eksaktong halaga ang ginastos ng mga rebolusyonaryo sa isang araw o maging sa loob ng isang buwan. Ngunit masasabi na kinukulang ang panggastos sa isang buwan dahil sa listahan ng mga gastos ng Pebrero 10 ay may nakalistang gastusin na nagkahahalaga ng \$6.24 bilang kapupunan sa pagkain sa buwang ito. Mahihinuha na hindi pa man nangangalahati ang buwan ay kina-kapos na ang badyet sa pagkain para sa buong buwan at kinakailangan ng punuan o dagdagan. Maraming mga gastusin na pang-araw-araw sa bahay na nakatala lamang bilang mga gastos na pangkaraniwan sa bahay (*gastos de ordinarios de casa*) o di kaya ay mga gastos sa bahay (*gastos de casa*) at ang mga ito'y pangkaraniwang nagkakahalaga ng mula \$.60 hanggang \$4. May mga nakalista din naman na mga ginastos para sa mga kagamitan sa kusina (*por varios utensilos de casa*) na nagkahalaga ang pinakamalaki ng \$13.60 samantalang may ilang hiwalay na kasangkapan sa kusina na nakalista tulad ng kaldero (\$2.50).

Ang ilan pa ng maituturing na pang-araw-araw na gastos sa bahay na hiwalay na nakalista ay ang posporo (\$.30), kape (isang lata, \$.65), bigas (karaniwan ang halaga ay \$4.50 ngunit hindi nakalagay kung ano ang ginamit na panukat), dalanghita (\$.10, \$.20), sabon (\$.80), sabonera/jabonera (\$.40), kendi (\$1.00; \$1.25), keso, iba't-ibang prutas (*varios frutas de casa*, \$2.50), petrolyo at kahoy. Gumastos din ang mga rebolusyonaryo para sa ilang serbisyo tulad ng pagpapalaba ng damit na magkakaiba rin ang halaga tulad ng \$1.50 para sa isang tao, \$1.70 para sa anim at \$9.65 para sa lahat. Marahil ang pagkakaiba ng presyo sa pagpapalaba ay ayon sa damit na pinalalabhan. Ang ilang pa sa serbisyong kanilang pinakagastusan ay ang bayad sa kargador na ang karaniwang halaga ay \$1 at ang pagpapatahi ng damit nina Alejandro Samaniego at Anastacio Francisco na ang halaga ay \$2.50 bawat kasuotan.

Ang ikatlong malaking pinakagastusan ng mga rebolusyonaryo sa Hong Kong ay maituturing na personal na kagamitan ng ilang kasapi tulad ng sepilyo (\$.90 ang tatlong piraso), tabako (\$.55), lalagyan ng tabako (*cajoncito de tabaco*, \$1.80), baul na lalagyan ng damit na ang karaniwang halaga ay mula \$3.00 hanggang \$3.07 (higit na mura ang lalagyan ng papeles na \$1.60 lamang), salamin sa mata para kay Silvestre Legaspi (\$1), tsinelas (\$.30), abaniko, kunot (ang halaga ng tatlo ay \$11.35 at ito'y napunta kina Pedro Aguinaldo, Wenceslao Viniegra, at Pedro Francisco) at mayroon ding bumili ng relo tulad nina Antonio Montenegro (\$6.50) at Tomas Mascardo (\$10). Maliban pa rito, may gastusin rin para sa tuwalya (\$2 ang anim na piraso) at susi ng baul para kay Wenceslao Viniegra (\$.30). Samantala, may ilan ding gastusin para sa letrato o pagpapakuha ng larawan na ang presyo ay maaaring \$2.50 para sa isahan (ginastos ni Aguinaldo) at maaaring umabot ang halaga ng hanggang \$24 para sa pagpapaletrato ng magkakasama tulad ng nagastos nina Antonio Carlos, Salvador Estrella, Emilio Aguinaldo, Agapito Bonzon, Mariano Llanera at Silvestre Legaspi. Samantala mayroon din namang gastusin sa pagpapakuha ng larawang naka-grupo na binubuo ng anim na katao ay gumastos lamang ng \$4.50.

Isang pinagkagastusan ng mga rebolusyonaryo ang nakatatawag pansiñ: ang *\$10 na ambagan ng 20 mag-aaral para kay Brebot* (?). Nakatutuwang isipin na sa kabilang paghihikahos at kakulangang pinansyal ay nagawa pang tumulong ng ilang mga rebolusyonaryo. Masa-sabing para sa mga tunay na bayani ang kahirapan ay hindi hadlang upang tumulong sa kapwa at sa sinumang mga nangangailangan. Ang gastusin ding ito ay magbibigay liwanag sa mga ginawa ng ilang mga rebolusyonaryo sa Hongkong: ang ilan sa mga kanila ay sinamantalang mag-aral. Isang patunay na may mga mag-aaral ay ang nakalistang gastusin *para sa kwaderno* (cuaderno) ng *apat na mag-aaral* na nagkalahagang \$.60. Ang mga nasabing rebolusyonaryo na gumastos para sa kwaderno ay sina Gregorio del Pilar, Emilio Aguinaldo, Wenceslao Viniegra at Anastacio Francisco. May ilan din sa mga rebolusyonaryo ang nag-aral ng mga wikang dayuhan at mapapansin sa mga gastusin ang pagbili ng mga pangangailangan ukol dito tulad ng mga sumusunod:

Aklat ukol sa Usapang Prances <i>Libro de Conversacion de</i>	
<i>Frances</i>	\$1.20
Diksyonaryong Prances at Espanyol <i>Diccionario Frances y Espanol</i>	\$6.65
Diksyonaryong Ingles para kay Makapagal	
<i>Diccionario Ingles para</i>	
<i>Macapagal</i>	\$1.50
Aklat ukol sa Balarila <i>Libro Gramatica</i>	\$4.50

Pinasisinungalingan ng listahan ng mga pinagkagastusan ng mga rebolusyonaryo sa Hong Kong na sila ay nagpasarap at nilustay lamang ang salapi ng rebolusyon. Malinaw na pinag-ingatan nila ang salapi ng rebolusyon at lahat ng sentimo ay kanilang inilista. Ang paglilistang ito ng lahat ng gastusin ng mga rebolusyonaryo ay bunga ng paniniwala na ang salaping kanilang ginagastos ay hindi kanilang pansariling pagmamay-ari kundi ito ay pag-aari ng bayan at dapat pag-ingatan. Ang paglilista ng mga gastusin ay bunga ng prinsipyong *transparency* upang maipaaalam sa bayan kung saan napupunta ang salapi nito.

Sa kabuuán, kung susuriin ang pinagkagastusan ng mga rebolusyonaryo sa Hong Kong ay labis na pagtitiis, pagtitipid at lubhang nakakaawa ang kanilang kalagayan. Walang makikitang paglulustay sa salapi ng rebolusyon. Wala ni anumang luho sa katawan at halos lahat ng kanilang gastos ay para lamang sa kanilang pang-araw-araw na pangangailangan.

Dapat hangaan ang pagtitiis ng mga Rebolusyonaryong kasama sa Hong Kong na karamihan ay nasa kasibulan ng kabataan (17-30) taong gulang. Dapat silang papurihin na sa kabilang isinasaad ng Kasunduan sa Biak-na-Bato na ang P400,000 na nakadeposito sa dalawang bangko ay dapat paghatihatiang ng mga Rebolusyonaryo, tiniis nila ang lahat ng hirap upang huwag galawin ang nasabing salapi. Narito ang paglalarawan ni Jose Alejandrino sa naging pamumuhay ng mga Rebolusyonaryo sa Hong Kong:

*...Palagian ko silang nakikita na mga nakasuot ng ternong lana, natutulog sa sahig, kumakain ng kahabag-habag na pagkain, wala ni anumang uri ng libangan, ngunit palagiang may katiwasayan, masayahing kalooban at wala ni anumang pagtutol...<sup>5</sup>*

Dahil sa inabot na pagtitiis at paghihirap ng mga rebolusyonaryong kasama ni Aguinaldo, ang mga mayayamang Pilipino na dinatnan nila sa Hong Kong ay binansagan ang mga nasabing Rebolusyonaryo na mga rebeldeng pulubi (beggarly rebels).

#### *Ang buhay at pamumuhay ng ilang kinatawan sa ibang bansa*

Samantala, ang mga kinatawan ng Pilipinas sa iba't-ibang bansa ay namuhay rin nang may pagtitipid at pagtitiis. Ang inilaang gugulin (badyet) ng Pamahalaan sa Pilipinas para sa kanilang gastusin ay sadyang napakaliit. Noong 1899, ang inilaan lamang na salaping pang-

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<sup>5</sup>Alejandrino, p. 83.

gastos ng mga kinatawan ay P80,000 at mismong ang Kalihim ng Ugnayang Panlabas na si Felipe Buencamino ay nagpahayag ng ang nasabing salapi ay napakaliit.<sup>6</sup>

Marami sa mga kinatawan ng Pilipinas ay hindi dumanas ng katulad ng paghihirap ng mga kasapi ng *Hong Kong Junta*. Marami sa mga ito ay nakaririwasa ang pamilya sa Pilipinas at patuloy pa rin silang pinadalhan ng pang-gastos ng kanilang mga kamag-anak. Kadalasan, ang kanilang mga personal na pangangailangan o dating luho ay kanilang tinalikuran o isinakripisyso para sa kanilang pagganap ng tungkulin sa pagpapalaya ng Inangbayan. At sa kanilang pagtalikod sa dating buhay (buhay na nakaririwasa) ay umani ng paglibak sa mga dating kaibigan tulad ng nangyari kay Galicano Apacible:

*Di pinakaasahan na isa sa magiging pabigat kay Apacible ay ang pangangalaga sa pondo ng Rebolusyon na nakadeposito sa bangko sa Hong Kong. Dahil sa kanyang pananagutan sa pananalapi kahit na ang kanyang pamumuhay ay nagkaroon ng kagila-gilas na pagbabago. Dati, siya ay kilalang-kilala sa mga pasugalan sa Hong Kong. Siya'y nagsusugal, siya ay bulagsak, palagiang nasisiyahan na kasakasama ang mga babae. Natural lamang na siya ay maghangad ng masayang pamumuhay, dahil siya ay nasa kanyang kasibulan. At ang kanyang mga kasanahan ay nagsimulang mapansin ang kanyang pagtitipid: kanyang iniwasan ang mga sugalan at tinalikuran na rin ang masayang buhay. Sa kabilang panunuksa at mga panlalait, hindi na siya mapabalik ng mga ito sa kanyang dating pamumuhay.*<sup>7</sup>

Lahat ng maaaring paraan ng pagtitipid ay ginawa ng mga kinatawan ng Pilipinas. Kinakailangan maglakad o kumilos na mag-isa upang makatipid sa gastusin tulad ng ginawang

pagbabalik ni Apacible sa kanyang kalihim na si Cayetano Lukban nang sila'y nasa Paris patungo sa kanilang misyon sa Estados Unidos sa kabilang panganib sa kanyang buhay. Nagtiis din sila sa pagtira sa mga mumurahing otel at pagkain sa mga pinakamumurahing restaurant. Kinakailangan ding tiisin ng mga nasabing kinatawan ang kalungkutan sa ibang lupain bunga ng ibang kultura at wikang hindi maunawaan. Sa isang sulat ni Apacible kay Agoncillo, ganito ang naging reklamo nito habang siya ay nasa Toronto, Canada:

*Kung hindi lamang sa gawaing ito, matagal na sana kaming namatay dito sa sobrang pagkabagot at patatas.*<sup>8</sup>

Si Mariano Ponce, ang kinatawan ng Pilipinas sa Hapon ay may detalyadong listahan ng kanyang mga paggastos sa loob ng tatlong buwan mula Disyembre 1898 hanggang Pebrero 1899 na matatagpuan sa *Cartas Sobre La Revolucion*.<sup>9</sup> Sa pamamagitan ng talaan ng gastusing ito, mailalarawan kung anong uri ng pamumuhay mayroon ang isang kinatawan. Mapapansin na ang pinaggastusan lamang ni Ponce at ng iba pang mga kinatawan ay mahahati lamang sa dalawa: gastusin para sa pagtupad ng tungkulin at gastusin para sa pang-araw-araw na pangangailangan. Ang talaan ding ito'y malinaw na maghahayag ng pagtitii at dedikasyon o pakikisangkot ng isang kinatawan sa pagtupad ng kanyang tungkulin at adhikain na makalaya ang bansa sa kamay ng mga kolonyalista.

Ang mga ginastos ni Ponce para sa pagtupad ng tungkulin ay binubuo ng mga pamahe na magpapakita sa mga lugar na pinupuntahan nito tulad ng Kobe, Sujita at Tokyo. Ang mga gastusing ito ay nagpapakita din ng mga taong kinakaharap, nilalapitan, nakakasama, naka-kasalamuha at ang iba'y naging kaibigan ni Ponce tulad ng ilang mga mamahayag at ang makabayang Tsino na si Sun Yat Sen. Ang ilan pa sa mga opisyal na gastusin ni Ponce ay ang telegrafo, sobre, reproduksyon ng mga

<sup>6</sup>John, R.M. Taylor *The Philippine Insurrection Against the United States: A Compilation of Documents With Notes and Introduction*, T. L. Eks. 742, p. 278.

<sup>7</sup>Encarnacion Alzona, *Galicano Apacible: Profile of A Filipino Patriot*, Printed by the Heirs of Galicano Apacible, 1971, p. 71.

<sup>8</sup>Alzona, p. 105.

<sup>9</sup>Mariano Ponce, *Cartas Sobre La Revolucion, 1897-1900* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1937), pp. 295-296.

larawan na ipinadala sa mga pahayagan, pang-hulog ng sulat, pambayad sa isang tagapagsalin na Hapones (\$30), bayad sa pagkonsulta at ang pagbili ng telemetro na ipinag-utos ng Director ng Giyera. At upang makuha ang loob at pagka-kaibigan ng ilang mga Hapones, si Ponce ay may paggastos din sa mga regalo para sa mga opisyal at peryodista.

Ang ilan naman sa pinagkagastusan ni Ponce para sa kanyang pang-araw-araw na pangangailangan ay binubuo ng mga pagkain, kasuotan/damit, at mga gastusin sa bahay. Ilang sa mga kasuotang binili ni Ponce ay kamiseta, terno (*traje*), damit na panlamig ng nabigador, isang dosenang panuelo, medyas, guantes at sapatos na kinakailangan bunga ng malamig na klima sa Hapon. Karaniwan ang mga gastos sa bahay ay nakalista lamang bilang gastos de casa o di kaya ay gastos de cocina. Ngunit may ilang mga kasangkapang hiwalay na nakalista tulad ng kalahating dosenang kubyertos, mesang sulatan, isang relo na pangmesa, 2 kutson, 10 kwaderno, mga palamuti sa sala, kumot at isang sobretodo na Hapones na pambahay. Maliban pa rito, si Ponce ay may mallaki ring paggastos sa bayad sa bahay, katulong at labandera.

Si Ponce ay maaaring nagkasakit ng Enero, 1899 dahil may malaking paggastos para sa doktor at gamot (\$17) at ng sumunod na buwan siya ay gumastos ng \$2.50 para sa dentista. Samantala, may paggastos din para sa tabako at sigarilyo (\$6.00), alak (*vinos*) at biskvit.

Kapunapuna rin ang matinding pagkahilig ni Ponce na madagdagan ang karunungan. Noong Enero 1899, gumastos siya ng \$18.10 para ipambili ng libro. Ang mga nasabing libro at ang presyo nito ay ang mga sumusunod:

International Law	\$2.35
Civil Code of Japan	6.00
Almanack de Gotha	5.50
Le Japon	1.75
Le Coree	2.00
History of Japan	.50
<b>Kabuuang Halaga</b>	<b>\$18.10</b>

Nang sumunod na buwan, isa pang libro ang binili nito, ang *Kojiki* at ito'y nagkakahalaga ng \$4. Nang buwan ding ito, gumastos siya ng halagang \$8 bilang subskripsyon ng iba't-ibang mga diyaryo. Ang mga gastusing ito ay nagpapakita ng pagiging intelektwal ni Ponce na nais madagdagan ang kanyang kaalaman laluna ang ukol sa kasaysayan, kultura at maging ang mga batas ng Hapon at ng daigdig at ng mga pangyayari at nagaganap sa kanyang paligid.

Sa kanyang mga bakanteng panahon, sa gitna ng kanyang kaabalahan, nagbabasa si Ponce ng mga aklat at diyaryo o maaaring nag-aaral din ng wikang Hapon at iba pang mga wika tulad ng Ingles at Prances. Sa kabilang tulad ng pag-eensayo sa pagbaril at ang pakikipag-inuman sa kanyang mga kaibigan tulad ng dalawang Hapones (na hindi binanggit ang pangalan) at kay Sun Yat Sen. Sa aking palagay, ang pakikipag-inumang ito ay hindi lahat kasayahan kundi ang pinag-uusapan pa rin ay ang pagtupad sa tungkulin na iniatang sa balikat ni Ponce.

Samantala, upang higit na mailarawan ang naging pamumuhay at gawain ng ilang mga kinatawan ng Pilipinas sa ibang bansa, narito ang ilang bahagi ng liham ni Galicano Apacible sa kanyang kapatid na si Leon na may petsang Hulyo 6, 1900 na naglalarawan sa kanyang naging paglalakbay:

*...since last December I have been continually travelling going to Paris, London, Canada, and the different states of the United States of America. Now I am at the Auditorium Hotel in Chicago, travelling as a wealthy Mexican, paying \$6.00 (P12.00) a day for my room; now at a hotel in the Bowery in New York City, posing as a Greek immigrant looking for a room. Sometimes I pose as a Japanese: at other times a Chinese, etc. using different names and only on very formal occasions and to very few persons when circumstances demand it do I reveal myself as G. Apacible, Filipino. Then they*

*are very much surprised, and, if I am not mistaken, they regarded me with admiration and they expressed fear of the risk I am running. Sometimes, I wear mustache, at other times side whiskers, then without them. In short and without exaggeration in this mission I lead a most risky and novel-like life that you can imagine. The mission is arduous, causing me continuous moral and physical tension. This continuous pretence, fleeing like a criminal from pleasant company when we see some danger to the Cause; shunning the snares set by friends, and what snares—very beautiful women—thus appearing rude and foolish; changing hastily our residence, moving from one district or city to another, sometimes, crossing by foot the United States-Canadian frontier in freezing weather, 24 degrees below zero...<sup>10</sup>*

Dahil sa inabot na pagtitiis at paghihirap ng ilang mga kinatawan ng Pilipinas sa ibang bansa, ang mga mayayamang Pilipino na walang simpatiya sa rebolusyon sa takot na manganib ang kanilang mga ari-arian ay binansagan ang mga nasabing rebolusyonaryo na mga *revolucionarios descamisados* (shirtless revolutionaries).

