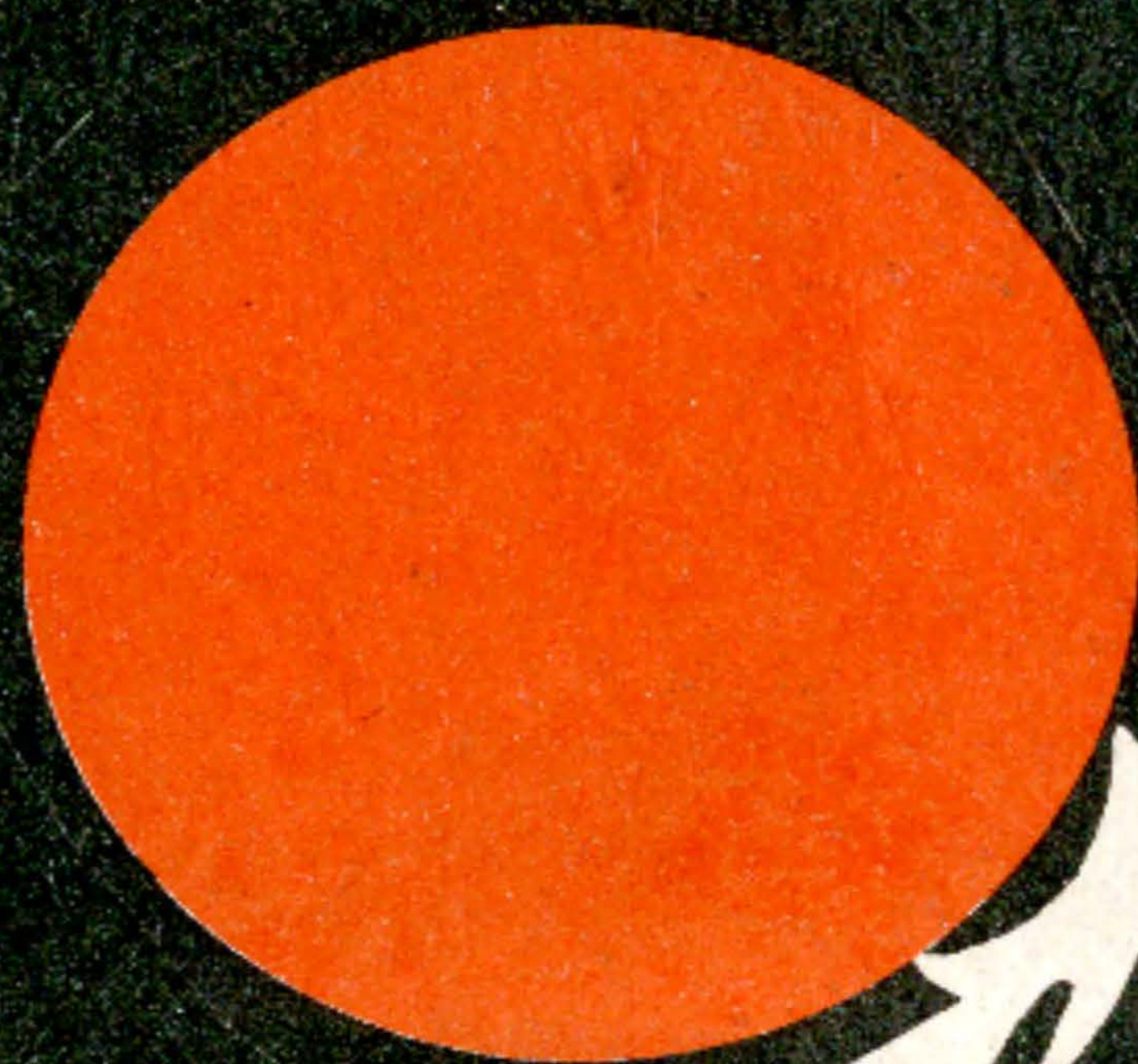


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CULTURE CONTACT AND ETHNOGENESIS IN MINDORO UP TO THE END OF THE SPANISH RULE*

VIOLETA B. LOPEZ

For centuries Mindoro exuded an air of mystery to all that passed through the island. The turbulent waters that surround it, which were of old the site of numerous shipwrecks, the successive ranges of mountains, the diverse set of peoples inhabiting the interior and the coasts, the exotic tropical plants and rare wild animals, the many rivers and streams, all combine to generate an aura of mystery.

Around this relatively unknown island grew fantastic myths about the "white race" and "tailed-people" of Mindoro. The 17th-century traveller-chronicler, Gemelli Careri described them as people with a "tail half a span long".¹ Le Gentil de la Galaisière, a French scientist sent to do astronomical studies in the region, also made reference to the popular myth about the Mangyans at that period:

It is said that in the Island of Mindoro there is a case of men who have little tails, like those of monkeys. Several priests have witnessed this and have so assured me; and not long ago in the Pacific coast near Baler, a woman was found who had a tail. Of this I have been assured by the missionaries who saw her...²

Early in this century, a report circulated that Mindoro was the home of a white race with one woman; any man who had seen her never came back. The report originated in the imperfect knowledge of one American reporter who, translating wrongly from a Filipino newspaper, mistook a legend of the Batangan Mangyans for real fact and consequently made of this group a purely white "tribe".³

* Research on this article was carried out in part through the help of a grant from the Philippine Social Science Research Council.

¹ "A Voyage to the Philippines" in *A Voyage Round the World*. (Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild), p. 133. Careri's description was based on the reports given by some Jesuit priests who probably mistook the Mangyan "bahag" for a tail.

² *A Voyage to the Indian Seas*, (Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, 1964), p. 43.

³ A. Henry Savage Landor, *The Gems of the East, Sixteen Thousand Miles of Research Travel Among Wild and Tame Tribes of Enchanting Islands*, (New York and London: Harper and Brothers, 1904) p. 461.

To this day, little is known about the inhabitants of interior Mindoro. They are to the lowlanders generally known as "Mangyans", a term which upon closer study would not reveal much meaning or distinction, except that of savage, mountaineer, pagan negroes⁴ — meanings reminiscent of a colonial past.

Yet, there is a sense in which Mangyans today still live in a colonial setting, unyoked from age-old exploitation of "outside people".

This paper examines the various historical accounts which constitute an external view of the Mangyans and the culture up to the end of the Spanish rule. The history of the Mangyans as a people is attempted on the basis of the varied references made to them by Spanish and other writers.

From the sources themselves, we are able to surmise the varying forms of pressures the 'Mangyans' have had to contend with from the outset up to the end of the Spanish colonial regime. Pressures inevitably bring about responses; thus, this study also focuses on the 'Mangyan' reactions to external pressures. The sources appear to allow the inference that the Mangyans may have constituted themselves as groups as a result of these pressures from the outside.

Pre-Spanish Mindoro

Though present day Mindoro hardly gives the impression of a flourishing trading port, it was one of the major islands regularly visited by Chinese traders long before the Spaniards stepped on Philippine soil. Early Chinese accounts of the Sino-Philippine cultural relations may be gleaned from Chao-Ju-Kua's work *Chu-Fan-Chi* (literally, *Reports on the South Seas Barbarians*) completed in 1225.⁵ This

⁴ Pardo de Tavera defines the term in *Etimologia de los nombres de razas de Filipinas* (Manila, 1901: "Thus in Tagalog, Bicol, and Visaya *manguian* signifies "savage", "mountaineer", "pagan negroes". Blair and Robertson construed this word as applicable to a great number of people (Filipinos), but nevertheless applied it specifically only to certain inhabitants of Mindoro: "In primitive times, without doubt, the name was even then given to those of that island who today bear it, but its employment in three Filipino languages shows that the radical *ngian* had in all these languages a sense to-day forgotten . . ." Cf. Emma Blair and James A. Robertson, *The Philippine Islands* 1493-1898. Vol. 40. (Cleveland, Ohio: The A. H. Clark Co.) p. 47 footnote. Henceforth this work will be referred to as B & R.

⁵ Wang Teh-Ming, "Sino-Filipino Historico-Cultural Relations", *Philippine Social Sciences and Humanities Review*, Vol. XXIX, September-November, 1964.

gives us a comprehensive enough account of the Philippines especially Mindoro and the neighboring islands.

In his account, Chao Ju-Kua made mention of the island of Ma-i which historians today generally believe to be Mindoro. Recently, an analyst of pre-hispanic historical sources wrote that "Mai is evidently Mindoro, for that island used to be called Mait, which is a southern Chinese pronunciation for the name".⁶ He partly supports his view with the Spanish account of Juan Francisco de San Antonio (*Chronicas de N.S.P. Francisco en las Islas Filipinas, China y Japon* 1738) which, among other things make reference to Mindoro. Chapter 36 of this book deals with "De la Provincia y Isla de Mait o Mindoro". It speaks of *Minolo* "from whence the Spaniards apply *Mindoro* to this whole island which in ancient times has been Mait". Mait according to Fr. de San Antonio is presumably a Chinese word meaning gold.

Scholars of the 19th century also made reference to Mait as Mindoro. Notable among them is Ferdinand Blumentritt who gives as the meaning of Mait, 'the country of the black', which he says is the name of Mindoro.⁷ Early in the 20th century, Dr. Fletcher Gardner, a pioneer field researcher on the Mangyans found Hampangan tribal folks calling the island *Mayit*. Lately, Scott records that the term *Mayit* is still used by Mindoro indigenes to refer to the region around the mouth of Mauhaw river, Bulalacao.⁸ Olarte, on the other hand, avers that the fishermen of Akl'an still call Mindoro, Mait. Of this controversial place, Chao Ju-Kua gave the following account:

The country of Ma-i is north of Borneo. The natives live in large villages (literally, of more than a thousand household) on the opposite banks of streams, and cover themselves with a cloth like a sheet or hide their bodies with loin-cloth.

There are bronze images of unknown origin scattered about the tangled wilds. Few pirates reach shore.

When trading ships enter the harbor, they stop in front of the official plaza, for the official plaza is that country's place for barter and trade. The local chieftain board the ship and proceed to make themselves right at home, and since they make a habit of using white umbrellas, the merchants must present them as gifts.

⁶ William Henry Scott, *Pre-hispanic Source Materials for the Study of Philippine History*, (Manila: University of Sto. Tomas Press, 1968), p. 72.

⁷ Quoted from Hirth-Rockhill's *Chu-Fan Chi*, cited in Wang-Teh-Ming; *op. cit.*, p. 405.

⁸ Cited in the footnote of W. H. Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

The method of conducting business is for the savage traders to descend on the baskets and hampers all in a mob, grab them and pick out the merchandise and then go off. If at first they can't tell who they are, gradually they come to know those who remove the goods so in the end nothing is actually lost. The savage traders then take the goods around to the other islands for barter, and generally don't start coming back till September or October to repay the ship's merchants with what they have got. Indeed, there are some who do not come back even then, so ships trading with Ma-i are the last to reach home.⁹

While some of the trade items and information mentioned by Chao-Ju-Kua can be checked against ethnological and archaeological sources, whether Ma-i is indeed Mindoro, is not conclusive. There are scholars with differing opinions. Jose Rizal himself, after offering a geographical premise, declared that Ma-i should be in the Tagalog region of Luzon.¹⁰ Wang Teh-Ming, cited earlier in this paper, agrees with Rizal and adds that "Ma-i or Ba-iac was primarily located in the Batangas region, including: Cavite, Laguna and at least a part of Manila, Rizal and South Tayabas, beside the province of Batangas."¹¹ He gives reasons historical, archaeological and etymological in nature to back up his claim.¹²

Despite his denial of Mindoro as the land of Ma-i, Wang Teh-Ming does not discount the existence of trade relations between the Chinese and the early inhabitants of Mindoro. In particular, he considers Mindoro as the Min-to-lang referred to in Wang Ta-Yuan's account completed more than a century after that of Chao Ju-Kua. The account of Min-to-lang which is part of the *Tao-I-Chih-Lio* or *A Short Account of the Islands Barbarians* is, according to the chronicler himself, a report of his two voyages in the South Seas, probably from the port of Zaitun.¹³ It is generally supposed to be the most complete record relating to the Philippines, among the Chinese sources of the Yuan dynasty. Min-to-lang is described in Wang-Ta-Yuan's work as:

... an important port along the sea coast. Owing to the stream overflowing the sea, the sea water is not salty. The soil of their cultivated fields is fertile. Rice and other crops are cheap. The climate is hot. To esteem thrift is popular. Both man and woman do their hair up in a knot, and wear black short-shirt, with blue short skirts around the lower part of the

⁹ From William H. Scott and Ju I-hsiung's English translation in the *Historical Bulletin*, Vol. XI, No. 1 (March 1967), pp. 69-72.

¹⁰ Rizal's letter to A. B. Meyer, cited in Wang Teh-Ming, *op. cit.*, p. 405.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² For extensive discussion of these points, see: *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 300.

body. They dig wells for drinking water, boil sea water to make salt and ferment treacle to make wine. There is a chieftain(s). Robbery or piracy is prohibited. When any one commits the crime, his whole household will be slain. The local products are: Wu-li wood, musk, sandal wook, kapok, and ox-deer-leather. In trading the Chinese goods are: lacquered wares (porcelains), copper cauldron, Ja-Po (Java) cloth, red silk fabrics, blue cotton cloth . . . wine and so on.¹⁴

On the basis of the accounts cited, Wang Teh-Ming believes Min-to-lang to be Mindoro. As a proof, he cites the trade item "ox-deer-leather" which he interprets as one solid term — that is leather derived from an 'ox-deer'-like animal. He identifies this animal as the tamaraw, and sets this forth as a major reason for identifying Min-to-lang as Mindoro.¹⁵

Obviously, this animal is nothing but (the) tamaraw which "looks somewhat like a deer and somewhat like a carabao". Hence, we may conclude that Min-To-Long is Mindoro. For "Mindoro is the home of a fierce animal called *tamaraw* which is found in no other part of the world".

