

a joint piece of research on migration in Davao del Sur by Drs. Simkins and Wernstedt, both professors of Geography at The Pennsylvania State University. The fieldwork for the study was done in 1965, supplemented by a shorter visit in the summer of 1967. The painstaking and thoroughgoing manner with which the research was conducted is evidenced in the text itself and in the 20 pages of tables at the end of the book. The tables, a remarkably condensed body of information, are the statistical data on which the authors base their conclusions and observations.

Written with a geographer's eye for detail and contrast, the work starts with a brief account of the researchers' objectives and methodology. This is followed by an holistic overview of the geography of the Digos-Padada Valley — its physical, climatic, edaphic, vegetational, as well as cultural, political, and economic setting, among other things. The third section is an investigation into the history of migrations into the Valley and an analysis of the push-pull factors of migration; the fourth, a description of the demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of the migrants; and the fifth and last, the authors' conclusions about some of the implications of such migration phenomena as they were able to document in Davao del Sur for other areas throughout the world where demographic problems necessitate similar settlement programs for people in densely settled agricultural regions.

The most striking feature of the study, to the reviewer's mind, is the comprehensive view the authors bring to their study — and their ability to make the reader assume the same stance. To one familiar with the area studied, this quality of their work is a constant source of admiration. The authors do not look at migration as simply a matter of people moving from one geographic area to another, of comparing the physical geography of the migrants' points of origin and destination, of describing climatic and edaphic conditions, cropping patterns and farming procedures, and so on. The people, their historical and cultural backgrounds, their psychology and mind-set, are all given consideration, and it is the authors' attention to these

nonquantifiable elements that make their effort especially appreciated by administrators who are involved in the more prosaic task of working with migrants and who need a proper understanding of their problems.

One main contribution of the book is its hard documentation of many conclusions arrived at but often only guessed at or suspected by other students of migration. It is this aspect of the study that should contribute most to the building up of an authentic corpus of migration research and theory.

Other works related to the subject of the present study are these unpublished works by Robert A. Hackenberg: "Involution or evolution? Adaptive radiation in Philippine cultural ecology" (1969) and "Secondary development and anticipatory urbanization in Davao, Mindanao" (1969, with Beverly H. Hackenberg). Both manuscripts are printed by the Institute of Behavioral Science, University of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado. Another unpublished material is Peter A. Krinks' doctoral dissertation, "Peasant colonization in Mindanao, the Philippines" (Canberra, The Australian National University, 1970).

Karl Pelzer, in his publisher's note, ends with a verdict the reader cannot but agree with: "Professors Simkins and Wernstedt have done pioneering work for which they deserve our thanks. Their monograph may well become the model for similar studies." Coming from Dr. Pelzer, himself a scholar of no mean repute in migration studies, the judgment is high praise indeed.

The Pampangans: Colonial Society in a Philippine Province, by John A. Larkin (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1972), xvii, 340 pages, US\$13.50.

JOHN N. SCHUMACHER, S.J.
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The appearance of this pioneering attempt at an ethnohistory of a single Philippine province has

long been awaited. It is the precursor of a number of similar provincial or regional histories now in progress, many of them inspired by Larkin's unpublished doctoral dissertation from which this book originated. Moreover, it is the first study, apart from Wickberg's on the nineteenth-century Chinese, to make extensive use of the documentary treasures of the Philippine National Archives. As the author remarks, professional study of Philippine history has largely been focused on national affairs and on political matters rather than on social and economic change. The consequence has been a rather general but untested assumption of a monolithic structure of Philippine rural society which ignores the very diverse historical development that has actually taken place.

Larkin has taken for his study the period from the Spanish contact to 1921. The fundamental thesis of the book is that throughout this period there was a basic continuity in the patterns of societal organization in spite of the impact made on Pampangan society by the coming of the Spaniards, the creation of a cash economy in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Revolution, and the imposition of American colonial rule. Though the traditional elite of pre-Hispanic *datus* continued in the *principalia* of Spanish rule and was gradually displaced or expanded by the Chinese mestizos from the late eighteenth century, it was the families composing the elite rather than the structure of society which changed, and the traditional mutual relationships of tenant and landlord remained basically unaltered. It was only in the second decade of the twentieth century that the increasing industrialization of agriculture led to the breakdown of the system. The personal bond between the landowner and tenant which had provided security, guidance, and leadership to the tenant and thus justified in the peasant's mind the exploitation of his labor was now breaking down. The growing absenteeism of many landlords, who entrusted the management of the hacienda to an overseer, particularly left the tenant without the valued personal interaction and led him increasingly to sense the inequities of the system under which he labored. The succeeding two decades of

growing hostility were to convert Pampanga from a "bastion of conservatism" to "the center of radicalism," but the cleavage in Pampangan society was already accomplished by 1921.