#### *Mga katangian ng isang rebolusyonaryo*

Para sa mga tunay na rebolusyonaryo sa ibang bayan, ang kabayanahan ay ang paninindigan at pakikipaglaban para sa ganap ng kalayaan hanggang kamatayan. Walang dapat asahan ang mga Pilipino sa lubusang paglaya nito kundi ang kanyang sarili at ang tanging paraan ay sa pamamagitan lamang ng armadong pakikibaka.

Kung tutuusin, ang pakikipaglaban ng mga rebolusyonaryo sa ibang lupain ay higit na mahirap kaysa sa pakikibaka ng mga rebolusyonaryo sa loob ng bansa. Ang pakikipaglaban ng mga kinatawan ng Pilipinas ay hindi lamang upang gampanan ang kanilang tungkulin na bumili ng armas at bala at makuha ang

pagkilala ng iba't-ibang bansa sa kalayaan ng Pilipinas kundi higit pa ang pagsasakripisyong kanilang dinaranas sa pamumuhay sa ibang lupain. Kinakailangan nilang makiangkop sa ibang kultura, wika, pagpapahalaga at pamumuhay ng mga tao. Ang ganitong suliranin ay naipahayag ni Ponce sa kanyang liham kay Felipe Agoncillo at Faustino Lichauco noong Hulyo 4, 1898. Sa nasabing liham naibulalas ni Ponce ang kanyang komentaryo sa ilang kulturang Hapones tulad ng ukol sa pagkain. Narito ang bahagi ng nasabing liham:

*Nagtagal kami ng kalahating araw sa bahay ni Mr. Wada. Inimbitahan niya kaming maghapunan doon at binigyan niya kami ng mga pagkaing nasa malitit na tasa. Kakaiba ang lasa nito, naghalo ang maanghang, matamis, mapait, maalat, at lahat ng mga kilalang lasa ng pagkain. Nakatikim na ako ng mga pildoras na parang mga minatamis na paminta. Pinakamahirap gawin ang maupo nang pito a walong oras na ganoong kahirap na posisyon habang nananakit ang mga kamay, ang mga kalamnan, at buong katawan.<sup>11</sup>*

Ang problema sa wika ay naipahayag naman ni Ponce sa kanyang liham noong Agosto 19, 1898 kay Juan Lecaroz, isang Pilipinong naninirahan sa Macao. Narito ang nasabing payag:

*...Malaking abala para sa akin ang hindi makausap ang mga tao rito sa sarili nilang wika. Mukhang mahirap iyong dahil napakahirap isaulo ang mga bokabularyo.<sup>12</sup>*

Nakatutuwa ang iba pang mga puna ni Ponce sa iba pang kulturang Hapones tulad ng kanilang wika na *tila awit ng ibon*, ang kanilang mga *bahay na yari sa papel*, at sa kanyang pamamaalam sa liham nito kay Vergel de Dios noong Agosto 5, 1898 kanyang binanggit ang ganito:

<sup>10</sup>Mariano Ponce, *Cartas Sobre La Revolucion*, salin nina Camagay at dela Pena (Lungsod Quezon: University of the Philippines press, 1997), pp. 319-320.

<sup>11</sup>Ponce, p. 163.

*...mula sa bansa ng mga abaniko, bahay na papel at mga matang singkit, isang mahigpit na yakap mula sa iyong kaibigan tuwina...<sup>13</sup>*

Katulad ng mga kasapi ng *Hong Kong Junta*, ang isa pang naging suliranin ng mga kinalawan sa ibang bansa ay ang napakalamig na klima. Ang malaking gastusin sa pananamit ay bunga ng di-matagalang lamig ng mga rebolusyonaryo. Ayon kay Ponce sa kanyang paliwanag sa pinakagastusan nito noong Nobyembre 29, 1898:

*Kailangan idagdag sa mga gastos na ito ang ipinambili ko ng mga damit-panlamig. Napilitan akong bilhin ang mga iyon gawa ng lamig na tumitindi sa bawat araw...<sup>14</sup>*

Ang paninibago sa kakaibang klima ay nagdulot ng madalas na pagkakasakit ni Ponce. Kinalangan nitong magpalipat-lipat ng tirahan upang makaiwas lamang sa pabago-bagong klima. Sa kanyang liham kay Howard Bray noong Hulyo 28, 1898 nabanggit nito na napatulis ang kanyang pagtungo sa Yokohama, Hapon mula Hong Kong bunga ng paglala ng kanyang sakit dahil sa klima.<sup>15</sup>

Maliban sa problema ng pakikiangkop sa bansang tinitirhan, ang isa pang kinakailangang labanan ng mga kinatalawan sa ibang bansa sa pagtupad ng kanilang mga gawain ay ang pag-aalaala sa kanilang mga pamilyang naiwan sa Pilipinas na kasalukuyang walang katatagan bunga ng nagaganap na digmaan. Ang mga kinatalawan sa iba't-ibang bansa ay patuloy na nangangamba sa kalagayan ng kanilang mga pamilya laluna kung ang mga ito ay matagal ng hindi sumusulat. Sa kabilang paninirahan at paghihikahos sa ibang lupain, ang mga rebolusyonaryo ay patuloy sa pagaalaala sa kani-kanilang mga pamilya at ang iba ay nagagawa pang magpaabot ng kaunting halaga sa mga ito tulad ng pagpapadala ni Ponce ng halagang singkwenta pesos sa kanyang pamilya kay Teodoro Sandiko. Samantala, sa liham ni Ponce noong Pebrero 26, 1899

kay Faustino Lichauco, ipinakikiusap nito na ipadala ang dalawang kahon na ang isa ay may lamang payong sa kanyang pamilya sa Pilipinas. Ang nasabing mga kahon ay naglalaman ng mga regalo para sa kanyang kapatid na si Pedro na nabalitaan nitong ikakasal. Sa kabilang kaabalahan, si Ponce ay hindi pa rin nakakalimutan ang mahahalagang okasyon sa kanyang pamilya. At kung mailalarawan lamang natin ang damdamin nito na hindi makauwi sa Pilipinas dahil sa pagtupad sa tungkulin, napakalungkot marahil. Narito ang bahagi ng nasabing liham:

*Mayroong dalawang paketeng may etiketa para kay Pedro Ponce. Payong ang laman ng isa at malit naman ang pangalawang kahon. Nakikiusap ako sa inyong alamin kung magagawan ng paraan ng kaibigan si Santos na ipadala ito sa aking pamilya. Ibinalita sa akin na ikakasal ang aking kapatid. Mga regalang pangkasal ang mga iyon. Kung hindi maipadadala ang mga ito gawa ng kasalukuyang sitwasyon sa ating bayan, nakikiusap akong itago muna ninyo ang mga ito hanggang sa bumuti ang mga pangyayari...<sup>16</sup>*

Ang pag-ala-ala sa kani-kanilang pamilya ay nagdulot ng hindi pagkakatulog ng mga rebolusyonaryo. Sa isang liham na ipinadala ni Ponce kay Galicano Apacible noong Oktubre 19, 1899, ibinabalita nito ang pagtanggap ni Lichauco ng isang liham mula sa kanyang asawa na ibinabalita ang pagdating sa Yokohama ni Ginoong Rivero para palitan siya at nang makabalik ito sa Hong Kong upang makapiling ang kanyang pamilya. Inilarawan ni Ponce sa nasabing liham ang matinding kagalakan ni Lichauco. Narito ang bahagi ng nasabing liham:

*Nakatanggap ng sulat si Lichauco sa kanyang asawa na nagsasabing darating daw si Sr. Rivero upang palitan siya at nang makabalik siya sa Hongkong kung saan siya ipinadala ng ating gobyerno. Lubha siyang natuwa sa balitang ito*

<sup>13</sup>Ponce, p. 152.

<sup>14</sup>Ponce, p. 262.

<sup>15</sup>Ponce, p. 143.

<sup>16</sup>Ponce, p. 313.

*dahil muli niyang makakapiling ang kanyang pamilya. Hindi siya makatulog sa kaiisip sa kanila.<sup>17</sup>*

Ang kalungkutan ng mga rebolusyonaryo ay lalo pang naragdagan bunga ng mga masasamang balita na nangyayari sa kani-kanilang pamilya. Hindi kayang mailarawan ang pighati at ang pananabik na makabalik sa Pilipinas ng isang kasapi ng *Comite Central Filipino* na nagngangalang Tuason bunga ng balitang lumabas sa mga pahayagan na patayan na naganap sa kanyang pamilya na kung saan nabaril ng rebolber ng kanyang bayaw na si Herrera Davila ang kanyang manugang at pamangkin na si Sr. Vidal bunga ng isang pag-aaway. Samantala labis na ikinainis at ikinabahala ni Juan Luna ang balita na pumunta sa Maynila ang kanyang mga kapatid nang may permiso ni Heneral Otis. Ang nasabing hinanakit ay nagbunga ng matinding kalungkutan at galit kay Luna na maaaring siyang naging dahilan ng kanyang atake sa puso na nagresulta ng kamatayan nito. Ang nasabing pagkainis sa ginawa ng kanyang pamilya ay baon-baon ni Luna hanggang kamatayan.