Wang Teh-Ming supports his view by pointing out that Min-To-Lang is Min-To-Long in the Amoy dialect, and might well be Min-to-lo in old Chinese, "for as a rule, the final nasal of many Chinese words is a later development".¹⁶

In the Ming dynasty and shortly before the coming of the Spaniards, references were made to Mang-Yan San and I-Ling in the Ming Annals, *Tung-Si-Yang-Kao* (The Study on the Eastern & Western Oceans, 1618). Wang Teh-Ming identifies these places as part of Mindoro — Mang-Yan San, as northwestern Mindoro and I-Ling as Ilin or the western end of the island. He adds that "the people Mang-yan of the island may have the name after or for it" (*sic*).¹⁷ Another term closely related to Mang-Yan San is Ka-Ma-Yan, a name possibly transliterated from Ka-Mangyan, or the land of the Mangyan people.¹⁸

While it may not be conclusive whether Mindoro is indeed Mai or Min-to-lang, it is quite clear from the accounts cited so far, that the inhabitants of the island had trade relations with the outside world centuries before the Spaniards came and colonized the country. However, it should be pointed out that such trade relations were limited

¹⁴ W. T. Ming's translation, *op. cit.*, p. 303.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 306.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 413.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

to the exchange of goods on the coastal areas. There is no indication of the existence of Chinese settlements or communities from the accounts, the prevailing picture appearing to be more of itinerant Chinese merchants trading items from one island to another. Therefore, no culture contact situation analogous to the present seems to have existed during the pre-Spanish period.

Mindoro at Contact Point with Spain

The idyllic pattern of trade relations between the Chinese merchants and the inhabitants of Mindoro was disrupted with the coming of the Spaniards in the 16th century.

Pressing northward from their base in Panay, the Spaniards first set foot in the island of Mindoro in April, 1570. This drive northward was spurred by news of flourishing settlements and rich supplies of gold in the island of Luzon. Added to this compelling drive was the presence of Portuguese forces in Cebu which harassed the Spaniards to an extent that Legazpi, the first Spanish governor-general of the island removed the settlement to Panay — "a place where no damage may be done, for never since these parts were discovered have the Portuguese resorted thither, and neither the king of Portugal nor his vassals had trade or commerce, nor can they possess anything there".¹⁹ From his island therefore, the youthful and daring *conquistador* Juan de Salcedo was sent to explore the neighboring islands of Luzon, including Mindoro.

Salcedo's pioneer expedition is described vividly in an account made by an anonymous writer, presumably one of the Captain's soldiers. In his introduction to the account, he explains that he has ventured to write:

... because I have been informed that many things concerning events in this land have been written, and sent to Nueva España, which are the merest fable and conjecture . . . whatever I may say in defense of these natives will be read without any mistrust whatever, for whosoever reads this will know the truth with regard to what occurs here.²⁰

¹⁹ Andres de Mirandaola, "Letter to Felipe II", (Cebu, June 8, 1569). B & R, Vol. 3, p. 38.

²⁰ Manuscrito inedito, "Relacion de la Conquista de la Isla de Luzon", fechado en Manila, el 20 de Abril de 1572, in Wenceslao E. Retana, *Archivo Del Bibliofico Filipino*, (Madrid, 1898), p. 4. Portions cited were translated by Mrs. Consuelo Perez and compared with the translation in B & R. Vol. 3, pp. 141-172.

The account states that Salcedo sailed from Panay with 14 or 15 small ships, then sailed to a small island called Elim (possibly Ilin), from whence he crossed to the island of Mindoro and

. . . spent the night till dawn in a very rich town called Mamburau, plundered it and captured many natives some of whom afterwards escaped, while others were set free upon giving payment.²¹

Pressure from the 'Spanish Sword', as may be inferred from the preceding account, constituted one of the earliest forms of compelling influence upon the inhabitants of Mindoro. Unlike the Chinese who came solely to trade, thus exerting only a minimal influence on the indigenes, the Spaniards came to conquer and reduce the island to a vassal of Spain. The corresponding response of the natives to this initial pressure from the Spaniards may be gleaned further from the account:

When the Captain (i.e., Salcedo) was deported, the natives, who had fled from the pueblo, returned and saw the havoc and destruction caused by the Spaniards, and were unwilling to return and rebuild it; accordingly they themselves set fire to it, and totally destroyed it.²²

Faced with the possibility of further attacks and plundering by the Spaniards, the indigenes quite understandably retreated. The reaction is characteristic of people who are resistant, but are unable to change the tide of events. This may be inferred further in the reaction of the Lubang residents who did not differ markedly from them — a people resistant to the encroachment of outsiders on their lives and properties, but helpless in the hands of an overpowering force. Of the Spanish action and the native reaction, the writer relates:

. . . . The captain, having arrived at his destination at midnight, with all possible secrecy leaped ashore, and arranged his men and the Pintados Indians (Visayans) whom he had with him in an ambush near the village, in order to make the attack upon them at daybreak. However, the natives of the island having been informed of the hostile incursion of the Spaniards, withdrew with their children and wives and all their belongings that they could take with them to three forts which they themselves had constructed. Now as the captain approached the villages at daybreak, and found them empty, he proceeded through a grove to the place where the first fort was situated; and having come in sight, negotiated with them, asking whether they desired to be friends of the Spaniards. The natives, confident

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

²² *Ibid.*

of their strength, refused to listen, and began to discharge their culverins and a few arrows. The captain, seeing that they would not listen to reason, ordered them to be fired upon. The skirmish lasted in one place or the other about three hours, since the Spaniards could not assault or enter the fort because of the water surrounding it. But, as fortune would have it, the natives had left on the other side, a boat tied to the fort . . . two of our soldiers threw themselves into the water and swam across, protected by our arquebusiers from the enemy, who tried to prevent them. This boat having been brought to the side where the Spanish were, fifteen soldiers entered it and approached the rampart of the fort. As soon as these men began to mount the rampart, the Indians began to flee on the other side, by a passage-way which they had made for that very purpose. It is true that thirty or forty Moros fought and resisted the entrance of the Spaniards; but when they saw that half of our people were already on the wall, and the rest in the act of mounting, they all turned their backs and fled . . .²³

The existence of forts complete with moats, reflect a relatively advanced culture. Likewise, the writer's account of the weapons used by them in warfare portrays a people with a knowledge of metallurgy:

Now since these were the first natives whom we had found with forts and means of defense, I shall describe here the forts and weapons which they possessed. The two principal forts were square in form, with ten or twelve culverins on each side, some of them moderately large and others small. Each fort had a wall two *estados* high (lit., two men high), and was surrounded by a ditch, two and one-half *brazas* in depth, filled with water.

The small weapons used by these natives are badly tempered iron lances, which become blunt upon striking a fairly good coat of mail, a kind of broad dagger, and arrows — which are weapons of little value. Other lances are also used which are made out of fire-hardened palm-wood and are harder than the iron ones. There is an abundance of a certain very poisonous herb which they apply to their arrows. Such are the weapons which the natives of these islands possess and employ.²³

Salcedo had another military encounter with two groups of natives who likewise provided resistance, but while the first group ended up defeated, the natives in the second fort were able to hold their ground:

On the following day, we went with some four hundred friendly Indians to the fort; and the captain advancing within sight of it, addressed them, asking they should be friends with the Spaniards and not try to fight with them, as that would result badly for them. They again declared that they did not desire this friendship, and began to fire their culverins and discharge arrows; and in return the soldiers discharged, on all sides, their arquebuses. But during the whole day we were not

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 6. trans. based on B & R, vol. 3, p. 144.

able to enter the fort, for we Spaniards were very few in number; and the heat was intense, and we had not eaten, although it was near night. The captain, seeing that he had not accomplished anything, decided to return to the boat which he had left behind.²⁴

The Spanish siege did not end with defeat for the natives, but an amicable treaty was reached with the Spaniards:

To this end the leaders came out of the fort and made peace with the captain, becoming good friends, which they are up to the present time. They gave him a hundred tall (taels) of gold which he divided among the soldiers.²⁵

Salcedo returned to Panay with all his force, after having successfully laid the groundwork for future colonization of the islands of Mindoro and Lubang.

In May of the same year, the Spaniards returned to Mindoro with a larger force designed to finally reduce the island into a tributary of Spain. The second expedition was led by the Master-of-camp, Martin de Goite, accompanied by several Spanish officers, among whom was Captain Juan de Salcedo. The account of the expedition may be gathered from a document without signature, which narrates the events of the "voyage to Luzon" in May, 1570. It is a simple but graphic narration of the campaign which resulted in the conquest of Luzon and the foundation of the Spanish settlement in Manila and Mindoro. The account, evidently written by one who took part in those moving events, cites that Martin de Goiti,

. . . left the river of Panay with 90 arquebusiers and 20 sailors on board the following vessels: the junk "San Miguel", of about 50 tons' burden with three large pieces of artillery: the frigate "La Tortuga"; and fifteen *praus* manned by natives of Cebu and the island of Panay.²⁶

After passing through the islands of Zibuyan and Banton, they reached Mindoro and anchored there with all the vessels in his charge.²⁷

The account speaks of Mindoro as "the lesser Luzon", not in the sense of it being inferior, but because of the unexpected presence of flourishing ports and maritime towns, "all inhabited by Moros". The writer also reports that "inland lives naked people called Chichimecos".²⁸

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 145.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 146.

²⁶ Anonymous, "Relation of the Voyage to Luzon", (June 1570) in B & R, Vol. 3, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

These above facts are of great import because they imply the existence of two distinct sets of people — the coastal and the inland peoples. While little is said of the 'chichemecos', or the inland folks, the coastal people are described extensively, especially as regard their reaction to the coming of the Spaniards in the island. The "Moros", residing in the river of Baco and the capital town of Mindoro, are said to have a large number of culverins, arrows, and other offensive weapons, and were entrenched in a very strong fort.²⁹ The town of Mindoro itself is described as an "excellent though poorly-sheltered seaport. The harbor has only one entrance. Its waters beat against a hill which is the first and the smallest of a chain of three hills overlooking the port. The foot of the hill was fortified by a stone wall over fourteen feet thick".³⁰ The people themselves are described briefly as "well-attired after their fashion, and wore showy head-dresses, of many colors, turned back over their heads". They are also shown to be in possession of large quantities of gold which they so wisely withheld from the Spaniards by deception;

They give it an outside appearance as natural and perfect, and so fine a ring, that unless it is melted they can deceive all men, even the best silversmith.³¹

These same people are shown to be in close links with the "Moros of Luzon". Martin de Goiti himself sought information from them regarding the distance of Manila and the towns which could be found on the journey:

. . . While in this port of Mindoro, the master-of-camp sought information concerning the distance to Manila and the towns which would be found on the journey. Our interpreter disagreed with the Moros of Mindoro as to the number of days it would take; but they all agreed that it was far, and that perhaps the weather would not permit us to sail thither. The natives of Mindoro added also that the Spaniards were crazy to go to Manila with so small a force, and that they pitied us. They recounted so many wonders of Manila that their tales seemed fabulous; they said that there were very large oared boats, each carrying three hundred rowers, beside the warriors; that the people were well armed and excellent bowmen; that the ships were well equipped with artillery, both large and small; and that any one of these vessels could attack two *praus*, and sink them when within range. With these accounts the Moros tried to discourage the Spaniards; but the more they attempted to frighten

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

them with such things the more desirous they all became to set foot in Manila.³²

The account itself of the encounter between the Spanish forces and the 'Moros of Mindoro' is described as an aborted battle — the Spaniards more desirous of a 'treaty for peace' than war, and the Moros divided in their determination to fight:

There seemed to be a difference of opinion among the Moros, as was gathered from their demeanor, for some made gestures of war, and others of peace, some of them even going so far as to throw a few stones and level the culverins. On the whole, they were not very anxious to fight. Meanwhile, the master-of-camp was so near them that they could have spit (*sic*) on him. All the Spaniards had already disembarked, and stood at an arquebuse-shot from the master-of-camp. The latter was so anxious to win over those Moros and gain their confidence.³³

Owing to the 'peaceful attitude' of the Spaniards, no battle took place. The natives wisely gauged the situation and took advantage of the 'peace-offering' of the Spaniards:

The Moros having seen the peaceful attitude of our people, one of them descended the hill, almost on all fours. Our Moro guide advanced toward him but on account of the great steepness of the hill, he had to be helped up by the other Moro. After they had seen and recognized each other, and after the customary embrace and kiss, they descended to the master-of-camp. The latter told the Moro who had come down through the interpreter, that he need not fear; for he had not come to harm them, but to seek their friendship. The Moro carried the message to the others upon the hill, and a chief came down; and upon reaching the master-of-camp, said that he and all the town wished to be his friends, and to help the Spaniards with whatever they possessed. The master-of-camp answered that the proposition was acceptable; whereupon the Moro chief asked him to withdraw from that place—saying that, after they had withdrawn, he would come to treat of friendship and of what was to be given.³⁴

Considering the strength of the Spanish forces with one hundred sixteen men and five hundred to six hundred drafted natives, the response of the natives becomes more than just a case of passive resistance but a creative response to Spanish pressure. As may be gleaned from the following excerpt, the 'Moros' did not fully yield at the first confrontation, but took every opportunity to carry out stratagems de-

³² *Ibid.*

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

signed to give an outward form of acceptance while they bade their time for a mass withdrawal from the sphere of Spanish control:

. . . . a Moro came with sixty gold taels, which he gave to the master-of-camp asking him not to be offended if the gift were not brought quickly, because the people had dispersed through fear, and therefore it could not be collected so soon; but he promised that they would raise the amount to four hundred taels. The master-of-camp received this gold, and had it placed in a small box, the key of which he gave to the Moro, telling him to keep it until the promise was fulfilled; but to consider that after treason nothing could be more blameworthy than falsehood. The Moro salaamed low, and said that he would *not lie, and that they would fulfill their promise little by little* (underscoring mine). And so they did, for on that same day, four more messengers came with gold; and all entreated and begged the master-of-camp not to be offended at the delay, if there should be any. With these flatteries and promises the Moros detained us about five days, during which time we had friendly dealings and intercourse with them, although they mis-trusted us to a certain extent³⁵

The delaying tactics of the natives gave them time to withdraw from the coastal town into the hills.

