

THE JAPANESE COMMUNITY IN BAGUIO AND LA TRINIDAD DURING THE AMERICAN COLONIAL PERIOD

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ABSTRACT

This study of the Japanese immigrant community in the city of Baguio and nearby La Trinidad, Benguet Province, uses an intergenerational approach, spanning the American colonial period until before the outbreak of the Pacific War. It examines local history not only as a demographic phenomenon within migration history but also within the larger context of national and global socioeconomic and political processes.

KEYWORDS: *Filipino-Japanese, immigration, history, demography, Baguio*

INTRODUCTION

The opening of Japan in the 19th century created economic and social dislocation for many in the rural areas. Thousands migrated out of the island nation - assisted and encouraged by a government eager to control overpopulation. The migrations were neither an isolated nor an even phenomenon: following the pattern of similar migrations taking place in the first part of the twentieth century, large numbers of Japanese were also migrating to destinations in Southeast Asia, North America and South America. Encouraged by new ties between the Japanese and new American administrations, Japanese migrants began pouring into the Philippines at the beginning of the 20th century.

Much work has been done in Philippine demography since the 1970's but a collection of essays, *Population and History*, is the first compilation of demographic history, not merely as a subfield or part of local history (Doeppers and Xenos, 1998). It explores issues beyond purely demographic concerns such as childbearing and death rates. Questions are raised on how the increasingly commercialized economy may have created new opportunities for households or the influence of political stability and improved sanitation on population recovery at the beginning of the 20th century. McCoy and de Jesus (1982) edited a collection examining influences of the world economy on the population of the Philippines, and issued a call to further connect local history with development at both the global and national levels.

There are also a number of potentially valuable works which are unpublished, in languages other than English or effectively concealed in local academic depositories or institutions. For example, there is the unpublished abstract "*Japanese-Filipinos in Davao: A Preliminary Study of an Ethnic Minority*" by Shun Ohno, and the work on the prewar Japanese community in Iloilo by Ma. Lusia Mabunay (1982). In addition, there has been a concentration of local demography using oral or ethnographic sources and materials. As demographic history examining a specific locale, it is essential to place the present study in the context of the Japanese immigrant communities throughout the Philippines in the same time period. Because this was a recent phenomenon originating in the 20th century, due to the "late start" of Japan as an emigrant nation, greater documentation exists than on the corresponding Chinese or Spanish immigrants. Like other migrants during

this period, the key urban areas were the primary destinations, the most favored in terms of total number being Manila, Davao, Baguio, Iloilo and a few other provincial cities.

Despite the fragmented geography of the Philippines as an archipelago nation, communication and transportation had improved considerably by the beginning of the twentieth century and did not present a major hindrance. Indeed it was partly in the building of transportation infrastructure linking Baguio to the lowlands that the Japanese community in Baguio originated. When the project was completed, many of the original workers went to the opposite end of the Philippines, to Davao, a much different locale in terms of geography, climate, culture, language and work opportunities.

The history of the Japanese community in Baguio and La Trinidad can be examined best within the broad context of not only migration but of the larger place of local, national and even global processes as they occurred over two generations within this pre-war community. In this way, demographic history can be comprehended within the larger totality to which it was inevitably linked.

METHODOLOGY

I have examined many traditional documentary or archival sources such as official reports, memoirs, school programs, tourist brochures and magazines. I have also made heavy use of demographic materials: census data including civil records, data from membership records of a non-governmental organization, baptismal records and oral interviews. In the field of historical demography, the use of "family reconstitution" has emerged as a useful tool for micro-level analysis, despite certain methodological limitations. Family reconstitution has relied primarily upon parish records, notably baptismal, marriage and burial registers. The goal of this methodology is to compile historical data on individual families and then to aggregate these histories statistically to ascertain the general demographic behavior of the community as a whole.

The main geographical scope has been limited primarily to the municipalities of Baguio and La Trinidad. There were Japanese residing in other towns of Benguet Province such as Atok and Tublay. However, not only were the adjacent municipalities of La Trinidad and Baguio City closely linked but as the capital of the province, Baguio City was the main economic, social,

cultural and political center. Within the time period under study, continuity was traced from the first to second generation. By the outbreak of the Pacific War, a third generation was just coming into being but because of their young age (mostly under the age of eighteen) had not been afforded the time to make a substantial impact upon their community. Standard demographic data such as educational attainment, family size and occupation have been used, within the limits of the data available. Attention has been paid in particular to the first and second generation: the first as the original Japanese migrants, and the second as their Philippine-born descendants. They represent in effect the historical outcome and continuity of the community that came into being.