Ang isa pang damdaming hindi kayang maipaliwanag na naranasan ng mga rebolusyonaryo sa ibang bansa ay ang masaksihan ang kamatayan ng isang kasama. Si Ponce ay naging saksi sa kamatayan ng dalawang kasama sa pakikibaka at kaibigan sa ibang bansa: ang kamatayan ni Marcelo H. del Pilar sa Barcelona noong Hulyo 1896 at ni Juan Luna noong Disyembre 7, 1899. Ang matinding kalungkutan at sakit na naranasan ni Ponce bilang saksi, kasama sa kwarto, at nasa tabi mismo ni Luna bago ito mamatay ay nailarawan nito sa kanyang liham kay Blumentritt noong Disyembre 21, 1899. Sa nasabing liham ay naibulalas din nito ang labis na epekto ng nasabing kamatayan sa kanya na nagbunga ng ilang araw na pagsama ng pakiramdam. Narito ang bahagi ng nasabing liham:

*Isang malungkot na balita ang pagamatay ng kaawa-awang Juan Luna. Nangyari ito ilang araw matapos*

*dumating mula Paris. Dumating siya noong ika-3 na maganda ang kalagayan; tumuloy siya rito sa amin at nakasama ko sa kuwarto. Noong gabi ng ika-5, nagkalagnat siya at sumakit ang ulo. Akala namin ay trangkasol lamang iyon. Binigyan siya ng purga. Mabuti-butih ang kondisyon niya noong ika-6 at sumulat pa nga siya sa kanyang ina. Kina-gabihin, dahil magkatabi ang mga kama namin, ang tagal naming nag-usap tungkol sa aming sitwasyon. Ipinag-tapat niya ang malaki niyang galit nang malamang pumunta sa Manila ang mga kapatid niya nang may permiso ni Otis. Labis niyang ikinainis at ikinabahala ito. Sinabi ko sa kanya na dapat kaming maghintay ng balita bago maghusga dahil marami kaming kilala na lumipat sa Manila nang may paalam kay Sr. Aguinaldo. Maagang-maaga ng ika-7, sinabi niyang mayroon siyang napakatinding sakit ng ulo. Inatake siya sa puso. Wala siyang dinanas na paghihirap at isa iyong tahimik na kamatayan. Isipin mo na lang kung anong sakit iyon para sa amin! Ilan ng mga kaibigan ang nakita kong namatay! Labis akong naapektuhan ng kamatayan ito kaya ilang araw akong masama ang pakiramdam...<sup>18</sup>*

Sa kabilang mga nasabing suliranin at sitwasyon, ang mga nakararaming rebolusyonaryo ay naging matatag, matapang, buo ang loob para sa ikatatamo ng tunay na kalayaan. At sa pagtupad ng kanilang mga tungkulin, maging ang kanilang pansariling kaligayahan ay handang isakripisyos. Sa kabilang kanyang kaabalahan, si Ponce ay nabighani sa kagandahan ng isang prinsesang Koreana na anak ni Prinsipe Komnung. Narito ang paglalarawan ni Ponce sa nasabing Koreana:

*...Binigyan kami ng isang despedida dahil pupunta bukas ang prinsipe sa Nagasaki upang sunduin sa paaralan ang isang anak niyang babae, isang prinsesita na oobserbahan ko sa loob ng*

<sup>17</sup>Ponce, pp. 492-493.

<sup>18</sup>Ponce, 231.

*dalawang linggo. Talo niya ang mga Hapones sa kapinuhan at higit niyang alam ang dapat na pagkilos sa lipunan Europeo kaysa sa mga Europeo mismo. Magugustuhan ninyo ang kanyang pagtrato. Nakapagsasalita siya ng ingles at nagsusulatan kami sa wikang iyon...<sup>19</sup>*

At sa kanyang liham kay Isidoro de Santos noong Pebrero 18, 1899, naibalita ni Ponce na plano na niyang ligawan ang nasabing Koreana pagdating nito sa Yokohama. Ngunit pagsapit ng Hunyo 1899, ibinalita nito kay Riego de Dios na sila'y magkaibigan pa lamang ng prinsiseta at nanghihinayang ito dahil muli na naman itong nagbalik ng Nagasaki at mananatili doon ng hanggang Nobyembre. At sa liham nito kay Vergel de Dios ng nasabi ring buwan, naipahayag nito ang kanyang hangarin na pakasalan ang nasabing Koreana. Narito ang nasabing liham:

*Hayaan mo akong hindi muna magsalita tungkol sa Koreana. Subjudice ang bagay na ito at kailangang igalang ang pagiging lihim nito. Natutuwa lang akong isipin ang pag-aasawa ng isang Republikano at isang dugong-bughaw.<sup>20</sup>*

Ngunit ang nasabing pag-ibig ay wala ng pinatunguhan. Hindi na nahintay ni Ponce ang pagbalik ng prinsesa ng Nobyembre dahil pinabalik na siya ng Comite Central Filipino sa Hong Kong ng katapusan ng Oktubre. At sa pangyayaring ito, pinatunayan ni Ponce na higit dapat mangbabaw ang pagmamahal at tungkulin sa bayan kaysa sa pansariling kaligayahan.

Ang kasalatang pinansyal at kakulangan ng mga materyal na bagay sa ibang lupain ay naglabas din ng pagiging malikhain ng isang rebolusyonaryo. Lahat ng uri ng hanapbhay ay halos kanilang pinasukan. Ang anumang pagkakataon ay kanilang sinasamtala upang kumita ng pera habang ginagampanan ang kanilang tungkulin sa bayan. Isang halimbawa nito ay ang ginawang pagkuha ng larawan ni Sandiko sa crew at mga pasahero ng barkong

kanyang sinasakyang kapalit ang kaunting kabayaran habang patungo ito sa Hong Kong mula sa Hamburg, Alemania. At upang hindi lumabas na kahiyahiya ang lahing Pilipino sa kanyang ginagawa, siya ay nagpanggap na isang Hapon sa nagngangalang Takeshi.<sup>21</sup>

At habang nasa Hong Kong naman si Sandiko ay lahat ng maaaring pwedeng mapagkakitaan sa malinis na paraan ay kanyang sinubukan. Siya ay bumili ng isang bisikleta upang gamitin sa pagtuturo ng mga nais matutong magbisikleta kapalit ang kaunting kabayaran. Nagturo din siya ng boksing (maging ito man ay istilong Pranses o Ingles), *wrestling*, *fencing*, at ng iba't-ibang wika tulad ng Ingles, Pranses, Espanyol at Aleman. At ng magkaroon na ito ng kaunting naiiron, bumili ito ng ilan pang bisikleta at nagbukas ng isang paupahan. Ang karaniwan niyang parokyano ay mga sundalo at mandaragat (*sailor*) na Ingles at iba pang mga nasyonalidad. Si Sandiko ay madalas naki-kitang nakikipagsuntukan sa mga parokyano upang masingil lamang ang karagdagang upa na lampas sa binabayaran oras ng mga nanghiram at upang mabawi ang kanyang bisikleta na karaniwang nakikita sa mga inuman (bars) na pinagdalhan ng kanyang mga parokyano sundalo at mandaragat na mga lasing na lasing. Narito ang ilang bahagi ng naging pamumuhay at negosyo ni Sandiko:

*He bought a bicycle and with it he gave lessons to those who want to learn bicycle-riding. We used to see him daily under the hot sun running behind his students, dressed only with a woolen coat and trousers, cap and shoes. All other garments were considered by him as superfluous. When mealtime came, he used to buy something from a panciteria and eat his meal in a vacant chair in a Filipino barbershop. He gave boxing lessons in the English and French styles. He also gave lessons in wrestling and fencing. He taught English, French, Spanish and German – in fact everything that he knew well or little provided it would give him monetary returns.*

<sup>19</sup>Ponce, p. 393.

<sup>20</sup>Ponce, p. 393.

<sup>21</sup>Alejandrino, p. 28

*Sometimes afterwards, with the savings he thus made, he bought some machines and opened a shop for renting bicycle to the public. His customers were usually English soldiers and sailors of different nationalities who deposited the price of the rent for the length of time they proposed to use the bicycles, but oftentimes he had to get the price of the rent the hard way, as he had to look for this customers in the different bars where he usually found them drunk, and to recover his bicycles and the unpaid rent for the excess time used, he had to swap punches with them...<sup>22</sup>*

Samantala, si Vergel de Dios ay nagpahayag kay Ponce sa kanyang liham noong Oktubre 1897 ng hangarin nitong umalis ng Paris upang lumipat sa Hong Kong bunga ng kamahalan ng paninirahan sa nasabing siyudad. Binanggit din nito na kung maaari ay tulungan siya ni Ponce na maghanap ng trabaho. At noong Disyembre 22, 1897, kinonsulta ni Ponce sa kanyang liham si Miguel Morayta sa plano ng mga Pilipino sa Hong Kong na magbukas ng isang talyer sa nasabing pulo upang maitulong ang kikitain nito sa mga rebolusyonaryo sa Pilipinas.<sup>23</sup>

Bunga ng kakulangan sa pananalapi, ang mga kinatawan sa ibang bansa sa tuwina ay naka-handang isakripisyong sarili huwag lamang matigil ang gawain sa ibang bansa. Narito ang nakatataba ng pusong pahayag ni Ponce:

*Handa kaming bawasan ang aming personal na gastos. Ngunit hindi kami makapagtitipid sa mga gastos na may kinalaman sa mga bagay na ginaawa namin dito, tulad ng mga biyahe, sulat, telegrama at iba pa ...Walang halaga para sa amin ang aming mga personal na gastos...<sup>24</sup>*

May mga pagkakataon na ang ilang rebolusyonaryo ay pinanghihinaan ng kalooban (*disappointed*) sa pangyayari. Sa isang liham ni Galicano Apacible kay Leon Apacible noong Agosto 27, 1898, naibulalas nito ang kabiguan

ng matagal na pagkilos ng nakararaming opisyal ng Pamahalaang Pilipino at lalong pinatindi ng problemang pinansyal. Ang damdaming ito ni Apacible ay umabot ng sukdulan at halos naghangad na ito na takasan ang problema sa pamamagitan ng pagbibigay payo sa kanyang kapatid na si Leon na dalhin na ang kanyang buong pamilya at kayamanan sa ibang bansa. Narito ang ilang bahagi ng liham ni Apacible na magbibigay liwanag sa emosyon o damdamin ng pagkagalit at kabiguan na kanyang nararamdamang ilang opisyal ng Pamahalaang Rebolusyonaryo:

*...they were incompetent: laggard, very slow, in resolving important matters. The fate of the country depended very much on the kind of government she had...If this confusion continues, and the government does not provide with sufficient means, I am going to resign immediately in order not to be held responsible for failure due to the negligence of others.<sup>25</sup>*

Si Ponce ay nakaranas din ng panghihina ng kalooban bunga ng paglubog ng barkong *Nonubuki Maru*. Higit na naging matindi ang kanyang panghihinayang at sama ng kalooban dahil sa mga balitang kumakalat na nagkaroon ng lokohan sa pagpapadala ng nasabing barko sa Pilipinas na lulan ang mga armas, bala at ibang kasangkapang pandigma na kailangang-kailangan ng mga rebolusyonaryo. Bilang tanging tagapamahala ng nasabing ekspedisiyon, inako ni Ponce ang responsibilidad at pinasinungalingan nito ang mga haka-haka na ang lulan ng nasabing barko ay mga bakal sa halip na riple at bala. At sa liham nito kina Apacible at Isidoro de Santos noong Hulyo 25, 1899, ipinakikiusap nito na iharap sa pamahalaan ang kanyang pagbibitiw bilang pag-ako sa nasabing sakuna. Ipinababatid na *hindi pagtalikod sa pagsisilbi sa bayan ang kanyang pagbibitiw kundi bilang delicadeza at sa kabila ng nasabing pagbibitiw, ay patuloy pa rin siyang magsisilbi sa pamahalaan at sa interes ng mga Pilipino*. Napakagandang halimbawa na lingkod ng bayan! Bakit tila nawawala na

<sup>22</sup>Alejandrino, p. 29.

<sup>23</sup>Ponce, p. 87.

<sup>24</sup>Ponce, p. 262-263.

<sup>25</sup>Alzona, p. 63.

sa kasalukuyang pamahalaan ang mga taong tulad ni Ponce? Narito ang nakaaawang pahayag ng kabiguan at panghihinayang ni Ponce bunga ng paglubog ng nasabing barko:

*Mayroon akong kaunting karam-daman, mga mahal na kaibigan, at gusto kong umiyak dahil sa nangyari. Naghi-hintay ang ating mga tauhan doon; ang dagok na idudulot nito sa ating adhikain, ang mga buhay at salaping nawala, ang mga lumubog na pag-aso... Higit sa lahat, ang ating Bayan, ang ating Adhikain na siyang ugat ng pagkatao at hustisya. Alam kong hindi kailanman nangangahulugan ng tiyak na tagumpay ng kalaban ang disgrasyang ito. Hindi ito mapapahina ang ating bayang sanay na harapin at lampasan ang ganitong mga balakid.*

*Maaaring bunga lamang ito ng ating kamalasan. Nakikiusap ako sa inyo na iharap ang aking pagbibitiw sa ating Gobyerno at sa ating presidente upang mapalitan ako ng siang taong higit na mapalad at mas magaling para sa ikabubuti ng ating adhikain. Tapat at walang masamang balak na ginawa ko ang lahat ng aking makakaya. Wala akong ibang hinabol kundi ang pagsiliban ang bayan... Sa kabilang lahat, dumating itong disgrasya na dala ang kalikasan, ng puwersang hindi galing sa tao. Ano pa ba ang ibig sabihin nito kundi ang aking sariling kamalasan?*<sup>26</sup>

Ngunit sa isang rebolusyonaryo sa ibang bansa, ang panghihina ng kalooban bunga ng mga kabiguan ay panandalian lamang. Muli itong titindig sa pagkadapa upang ipagpatuloy ang hangaring makamit ang kalayaan. Ang mga karanasan at mga kasawiang pinagdadaanan ang nagiging gabay nito sa paglutas sa bawat kahirapang nararanasan. At sa bawat panahon na dumarating ang paghina ng kalooban, ang mga mumunting tagumpay na natamo ang patuloy na nagbibigay pag-aso at lakas upang ipagpatuloy ang pakikipaglaban. Sa liham ni Ponce kay Isidro de Santos noong Setyembre 13, 1898, ipinaaalala nito kay de Santos na hindi ito dapat mawalan ng pag-aso at panghinaan ng kalooban bunga ng kawalan ng linaw sa

kahihinatnan ng Pilipinas bago ang pagsisimula ng kumperensya sa Paris. Narito ang nasabing paala-alala ni Ponce na punong-puno ng pag-aso at pananalig na matatamo ang kalayaan sa pamamagitan ng pagbabalik tanaw sa kanilang nakaraan at mumunting tagumpay:

*...Naalala mo noong nasa Madrid tayo at gumagawa ng mga artikulo para sa La Solidaridad sa pagitan ng mga pag-aaliw at panliligaw, sabihin mo sa akin ngayon kung noong mga panahong iyon iniisip nating makita ngayong panahong ito ang nasasaksihan ng ating mga mata. Noong mga panahong iyon, mga limang taon na ang nakararaan, maligayang-maligaya na tayo kung makikita nating ang ating mga anak at mga apo na lalaban sa rebolusyon. Tingnan mo kung paano tayo inabutan ng mga pangyayari; ni hindi man lang tayo nagkaroon ng panahong mag-asawa muna; nasa atin na ngayon yaong gusto nating gawin ng ating mga anak. Naririto na ang mga pangyayaring ito at dapat hayaan sila sa kanilang magiging wakas. Kailangan natin ngayon maging lalong dimakasarili at sumama sa labanan, gaano man ito katagal abutin. Dapat nating isipin na siang malaking gawain ang kamtin ang kalayaan ng isang bansa at hindi ito mawawalan ng mga kahirapan. Kahit paano, magkakaroon tayo ng mga balakid sa lahat ng bagay. Kailangang magsimula at hindi lang tayo nakapag-simula na, kundi malayo na ang ating naaabot...<sup>27</sup>*

### Kongklusyon

Sa pag-aaral na it, sinuri at nailarawan ang naging buhay at pamumuhay ng mga rebolusyonaryo. Sinuri ang kanilang mga pinagkagastusan at napatunayan na hindi sila naglustay at nagpasarap sa pera ng rebolusyon. Kanilang pinag-ingatan ang salapi ng bayan at lahat ng pinakagastusan mula sa kaliit-liitang sentimo ay nakalista at malinaw kung saan napunta. Sa pagsusuri sa mga paggastos,

<sup>26</sup>Ponce, p. 413-414

<sup>27</sup>Ponce, pp. 188-189.

napatunayan na ang mga rebolusyonaryo ay namuhay ng tipid na tipid at naghihikahos, wala ni anumang luho at karangyaan.

Ang mga rebolusyonaryo sa ibang bansa sa kabilang kakulangang pinansyal at materyal ay patuloy na naging matatag, matapang at buo ang loob sa pagharap sa anumang pagsubok at kabiguan. Ang lahat ng problema o suliranin ay kanilang hinanapan ng solusyon. Ang anumang limitasyon tulad ng problemang pinansyal ay hindi naging hadlang upang ipagpatuloy nila ang kanilang tungkulin na maipakita sa buong mundo ang mithiing magkaroon ng ganap na kalayaan ang bansang Pilipino.

Ang mga rebolusyonaryo sa ibang bansa ay naging matatag at nagawang makaangkop sa napakahirap na sitwasyon. Tiniis na malayo sa pamilya, sa kanyang bayan at manirahan sa ibang lupain na iba ang klima, kapaligiran, wika, kultura sa kanyang lupang tinubuan. Ngunit sa kabilang mga sakripisyong pagtitiis at paghihirap na kanilang naranasan para sa kapakanan ng Inangbayan ay patuloy ang paglilibak at panlalait sa kanilang pagkatao at

sa kanilang naging gawain sa ibang bayan. Hanggang sa kasalukuyan, sa pangkalahatan ay hindi naging mabuti ang naging pagkilala at pagtanggap sa kanila ng kasaysayan.

Ngunit sa pag-aaral, nabigyang linaw ang mga maling haka-haka at lumabas ang katotohanan. Masasabing sa huling sandali, sa pamamagitan ng pag-aaral ay nailagay sa tamang posisyon ang mga rebolusyonaryo sa ibang bansa sa ating kasaysayan. Ang kanilang pagsasakripisyong pagtitiis para sa bayan ay hindi matatawaran tulad rin ng mga rebolusyonaryong nakipaglaban sa loob ng ating bansa. Ang pamamalagi nila sa ibang bansa ay bunga ng pagkakataon at pangangailangan, ang pagtupad sa tungkuling iniatang sa kanilang mga balikat. Ang mga naging gawain nila sa ibang bansa ay maituturing na karugtong ng mga kaganapan sa Pilipinas.