The thesis of the book will perhaps not seem totally novel to many social scientists. Its claim to value, however, lies in the effort to substantiate and document in detail on the local level the process of development. For this reason special attention ought to be given to the methodology by which the steps in the evolution are delineated. This reviewer found the treatment of the twentieth century more satisfying than the Spanish period from this point of view, though admittedly the difficulties of research are considerably greater for the earlier period. The author has shown considerable creativity in extracting an integral picture of Pampangan society out of scattered data from many sources. A case in point is the analysis of *gobnadorcillo* lists to establish the evolution of the Pampanga elite. The method, however, has its limitations. The conclusion drawn by Larkin from the table on p. 85, which shows a far greater number of new names on the *gobnadorcillo* lists in the period 1821-1896 than survivors from the period 1765-1820, is that the period 1821-1896 saw considerable turnover within the upper class, by which the newly risen Chinese mestizos displaced many of the families of the pre-Hispanic elite. Such a conclusion may well be true, but the data do not necessarily lead to this conclusion. For no account has been taken of the widespread changing of names as a result of the decree of Governor-General Claveria in 1849, which if fully applied in Pampanga as elsewhere, inevitably led to the appearance of many new names on the lists. Moreover, the Hispanic names which Larkin considers to be "heuristic evidence of mestizo penetration" (p. 86) could just as readily be Spanish names received by native Pampangans as a result of Claveria's decree or even adopted spontaneously at an earlier period. Finally, there is the fact, frequently alluded to by the critics of the Spanish regime in the latter part of the century, that the upper ranks of the elite frequently evaded the onerous office of *gobnadorcillo* in the nineteenth century; hence, the absence of

their names from later *governadorcillo* lists would point not to the decline of older elite families but to their having risen above the *governadorcillo* level, precisely as wealthy *hacenderos*. Similarly, the dispersal patterns of leading Pampangan families in Table 2, by which the period after 1765 found the same names on multiple town *governadorcillo* lists, lose much of their force when it is noted that many of the names listed are common Hispanic names — Cruz, Reyes, Santos — which were widely adopted from Catholic saints and feasts and in no way necessarily imply any blood relationship between those bearing the same family name. It is indeed quite possible that the conclusions drawn are correct ones, but the methodology used cannot assure this.

Another methodological point of importance is the use of local history materials such as the Beyer Collection and the Luther Parker Collection. Since these collections are made up of materials written in the twentieth century which admittedly vary considerably in their value, the evaluation of conclusions drawn from such materials would be greatly aided by knowing how the original informants obtained their data. An early twentieth-century source which derived its list of *governadorcillos* from parish records going back to 1615 would be of great value; otherwise more information would seem necessary in order to properly judge the likelihood of the source's accuracy. Information of this sort is not often found. This is not to say, of course, that the materials are not soundly used, but it is impossible for the reader to judge the validity of their use from the information offered.

Among the more clearly sound uses of the Spanish documents, however, is the valuable discussion of land transfers as deduced from the *protocolos* section of the Philippine National Archives, and the conclusions drawn as to agricultural prosperity from such data as the relative predominance of absolute sales to those effected by means of the *pacto de retrovendendo*. The treatment of the *pacto de retro*, the varied options it offered, and the implications of its greater or lesser use, is the best discussion of this important subject this reviewer is aware of. The development of scientific agriculture in the

twentieth century and the growth of the sugar industry are likewise treated with skill and clarity, drawing from numerous and varied sources.