There are four types of problem that could compromise the quality of the data: random error, bias of the observer, factual errors and human mistakes. Furthermore, the adequacy of the data depends on the application – the more complicated and sophisticated calculations are more likely to demand a better set of data than those involving general analysis (Hollingsworth, 1968). One possible countercheck is comparison to data of other sorts, for example national averages, or information on other Japanese communities in the Philippines. It is important to note that because of the nature of the immigration (after a long absence until the Meiji period) most of the Japanese communities were founded within roughly the same time period.

With the passing of the former Spanish colony into American hands, there was a marked shift emphasizing civil records as compared with religious records, reflecting the differing institutional purposes and cultural frameworks of the two colonial governments. While parish records were maintained in Spanish or Latin during the American colonial period, civil records reflected a transition of the official legal language from Spanish to English. The national census of 1903 was bilingual (Spanish/English) while the 1918 census had a separation Spanish language version, reflecting the turnover of government administration.

There is also the problem of clerical errors arising from the use of different languages. Misspellings are common with transliterated Japanese names in the western alphabet, yet there also were misspellings with some frequency among the names of non-lowland Filipina spouses. For example, in the civil records of 1923-1926, the wife of Sugimato Tadahiko is spelled first as “Isang” then later as “Esang”. Similarly, the accuracy of parish records depends on

who happens to be recording the entry at any given point in time – given their florid style of penmanship, completeness, accuracy and legibility vary considerably within certain periods.

Due to the nature of the conditions in the Philippines during the time the various censuses were taken different set of problems was encountered. Because of their particular ethnic origin, the exact size of the population remains unknown. Estimates can be derived from censuses but they apply only to either Japanese nationals or Japanese speakers, when so distinguished. In the 1903 and 1918 censuses, possibly because of their small numbers and the vagaries of the policies involved, there is no specific category for Japanese nationals: they are simply lumped in together racially among “yellows.” A separate category for Japanese nationals was only added in 1939, so this census provides the primary census information on the Japanese community in the Benguet area. The time interval between the original settler arrivals in 1903 and the 1939 census is more than thirty years, or roughly one generation. A significant number of those listed would have also arrived in the intervening period, for immigration was not significantly restricted until 1940.

To effectively use local civil and parish records, a significant degree of completeness is required to arrive at reasonable estimates. Since the vital records depend upon voluntary cooperation, the completeness of the information made available may be questioned. This is exacerbated by the remoteness and inaccessibility of many areas given the existing topography, the lack of education about the perceived need for registration, and also the lack of trained personnel. Unlike most of the other Japanese communities in the coastal cities, the subject community resided in one of the most rugged mountainous areas of the Cordillera range. A greater reliance upon midwives in the birthing process further decreased the likelihood of the event being reported. One official reported, “Among non-Christians, registration of births and deaths is negligible” (Valenzuela, 1954, 61). Valenzuela made his observation in the post-war period; the likelihood of the prewar Japanese migrants or their spouses conforming to this expectation is even less likely.

The Church of Jesus Christ of Later-Day Saints has been progressing with an ambitious project to microfilm genealogical records worldwide. In the Philippines, the Mormon Family History Center (FHC) possesses microfilmed copies of civil and church records from throughout the Philippines, and these

form a part of the source material underpinning this paper. Yet, the most complete data assembled by the FHC at the time of this research was only for the years 1915-1931 and 1945-1954. For many parents, the newborn recorded is not the first-born, yet multiple births are recorded very infrequently – that is, many siblings were never registered (Mormon Family History Center, Vault Film # 1778106, 1778137).

Another source of demographic information was the files of a local non-governmental organization, the Filipino-Japanese Association of Northern Luzon, Inc (referred to as ABONG throughout the remainder of this paper). One major purpose of ABONG was to provide assistance to members with regard to legal matters pertaining to citizenship. As a private entity, access to information is restricted to protect confidentiality. Another inherent constraint is that the information is limited to ABONG members, who represented only a part of the overall population of the remaining Japanese descendants. Nevertheless, the information provided has been valuable in providing data not otherwise available. The types of data provided included family roots, parentage, occupation, location at birth, educational attainment and the number and names of children. As with the civil and parish records, not all information is complete, especially with regard to the registration form itself. Interviews were also conducted with a sampling of ten second generation descendants born in the prewar years.

DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS

The Japanese community in Baguio had its origin with the construction of the Kennon Road. The road was the gateway to a planned hill station resort of the newly installed American colonial administration. The Benguet plateau was scarcely populated and developed. The numbers of Japanese laborers working on the road rose from thirty-two in July of 1903 to over five hundred employees by the end of the year. They would eventually number over four thousand. By 1905 the Japanese workforce had stabilized at an average of about a thousand laborers. Living conditions were appalling: billeted in shacks, they found themselves using kerosene cans to boil rice, and they ate with their hands. Poor food and sanitation contributed to illnesses such as malaria, cholera and beri-beri. Many resorted to gambling and drinking; desertion was not uncommon (Nakahara, 1983). After the completion of the road in

1905, many of the laborers dispersed to Manila or other public projects elsewhere in the Philippines. Those who stayed did not lack employment: the American administration under Governor Forbes was determined to make Baguio a success story. Laborers found work in the construction of administrative and government sites such as Teacher's Camp, Camp John Hay and Camp Holmes. By 1908, Baguio hospital had been constructed as well as the residence of the Governor-General. April of the same year saw the Teachers Camp begin operations and the completion of a building for the Baguio Country Club ((Worcester, 1930).

An assessment based on Japanese government documents found that a majority of emigrants were unskilled laborers originating from farming villages in Hiroshima, Fukuoka, Fukusima and Kumamoto prefectures (Hayase, 1989, 297-298). Over three fourths of the migrants did not go on their own but were instead recruited by various emigration agencies. Emigration, which had been previously been barred to the Philippines, was again allowed in 1901 but only through approved agencies (Hayase, 1989). Almost half came from other prefectures besides Hiroshima, Fukuoka, Fukushima and Kumamoto. What appears to be the common denominator of these differing points of origin was their level of poverty, as rural areas along the coast of the Japan Sea in western Honshu and Kyushu (Goodman, 1967). Of the migrants who settled in Benguet over the years, the prefectures of Nagasaki, Kagoshima, Hiroshima, Fukushima and Furuoka were heavily represented. Others came from Osaka, Wakayama, Kanagawa, Okoyama, Nagoya, Yamaguchi, Fuji and Kumamoto (ABONG, 2000).

Further analysis of sources from the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs reveals that 66 percent of those emigrating to the Philippines from 1901-1912 were between the ages of 21 and 40, the overwhelming majority male (97%). Hayase (1989, 295-298) also notes "the average of those going to the Philippines was higher than other places... Many of them were heads of families or the eldest sons", of whom several returned home within a few years. The majority were working age males, and the higher average age seems to confirm that many of the "free emigrants" were neither seeking to permanently migrate nor free in the sense of responsibility. Rather it may have been their responsibilities at home that compelled these working age males to consider seeking employment abroad.

Once they settled within a given general area, the migrants clustered together based upon family ties or provincial identification. A family member would then help other relatives in their transition or stay. A migration chain might form: a network of relationships linking together the points of origin and destination beginning with those pioneering migrants who first established the community. Fukutaro Sato came to the Philippines seeking his brother, said to be working in the mines. Another, Noboro Okubo, stayed with his older brother Teruji in downtown Baguio, until such time as he was able to finish building his home and move out with his family to another part of Baguio in Bokawkan Central, near the present day Marcos Highway (Pucay, personal communication 2501; Guerrero, 1999-2000, personal communication).

Some would stay for a few years and return home, some would return to fetch their Japanese wives and children to bring back to the Philippines and some married local Filipino residents. Some Japanese migrants in Baguio and La Trinidad married with the non-Christianized indigenous populace in the mountain region: the Ibaloy, Ifugao and Igorot tribes (Osawa, 1994). One descendant later wrote how “quite a number of them intermarried with Igorot women in Bontoc, Ifugao and Kalinga” and “treated their native women with the same respect as they would their own countryman.” (Hamada 1983, 22). Reukitze Hamada himself married a daughter of Mateo Carino, a man of standing in the Ibaloy community and original owner of much of the plateau where the city was now taking shape (Hamada, 1983).