Sa kanilang pagsasakripisyong pagtitiis, ang mga rebolusyonaryo sa ibang bansa ay dapat ding bigyang karangalan at pagkilala. Ang kanilang mga pagsasakripisyong pagtitiis ay dapat ituring na isang kabayanihan. ♦



# The Oil Lamp of Freedom<sup>1</sup>

SAMUEL K. TAN

*As we continue to commemorate the centennial of Philippine independence beyond the dramatic events of June 12 and 13, we look back and ahead from the theme of the centennial celebration which is Kalayaan, Kayamanan ng Bayan (Freedom, the Wealth of People). It is not without purpose that the National Centennial Commission adopted this theme as the guiding framework for the plans, programs, and projects that were conceived and gradually implemented and continue to be pursued even beyond this year. This impression is what emerges from the historical survey of the Commission's activities since its formal beginnings in 1994.*

## *Why the oil lamp?*

The Oil Lamp reminds me of the last will and testament of Rizal written during the last moments of his life and immortalized in his *Mi Ultimo Adios*. This creative act of genius, passion, and purpose has been enshrined in Philippine and world literature as one of the greatest and finest creations of the human mind. It is the product of freedom undeterred by captivity and impending death. It has been translated into several languages, the latest of which into Korean recently unveiled at Fort Santiago in the late afternoon of June 12. The oil lamp Rizal used in writing his immortal poem is a perfect suggestion of the image of freedom as a rich historical heritage of a people and as the driving force of their development. Let me just enumerate four things about the lamp that are the reference points of this address: (1) the lamp itself representing the nation; (2) the oil in the lamp representing the ancient heritage of the Filipino people; (3) the wick that conveys the oil to the top representing the historical process conveying the heritage of one generation to another; and (4) the flint or matchstick that ignites the wick representing the individual freedom and initiative so vital in the making of nation. Let me now take the second thought.

## *Rekindling of the oil lamp*

This year the oil lamp of freedom has been rekindled after a hundred years when it was lighted by the declaration of national independence on June 12, 1898 at Kawit, Cavite, and kept aglow by the waving of the National Flag and the singing of the National Anthem.

But as we reflect upon the historic moment of our freedom, we cannot or should not forget that the profound meaning and significance of that bold declaration lay in the numerous freedom struggles from Batanes to Tawi-Tawi, from the 16<sup>th</sup> to the 19<sup>th</sup> century before the outbreak of the 1896 Katipunan-led Revolution. Without integrating in our consciousness like the oil lamp, local and small uprisings of various ethnolinguistic groups regardless of differences in religion, ideology, and culture, the resolution and the Kawit declaration become parochial in meaning and divisive in direction. Symbolically, the numerous local ethnic struggles, which in my illustration represent the oil in the lamp, wells up to the summit of our aspirations and ideas. Moreso, it provides the substance that illuminates the national heritage of freedom as a solid product of historical evolution and not as an imposition of colonial or imperial ambition.

Consequently, the 1896 revolution was the culmination of centuries of arduous and costly struggles. These struggles gave us martyrs

<sup>1</sup>Keynote address, Manila Studies Conference, NCCA June 18, 1998.

whose blood, tears, and sweat marked the many freedom trails from all directions of the archipelago converging ideologically on the Revolution of 1896. Like the wick in the lamp, the historical process provides the conduit through which these freedom struggles moved up to animate the flame of liberation which was seen, heard, and felt from June 12, 1898 until January 23, 1899 when the Malolos Republic was jubilantly inaugurated. Reflectively from the intention of the Malolos Republic, the representation in the republic legislative assembly included efforts to represent the non-Christian areas which could not be directly represented by their own representatives for lack of political mechanism. The fact that their interests were represented in the Republic by Christian delegates including Sotero Laurel of Batangas showed the comprehensive and national character of the Republic's political rationale and ideology. This was also followed by no less than the invitation of the Aguinaldo government to the Sultan of Sulu to join the struggle against American forces.

Unfortunately, after the fall of the republic with the capture of President Emilio Aguinaldo in 1901, the flame of freedom began to lose its brightness as the *oil in the lamp* diminished. Further, the water of colonialism and other fluids seeped in from the outside world until the lamp lamely flickered in the dark for half a century. In this state, it was unable to illumine the outlying limits of Filipino history, culture, and society. After the dark moment of the last Pacific war, new oils of struggle revived once again the light of freedom. In this moment of grave crisis, every Filipino from Luzon to Mindanao, including non-Christians (especially the Muslims), joined in a show of unity against Japanese occupation and rule.

The end of that tragic war, which claimed almost two million Filipino lives, should have kept the oil lamp of freedom burning and increasingly dispelling the darkness in national attitudes, values, interests, and purposes. It was continuously filled up with the pure oil of the national heritage, and not the new mixture of colonial, neo-colonial, and extraneous elements. It is this specific state and meaning of our freedom that had contributed to the

dichotomies, dilemmas, and ambiguities in national goals, development and direction. In brief, this situation is what has kept the oil lamp just flickering in the dark. This brings me now to my third and last thought.

### ***Renewing the oil lamp***

The flickering oil lamp of freedom calls for national as well as individual attention. It is as much the concern of the government as it is of every Filipino today wherever we are, from whatever tribe, sector, or place we come from, and in whatever state or situation we are in. The lamp is for all. It lights every nook and corner within the reach of its capacity.

Lamentably, its capacity is not fully harnessed. Its exterior and glass need cleaning and polishing to restore beauty lost or hidden by time and dust as well as to improve illumination. The *Pearl of the Orient* has to be unveiled to show the intricate work of art and form that it is. But more significantly, the interior part of the lamp must be cleansed of dirt, the wick cleaned or replaced by a new one, and the dirty oil replaced by the same type of oil that had given the lamp that distinct glow and illumination from century to century, from generation to generation, from Batanes to Tawi-Tawi.

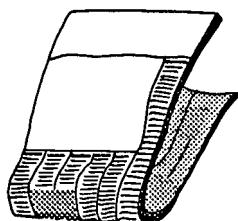
The Centennial celebrations this year, with June 12 as the centerpoint were entrusted to the National Centennial Commission for conceptualization and implementation from 1994 to 1998. In effect, to the Commission was given the solemn responsibility of renewing the oil lamp of freedom. From the general report of the Commission which is being done by a committee co-chaired by Dr. Serafin D. Quiason and myself, the coverage of all the Centennial plans, programs, and projects has embraced practically all aspects of Filipino life extending beyond national boundaries to the international community. As it appears, billions of our national and financial resources since 1994 have been poured into the oil lamp of freedom particularly into the global showcase of the Centennial the Expo '98 at former Clark Air Base.

From any perspective, the Commission has done its share in the gigantic task of bringing the entire nation and the Filipino people wherever they are out from one hundred years of lethargy like a Rip Van Winkle. It has its own share of shortcomings, shortfalls, failures, and frustrations for which it received a lot of criticism. Whether the resources spent were worth what have been done is for the future to unveil. But it cannot be ignored and denied that the centennial has shaken the oil lamp. The Filipino Rip Van Winkle has awakened.

What remains is for every Filipino to take the flint or match stick to light the oil lamp. The oil of our national heritage has been poured in. The wick of our historical process has conveyed the oil to the top. The exterior form has been cleaned and polished. It awaits only the individual flint of Filipino creativity to light the lamp and begin his own creative contribution in his field of interest like Rizal lighting the same old lamp and writing his immortal *Mi Ultimo Adios*. You are here to participate in this collectively and to come out with your distinct

creations essential to historical knowledge and scholarship, towards the preservation and development of our national heritage as we envision it. No one can do this better than ourselves as Filipinos. There are no proxies to perform what is ours by historical mandate. We cannot blame the foreigners for our failures because they have their own interests to pursue. We cannot expect other people, other nations to clean our rivers, lakes, and shores of pollution and debris we ourselves have carelessly created. We cannot blame the government for the lack of the national progress or prosperity we want but which we have hindered by our own self interest or sectional and sectoral biases. We cannot, in effect, expect the ideals of nationhood to be realized without the meaningful and effective use of creative freedom for individual as well as social progress. Now I pose this challenge to every Filipino: Whoever and wherever you are, will you ignite the same old oil lamp of freedom and from your creative genius give to the present generation and the next your distinct contribution to posterity and nation-building? \*





## CENTENNIAL NEWS

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### **PNHS BRINGS HISTORY TO THE GRASSROOTS**

In celebration of the centennial of the declaration of Philippine independence, the Philippine National Historical Society, in cooperation with the National Historical Institute, the Philippine Centennial Commission, and the various state universities and local government units, held a series of local and oral history conferences across the various regions of the country.

With the theme "Bringing History to the Grassroots," the conference series aimed to develop historical awareness in the local level by bringing together local historians, enthusiasts, education workers and experts in the field of local and oral history.

The first conference was held in the Ilocos region, at the University of Northern Philippines in Vigan, Ilocos Sur on 19-20 February 1998 with Prof. Digna Apilado as PNHS convener and Mrs. Lourdes P. Llanes as local convener. This was followed by the conference held in the Cagayan Valley region, at the Cagayan State University, Tuguegarao, Cagayan on 26-27 February 1998 with Prof. Apilado and Evelyn Columbano as PNHS and local conveners, respectively. The Central Luzon Conference was held at the Central Luzon State University in Muñoz, Nueva Ecija on 26-27 March 1998 with Dr. Violeta Ignacio and Dr. Teresita Maquizo as PNHS and local conveners, respectively. Mr. Jose Antonio Custodio and Mr. Emmanuel Calairo convened the Southern Tagalog conference held at UP Los Baños on 16-17 April 1998 while Dr. Eden Gripaldo and Prof. Danilo Gerona convened the Bicol conference on 29-30 April 1998 at the Ateneo de Naga.

For the Western Visayas region, UP Visayas, Iloilo campus served as host to the conference held on 14-15 May 1998 and convened by Dr. Gripaldo and Dr. Zoilo Andrade, Jr. Dr. Gripaldo also convened the Central Visayas conference at Silliman University, Dumaguete City on 21-22 May 1998 with Prof. Jojima Indab as local convener. The Dapitan City Cultural Center served as venue for the Western Mindanao conference convened by Dr. Ignacio and Gabriel Cad on 25-26 June 1998 while the Ateneo de Davao in Davao City served as host to the conference on 16-17 July 1998 convened by Prof. Esmeralda Perez and Dr. Macario Tiu.