This is the first recorded response of import, for the process of withdrawal out of the sphere of Spanish control later led to diverse differentiation of cultures among the natives who decided to remain in the coastal areas and those who decided to flee into the interior. Without doubt, those who decided to remain within the pale of Spanish control embraced the Catholic Faith and consequently absorbed Spanish cultural practices transplanted in the country.

The Chinese Traders in Mindoro at Contact Point

An equally significant point made by the same chronicler is his reference to the presence of Chinese traders in the island, some of whom they encountered in a skirmish at the Baco river. The Spanish author's account of the presence of the Chinese in Mindoro corroborates the point made earlier in this study about the existence of trade relations between them and the natives of the island. For one thing, the trade items found by the Spaniards on board the Chinese junks, parallel those mentioned in the Chinese accounts cited above:

The soldiers (i.e., Spanish) searched the cabins in which the Chinese kept their most valuable goods, and there they found

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

silk, both woven and in skeins; gold thread, musk, gilded porcelain bowls, pieces of cotton cloth, gilded water-jugs, and other curious articles—although not in a large quantity, considering the size of the ships. The decks of both vessels were full of earthen jars and crockery; large porcelain vases, plates and bowls; and some fine porcelain jars, which they call *sinoratas*. They also found iron, copper, steel and a small quantity of beeswax which the Chinese had bought³⁶

The writer adds that the Chinese were known to the natives as *Sangleyes*, which means nothing more than a 'travelling merchant'. The Spaniards found several *Sangleyes* in Mindoro, some of whom were encountered in a skirmish at the Baco river area. While the original intent of Martin de Goiti was to "request peace and friendship with them", the Spanish arquebusiers who reached the river ahead of the master-of-camp, engaged the Chinese in a short battle which ended with the death of twenty Chinese traders:

. At the break of day, the *praus* which had preceded the others reached the river where the Chinese ships were anchored. The Chinese, either because news of the Spaniards had reached them, or because they had heard arquebuse shots, were coming out side by side with foresails up, beating on drums, playing on fifes, firing rockets and culverins, and making a great warlike display. Many of them were seen on deck, armed with arquebuses and unsheathed cutlasses. The Spaniards, who are not at all slothful, did not refuse the challenge offered them by the Chinese; on the contrary they boldly and fearlessly attacked the Chinese ships and, with their usual courage grappled with them . . . the goodly aim of the arquebusiers was so effective that the Chinese did not leave their shelter, and the Spaniards were thus enabled to board their ship and take possession of them . . .³⁷

Martin de Goiti, according to the account "showed much displeasure when he heard of the occurrence". And to make up for it, he set the Chinese free and provided assistance for the repair of their ship. This gesture was "highly appreciated by the Chinese who, being very humble people, knelt down with loud utterances of joy".³⁸

At point of contact then with Spain, Mindoro was an island of relative importance. It was frequently visited not only by native traders from other islands as Luzon, but also foreign traders like the travelling Chinese merchants. The coastal people then whom the Spaniards encountered, were not without experience dealing with aliens and itinerant travellers. It is likely that the island even served as a

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

commercial port where not alone Chinese, but other Southeast Asian nationalities as well, loaded and unloaded trading goods. Early Spanish accounts in fact speak of the town of Mindoro as an excellent seaport — an asset which they did not leave untapped, for shortly after colonizing the island, they turned it into a major port-of-call of vessels coming from New Spain and the islands of 'Pintados'. Thus, to speak of Spain's discovery of the island or of any other part of the Philippines is totally unwarranted, for even Spanish accounts of the state-of-affairs at that time discounts the whole idea. In truth, Spanish historians themselves speak of maritime towns or pueblos, of fortified forts and moats, even a 'stone wall over 14 feet thick'.

On the other hand, the coastal people are described as possessing a relatively advanced culture, having a diverse collection of arms and elaborate forms of defenses against possible intruders. They were also shown as fancy dressers and owning quantities of gold. These descriptions reflect a culture that could not be legitimately called 'primitive'. As the Spanish writers themselves recognized, the inhabitants were not only skilled warriors but also a resilient people — innovative even in the face of defeat. Furthermore, the Spaniards encountered in the island a semblance of organized religion which ironically posed the same challenge as in their own homeland.

In all likelihood, the 'Moros of Mindoro', as they are described in the Spanish accounts, are proselytes of the roaming Bornean preacher-traders that undertook Islamic missionary activities in different parts of the country shortly before the Spaniards came. It is also possible that some Borneans themselves formed settlements among the older inhabitants of the coastal areas of Mindoro and exercised some form of authority among the indigenes of the island.³⁹ Nonetheless, the accounts do not verify the existence of deeply embedded Islamic practices, save one reference in the letter of Fray de Albuquerque which mentions among other things that "some inhabitants in Mindoro killed pigs out of sheer hatred for them, whereas they killed goats

³⁹ Prof. Cesar A. Majul attests to the existence of Bornean settlements in Manila and construes that some of the rulers found by the Spaniards were themselves Borneans. He in fact cites that as late as 1574, the Borneans and their allies, the Sulus, continued to extract tribute from the natives of Mindoro, thus this practice must have been going on for quite some time. Cf. *Muslims in the Philippines*, (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1973), pp. 72-78.

with special ceremonies". These people may well be the Muslim Bornean settlers among the native inhabitants of Mindoro.

Around this period too, distinctions between inland coastal peoples have already been noted in the Spanish accounts though vaguely, for their expedition did not go beyond the coastal areas. The 'Chichimecos' or inland folks may well be the pioneer settlers, driven to the interior by the arrival and immigration of Borneans in the island. With the coming of the Spaniards, a new movement into the interior is observed causing a shift in the geographic placements of the inhabitants of the island. This time the 'push factor' are colonizers bent on reducing the natives to vassals and tributaries of Spain.

Mindoro During the Spanish Era

Religious work in Mindoro and with it, the compelling influence of the friars, started alongside the pacification of the island in 1570. Colin observes that side by side with Salcedo's soldiers were preachers of the Faith, who preached through the island.⁴⁰ In 1575, a letter to Phillip II of a Spanish captain named Juan Pacheco Maldonado reports, among other things, the presence of the Augustinian order in Mindoro. He includes Mindoro in the list of five places where religious monasteries could be found in the country and adds that it is one of the relatively few areas "where a great number of Indians have been converted".⁴¹

Contrary to what one writer cites,⁴² the pioneer religious workers in Mindoro were the Augustinians and not the Jesuits. Among those pioneer Augustinian preachers were Diego Mojica and Francisco de Ortega. Mojica was sent to the island in 1573, whilst Ortega was re-assigned and appointed prior of the convent of Manila in 1575, after a near-death encounter in the hands of the 'Moros of Mindoro'.⁴³ Juan de Medina throws light on this event spurred by Limahong's attack

⁴⁰ Francisco Colin, S. J. *Labor Evangelica*, (Madrid, 1663) rep. in 3 vol. ed. Pablo Pastell, Barcelona, 1900-1902, p. 132.

⁴¹ Juan Pacheco Maldonado, "Letter to Felipe II", Manila (1575?) in Blair and Robertson, vol. 3, 1569-1576, p. 299.

⁴² Macario Z. Landicho, "Ecclesiastical Administration" in *Mindoro Yearbook* (Manila: Year Book Publishers, 1952), p. 126.

⁴³ Juan de Medina, *History of the Augustinian Order in the Filipinas Islands*, O. S. A., 1630, in B & R, Vol. 22, 1629-1630, p. 222.

on Manila, whence the pirates spread rumors that the Spaniards had all been killed. Medina records that,

Those who hastened to believe this (i.e., the rumors) were the Indians of Mindoro, who are also something like the Moros... As soon as those Moros heard, then, of the result at Manila, they threw off the yoke, attacked the fathers, seized them, and talked of killing them. However they forbade to kill the fathers immediately — I know not for what reasons since the Moros were setting out to execute that resolve.⁴⁴

At the onset, the influence of the missionaries did not go beyond the village of Baco, where only one minister labored for years. At that time the flourishing coastal villages noted in the early Spanish accounts had all disappeared, as may be gleaned from Ortega's report which came out in 1594:

The island of Mindoro is 80 leguas or so in circuit, and lies to the south. It is but scantily populated. Although much of it has not been visited, in the known parts there are about 2000 Indian tributarios. The chief village of the island (which belongs to your Highness), has one minister. There is need of 6 ministers of the one priest that it has.⁴⁵

One of the earliest references to the 'Mangyans' was made by Fray Medina who identifies them as "other Indians whiter than the Tagals, living in troops in the Mountains".⁴⁶ Except for the apparent difference in color which, obviously, was more a consequence of the 'Tagals' greater exposure to the sun in the coastal areas, no other marked differences were recorded.

Medina describes the Mangyans as

..... the ancient inhabitants of the country, and it is they who gather the great abundance of wax which is yielded there..... They are very good, and if they were instructed and taught, it would be easy to reduce them to settlements and missions.⁴⁷

It is possible that these same people described by Medina are the 'Chichemecos' reported in the account of Martin de Goiti's expedition to the island. From Medina's account it is quite clear that the Mangyans themselves are inland peoples:

..... Especially do these Mangyans fear the sea. They pay no tribute. They fear lest the Spaniards take them to man their

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ Fray Francisco de Ortega, "Report Concerning the Filipinas Islands, and Other Papers", in B & R, Vol. 8, p. 98.

⁴⁶ Medina, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

ships. They go naked; and deliver the wax to the Tagals, which the latter pay as tribute, and give as their share. More than three hundred quintals of wax yearly must be obtained in this island.⁴⁸

A chain of exploitation is evident from the account — that is, lowlanders were exploiting the Mangyans and the lowlanders in turn were exploited by the Spaniards. Direct interaction between these mountain peoples and the Spaniards would have been made difficult by the nomadic life of the former. As such, direct missionary efforts to reach the Mangyans began only in 1631, more than half a century after the Spaniards set foot in the island. Murillo Velarde records that in that year, the Augustinians relinquished their missionary work in the island to the Jesuits, who immediately set forth to convert the Mangyans:

In the year 1631 the cura of Mindoro, who was a secular priest gave up that ministry to the Society, and Ours, began to minister in that island, making one residence of this and one of the island of Marinduque, and the superior lived at Naujan in Mindoro; and they began to preach, and to convert the Manguanes, the heathen Indians of that island.⁴⁹

Velarde's account of the Mangyans does not differ markedly from Medina's description of them. He likewise describes them as a nomadic people, with no fixed habitation; living only on wild fruits and root crops. Obviously, the descriptions do not fit the coastal people found by Salcedo and the pioneer Spanish explorers in the island:

. . . . These people wandered through the mountains and woods there like the wild deer, and went about entirely naked, wearing only a breech-cloth (bahaque) for the sake of decency; they had no house, hearth, or fixed habitation; and they slept where night overtook them, in a cave or in trunk of some tree(s). They gathered their food on the trees or in the fields, since it was reduced to wild fruits and roots; and as their greatest treat they ate rice boiled in water. Their furnishings were some bows and arrows, or javelins for hunting, and a jar for cooking rice, and he who secured a knife or an iron instrument, thought they had a Potosi (?). They acknowledged no deity, and when they had any good fortune the entire barangay (or family connection) killed and ate a carabao, or buffalo; and what was left they sacrificed to the souls of their ancestors.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, loc. cit.

⁴⁹ Cited in the footnote of the translation of sections of Colin's work in B & R, Vol. 23, p. 274.

⁵⁰ Pedro Murillo Velarde, *Historia De La Provincia De Philipinas De La Compania De Jesus*, Segunda Parte, (Manila: La Imprenta de la Compania de Jesus, 1749), Lib. III, Cap. 15, p. 278.

It is safer to conclude that the people described here are the inland or mountain people living in the interior of Mindoro, long before the Spaniards came. These are the same people that the Jesuits came to evangelize.

The Jesuits' efforts at converting the Mangyans were not without fruits for Colin records that a few years after they took spiritual charge of the island, "some 600 of the tribe... received Baptism".⁵¹ Such conversions took place around the area of present-day Naujan where the first Jesuit residence was located.

Though the initial number of converted tribal members is quite impressive, Catholic outreach among the Mangyans progressed rather slowly. A lull in missionary activity seems to have taken place at one point broken only by a revival of religious activity in 1665. Velarde records that in the month of October that year, the same time when a violent earthquake hit Manila, Fray Diego Luis de San Vitores and some companions undertook a missionary trip to Mindoro.⁵² He notes down the difficulty of their travels but observes that the "time and strength were well spent for not only the old Christians (lowlanders) were revived in their faith but... the infidel Mangyans, many of whom were converted to (our) religion."⁵³ The missionary activities of the priests who set afire a religious revival of the Catholic Faith in the island, included instruction, preaching, hearing confessions and settling their affairs. Many conversions and revivals of special interest were obtained of both Christian lowlanders and Mangyans. Velarde in particular cited that of a Mangyan woman,

... a heathen, married to a Christian man. She was baptized, and named Maria; and afterward they called her "the Samaritana", on account of the many persons whom she brought to the knowledge of Christ, the ministers availing themselves of her aid for the conversion of many persons, not only heathens but Christians, with most happy results.⁵⁴

The account cited above brings out several items of great import. For one thing, it tells of intermarriage between a Mangyan and a 'Christian man', undoubtedly an indication of a close lowland-Mangyan interaction, which is also reflected in the acceptance of the woman as a witness of the Faith. The fact that the priests used her not only to

⁵¹ From the translation of sections of Colin's work, *op. cit.*, Lib. I Cap. XVI, p. 64.