Their concept of marriage was not the same as that of the lowland Catholic Filipina, where marriage entailed a ceremony and therefore usually conversion into the Catholic Church. This aroused suspicion on the part of the Roman Catholic Church because the Japanese themselves were non-Christian. This was not helped by competition from Protestant American missionaries staking out the Cordillera region - and the indigenous populace - for themselves. It is likely this is a reason there are fewer records of the Japanese among the baptismal records compared to civil registers. A few Japanese did convert to the Catholic faith: one was a building contractor who would later send his children to Catholic schools (Escano-Teraoka, personal communication, 1999). There are also records of other children having gone through the confirmation ceremony, their education and religious commitment being verified by the Church (MFHC, #1208784).

Marital choices could be related to geography and occupation. It was not unusual for the migrants to encounter their future spouses on the work sites. Catalina, of Igorot descent, would go down along with several others to sell vegetables and fruits in Bontoc. When the bridge at Maypayrip was being constructed they would sell to the workers there also, and it was there that she met Hiojiro Uda. Feliza Esperanza, of Ibaloy descent, lived near Asin Springs. When the authorities decided to build a tunnel nearby, she made and sold rice wine to the laborers, including one whom she would later marry, Eigiuro Shimotsu (Domingo, personal communication, 1999).

On the other hand, while “the wives of Japanese away from the commercial center were native women,” Hamada (1983, 24) observed how “most of [the] Japanese businessmen downtown [Baguio] were married to Japanese women”. This includes Hsugan Miyakita, a merchant who married fellow Japanese Luisa Kozoki in 1925 (MFHC, #1778106). The community was not as homogenous as it appeared to the outside world. They differed not only in their point of origin but also along social class and family lines. Historical timing was important – as Japan continued to further industrialize at a rapid pace, migrants were more likely to be professionals or possess some capital and/or education, compared to those who came from the agricultural economy of the Meiji era.

Table 1. Births from September, 1922 to February, 1931

Year	No. of births	Year	No of births
1922	5	1927	1
1923	12	1928	8
1924	6	1929	4
1925	9	1930	1
1926	5	1931	1

(Source: MicrofilmVault Intl # 1778106, 1778137)

An examination of the Mountain Province civil register from September 1922 to February 1931 reveals very low numbers: only 52 births. Most of the births listed are in or near the municipalities of La Trinidad or Baguio: Camp John Hay, Pacdal, Lucban, Engineer Hill, Camp 7 and even Session

Road. The husbands were all Japanese nationals but only 10 of their wives were Japanese women. Correspondingly, ten births were declared with Japanese citizenship. Those children born and listed as Japanese-Filipino came primarily from the working class: carpenters, farmers, gardeners and laborers. Among professionals, the results are more mixed, ranging across Japanese, Japanese-Filipino and Filipino (MFH Film # 1778106, 1778137).

Conversely, those children declared as illegitimate were the Japanese-Filipinos of the manual occupations, while all those of Japanese nationality were declared legitimate. However there were a considerable number of Japanese-Filipinos also declared to have a legitimate birth. A second generation therefore came into being of whom some were born of Japanese nationals outside their homeland and/or to mixed marriages. It is important to note for the same period, 1922-1931, that there are names recorded on the baptismal certificates but not recorded on the civil registers. The baptismal records are more problematic, as spiritual conversion did not equate with physical birth. The wide age range includes those who were teenagers Francisco Kodama, age 17) or even adults (Jose Sano, age 45). This could reflect missionary activity or the decision of some to embrace the religion of their new land for reasons of convenience (Hamada, 1983).

Table 2. Household Size of Families with Japanese Head: 1939

Size of Household	No of births	%	Size of Household	No of births	%
One person	24	7.8	Seven persons	29	9.4
Two persons	41	13.3	Eight persons	15	4.9
Three persons	52	16.8	Nine persons	14	4.5
Four persons	44	14.2	Ten persons	9	2.9
Five persons	38	12.3	Eleven persons	5	1.6
Six persons	24	7.8	Twelve or more	14	4.5

(Source: Census of the Philippines 1939. Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1940, 1, 119)

The average size of families during the earlier years was rather small, around three to four although for a few families it was their fourth, fifth,

sixth or ninth child. The largest group was those having their first child but they constituted less than 30 percent of the total births recorded (15). It can be presumed most births took place outside the hospital and were consequently unrecorded. It should be noted that the census found "families having a non-Filipino head may and often do include a considerable number of persons who are not citizens of the same country as head" (Commonwealth of the Philippines, 1941, 2, 866). The size of a household with a Japanese head in the Mountain Province, as can be seen from the above table, did indeed vary considerably. The vast majority of the heads were male (293 versus 16 females). The sub-groups most heavily represented had no children (13.3 percent), one child (16.8 percent) or two children (14.2 percent). After two children, the percentage decreases for the most part in relation to the total. Singles, surprisingly, represent only 7.8 percent, a possible indication that immigration had tapered off, heavily outnumbered as they were by the nuclear families. In all, the average median size of a family in the Mountain Province at this time was around 4.1 (Commonwealth of the Philippines, 1941).