Dr. Bernardita Churchill and Dr. Domingo Non served as conveners of the Gen. Santos conference held on 23-24 July 1998 at the Mindanao State University, while Dr. Gripaldo and Atty. Benedicto Bacani convened the eleventh conference at Notre Dame University, Cotabato City on 13-14 August 1998.

The PNHS then went to the Buenos Aires Mountain Resort in Bago City, Negros Occidental for the conference convened by Dr. Churchill and Mr. Clemente del Castillo on 20-21 August 1998. Afterwards, the PNHS went to Calapan City, Oriental Mindoro for the conference on 3-4 September 1998 and convened by Dr. Ignacio and Mr. Florante D. Villarica.

Dr. Churchill also convened the Surigao conference at the City Pastoral Center at Villa San Miguel, on 24-25 September 1998 with Mr. Fernando A. Almeda, Jr. as local convener; the Koronadal conference with Director Ninfa Estabillo at the Koronadal Museum on 5-6 November 1998; while Prof.

Apilado convened the Abra Conference at the Divine Word College, Bangued, Abra on 12-13 November 1998 with Fr. Nick Vergara as local convener.

The year-long conference series was capped by the National Conference on Oral and Local History at the Manila Hotel, on 23-25 November 1998.

## **PHA GOES TO THE BARRIOS**

The Philippine Historical Association, in cooperation with the National Historical Institute, the Philippine Centennial Commission and the Philippine Association of Museums, Inc. recently held a series of conferences in celebration of the centennial of the declaration of Philippine Independence.

The PHA held the conferences at the following venues: Calaca Science Centrum, Batangas, 21-25 April 1998; University of Northeastern Philippines, Iriga City, 28-29 May 1998; Tarlac State University, 2-3 July 1998; Palawan State University, Puerto Princesa, 29-30 July 1998; Aklan College, Kalibo, 6-7 August 1998; Francisco Benitez Memorial Elementary School, Pagsanjan, Laguna, 2-3 September 1998; Tagbilaran, Bohol, 24-25 September; Bukidnon, 8-9 October 1998; St. Michael's College, Iligan City, 27-28 October 1998; North Fairview Elementary School, Novaliches, 3-4 November 1998; Sacred Heart College, Catbalogan, Samar,

5-6 November 1998; Northern Quezon Cooperative College, Infanta, Quezon, 12-13 November 1998; Pillar College, Zamboanga City, 19-20 November 1998; Mariano Marcos State University, Batac, 3-4 December 1998; and University of Baguio, 14-15 December 1998.

The PHA Conference Conveners were Atty. Pablo Trillana III, Dean Gloria Santos, Prof. Evelyn Songco, Prof. Orestes de los Reyes, Prof. Andrea Edang, Prof. Estrellita Muhi, Prof. Oscar Evangelista, Dr. Celestina Boncan, Prof. Epifacio Palispis, Prof. Teofista Vivar, and Prof. Cesar Pobre.

Together with the Philippine National Historical Society, the PHA co-convened the Manila Hotel National Conference on Oral and Local History on 23-25 November 1998 as a culminating activity for the nationwide year-long conference series.

## **NHI, PNHS, PHA HOLD NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON ORAL AND LOCAL HISTORY**

The National Historical Institute, the Philippine Centennial Commission, the Philippine National Historical Society, and the Philippine Historical Association sponsored the National Conference on Oral and Local History at the Manila Hotel on November 23-25, 1998. With the theme "Bringing History to the Grassroots," the conference served as a culminating activity to the year-long nationwide local and oral history conference series conducted by the said institutions which aimed to bring historical awareness to the local level

as the centerpiece of the centennial celebrations.

Selected papers generated by the conference series in the various localities were presented to the national audience thru the conference. At the same time, plenary papers covering both local and national histories served as tie up to the papers presented by local historians. These included Bernardita Churchill, "Local History in the Context of National History;" Ma. Nela Florendo, "Interpreting the Past, Anticipating

the Future: Cordillera Views of History;" Francis Gealogo, "Ang Heograpiya at Demograpiya ng Timog Katagalugan sa Panahon ng Himagsikang Pilipino at Digmaang Pilipino-Amerikano;" Eden Gripaldo, "The Use of Oral History Methodology;" Leslie Bauzon, "A Conceptual Framework for the Study of Philippine History and for Nation Building,"

Digna Apilado, "Some Perspectives on History Writing in the Twenty First Century;" Frances Morillo, "Alternative Ways of Bringing History to the People;" Pablo Trillana III, "A Hundred Years of Philippine Education and Rizal: Implications for Higher Education;" and Celestina Boncan, "Socio-Economic Planning for the Third Millennium."

## UP, NCC, NHI HOLD SECOND KADATUAN CONFERENCE

The University of the Philippines Center for Integrative and Development Studies, the National Centennial Commission, the National Historical Institute and the UP Systemwide Lupon ng Sentenaryo held the Second Kadatuan Conference at the Grand Men Seng Hotel, Davao City on December 9-10, 1998 with the theme "The Datuhip as a National Cultural Heritage."

The Kadatuan Conference aims to emphasize the continuing search for the Philippine cultural heritage thru the institution of the datuhip which antedates Islam and Christianity in the Philippines. The Conference brought together various datus from the Muslim and Lumad groups in Southern Philippines in a unique conference which focused not only on the heritage of the ancient Philippine insti-

tutions but also the contemporary issues, problems and concerns of indigenous peoples.

A highlight of the conference were the workshop sessions wherein major datus of Maguindanao (Iranun, Buayan, Kabuntalan), Maranao (Unayan, Bayabao, Balo-i and Masiu); and Lumad groups (Davao, Cotabato) presented discussion papers on genealogies, written traditions, artifacts and legacies; oral histories and contemporary institutions, and development issues and concerns.

The affair was the second Kadatuan Conference, with the first being held at the Garden Orchid Hotel in Zamboanga City on May 30-31, 1997 participated in by Sama, Tausug, Yakan and Subanun datus.

## SAGADA HOSTS WILLIAM HENRY SCOTT MEMORIAL LECTURES

The William Henry Scott Memorial Lectures were held on May 27-30 1998 at Sagada, Mountain Province to highlight the contribution of Scott to Philippine historiography. Conference sessions included themes close to Scotty's heart: Cordillera studies; archeology, prehistory and baranganic society; ethnography and historiography; the labor movement; the Iglesia Filipina Independiente; and boat making in the Philippines.

Paper presenters included Rev. Edward Malecdan, "William Henry Scott, the Maverick Missionary;" Joana Carino, "William Henry Scott, the Progressive;" Dr. Rowena Boquieren, "Scott and His Contribution to Cordillera Historiography;" Mr. Wilson Cadiogan, "Igorot Pride, Nationalism and Scotty;" Dr. Ma. Nela Florendo, "Contribution of Scott to Cordillera Resistance and Revolution;" Prof. Digna Apilado, "Interaction of Cordillera and the Ilocos

Region;" Dr. Sabino Padilla, Jr., "Dr. Scott's Contribution to Ethnography;" Dr. Eusebio Dizon and Mr. Armando Mijares, "Archeological Evidence of a Baranganic Culture in Batanes;" Dr. William Solheim, "Southeast Asian Prehistory in Relation to the Philippines;" Mr. Efren Isorena, "Boat Making in Catanduanes;" Prof. Henry Funtecha, "Boat Making in Western

Visayas;" Prof. Teresita Ang See, "Filipinos in China before 1500;" Prof. Aurora Roxas Lim, "The Iglesia Filipina Independiente;" Prof. Rolando Talampas, "Dr. Scott's Contribution to the Study of the Labor Movement;" Dr. Reynaldo Imperial, "History of Labor Unionism in the Public Sector;" Mr. Arnold Azurin, "Ilocano Resistance."

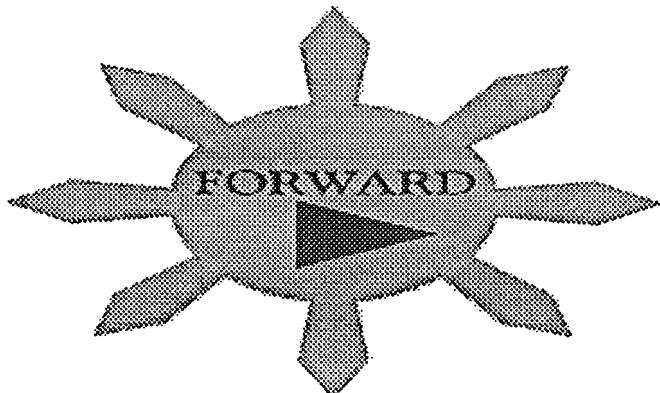
## MSA HOLDS 10<sup>TH</sup> CONFERENCE AND GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The Manila Studies Association (MSA), in cooperation with the National Commission for Culture and the Arts - Committee on Historical Research, the National Historical Institute and the Philippine National Historical Society held its 10<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference and General Assembly at the Tanghalang Leandro Locsin, NCCA Building, Intramuros on 18-19 June 1998.

Paper readers of the conference included Dr. Paul Dumol, University of Asia and the Pacific, "A Hundred Years of Civic Education"; Dr. Eden Gripaldo, University of the Philippines, "Pagbabalik-Tanaw: Ang Himagsikang Pilipino sa Taong 1898"; Mr. Patrick Anthony de Castro, Miriam College, "Ang Urbanismong Pag-unlad ng Maynila, 1896-1898"; Dr. Eusebio Dizon,

The National Museum, "Recent Underwater Archeological Findings: Some Insights into Pre-Spanish Philippine Society"; Dr. Buenaventura Medina, De La Salle University, "Understanding History through Poetic Language"; Dr. Ma. Luisa Carino, De La Salle University, "Poetry and the Task of Writing the Nation"; Mr. Ronaldo Mactal, De La Salle University, "Ang Hong Kong Junta at ang Rebolusyon"; and Prof. Cristina Torres, UP Manila, "Manila: Washington DC of the Orient."