⁵² Velarde, *op. cit.*, in B & R, Vol. 44, p. 103.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 104.

facilitate conversion of the Mangyans but also of lowlanders would mean her acceptance into lowland culture. The distinction made between 'Mangyan' and 'Christian man' should however be pointed out, as this possibly reflects the growing differentiation between lowland 'Christian culture' and highland culture. This truth could be further seen in the account that follows, which also reflects the extent of the religious revival that went on in the island of Mindoro:

In order to convert these heathens, a beginning was made by the reformation and instruction of the Christians (i.e., lowlanders); and by frequent preaching they gradually established the usage of confession with some frequency, and many received the Eucharist — a matter in which there was more difficulty then than now. Many came down from the mountains, and brought their children to be instructed; various persons were baptized, and even some, who, although they had the name of Christians, had never received the rite of baptism. After the fathers preached to the Christians regarding honesty in their confessions, the result was quickly seen in many general confessions, which were made with such eagerness that the crowds resorting to the church lasted more than two months.⁵⁵

The adoption of Christian names, their willingness to be baptized and have their children taught by the friars, show the extent of the compelling influence or religious pressure exerted by the Spanish priests on the Mangyans with whom they came in contact, during the said religious revival in the island.

As a further consequence of the religious revival in the island, three churches were erected for the converted Mangyans: one in Bongabon, another in Pola, and that of San Javier on the coast of Naujan.⁵⁶ Velarde adds that another was built for the holy christ of Burgos, for those old Christians who were roaming about through the mountains.⁵⁷ Whether these were old Christian Mangyans or lowlanders is not clear from Velarde's account.

To sum it up, compelling religious influence exerted by the pioneer Spanish missionaries in Mindoro, forms one of the earliest 'pressures' on Mangyan life. This however, should not be set apart from the equally compelling force provided by the Spanish colonial government which came simultaneously with the 'Cross.'

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ M. Velarde, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

Effects of Spanish Colonial Rule In Mindoro

In the early years of Spanish colonization of Mindoro, the island was administered as part of Bombon (now known as Batangas), and directly supervised by the chief magistrate residing in the said province.⁵⁸ It should however be pointed out that, the inhabitants of the island were also subject to the religious cleric in their midst. Velarde for instance, records that apart from preaching and hearing confessions, the priests who initiated a Catholic revival in Mindoro, also administered the affairs of the natives.⁵⁹ In 1591, it was set apart from the province of Batangas and was organized into a *corregimiento* with Puerto Galera as the capital. Under this system, the island was placed under a military officer called the *corregidor*, but as Teodoro Agoncillo points out, conditions of peace and order were less stable under such order.⁶⁰ From Colin as recorded in 1663, we note a change in the form of administration in the island-the *corregidor* was replaced by the *alcalde-mayor* or provincial governor and the capital was moved to Baco:

La cabecera de la Isla, y jurisdiccion en que reside el Alcalde mayor, es Baco, pueblo de saludables aguas, porllevar los montes, en que nace surio, la sarsaparilla: bien, que no tan fina como de la Castilla.⁶¹

Under the new system, the *alcalde-mayor* or provincial governor was the Chief political, judicial, financial, and military official.⁶² This concentration of power in the hands of the same official inevitably led to abuse of power. Thus until the reform decrees of 1844 and 1886 made some changes, there were four principal sources of abuses by the *alcalde-mayor*: the privilege to engage in commerce and the lending of money. Agoncillo points out further that

At the same time that he was the highest executive official in the province, the *alcalde-mayor* was also the highest judicial official and performed the functions of a judge of first instance. The anomalous nature of this arrangement derives from the fact that some of those who became *alcaldes-mayores* were formerly hairdressers, lackeys, sailors, or deserters, with no background in the law. One who was, himself, ignorant about the law performed the duty of interpreting the law . . . As the only judge

⁵⁸ Anonymous, "Relacion de Las Encomiendas Existentes en Filipinas, in W. E. Retana, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

⁵⁹ M. Velarde, *op. cit.*, p. 278.

⁶⁰ Teodoro A. Agoncillo and Oscar M. Alfonso, *History of the Filipino People*, (Quezon City: Malaya Books, 1967), p. 86.

⁶¹ Colin, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

⁶² Agoncillo and Alfonso, *op. cit.*, 86.

in the province, the alcalde-mayor was in the enviable position of making the decision himself.⁶³

The atrocities committed by the alcaldes-mayores reached a point where the Spanish military and naval officers themselves have to take action to stop them from making business out of the ships of the State:

. . . . Se quito a los alcaldes mayores toda atribucion en materia de corso, para evitar el abuso de que utilizasen en provecho propio y en sus negocios comerciales a los buques del Estado, y es mando reparar todos los fuertes de los Visayas, Mindoro, Tayabas Y Zamboanga.⁶⁴

Despite the presence of such an oppressive system, the isle of Mindoro remained a flourishing port for some time. Antonio de Morga, a noted and well-respected historian of the 17th century, includes it in his list "of the more extensive, and the principal and best known islands in the country".⁶⁵

He gives a concise description of Mindoro, and points out that it has many settlements of natives similar to those found in other islands. These people according to him, "settle on the side where it bounds with the province of Balayan (Batangas) and Calilaya. Apart from these, Morga identifies a principal settlement in the island which has a port called *The Varadero* or shipyard for large vessels, aside from other places of anchorage and sand-bars for smaller vessels. He also records many other settlements of natives all along the coast of the island, all of which localities, according to him, abound in rice and food supplies."⁶⁶

The Muslim Pirates' Action in Mindoro:

The relative prosperity of the coastal towns of Mindoro underwent a serious setback with the rise of Muslim piracy in the seventeenth century. While Professor Majul asserts that not all Moro attacks at that time were purely piratical, he acknowledges the existence of Muslim marauders carrying out "their private enterprises".⁶⁷ It is primarily the "private piratical groups" that were instrumental in bring-

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ D. Jose Montero y Vidal, *Historia de la Pirateria, Malayo-Mohametana en Mindanao*, Tomo I (Madrid: Imprenta y Fundicion de Manuel Tello, 1888), p. 350.

⁶⁵ Antonio de Morga, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*, trans. by Encarnacion Alzona and annotated by Jose Rizal (Manila: Jose Rizal Centennial Commission, 1962), p. 267.

⁶⁶ *Op. cit.*

⁶⁷ Majul, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

ing about the deterioration of the coastal towns of Mindoro. Barely a century after the onset of piratical attacks on Mindoro, the island was greatly depopulated and was reduced to a malaria-infested region, devastated and stripped of all its former prosperity.

From several Spanish accounts, it is possible to infer many side-lights of the actions of the pirates in Mindoro. Montero y Vidal's *Historia de Pirateria*, Vicente Barrantes' *Guerras Piraticas de Filipinas* and a number of other Spanish writings become highly relevant on this count. In recent times, Prof. Majul's account of the *Muslims in the Philippines* provides new perspectives on these long-drawn conflicts between the 'Moros' and the Spaniards.

Yet, regardless of Majul's redefinition of the Moro wars and the apparent effort to justify three centuries of Muslim attacks on various Spanish-held territories at that time, the fact remains that such struggles served at one point as a tremendous pressure on the lives of the inhabitants of those places. Taken as captives and sold as slaves, at times killed mercilessly, the natives were innocent 'pawns' caught in the conflict between the Spaniards and the Muslims. In the final analysis, the natives of the islands and not the Spaniards were the ones who truly bore the brunt of Muslim assaults.

The first recorded Muslim attack of Mindoro took place in 1602 when a Magindanao fleet led by Datu Buisan attacked the island and some coastal towns of Luzon, as part of larger Islamic offensive against the Spanish presence in the country. According to the existing accounts, the Muslims scourged the coastal towns of Mindoro and a few settlements in Luzon and netted about 700 captives including clergymen.⁶⁸ Majority of course of the captives were natives who later on were turned into slaves or exchanged for goods. Captives were taken according to Majul, to weaken inhabitants of "Spanish-held territories fighting the Muslims, to provide income to the raiders (as the practice was to exact huge ransoms from Spanish officials, native chieftains or men of importance), and to strengthen the war machine of the Muslims, as well as to increase their agricultural production-the captives were kept not only as household retainers but also as farm or agricultural workers to enable the Muslims and the other so-called free-men to dedicate themselves to the profession of fighting.⁶⁹ Fray

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 117.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 122

Martinez de Zuñiga, further records that while the captives do not yet reach the homes of the Moros, they suffer great hardships:

They are placed in wooden stocks, at times with both feet and hands inserted, and safely tied so that they could not escape. When the business of the sales and barter of captives are over, they enjoy greater freedom and are often ordered to serve in their master's house and to get water, to catch fish, and other chores....⁷⁰

Another recorded account of Muslim attacks on Mindoro took place in April 1636, when Tagal, the *kapitan-laut* of Sultan Qudarat set forth to spend a season of plundering in Mindoro and Calamianes. The Spanish captain Juan Lopez writes that:

Tagal went to Mindoro, and everywhere he pillaged a great quantity of goods, and took a number of captives. He left Don Diego Alabes in Mindoro (he was assigned as *corregidor* in Cuyo and Palawan) so that he might come (here) to get ransom and that of the three Recollect fathers. They demanded two thousand pesos and thirty *taels* of gold — the latter amounting to more than 300 pesos in addition for each person...”

According to another account which Blair and Robertson assume to be that of Pedro Gutierrez, S.J. 1637, Tagal remained almost eight months in the coast of Mindoro, “robbing and inflicting enormous damage.”⁷¹ In 1657 the Moro chief, Balatamay, is reported as committing the most terrible atrocities in the islands of Marinduque and Mindoro and returning to Mindanao with much booty and a multitude of captives, Montero y Vidal's account provide a more graphic account of Balatamay's incursions in Luzon:

His boldness (i.e., of Balatamay) brought them until the coast of Mariveles, near Manila in whose waters he seized two Chinese vessels filled with goods. Upon their return they stayed in Mamburao, an island of Mindoro, where they built a hidden factory, where some traders went to make business and from whence they (the Moros) sold their native captives.⁷²

Though the Spaniards undertook several expeditions to drive the Muslims away from their settlements, they were able to hold on to their fortified strongholds for centuries, and to carry on their ‘pillaging business’. As such, Mindoro served as convenient base and stop-over for the Muslim pirates. Further accounts of Muslim action in Min-

⁷⁰ Juan Lopez, “Events in the Philippines”, in *B & R*, Vol. 27, 136-37, p. 316.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 215.

⁷² Montero y Vidal, *op. cit.*, p. 333.

doro reports that in 1753 and 1754 Calapan, the capital of Mindoro was sacked and burned to the ground. In the first raid 409 prisoners were taken, and an unknown, near Mansalay, was destroyed. In 1754 they took 150 prisoners between Bongabong and Bulalacao-areas which until recently were recorded as Hanunoo settlements.

A Spanish expedition of 1250 men, sent from Manila in 1762, against the Muslims who had fortified themselves on a peninsula between the rivers Maasin and Mamburao, momentarily checked Muslim activity in the region. An apparent recurrence of piratical incursions in the years that followed, led to the sending of an even larger force in 1778. The expedition led by a certain Don Jose Gomez, went to Mamburao which had been reoccupied by the pirates and burned the town, boats, and crops. In this, Gomez was ironically duplicating the exploit of Juan de Salcedo who did exactly the same thing in 1570. The expedition was apparently successful for as Montero writes, "commerce started to progress, (i.e., for the Spaniards) except in Samar whose trade relations with Manila was paralyzed for more than ten years".⁷³ After the said event, the Spaniards successively made more assaults in other places, particularly in Balete which the Moro frequented, but because the Muslims had always easy access to the mountains the Spanish expeditions did not accomplish the desired effect.⁷⁴

The successive Muslim raids and Spanish counter-attacks staged in Mindoro, inevitably led to the destruction of formerly flourishing coastal towns and depopulation of such places, as numerous inhabitants were taken as captives, or fled inland to relative safety. In 1800, Fray Joaquin de Zuñiga who travelled through Mindoro records that the coves of Pinamalayan, and other places in Mindoro which used to be populated were entirely deserted and have become the hiding places of pirates. Of Ilin, a former Spanish gold dust claim, Zuñiga writes, "Neither houses nor people could be seen because the Moros had wrought havoc on the region and have settled down there,"⁷⁵ The noted Spanish writer likewise avers that in his time the pirates could no longer undertake the "piratical expeditions of yesteryears, nor could they rob any more to their heart's content. . ."⁷⁶

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 360.

⁷⁴ Fr. Joaquin Martinez de Zuñiga, *Estadístico de las Islas Filipinas O' Mis Viajes Por Este Pais*. Tomo Primero (Madrid: Dec. 1893).

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

While a decline in piratical incursions has been noted in this period, existing accounts also cite sporadic 'Moro attacks' even towards the end of the 19th century. Jordana for instance, records raids made as late as 1870 and 1874 in places listed as Bulalacao (which Gardner at the start of the twentieth century identified as a Hanunu-o region), Tulin and Socol.⁷⁷ Including such raids, Muslim piratical activity in Mindoro cover almost three centuries of known suffering and shame.