Table 3. Japanese Citizens by Age and Gender in Mountain Province: 1939

Age	Total	Male	Female	Ratio (male/female)
Under 5 years	177	89	100	0.89
5 - 9 Years	117	59	65	0.91
10-14 years	91	49	52	0.97
15-19 years	65	42	33	1.27
20-24 years	120	73	44	1.66
25-34 years	285	193	101	1.91
35-44 years	168	135	36	0.75
45-54 years	66	58	14	4.14
55-64 years	35	33	7	4.71
65 and above	5	4	1	4.00
Totals	1,188	735	453	1.62

Source: Commonwealth of the Philippines, 1941

Extrapolated from the above table, there is an overall 1.62 ratio in favor of the male gender, outnumbering total females by about 3:2. While the gender ratio is balanced among the school age population, the ratio leans towards a male-dominated disparity as age increases. The result is that while females under the age of 14 slightly outnumber males, the balance is reversed by the years of middle age, with almost twice as many working age males compared with females. This ratio progressively increases to over four males for every female beginning at age 45 onwards (Commonwealth of the Philippines, 1941). This is consistent with the idea of a new community early in the century, built almost literally from the ground up by mostly male migrants in the earlier years. This pattern does not conflict with the information on marital status: if some of those males did indeed marry Filipina spouses, they would not be in the table as it applies exclusively to those possessing Japanese citizenship. This possibility is observed in the earlier civil service records: the average age of males was 39, while that of the predominantly spouse was 28, although the age gap could be as wide as over 20 years in some cases. The Japanese wives married at a more mature age, late twenties to early thirties, whereas their Filipina counterparts varied from as young as 16 to 37 years of age (MHE, 1778137, 1778106).

Males aged 25-34, comprising the largest group of all age levels, continued to outnumber females in the same bracket by a margin of almost 2:1. This could indicate the common phenomenon of male singles residing for employment opportunities. Even as some of the earlier migrants settled down in their communities, the flow of migrants continued up until the beginning of the fourth decade when the Pacific War had tragic consequences not only on the Philippines generally but upon the newly established Japanese communities in particular.

Entering the second and third decades of the twentieth century, the makeup of the Japanese community in Mountain Province was beginning to change. The community was not as homogenous as it appeared to the outside world. Migrants not only differed in point of origin (town or prefecture) but also social class, occupational pursuits and family ties. One colonial official wrote that in comparison to the Chinese, "many of the Japanese bring their wives and children with them, and very few of them intermarry with Filipinos. For this reason, and because their reappearance in the Philippines is comparatively recent, there is no considerable group of persons of Filipino-

Japanese blood in the local population” (Yu-Jose 1997, 14). It appears that the Japanese community grew from both external mechanisms (a continued influx of immigrants) and natural population increase (births minus deaths). While few members of the original Kennon Road group stayed in Baguio permanently, there were enough of them to form the nucleus of the community growing and expanding in later decades. Family structure was influenced by gender disparity, the primarily male composition of the initial migrant population. While the gender ratio was more balanced by the outbreak of the Pacific War, one major effect was a large number of mixed marriages.

The occupation period beginning in 1941 had disastrous consequences for families: members of a family were often divided or separated, with members living in different provinces, serving the Japanese administration or living with relatives. Many adult males were killed or missing as a result of the war, removing in effect husbands, fathers or sons, cutting a wide swath across two or more generations. Those who did manage to survive were sent back to Japan if they were Japanese nationals: the children were often taken into custody by relatives in Japan as well. Another major consequence was the removal of Japanese authority: Japanese parents and community institutions such as the Japanese Association and the Japanese school.

One second generation member who was repatriated to Japan was Eniosuke Furuya, the eldest son of the photographer Shonosuke Furuya. Eniosuke was born in Baguio in 1933 and was only 12 years old by the end of the war in 1945. His father managed the Pines Studio of the well known Hayakawa businessman while young Eniosuke dutifully attended the Japanese School in Baguio. Becoming a photographer like his father, he returned to the Philippines for the first time only in 1989, during the inauguration of the Kennon Road Viewdeck (FJFNI newsletter 2, No.1, 4).