The holding of the conference was also coincided with the book launching of *A History of the Philippines*, by Dr. Samuel K. Tan, Executive Director and Chair of the National Historical Institute.





## PHOTO GALLERY



*Delegates and Guests: National Conference on Local and Oral History,  
Manila Hotel.*

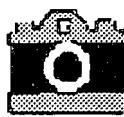


*Conference Participants: 19<sup>th</sup> National Conference on Local and National  
History, Leyte Normal University, Tacloban City.*

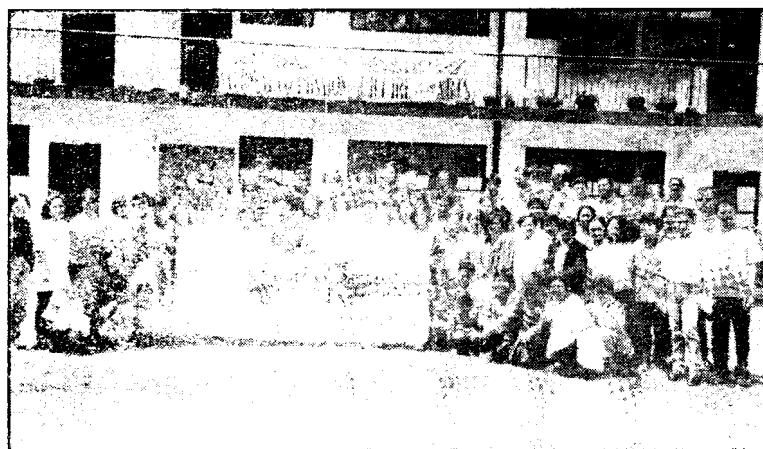


*Conference Secretariat, Manila Studies Association Conference.*

## PHOTO GALLERY



Participants. 9<sup>th</sup> Regional Workshop-Seminar on Local and Oral History.  
Davao City.



William Henry Scott Memorial Lecture Delegates. Sagada.



Kadaluan Conference. Sultans and Datus Maguindanao, Maranao and Lumad.

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## NEW ACQUISITIONS/*Filipiniana*

**Aguilar, Filomeno V., Jr. 1998**

*Clash of Spirits: The History of Power and Sugar Planter Hegemony on a Visayan Island.* Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press (co-published with University of Hawaii Press). 313 pp.

This book draws on oral history interviews and research in archives in Spain, the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Philippines. It reconstructs the emergence of the sugar-planter class and its strategic maneuvers to attain hegemony. It also throws light on the inner workings of colonial capitalism, integrates cultural analysis with political economy, and offers a fresh understanding of Philippine society and history.

**Hutchcroft, Paul D. 1998**

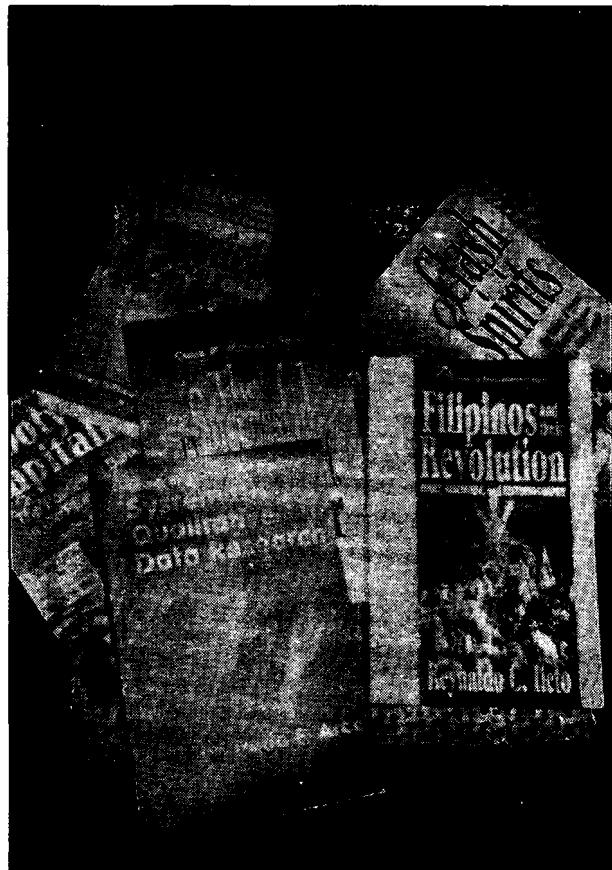
*Booty Capitalism: The Politics of Banking in the Philippines.* Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press (co-published with Cornell University Press). 294 pp.

This book tackles the question on why the Philippines continuously lagged behind other Asian economies despite the resources it had. It carefully examines the interaction between the state and the major families of the oligarchy in the banking sector since the 1960s, and shows the political obstacles to Philippine development.

**Arce, Wilfredo F. 1998**

*Systematic Qualitative Research: An Introduction for Filipino Practitioners.* Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Department of Sociology and Anthropology. 109 pp.

Drawn from the author's extensive experience as a teacher and researcher, this book discusses in a concise manner the basic assumptions, data collection techniques, and analytical techniques of qualitative methods of research in anthro-



pology and sociology. Students and researchers will find the use of examples from actual research in the Philippines and other related literature, and an Appendix of Selected Exercises extremely useful.

**Doeppers, Daniel F. and Peter Xenos (editors). 1998**

*Population and History: The Demographic Origins of the Modern Philippines.* Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press (co-published with University of Wisconsin-Madison Center for Southeast Asian Studies). 444 pp.

This collection of essays aims at a comprehensive demographic history of the Philippines as a subject intertwined with the study of social and economic change across the archipelago. The book traces the causes of the rapid rise and sustained growth of Philippine population from the late eighteenth century to the mid-1870s.

**Essays by Daniel F. Doeppers, Linda A. Newson, Peter Xenox, Michael Cullinane, Shu-Meng Ng, Norman G. Owen, and Francis A. Gealogo** are included in this book.

**Ileto, Reynaldo C. 1998**

*Filipinos and their Revolution: Event, Discourse, and Historiography*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila Press. 314 pp.

This is a collection of essays that explores the intersection of revolutionary history, popular consciousness, and political events from the decades of U.S. rule to the 1998 centennial celebration. Moving between historical issues and theoretical problems, the author encourages the reader to take local and national narratives seriously, to see them as meaningful, mutable, and linked with often unexpected ways to transnational narratives and concerns.

**Silliman, G. Sidney and Lela Garner Noble (Editors). 1998**

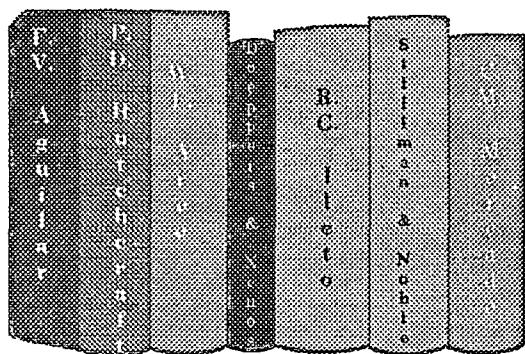
*Organizing for Democracy: NGOs, Civil Society, and the Philippine State*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press (co-published with University of Hawaii Press). 344 pp.

Philippine, American and European scholars document (based on primary research on rural and urban NGOs) the transformation in the character of civil society and evaluate its impact on the state. This book is projected to be a timely and important addition to the literature on the role of nongovernmental organizations in international development and democratic consolidation.

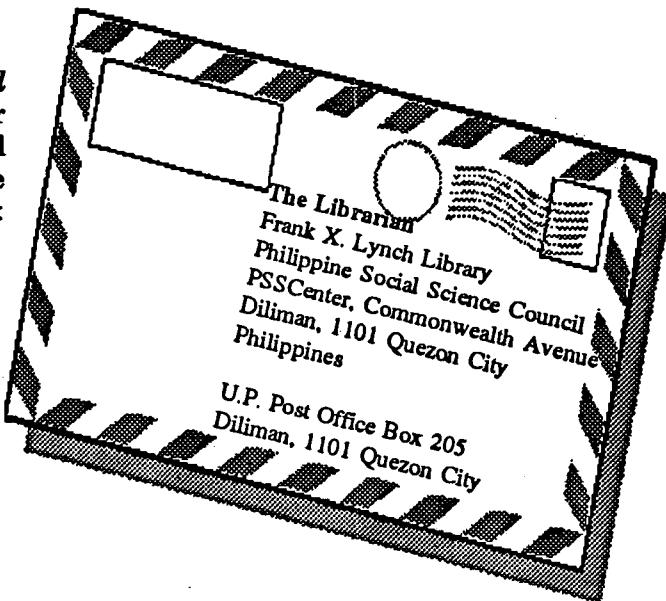
The first section of the collection defines the context within which NGOs function. The second details the response of NGOs, NGO coalitions, and *peoples organizations* to the enduring social, economic, and ecological issues of Philippine society. The third and final section records the interaction between citizen groups and the Philippine state.

**Mercado, Cesar M. 1998 (Second Printing)**  
*The Successful Development Manager*. Quezon City: Development Consultants for Asia Africa Pacific (DCAAP). 89 pp.

Prepared by DCAAP, a Manila-based global training, research, development and consultancy firm that specializes in human development management (HMD), this guidebook aims at helping development managers attain a harmonious relationship between *human, resource and environment* before planning and undertaking programs and projects. It attempts to put together concepts, principles, research results, field experiences and lessons relevant to the formation of development managers.



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