It is evident from the foregoing accounts, that the population of Mindoro have been under tremendous strain for centuries. Without doubt, the consistent burning of towns either by the 'Moro pirates' or the rampaging Spaniards, the ransacking of homes and capture of natives for the slave market, could very well have brought Mindoro to its end as a port of major importance. A further effect must have been to drive the population either into exile in safer places or to send them inland to comparative safety. Joseph Montano, a Frenchman who travelled through the Philippines during this period brings out this point vividly in his account:

.... As for the big island of Mindoro, situated more towards the south-west, it was in olden days the granary of the Philippines: Mindoro was colonized by the Fathers of the Company of Jesus; in the preceding century, the suppression of the Company gave a fatal blow to its prosperity; the *raids of the Moros finalized its ruin* (italics mine). Today, the Tagalog population, very small, is more or less concentrated on the shores. Some half-savage *Manguianes* who some say are of the same race as the Tagalogs, roam in the thick forest which covers the ruins of formerly flourishing towns.⁷⁸

It is interesting to note that while the Spanish accounts strongly attribute the destruction of Mindoro to Muslim attacks, Montano places the blame largely on the Spaniards' mismanagement of the affairs of the island. Rizal himself assume this view and in his annotation of Morga's work writes with sarcasm,

Mindoro is so depopulated that the Minister of Overseas Colonies, in order to remedy this effect of the Spanish colonization, wants to send to that island the most dissolute from Spain to see if great beasts can be made into good settlers and farmers. Anyway, considering the condition of the people who are going there, undoubtedly the following generation will know how to

⁷⁷ Ramon Morera Jordana *Bosquejo Geografico e historico natural del archipielago Filipinos* (Madrid Impr. de Moreno y Reyes, 1885), p. 52.

⁷⁸ Joseph Montano, *Voyage Aux Philippines Et. En, Malaisie*. (Paris: Hachette, 1886), p. 78. Translation by Dr. Zeus A. Salazar.

defend themselves and live so that the island will not be depopulated again.⁷⁹

Thus along with the disastrous effect of Muslim piracy, the Spanish exaction of heavy tributes among the inhabitants, the imposition of burdensome monopolies, and unreasonable requirement of forced services in the forts, contributed equally to the deterioration of Mindoro. Fray de Zuñiga himself recognized such abuses and strongly advised that the Spaniards will have no hope of seeing the island populated again and prospering, unless

..... the people be exempted from paying the required tribute for several years until such a time when some regular towns could have been established, that they would not abandon their houses, that no monopolies be imposed on them nor burden them with the forced services in the forts — unless so needed for their own security. If to these measures of gentleness and indifference to profit are substituted severity and covetousness, no progress shall be expected . . . If the magistrate start to collect tribute with harshness, if they ask that they be paid in kind — made burdensome with the imposition of value exceeding one-half of the regular peso — if the guards commit their usual wanton tricks with the pretext of listing down the smuggled goods, if the magistrates would once again bother the native merchants by extorting from them the little profit they make, these will easily go to places where they will be treated with consideration and respect.⁸⁰

Mass immigration to nearby provinces like Batangas, served at one point as a handy means of escape from the rampaging Muslims and the tyrannical Spanish magistrates. de Zuñiga records that about 1,165 families migrated to Batangas in 1735 to evade such menaces already mentioned.

The Mangyans in the 19th Century

Despite the relative isolation of the Mangyans, they were not fully free from the 'Moro' piratical incursions. As a fact, the Muslim pirates found safety refuge in the interior when faced with overwhelming Spanish forces. de Zuñiga writes that such easy access to the mountains made it impossible for the Spanish soldiers "to hunt them like wolves and deer." On such occasions when pirates freely roamed in the interior, Mangyan villages were raided and consequently

⁷⁹ Jose Rizal's annotation to Morga's *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*, op. cit.

⁸⁰ de Zuñiga, op. cit., p. 112.

destroyed. This apparently conditioned the Mangyans to flee at the presence of strangers, fearing they are pirates:

In the mountain they (i.e., the fleeing natives captives) usually come in contact with heathen natives who reside there and *who usually flee upon seeing them thinking that they might be Moros who did plenty of harm many times before . . .* (italics mine).⁸¹

Apart from the pirates, the Christian captives who managed to escape from them also fled to the interior of Mindoro and came in close contact with the Mangyans:

In order to persuade these pagans that they are peaceful men who need their help, these Christian escapes kneel down before the mountaineers and arrange their arms in the form of a cross. The *infieles* recognize this signal, take them to their homes and entertain them.⁸²

It is possible that such captives taken from different parts of Luzon, intermarried with the Mangyans and maintained residence there-possibly contributing to the growing diversification of inland culture.

Apart from the difference in religion, no significant distinctions between lowlanders and Mangyans are set forth early in the 19th century. In 1800, Fray de Zuñiga described them simply as the "Non-Christians of Mindoro... are natives like the others, but are less exposed to civilizing influences; as a consequence they live a more miserable life". The miseries of the Mangyans, as the well-respected Spanish historian perceives them come in the form of lowland exploitatoin:

The Christians give them a bolo and rice to plant. What they do is to burn a piece of barren land (possibly a kaingin) and with the bolo they plant the rice; when reaping time comes, he gives back one-half of his harvest in return for the bolo and the seeds. He might have to give up the whole harvest if he had back dues. The more fortunate people of Mindanao(?) take too much advantage of their non-Christian fellows. They buy the honey and wax gathered by the Mangyans in the forest at a low price and sell or barter them with goods from Manila priced exorbitantly, which yield them much profit. This is one of the reasons why these gentiles do not desire to be baptized or to embrace the Catholic faith even if the priest instruct them in Christianity and even if they often visit the Christian towns⁸³

Setting aside his bias, de Zuñiga's observation presents a keen view of lowland-Mangyan interaction at the start of the 19th century. As

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 111.

⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

will be shown later on, almost the same form of Mangyan exploitation exist to this day, thus proving a long history of lowland abuse of the Mangyan people. It is ironic but true to this day, that the nominal Christian lowlanders are themselves the deterrents to the total conversion of such tribal peoples to the Christian faith. The Spanish ecclesiastical policy to remedy such a situation is summed up in de Zuñiga's pronouncement:

All these difficulties will be remedied if evangelical ministers are placed in the hinterland, independent of other towns, *and if new towns are organized for those who are newly converted.* (underscoring mine).⁸⁴

The policy of setting new towns for 'converted pagans' was a widespread Spanish practice in dealing with the 'heathen' people of the country. Such a practice is considered by Felix Keesing as a major key to the cultural differentiation which developed between 'Christian lowland' Filipino and the mountain people:

With pacification and Hispanization of the lowland groups, and resistance by the mountain groups, the lines were drawn between Christian and non-Christian, which were to last up to modern times. At most, mission workers were able to whittle away at the edge of the mountain populations, transferring them down to the lowland communities.⁸⁵

If one is to accept Keesing's thesis and there is a strong ground for it, it would appear that the northern lowland and highland peoples are basically of the same racial stock. Inferring from the existing Spanish accounts, the same thing would be said of the indigenes of Mindoro. Language-wise, several Spanish accounts cite that the inhabitants of Mindoro, Marinduque and Lubang "speak Tagalog which is the official language of the whole archbishopric of Manila which has jurisdiction over these islands".⁸⁶ He adds that the way they build their houses and furnitures and in the method of dressing, in the appearance of their boats, and in their habits and customs, they are similar to their Tagalog brothers. In what appears to be a 'pioneer' ethnological account of the Mangyans in relation to their lowland brothers, de Zuñiga writes:

The Christians of the three islands believe in the same superstitions of the Tagalogs and the infidels believe in the same religion of the Tagalogs before their conversion to Catholicism.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵ Felix M. Keesing, *The Ethnohistory of Northern Luzon*, (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1962), p. 27.

⁸⁶ de Zuñiga, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

All of them adore an invisible entity called *anito* whose name is likewise given to the thing sacrificed to him.

All of them adore the *Nono* or spirit of his ancestors, whom they respect and revere in the form of an alligator, big trees, stones, and the end of all rivers and seas.

All of them have priestesses who offer the sacrifices for(*sic*) them, this sacrifices may be a whole pig which is divided reserving the better portion to the priestess or *babaylan*. They even revere some birds, believe in the immortality of the soul, and at the same time believe all the superstitions of the ancient gentiles of these islands....⁸⁷

Until late in the 19th century, the Mangyans were known as a homogenous people. One of the first men to contest such a view is Ramon Morera Jordana, a Spanish historian and naturalist who came out with a detailed study of the Mangyans in 1885. Among other things, Jordana notes how the Mangyans set themselves apart from the *Buquiles*, a half-breed tribe belonging to the negrito race and who inhabit the part near Baco and Subaan. The Mangyans themselves are classified into three ethnic groupings:

- 1). those who occupy the Occidental coast of the island, occupying the mountains in Palauan to Irurun. They are fair complexioned and of intelligent physiognomy, (intelligent-looking), have thick brown hair and beard, robust and graceful, peaceful.
- 2). those who inhabit the territories between Abra de Ilog and Pinamalayan are tan in complexion, with wavy hair (lit. flacid), prominent cheekbones, flat forehead and somewhat long-nosed(?) and dull-looking.
- 3). those who inhabit that part of Pinamalayan until the South, look as if they are of Chinese blood, not only because of their oblique eyes, flat nose, prominent cheekbones, flat forehead and olive skin, but also of their custom of having a long braid in the upper part of their head with the rest of their hair, if not shaved, cut short. This tribe who are quite hard-working, judging by the products that they bring to the Christian towns, are undoubtedly less poor than the two other breeds.⁸⁸

The third group, based on their given place of habitat and other ethnological data cited by Jordana, are obviously what is known as the Hanunu-o tribe of today.

Further, Jordana points out that the names with which the given ethnic types distinguish themselves is rather vague:

Between Socol and Bulalacao, the name Manguianes is used for the pagans who live in the shore of the rivers. Those who stay in the lowlands are called *Buquil* and *Beribi*, to those who

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 122.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

are found sheltered in the peak of the mountains. In Pinamayan, they call the inhabitants of the same localities given above as *Bangot*, *Buquit*, Tadianan and Durugman or Buctulan respectively. In Naujan, they substitute the last name for Tiron (those who live in the mountain peaks) and from this part until Abra de Ilog, they use only the generic name of Manguian. Lastly, in Mangarin, they call Lactan those who stay in the lowlands, *Buquil*, those who dwell in the river shores, *Manguian* those who reside in the mountain slopes and Barangan (possibly the Batangans today) those who inhabit the peaks of the mountain ranges.⁸⁹

It is evident from Jordana's work that the collective name of *Manguian*, encompasses several ethnic groups of very different origins. Blumentritt, the time-honored Austrian scholar, who translated and annotated Jordana's work into German, affirms that the latter's description of the *Buquiles* "reveals without doubt that the group is the result of a cross between the latter (*i.e.*, the negrito race) and the *indios*, that is to say, natives of Malay origin."⁹⁰ Blumentritt further believes that the term *Buquil* may mean "mountain", as for instance in the root word of the ethnic name of *Bukidnon*. As for the name *Tiron* cited above, it may refer according to him, to the remnants of pirates who came from the island of Tawi-Tawi, as well as from the area of Tiron (Tedun, Tidon) in the island of Borneo. Indeed such differences in ethnic origins may well be attributed to the varying groups of people who migrated to Mindoro at different periods of its history. The *Buquiles* may well be the descendants of those lowlanders already mentioned who escaped from the Moro pirates, found safety refuge among the interior negrito inhabitants, and inter-married with them.

Due to the diverse ethnic groupings of the Mangyans, ethnographers of the period were indecisive about classifying them as "a people". As Ferdinand Blumentritt writes,

The Mangyans of the island of Mindoro are in fact a very little known people. If in point of fact they constitute a people, for it is assumed that the name Mangyan, which means as much as "forest men" (people), is a general name for all pagans, excepting those with full negrito blood, who live in the interior of that big island.⁹¹

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* p. 54.

⁹⁰ From Ferdinand Blumentritt, "Die Manguianen der Insel Mindoro (Philippinen)", *Globus*, Vol. 50, footnote 3, p. 216. Translation by Dr. Zeus A. Salazar. Blumentritt's article is an annotated translation of R. Jordana Y. Morera's previously mentioned account of the Mangyans.

⁹¹ Ferdinand Blumentritt, "Die Mangianenschrift von Mindoro", *Globus*, Vol. 69, 1896, p. 21, translated by Dr. Zeus A. Salazar.

While they were generally considered by Spanish and other European writers as 'half-savages' with a very low level of culture, the Mangyans were nonetheless shown to be in possession of a script of their own. This fact surprised some European scholars as Blumentritt himself who, commenting on Dr. Adolf Bernhard Meyer and Dr. A. Schadenberg's work⁹² expressed,

From the materials given we can only see that the Mangyans are on a very low level of culture and civilization. One was therefore very little prepared to discover a script in such a people.⁹³

Though the existence of the Mangyan script was known to some Spanish and even Filipino writers like Pedro A. Paterno, the extent of their coverage was very minimal, if none at all. Paterno, who came up with a few lines about it in his book, *Los Aetas*, was according to Meyer 'even unaware of the importance of his discovery'. Blumentritt in fact comments that Paterno's reference to the Mangyan script is almost without value since it shows simply that the Mangyans have a script of their own. On the other hand, the Spanish friars "from whom we owe so many grammars and vocabularies of Philippine idioms have not unfortunately given any attention to the Mangyans."⁹⁴

The first scholar who came up with really substantial findings on the Mangyan script was Dr. Schadenberg whom Blumentritt acknowledged as the one "who has been able to give us the first linguistic samples of one of the Mangyan idioms." Schadenberg himself went through the island of Mindoro around 1890 and discovered that the Mangyans did not only have their own alphabet but also, this was still being used in written communication:

In his own particular active way, Dr. Schadenberg went about gathering together sample (proofs) of his discovery in which activity the governor of the island, Don Maximo Lillo, and Don Ramon Valencia, secretary of the provincial council an officer of great service to the ethnology of the Philippines zealously helped him. Thus he succeeded in bringing together seven bamboo pieces with inscribed script signs. For some of them, Schadenberg received also keys and translations.⁹⁵

Although it is generally known that the Mangyans are nomadic people, Jordana's account not only negates this view but provides an

⁹² See A. B. Meyer, A. Schadenberg, "Die Mangianeschrift von Mindoro", Berlin, R. Friedlander, 1895.