By contrast, the path of the siblings Charles and Marie Teroaka took a different turn. The senior Terkaoka was also a successful businessman as a building contractor; they were wealthy enough to have a family driver and for the children to attend a leading secondary school, St.Louis. When a bomb hit the refugee shelter outside Baguio Cathedral, only Charles and Marie survived in their family. Repatriated to Japan, they found the situation different, where as *nikei-jin*, they felt not completely accepted by their relatives. In the early

1950's, Charles elected for Philippine citizenship, after which both of them returned to the new Philippine republic (Escano-Teraoka, personal communication, 1999).

Combined with the exit of Japanese nationals through death, repatriation and removal of the first generation including spouses and children, the result was the breakup of the community at the most fundamental level, the family. The majority of remaining households were in effect led by a single (Filipino) parent; in mixed marriages, the female spouse now had to assume the dual role of both parents. Left behind were also children of Filipino descent or nationality. Japanese children under the age of 15 were not required for repatriation but in the case of minors, it seems age was of less importance than possession of Japanese citizenship. As a result, the postwar community was composed of Nikkei-kin or those with mixed Japanese-Filipino ancestry. The linkage between the first and second generation was significantly disrupted. Families broken apart often had no awareness of the fate or existence of each other. Only a few descendants were able, after two or more decades, even to see their fathers. In some cases, the Filipino mother remarried a Filipino national (ABONG records, 2000).

Children possessing both Filipino and Japanese names were many and they were often used interchangeably by both parents and siblings in daily usage. After the war, many of the second generation made use of Filipino names, their baptismal and/or maiden name of the mother, to avoid backlash from anti-Japanese sentiment, with particular regard to job prospects and to maintaining property rights to ancestral lands. A large number of the spouses whom these second generation Japanese descendants would marry later came from the immediate region: they were likely to be members of the local community, whom they already knew or were introduced to from another acquaintance or met in school or work (ABONG records, 2000). Unlike the first generation, the spouses were more likely to be from the same region or town with a common dialect (Ilocano) and culture (Filipino). Descendants and spouses were more similarly matched in terms of educational attainment. The age gap between spouses of the second generation was usually much less than that of their parents: the age range was also lower, with most marrying in their twenties (ABONG records, 2000). The second generation was more likely to resemble the Filipino population around them.

Despite the dislocating effects of these experiences, the Japanese-Filipino community, now primarily composed of Nikkei-jin and their descendants, was able to gradually recover. Large numbers of them continued to reside in Baguio, La Trinidad or other municipalities in the Benguet province, although some moved to nearby provinces such as Abra, La Union, Pangasinan, Mountain Province and Metro Manila as well. In the latter part of the 1960's, A Japanese Catholic nun, Sister Uno, visited the Philippines and upon learning of the Japanese descendants left behind, requested to be transferred to the Philippine mission. She visited many of them in outlying locations before she was able to enlist enough support from others in Japan and the Philippines to establish the Filipino-Japanese Association of Northern Luzon in 1974, later reorganized into a foundation (90th Anniversary Souvenir Program, 1993). In 1995, Charles Teroaka, the second-generation son of Charles Sr, was appointed honorary Japanese consul, a distinction conferred on few people worldwide (FJFNI Newsletter 2, No1, 3). With assistance from the Japanese government along with private donations, ABONG was able to provide legal assistance and scholarships to the descendant children and Japanese language classes (Nippongo) were introduced (FJFNI Newsletter 2, No1, 3).

CONCLUSION

Benguet Province at the beginning of the 20th century was a region relatively untouched by colonial influences throughout most of its history. Its encounter with American authority, development, integration into the national system and its transformations had a direct influence upon the people who would come to reside there. The majority of immigrants coming to Baguio were working age males, many of whom returned to Japan. Others chose to stay, becoming settlers. Some brought their spouses from their homeland while others married women in the local populace. The result of these mixed marriages was the intermingling of two non-Christian cultures in a predominantly Christianized nation. The continued growth of the Philippine economy and the development of the city enabled the first migrants to achieve a modest level of prosperity. The migrants were also able to grant their children the beginning of an education they themselves did not have opportunity to experience. Their fortunes reversed by the war,

the second generation found their opportunities limited by political ostracism, despite being born on Philippine soil. Renewed opportunities for the descendants have come full circle through private donations and governmental assistance channeled through the non-government unit they had organized.

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