One final point of methodology which this reviewer found unsatisfactory was the general failure to treat developments in Pampangan society in relation to developments in the rest of the country. One must concede the author's justification of this procedure in general, on the grounds that reliable comparative data for other provinces have frequently not yet been gathered. But certain administrative measures, religious movements, methods of political organization have been national in scope, and it seems difficult to evaluate properly developments in Pampanga without taking any account of the national context, especially since implicit but unacknowledged or not fully explicit comparisons are inevitably made. Unsatisfactory from this point of view is the treatment of the Revolution. Larkin underplays considerably the participation of Pampanga in the Propaganda Movement and the early stages of the Revolution. Interpreting the Propaganda Movement as essentially nonmilitant and generally uncommitted to independence, as contrasted with the "lower-class peasants and urban laborers" who forced the Revolution on the *ilustrados*, he finds considerable contrast between the Pampangans and Tagalogs in their response. Yet Pampangans like the Alejandrinos and the Venturas were among the earliest and most radical of the Propagandists in aiming at independence, even in the 1880s. And though he rightly points to the absence of friar haciendas in Pampanga as a major factor in differentiating Pampangan from Tagalog reaction to the early phase of the Revolution, the interpretation of the Revolution in the Tagalog provinces as a predominantly peasant struggle for friar lands obscures the real difference. For it was not the Tagalog peasants but the middle and upper class, the *inquilinos*, who looked to take the friar lands; in Pampanga this same group already controlled the cultivated lands. The revolutionary issues in Pampanga therefore tended to be the more national issues of autonomy and independence, and in this respect the Pampangan elite did not significantly

differ from the Tagalog elite, it seems to me. The whole question demands more discussion than is possible within the limits of a review, but the sharp conflict Larkin sees between the two historiographical approaches to the Revolution — as a predominantly Tagalog affair or as a national uprising — would seem to be a largely false dilemma. Though Larkin says as much at the end of his discussion (p. 127), the apparent attribution of Pampangan participation to “their own social and economic interests and needs for survival,” in contrast with the political aims of the revolutionary government, still seems unsatisfactory.

The lack of a broader frame of reference likewise makes difficult proper evaluation of other events and factors in Pampangan life. The fact that Archbishop Harty (not Hardy) came to Pampanga in 1905 to administer confirmation has little significance for documenting the statement that “the church hierarchy in Manila actively supported parish functions in the province,” when it is recalled that normally all bishops went regularly to the various parts of their dioceses to administer confirmation. Likewise, that priests found themselves harassed by members of Protestant and Aglipayan congregations by 1910 indicates almost nothing of the strength or weakness of Catholicism in Pampanga without some comparison with the known facts concerning other provinces. Other examples of this kind occur.

The length of the criticisms made here do not reflect the overall value of the book which has brought together and analyzed a great deal of data on Pampanga to an extent not yet achieved for any other province or region of the Philippines. It is because this study will undoubtedly serve as a model for similar ones in the future that it has seemed useful to make extensive observations on the methodology used. It is especially hoped that Dr. Larkin's analysis of the available data on land transfer may serve as a model for similar research for other regions, given the dominant significance of land ownership for social status, at least till the end of the nineteenth century. Equally worthy of serving as models are the excellent and informative maps of various types, numerous statistical

tables, and the well-chosen photographs. The author has not been served well by his editors, however, as the errors in transcription of Spanish manuscript or book titles and Spanish and Filipino proper names are rather frequent, with not a few English misprints as well. Quite a few proper names are likewise missing from the index. Finally, there are a certain number of minor errors of fact: Russell, Sturgis and Company went into bankruptcy in 1876 rather than 1893 (p. 206); Martin Sancho became a Jesuit brother in 1593, but was never ordained (p. 58). It is not correct that Pampangan (or other native Filipino) secular priests were ordained in the seventeenth century; probably not before the 1720s. Nor is the argument from silence concerning the quality of the Pampangan clergy in the period 1773–1854 of much force in the light of numerous well-supported general denunciations during this period of the clergy of the Archdiocese of Manila, of which Pampanga formed a part. These defects, however, are minor blemishes in a work which should prove valuable to historian and social scientist alike.

Filipino Student Reactions to Fertility Control, by J. Ross Eshleman, Western Michigan University (Paper prepared for The Association for Asian Studies Meeting, Washington, D.C., March 29–31, 1971).

WILHELM FLIEGER

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The Philippines, a predominantly Catholic country with a population of approximately 37 million in mid-1970 and an annual population growth rate in excess of 3 percent, is experiencing an acute population problem. While this problem has been officially recognized, as evidenced by the establishment of a Population Commission, it is not so clear as to whether people in general are aware that such a problem exists and, if so, know what they can do about it. Eshleman investigates these questions for a