⁹³ Blumentritt, "Mangianenschrift" p. 21.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

intriguing point of comparison with that of the 'Christian indios' habitations:

Almost everyone has huts only very few wander about in the mountains, without any particular place of residence. These huts are small and miserable and generally are made from bamboo and bejuco. The way they are built correspond completely to that common among the Christian indios. Their household belongings are composed of some pots, a kind of frying pan, mats are luxury items which they got in commerce with the Christian indios only at a high price.⁹⁶

The natural simplicity of the Mangyans coupled with conscientiousness in keeping promises and honesty, made them according to Jordana, easy prey to lowland exploitation. The Hispanized indios

exploits them to their heart's desire by making them work heavily in the ricefields or using them to cut and carry trees and this only for a handful of rice. Also in commercial relations they have to suffer from the effects of the greeds of the Christians, receiving only worthless objects in exchange for enormous quantities of wax bejuco and other things. This abuse has already become an extreme scandal, since aside from the commercial trickeries *slavery still exist and still is in practice among the Christian indios* (italics mine).⁹⁷

What Jordana refers to as "slavery" is defined in terms of economic dependency rooted in the 'pa-utangan' system between lowlanders and Mangyans.

They generally (i.e., the lowlanders) give the Manguianes an advance of palay, a thing or other objects for which they do not once like to get the payment but instead expect that the Mangyans should give back their debts through work in their fields. This apparently legal contract transform the Mangyan into a true slave, since the landowner gives a very low value to the work and beside adds interest to the debt which has not yet been paid through work; when a new necessity forces them to make another debt, the same is done as earlier so that the debt made by the Mangyans instead of decreasing increases enormously and he sees himself forced to work during his entire life for the small sum which he first received . . .⁹⁸

While lowland exploitation of Mangyans did exist in the Spanish era, it should not be dissociated from the chain of exploitation which linked it up to world commerce. The lowlanders themselves were subject to the abuse of Spaniards who set the chain of exploitations within Philippine society, quite unknown in the pre-Spanish era.

⁹⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 217.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* p. 218.

The oppressive system of Spanish control may have driven many Mangyan groups into the interior, but there were some who remained within the sphere of Spanish control. In such cases, the Mangyans were indirectly ruled by the Spaniards through the *Comisario de Manguianes*, chosen from a neighboring Christian pueblo or *rancheria* and who then has to function as an intermediary in all official meetings and other occasions. In turn, each Mangyan tribe or *rancheria* has a chief which through election or general agreement gets his honor and under whom all of them put themselves with all respect. Those Mangyans who live very closely to the Christian settlements generally ask the provincial chief to confirm the authority of their heads through a piece of document. Jordana is careful to note however, that this practice was completely unknown in the *rancherias* of the interior.

In matters 'moral' and 'legal', the Mangyans were shown to be more conscientious than their lowland brothers. Jordana notes that

The legal customs of the Manguianes as they themselves say are very strict. Adultery is punished with death in the same way that they also have very harsh punishment for robbery; however, they are not used with extreme strictness among some tribes. In general one can say that the customs of the Manguianes have a good basis of legality and morality. They fulfill conscientiously their promises, they do not deceive nor cheat, on the contrary these very high qualities combined with their natural naivete make them victims of the Christian indios.⁹⁹

Speaking of morals and ethics, the Mangyans could not be rightfully deemed 'more backward' than their 'Romanized' lowland kins. In point of fact, almost all the Spanish accounts of these people noticeably present them as honest, upright and trustworthy beings. Yet, faced with opportunists, such high moral attributes became more of a 'liability' rather than an asset:

One cannot help admiring the submissiveness and patience of the Mangyan who submit himself with resignation to this hateful exactions. Even if plight into the thickness of the forest could be sufficient to save him since it can be said with complete certainty that no Christian indio would dare enter it, and take him back from his hiding place.¹⁰⁰

The Mangyans were not without awareness of a Supreme Being. They also believe in the immortality of the soul even though only in a vague way which find expression, as Jordana clarifies, "neither in religious custom nor in whatever ceremonies". The almost mo-

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 217.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 218.

notheistic concept of God, however, is adulterated by their fears of spirits expressed in their belief that the souls of the dead do not leave the place where they have lived during their lifetime. Consequently,

..... they believe themselves always surrounded by the spirits of their fathers, grandfathers, and ancestors by whom they are protected and defended in times of danger and by whom they are punished if they are bad or they act in a bad way.¹⁰¹

The lighter side of Mangyan life as reflected in the Spanish accounts consist of occasional dancing and singing, possibly held on special occasions, as the marriage of a couple. Presumably unaware of the other Mangyan musical instruments, Jordana identifies only one which he compared to the Chinese violin — one having two strings. Their songs and melodies, relates Jordana, do not differ markedly from those of the Christian indios — “In order to ask from their supreme being rain, they sing a chant which in some places is called *malaguia*”. Marriage itself was a special activity participated in by the whole family:

The marriage is always preceded by a getting together and agreement of the families of both parties. In the ceremony, these two families gather together and the parents or the nearest relative take hold of a pot or any other breakable object which they consequently throw to the ground so that the marriage would be unbreakable. By some *tubus*, the following custom follows this ceremony: bride and groom lie down in each one of a particular hammock after which the respective parents swing their child up to the moment when, upon the nearing of both hammock the man leaps into the hammock of the woman which ends the entire thing. After this, a feast is held which consists of a meal, songs and dances.¹⁰²

Recapitulation

At the close of the 19th century therefore, we find the term ‘Mangyan’ used collectively to denote a diverse set of peoples. We have seen how through the ages various historical processes have led to growing multiplicity of the ‘inland people.’ Originally, the inland folks may have been coastal residents driven into the interior by the coming of a more dominant group. From the accounts we observe that such pioneer settlers in the island were the negritos, referred to in the early Spanish accounts as the ‘chichimecos’. The situation could have been that initially, of the Bornean immigrants push-

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰² *Ibid. loc. cit.*

ing the negritos into the interior, or to put it in abstract terms, B displacing A and driving it inland. Yet while this may have been the case, the accounts also show that the members of group A were not totally cut off from group B. A minimum social contact was maintained, primarily in terms of exchange of goods — that was, A bartering forest products, which B in turn traded with foreign travelling merchants. This may well be the situation before the Spaniards came.

The coming of the Spaniards, who consist group C in our designation, brought radical changes in the status quo. In this case, group C dislodged B, B withdrew into the interior and consequently had a close interaction with A. The product of such interaction are presumably the Buquiles, whom Jordana described as “a half-breed tribe belonging to the negrito race”, tan in complexion and not black. With C or the Spaniards in control of the coastal areas, contacts between B and the outside world (that is with the Chinese traders and other Southeast Asians) would have been cut off and free-trade relations cut off. This could have precipitated the spread of piracy in the region, and consequently brought in a counter-force to C, which eventually exerted pressure on groups A and B. However, because of C's advanced military and naval weapons, counter-force D represented by the Muslim pirates, were overwhelmed and in the process, some of them were forced into the interior. These possibly were the Tirones (Tidunes) who contributed to the growing multiplicity of the ‘inland people.’

On the other hand, some of the members of group B who decided to remain in the coastal areas, underwent an entirely different historical course — their response to C is reflected in a Hispanized culture which inevitably set them off from their kins in the interior. This historical process led to marked differentiation between lowland and mountain people.’ The influx of natives from other islands as Luzon and the Visayas led further to diverse intermingling of lowland groups. Thus at the close of the 19th century, the isolated groups in the interior evolved as the ‘minority groups’ in the island of Mindoro. Yet, while we speak of a ‘minority group’ the problem of integration was not yet at hand, probably because in the 19th century, there was no concept of a totality into which they can be integrated except the Hispanized Philippine society. The problem of inte-

gration only becomes a reality when a total society either exists or is in the process of being constructed.

While we speak of social distance between Mangyans and Hispanized lowlanders, a minimum of social contact existed which as we have seen was primarily exploitative in nature. It may seem strange, but the Mangyans were actually integrated into the worldwide capitalist cycle through various intermediaries which close at hand were the lowlanders and their Spanish colonial masters. In point of fact, the social relations among Mangyans and Christian lowlanders were laid down in the 19th century, developed during the American colonial regime, and perpetuated until the present time.

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THE AMERICAN DEBATE ON PHILIPPINE ANNEXATION AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY, 1898-1900

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The Philippine independence controversy constitutes one of the nebulous chapters of Philippine-American relations because the actions of the participants in the controversy were made to appear to have been motivated by noble altruism on the part of the American leaders and unquestionable nationalism on the part of the Filipino patriots. Far from it! The controversy was used by both parties to support their respective positions. Of this there is reasonable certainty. But what is more obscure are the events of approximately two years, 1898-1900, during which time a controversy raged in the United States as to whether or not to annex the Islands.

What was the real attraction of the Philippines to the United States at the time? Was it as a coaling station to facilitate her encroachment into the markets of the Far East? Was it the desire to spread the ideals of democracy? Was the United States motivated by military considerations to establish a Pacific fortress in view of the deep involvement of the European colonial powers into Chinese affairs? Was she prodded by the same imperial spirit of the times to enlarge her territorial possessions? These and more questions could be raised *ad infinitum*. However, this paper will limit itself to the heated debate that took place in both the political and private sectors in the United States after the American victory over Spain, and examine the factors that weighed on the Republican administration to take over the Philippines.

Philippine affairs took a new direction before the termination of the Spanish-American hostilities when a delegation representing Visayas and Mindanao visited the American consul in Hongkong, and voiced their aversion to Spanish and Tagal rule. They did not join the clamor for independence which they considered not only to be

mistaken but impractical.¹ This shows that they saw the inevitable clash between Spain and the United States in the Island and wanted the latter to fill up the vacuum that would result in Spain's retreat from the area.

During the war with Spain, President William McKinley had already shown interest in the Islands for trading purposes. He said at one time: "While we are conducting a war and until its conclusion we must keep all we get; and when the war is over, we must keep all that we want."²

Four months after the fighting, when the Spanish government acting through the French government finally decided to ask for peace, it was surprised at the conditions imposed by the American President. Spain tried to suggest an alternative — that the United States for \$20,000,000 would take possession of the Carolines or of the Canary Islands in addition to the Philippines, but would allow Spain to retain sovereignty over the latter.³ Her efforts to achieve this failed.

Moreover, Russia and Japan had also shown interest in the Philippines for reasons of their own in case the United States decided not to annex the Islands. Russia's motive was to prevent England's position in the Orient from becoming stronger either by having the United States as her ally or by securing additional territory without similar expansion on England's part.⁴ It is interesting to note, too, that England felt very badly at losing the opportunity of annexing the Philippines.⁵ Meanwhile, Japan told Washington that in the event that Washington did not want to administer the Islands alone, Japan would be most willing to assist her, or even do it in conjunction with still another power. This arrangement, had it materialized, would have suited Russia's plans, as it would have eliminated or at least

¹ "Request for Annexation," *New York Times*, September 4, 1898, p. 1.

² Charles S. Olcott, *The Life of William McKinley*, 2 vols. (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1916), Vol. II, p. 165.

³ "Spain Is Still Wriggling," *New York Times*, November 28, 1898, p. 1.

⁴ James K. Eyre, Jr., "Russia and the American Acquisition of the Philippines," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. XXVIII (March, 1942), pp. 545-546; 551-552.

⁵ Washington, D.C. *National Archives*, Bureau of Insular Affairs, File 364-56.

lessened Japanese competition in Manchuria.⁶ But such was not the turn of events.

American historian James F. Rhodes branded McKinley as inconsistent in his public statements because in a message on December of 1897, McKinley condemned forcible annexation as incompatible with the moral code. Therefore, he concluded that from the proceedings of the Peace Commission in Paris, no justification for the "forcible annexation" of the Philippines could stand up to a moral evaluation.⁷

But another American historian, Charles S. Olcott vindicated McKinley, arguing that his decision was supported by the "law of Nations." He also underscored the fact that "Spanish sovereignty had been acknowledged by the civilized world for three hundred years and no Philippine government had ever been recognized. Indeed, no such government had ever existed except the abortive one set up by Aguinaldo which scarcely extended beyond the island of Luzon."⁸

It can be inferred from the letter of Felipe Agoncillo to Emilio Aguinaldo that the United States might not have pursued the annexation of the Philippines because of the wish of many Americans to grant it independence with Cuba. On the other hand, Agoncillo did not want the United States to withdraw from the Islands. As a matter of fact, he wanted an American fleet to be stationed in Philippine waters "to protect his government from foreign interference."⁹

American quest for adventure in Asia was not only stirred by fantasies of grandeur. If in the face of the sacred pledge to Cuba there had not been wanting counsellors who urged the retention of the Philippines for their commercial possibilities, their numbers were now augmented as the movement gained momentum. There was a glamor of romance concerning the whole project which was hard to resist. Frank A. Vanderbilt, then Assistant Secretary of Treasury, clearly put it that the Philippines were "the pickets of the Pacific,

⁶ James K. Eyre, Jr., "Japan and the American Annexation of the Philippines," *Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. XI (March, 1942), pp. 63, 68.

⁷ James F. Rhodes, *The McKinley and Roosevelt Administrations, 1897-1909* (Port Washington, New York: Kennikat Press, 1965), p. 107.

⁸ Olcott, *op. cit.* p. 185. Felipe Agoncillo was high commissioner of the "New Republic of the Philippines," established on November 2, 1897 in Biyak-na-Bato, Bulacan in open defiance against Spain.

⁹ Washington, D.C., *National Archives*, Department of State, M. 719, Roll 9.

standing guard at the entrance to trade with the millions of China and Korea, French Indo-China, the Malay Peninsula and the islands of Indonesia to the South," without excluding Australia as a possible trading partner along this new commercial route. He admitted the demise of the most revered of American political maxims and pointed to a new mainspring that "has become the directing force . . . the mainspring of commercialism."¹⁰

Thus began and thus was fostered the campaign for the retention by the United States of the Philippines. As a distributing center, with half the population of the world living within a radius of approximately 3500 miles from Manila, the Islands were an alluring treasure to acquire.

American businessmen, who generally had opted for peace instead of war, began to change their views as far as potential commercial ventures were concerned. They now looked at the Philippines as the gateway for their penetration into Asia, particularly China's markets. Some even went so far as to predict Manila as the future business Mecca of the Orient. Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, the strong spokesman for commercial expansion, was serious about Manila as the great prize that would give the United States the Eastern trade.¹¹

At one time, there was strong vacillation on the part of the McKinley administration about turning the Islands back to Spain, but prodded by businessmen interested in trade with China, and at the same time by the favorable attitude of government circles at the prospect of retaining part or all of the Islands, it went for their retention. The strongest advocates for this were the National Association of Manufacturers and the American Asiatic Association concerned "for the protection and furtherance of the commercial interests of our citizens in the Far East."¹²

Amidst the echoes of national rejoicing at the acquisition of the Philippines and at the unlimited commercial possibilities which victory had disclosed, the American people failed to hear the voice of

¹⁰ U.S., Congress, Senate, *Treaty of Peace*, S. Doc. 62, 55th Cong., 3rd sess., 1899, p. 561.

¹¹ Henry Cabot Lodge, *Selections from the Correspondence of Theodore Roosevelt and Henry Cabot Lodge, 1884-1918*, 2 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925), Vol. I, p. 337.

¹² Thomas McCormick, "Insular Imperialism and the Open Door: The China Market and the Spanish-American War," *Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. XXXII (February, 1963), p. 164.

the Filipinos. To them, annexation had the same face as the previous acts of American mainland expansion. No thought was given here to the wishes of the eight million inhabitants of the Islands who, during Spanish rule, had taken part in many bloody uprisings as a protest against the cruelties and injustices from which they had suffered in the same manner as had the Cubans.

Catholic and Protestant reaction with regard to the acquisition of the Philippines hinged on different motives seemingly contradictory. The former, alarmed over the possible intrusion of Protestant ideas into the archipelago in the event of annexation, identified themselves with the Anti-Imperialist Movement, organizing their efforts towards Catholic political activity. On the other hand, they were not adverse to America acquiring coaling stations and naval bases in the Pacific thereby supporting the war with Spain.¹³ The Protestants, however, regarded permanent occupation of these territories as contrary to the principles and traditions of the United States, but welcomed the opportunity of introducing "a purer and reformed Christianity," while doing away with the "danger, oppression and inadequacy of the Roman communion."¹⁴

An unexpected defender of McKinley's expansionist policy was Robert M. La Follete who, as a pacifist, was a strong supporter of isolationism during World War I. However in 1900, listening to his speeches, one would feel they were similar in content to those of the Vice-Presidential candidate, Theodore Roosevelt. La Follete's arguments were based on the "utter and total absence of either the conditions or the capacity for self-government" in the Philippines. To support his statements, he referred his audience to the "unbiased testimony" of three sources: the reports of the Philippine Commission appointed by the President; Bishop Henry C. Potter, who was a stalwart anti-expansionist but came back "with a different opinion" after his trip to the Islands; and Bishop James M. Thornburn, who had "visited the Philippines many times."¹⁵

To retain or not to retain the Philippines was the big question. To the majority, the cession of the Philippines, if ratified, meant that America was definitely going to launch upon a policy of colonial ex-

¹³ Frank T. Reuter, *Catholic Influence on American Colonial Policies, 1898-1904* (Austin and London: University of Texas Press, 1967), p. 110.

¹⁴ Reuter, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

¹⁵ Padraic Colum Kennedy, "La Follette's Imperialist Flirtation," *Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. XXIX (May, 1960), pp. 131-133.

pansion. In the past, when the federal government had acquired territory on the continent, it had also meant eventual statehood by and with the consent of the inhabitants. But the Philippine issue widely differed from this. Not only were the Filipinos not consulted in the matter, but the administration itself made it clear it was not prepared to grant the natives American citizenship.¹⁶

There were senators at the time who wanted to ratify the treaty but who were opposed to a policy of colonization. Hence, they proposed to amend it or to pass a resolution clearly stating that the Philippines would ultimately, if not immediately, be given their independence.

Another group, though perhaps not strictly opposed to some reasonable policy of expansion, nevertheless objected to the unfairness of the treaty towards the Filipinos. They could not understand why the Filipinos should be treated differently from the Cubans in view of an official statement from Admiral George Dewey who said that they were "far superior in intelligence and more capable of self-government than the natives of Cuba."¹⁷ Brigadier General Charles King, in a letter to the editor of the *Milwaukee Journal* confirmed this, stating that the Filipinos' capacity for self-government was beyond any doubt as they were "industrious, frugal, temperate, and given a fair start, could look out for themselves infinitely better"¹⁸ than most people could imagine.

The debate in and out of Congress went on, and from the objections presented, it seemed doubtful whether the administration could have the treaty ratified. A month before the treaty was submitted, there was a heated debate on the constitutionality, morality and general expediency of the acquisition of the Islands. In general, it could be said that there was sincerity, conviction and at times a striking prophecy. A resolution was introduced by Senator George G. Vest of Missouri that "under the Constitution of the United States no power is given to the Federal Government to acquire territory to be held and governed permanently as colonies."¹⁹ Representative William E. Ma-

¹⁶ Maximo M. Kalaw, *The Case for the Filipinos* (New York: The Century Co., 1916), p. 45.

¹⁷ *Treaty of Peace*, p. 383.

¹⁸ U.S., Congress, Senate, 56th Cong., 1st sess., Jan. 9, 1900, *Congressional Record*, XXXIII, 715.

¹⁹ U.S., Congress, Senate, 55th Cong., 3rd sess., Dec. 6, 1898, *Congressional Record*, XXXII, 20.

son of Illinois voiced his opposition against annexation making it known to everyone in the Congressional chamber that his argument for Philippine independence was implied on "an implied promise, more sacred to an honorable gentlemen than though it were written in blood."²⁰

Pointing at the trade advantages for the United States in the Pacific area by granting independence to Filipinos, Senator George F. Hoar of Massachusetts warned that American presence in the Islands would not prove advantageous for the United States by the use of force on the inhabitants of the region. He added that by alienating "the affection of those people by an unjust attack upon their independence" would only injure American trade prospects in the archipelago.²¹ Lawrence T. Chamberlain, a well-known clergyman in New York, used the message of the Golden Rule and Sermon of the Mount to express his opposition against the Republican policy because of the "injustice and outrage" that would necessarily lead to "a still deeper national dishonor and a still deeper national peril."²²

However, the imperialists carried the day. In the first place, the President shared their view which was a strong factor in their favor. Besides, their arguments, although sometimes unsupportable, struck a chord with the American audience. A case in point was Senator Albert Beveridge of Indiana who opposed independence because of the Filipinos' "physical ineptitude" for self-rule. He argued that since they were Orientals, belonging to the Malay race, they were not a self-governing group. He questioned their clamor for independence as aspiring for the impossible when it took the Anglo-Saxons a thousand years to achieve it.²³ After hearing this speech, some tongues spread the word that Beveridge was just McKinley's mouthpiece. The latter resented the accusation because, although he saw the occupation of the Philippines as a civilizing mission, he did not share the subtle prejudice of the Anglo-Saxonists.

²⁰ "Shall We Make Slaves of the Filipinos? — Powers of the General Government over the New Possessions," *Speech before the U.S. House of Representatives*, [no date] (Washington: Allied Printing, 1900), p. 9.

²¹ "The Conquest of the Philippines," *Speech before the U.S. Senate*, April 12, 1900 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1900), p. 12.

²² "The Colonial Policy of the United States," *Speech before the Quill Club of New York City*, March 21, 1899 (New York: n.p., 1899), p. 47.

²³ U.S., Congress, Senate, 56th Cong., 1st sess., Jan. 9, 1900, *Congressional Record*, XXXIII, 708.

William H. Rice, an influential clergyman from Evanston, Illinois, saw annexation from the religious point when he said that the prayers of the Christian Church were finally answered after almost a century of pleading with the Almighty "that the islands of the sea might be brought under the banner of Jesus Christ."²⁴ A criticism of the Spanish authorities for their administrative shortcomings in the Islands was made by Representative Melville E. Ingalls of Maine. He added that circumstances did not favor independence at the moment, because "the two hundred and fifty odd years of maladministration of the Spaniards have not been such as to educate eight million people sufficiently to enable them to govern themselves."²⁵

Representative Richard W. Austin of Tennessee enumerated a few reasons for keeping the Philippines:

1. To free the Islands from the danger of becoming a vassal to Japan, like Korea and Formosa.
2. A native government would be powerless to control and govern many tribes with 15 or 16 dialects, pagan, heathen and Christian, warlike and savage, with bitter and long-standing enmities between them.
3. An army and navy for defense would be beyond what the Philippine government could afford.²⁶

One of the staunchest imperialistic positions was held by Senator Chauncey Depew of New York who emphasized that the Philippines belonged to the United States by conquest and by treaty rights. He further added that the American people and Congress were unanimous in their support for this policy. He predicted too that it would be only a matter of time before Puerto Rico, Hawaii and Guam would become territories of the United States.²⁷

In a cablegram sent to the Secretary of State, the United States Peace Commissioners warned about hasty decisions in annexing the

²⁴ William H. Rice, *What Shall We Do with the Filipinos?* (Chicago: George E. Marshall & Co., 1899), p. 1. For the opposite view, see Warren Olney, "The Clergy and the Conquest of the Philippines," *Oakland Enquirer*, April 25, 1899, pp. 2-5.

²⁵ *Speech before the Commercial Club of Cincinnati on the Acquisition of the Philippines*, January 21, 1899 (Cincinnati: The Robert Clarke Co., 1899), pp. 4-5.

²⁶ Richard W. Austin, *Our Philippine Policy* (Washington: n.p., 1899), p. 3.

²⁷ *Speech before the United States Senate*, February 27, 1900 (Washington: n.p., 1900), p. 12.

Islands. They held the view that the Philippines was likely to prove a burden rather than an asset to the United States. They suggested that obligations be relegated to the lowest possible sphere of responsibility.²⁸

It was Senator Lodge who brought triumph to the expansionists with his polished oratory and deft reasoning, exploiting the vanity of human nature, a weapon proven to be invaluable under circumstances when all valid arguments have failed. He pointed out that ratification of the treaty with Spain would show that the American people could be trusted "to deal honestly and justly with the islands and their inhabitants."²⁹ He made his position clear. He had convinced many opponents of the treaty that refusal to ratify, unless accompanied by a statement of America's honest intention, meant a distrust of America's honorable desire to give the Filipinos a square deal.

However, it was President McKinley who made the final decision as to the disposition of the Islands after a brief communication with William Day, chairman of the United States Peace Commission, who told him that he thought the majority of the American people were in favor of annexing the Islands because of their interdependency with each other and the problems that would ensue if the Filipinos were left to themselves.³⁰ Thus the Philippines passed from Spanish to American hands in the Treaty of Paris.³¹ It can be said without equivocation that public opinion was the most important factor in persuading McKinley to retain the Islands. At ease in the knowledge that he had the support of the people he was emboldened to make the final decision.³²

Assuming that no promise was made in writing by properly accredited agents in the name of the American government for the help the Filipinos had given in defeating the Spaniards in battle after battle before the arrival of the American land forces who were not due to arrive for several months, it is certain that the

²⁸ Cablegram, United States Peace Commission to John Hay, Paris, November 11, 1898, Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, *William McKinley Papers*, Series 1, Reel 5.

²⁹ U.S., Congress, Senate, 55th Cong., 3rd sess., Jan. 24, 1898, *Congressional Record*, XXXII, 959.

³⁰ Olcott, *op. cit.*, pp. 107-108.

³¹ *National Archives*, Bureau of Insular Affairs, File 364-539 A.

³² Paolo E. Colletta, "McKinley, the Peace Negotiations and the Acquisition of the Philippines," *Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. XXX (February, 1961), p. 346.

"rebels" were led to believe that the United States planned to do for the Philippines what she was then actually doing for Cuba. General Thomas M. Anderson described the meeting he had with General Emilio Aguinaldo who asked him whether the American government would recognize the Filipino government. No specific answer was then given. In any case, the Filipino people were glad that the Americans have come "to help finalize the last stage of blood and toil in their aspiration for independence."³³

Laboring under such a belief, the Filipinos formally unfurled the flag of the Philippines and proclaimed independence amidst elaborate ceremonies in Cavite on June 12, 1898.³⁴ This was exactly two months before the American forces of occupation finally entered Manila. Meanwhile, Aguinaldo sent a document to all foreign consuls in Manila appealing for the recognition of "Philippine independence" and argued that the "capture of 7,000 Spanish prisoners was an eloquent proof of the nullity of Spanish sovereignty, as when they surrendered, Spain's hold was irrevocably lost."³⁵

When the Filipinos learned that the Americans were there to stay, hundreds from Manila enlisted daily in the rebel cause which aroused the concern of the American authorities.³⁶ Aguinaldo was angered by the American occupation and vowed that Philippine freedom would be defended at all cost. But he added that all possibilities for peace would be exhausted before resorting to the use of force, and that unlimited American resources would never coerce the Filipino people to bow in humble submission.³⁷ Jacob G. Schurman, who headed the First Philippine Commission, advised President McKinley to increase the number of troops in the Islands to achieve peace and order, to secure life and property, and to safeguard justice and equal rights for all. He added that the American presence in the Philippines was a necessity to protect the people from the European powers who might destroy forever "the hope of a free and self-governing Fi-

³³ Thomas M. Anderson, "Our Rule in the Philippines," *North American Review*, Vol. CLXX (February, 1900), p. 275.

³⁴ George A. Malcolm, *The Government of the Philippine Islands, Its Development and Fundamentals* (Rochester, New York, The Lawyers' Cooperative Publishing Co., 1916), p. 124.

³⁵ "Appeals to the Powers," *New York Times*, August 9, 1899, p. 3.

³⁶ "The Philippine Problem," *New York Times*, September 20, 1898, p. 1.

³⁷ *National Archives*, Bureau of Insular Affairs, File 1353.

lipino nationality, which American protection and guardianship would inevitably tend to develop."³⁸

Francis A. Brooks, a lawyer and member of the Anti-Imperialist League, bitterly criticized the action of McKinley in sending more troops to the Philippines. His reason was that although the Filipinos had been 'colonists of Spain,' and Spain's right over them was recognized by McKinley, bid for and purchased by him from Spain, still they were not a marketable commodity. Besides, the latter's authority over them ceased when it had been successfully resisted and overcome before the peace treaty was made.³⁹

In addition to this, the Filipinos had assisted in the siege and capture of Manila. They expected and claimed the privilege of entering the captured city with the American troops, but were refused. In vain did the Filipinos remonstrate and try to get access to General Elwell Otis for purposes of negotiation and conciliation. Otis assigned various reasons for not listening to them. Among others he said that under instructions received by him from McKinley the only terms of peace he could entertain was their unconditional surrender.⁴⁰

Colonel Charles Denby asserted that the war against the Americans was practically waged by a single tribe of natives while the majority were "friendly to them." He added that the intertribal hatred among them was probably more intense than their animosity against Spain. He concluded that the difficulties in the Philippines were far beyond the capacity of the natives to handle at the moment, and that it would be "base" and "infamous" for the United States government to "shirk the obligation to set up a better government."⁴¹ After one of his visits to the villages, Denby recounted the enthusiasm with which the people received the Americans. The latter found the people both surprised and pleased at the treatment accorded them by "our soldiers, which was in marked contrast to that received at the

³⁸ "Schurman to McKinley," *New York Times*, October 20, 1899, p. 5.

³⁹ Francis A. Brooks, *An Arraignment of President McKinley's Policy of Extending by Force the Sovereignty of the United States over the Philippine Islands* (Boston: A. Mudge & Son, prs., 1899), p. 11.

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, p. 13.

⁴¹ Marrion Wilcox, "The Filipinos' Vain Hope of Independence," *North American Review*, Vol. CLXXI (September, 1900), pp. 333-335, 347.

hands of their own troops, who had looted the town before leaving it."⁴²

In the American election of 1900, William Jennings Bryan opposed McKinley on the issue of imperialism. Aguinaldo announced his support for the former, calling him "American by blood, by ideas, an illustrious son of the Filipinos... the clasp that links and unites two friendly peoples torn by the same dissensions and deserving of the applause and admiration of the world."⁴³ He was confident that Bryan's election would hasten the demise of imperialism "in its mad attempt to subjugate us by force of arms." He reiterated his denunciation of the "imperialists" avoiding the use of the word: "Americans" stating, "We only defend our independence against imperialists. The sons of that mighty nation are our friends and brothers."⁴⁴

However, the Republicans were able to divert the attention of the public to personalities and to a discussion of other issues like finances, monopolies and administration of the railroad. The failure of Bryan proved that imperialism was not the preponderant issue.⁴⁵

Thus the whole debate subsided for a while with the victory of McKinley and the Republican platform over the opposition that came from all sides. American imperialism found a strong support from businessmen who wanted new commercial avenues for their expanding trade, military men who relished the glory and fame brought about by the achievements of victory, and clergymen who saw in the acquisition of new lands a challenging opportunity to bring Christ to others.

But this was just the beginning of a more vociferous controversy that would rage for three and a half decades among leaders of both countries, and culminate in independence granted in 1946. The conditions surrounding Philippine independence caused this contro-

⁴² Letter, Charles Denby to John Hay, July 7, 1899, *William McKinley Papers*, Series 1, Reel 7.

⁴³ "Filipino Praise of Bryan," *New York Times*, December 3, 1899, p. 1.

⁴⁴ "Wants Democrats To Win," *New York Times*, October 8, 1899, p. 7.

⁴⁵ Thomas A. Bailey, "Was the Election of 1900 a Mandate on Imperialism?," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. XXIV (June, 1937), p. 45.

versy to erupt again among Filipino leaders during 1970-1972, and to gain political strength in the "Philippine Statehood Movement," which advocated incorporation into the United States. It has succumbed to silence for the moment with the imposition of martial law.

FINANCIAL DIPLOMACY: THE TAKAHASHI KOREKIYO MISSIONS OF 1904-1905

GARY DEAN BEST

Late in 1904, despite a series of defeats suffered by the Russian army and navy, Count Witte of Russia repeated what he had said at the outset of the conflict with Japan, namely, "that if we should succeed, in the end, in defeating the Japanese, it would be by virtue of our superior finances. The Japanese cannot resist our finances. I have nothing to say of the two other factors — the army and the navy. Perhaps the Japanese can carry on the war one and a half, two, at the most two and a half years. Considering the finances alone, we can keep it up for four years. Other factors being left out of account, the Japanese can therefore be brought to sue for peace by their financial ruin."¹ Yet, as Witte recorded in his *Memoirs* later, less than a year had passed after this optimistic statement before he was on his way to Portsmouth, New Hampshire, to represent his country at the peace conference, by which time his Russia "had exhausted all our means and had lost our credit abroad. There was not the slightest hope of floating either a domestic or a foreign loan. We could continue the war only by resorting to new issues of paper money, that is by preparing the way for a complete financial and consequently economic collapse."² By contrast with the deterioration of Russian finances abroad, those of Japan stood stronger in the international financial markets at the end of the war than they had at the beginning. As an American journal pointed out shortly before the peace conference was convened, "The strange point... is the fact that a 10 per cent increase in the Russian debt has been followed by a slump in Russian credit; while an increase of more than 160 per cent in the Japanese debt has been followed by a wonderful advance in the credit of that country."³ To a considerable extent the very different financial performances can be attributed to the course of

¹ Quoted in *Forum*, April 1905.

² *The Memoirs of Count Witte*, Garden City and Toronto, 1921, p. 135.

³ "The Financial Facts About Russia and Japan," *The World's Work*, July 1905, p. 6347.

events on the battlefields, but since Japan's military and naval successes themselves were dependent on the nation's finances, a full understanding of Japan's achievement in the world financial market requires a consideration of the financial diplomacy during 1904 and 1905 of Bank of Japan Vice-Governor Takahashi Korekiyo.

In 1903 Japanese trade was increasing, capital was in abundance, and stocks were rising in price. As relations between Japan and Russia deteriorated, however, these favorable conditions began to turn downward, especially after October, 1903, and with the outbreak of war on February 8, 1904, the Japanese economy experienced the shock of transition to wartime conditions.⁴ Of special concern was Japan's ability to finance the war with Russia. The Meiji Government moved immediately to promote savings within Japan, but it was clear that domestic capital would not be adequate for the task.⁵ The example of the Sino-Japanese War of a decade earlier, suggested that Japan would have to spend at least one-third of its war expenditures overseas.⁶ The government, therefore, had to be concerned with the maintenance of a specie reserve adequate to support such expenditures, and the picture there was not reassuring. The amount of the Bank of Japan's specie reserve fell from ¥116,962,184 at the end of December, 1903, to ¥105,921,628 by the end of January, and continued to decline thereafter until by the end of May, 1904, it had fallen by nearly ¥50 million to a total of ¥67,442,130.⁷ In February the government moved to confront the problems of wartime finance by appointing two elder statesmen, Inoue Kaoru and Matsukata Masayoshi, to oversee Japan's finances during the war. There followed a series of conferences called by these two, attended by government officials, representatives of the army, and businessmen and financiers, designed to provide for mutual understanding and cooperation in the private and public sectors in confronting wartime economic problems.⁸

⁴ Toyo Keizai Shimposha, *Kin'yu Rokujunenshi* (A 60 Year History of Finance), Tokyo, 1924, pp. 443-444.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 441-442.

⁶ Gaimusho, *Komura Gaikoshi* (The History of Komura Diplomacy), Tokyo, 1966, I, 410.

⁷ *Ginko Tsushinroku* (Banking News), July 1904, reprinted in Nihon Ginko Chosakyoku, *Nihon Kinyushi Shiryo* (Collected Materials on Japanese Financial History), Tokyo, 1957, VI, 1024-1029.

⁸ *Komura Gaikoshi*, I, 409-410; Akashi Teruo and Suzuki Norihisa, *Nihon Kin'yushi* (Financial History of Japan), Tokyo, 1957, I, 232.

Even before the outbreak of the war, from as early as October, 1903, Japan's minister to Great Britain, Hayashi Tadasu, held talks with London bankers concerning the possibility of floating a bond issue in London. He found some interest in such a flotation if the Japanese bonds were guaranteed by the British Government. In late December Foreign Minister Komura Jutaro asked Hayashi to determine what the British attitude would be in the event of war between Japan and Russia. If the British Government proved willing, the Meiji Government hoped to float a bond issue of 20 million pounds sterling, guaranteed by the British Government, to be sold at 4% and with the flotation price being the face amount.⁹ British Foreign Minister Lansdowne responded to Hayashi's query by pledging that his government would faithfully honor its treaty of alliance with Japan in the event any Russo-Japanese conflict expanded to include another power as a Russian ally. Under the terms of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902, such an eventuality would, of course, require Great Britain to come to Japan's aid. In the event such an eventuality did not come about, what exactly did the Japanese Government desire of Great Britain? Pressed by Hayashi for a response, Komura, in effect, instructed his minister to confess to Lansdowne Japan's financial unpreparedness for a war with Russia. The Japanese army and navy were prepared, Hayashi was to tell Lansdowne, and with British financial assistance Japan's position would be secure in every way. As "bait" for such assistance, there was the prospect of an "open door" for commerce in Manchuria once the Russians had been driven out.¹⁰ This initiative on the part of Japan met, however, with a negative response from Lansdowne, who pointed to a multitude of problems that made such British assistance impossible. In January, therefore, the Japanese Government abandoned its efforts to obtain a guarantee of its loans from the British Government, hoping, however, that the British Government would extend its encouragement, at least, to London bankers should the necessity for a foreign war bond flotation arise.¹¹

Hayashi now continued his exploratory talks with British financiers on what the likely response would be to a Japanese bond flo-

⁹ Okurasho, *Meiji-Taisho Zaiseishi* (A Fiscal History of Meiji-Taisho Times), Tokyo, 1957, XVII, 50-51.

¹⁰ Komura *Gaikoshi*, I, 407-409.

¹¹ *Loc. cit.*; Komura to Hayashi, January 15, 1904, Japan Foreign Ministry Archives Microfilm, Telegram Series, Reel 41 (hereafter cited as TS 41).

tation under wartime conditions. At the same time he suggested to Foreign Minister Komura that a full-time financial representative should be sent to London.¹² Hayashi found advice pressed on him from every direction. The present, he was told, was not a good time for a bond flotation with the uncertainty prevailing as to the direction Russo-Japanese relations would take. Nor would there be any prospect of a flotation immediately after the outbreak of hostilities, he was told, since there would be considerable uncertainty over the possibility of other powers participating in the war. Japan's prospect of floating a bond issue overseas would be immeasurably enhanced if she could begin the war with a victory.¹³ In the meantime it would be best if Japan followed the outbreak of hostilities with a domestic bond flotation of about ¥50 million, and then watched for a favorable opportunity to borrow in London.¹⁴ On January 22, 1904, Hayashi wired Komura that the London money market did not offer a hopeful prospect for Japan at present. Even in the event that Japan scored early victories in a war with Russia he considered it doubtful that Japan would be able to raise more than ¥5 million at first and then at a high rate of interest.¹⁵

In late January and early February Inoue and Matsukata moved to send a financial representative to London to assist with the flotation of a foreign bond issue. Matsukata was convinced that Takahashi Korekiyo, Vice-Governor of the Bank of Japan, should be sent, while Inoue favored Sonodo Koichi, President of the Yokohama Specie Bank. Finance Minister Sone Arasuke, Bank of Japan Governor Matsuo, and Takahashi himself, all agreed with Inoue that Sonoda should be sent, but the state of Sonoda's health and the urgency of the situation after the outbreak of the war, led Takahashi to be chosen. Sone and Matsuo, who had earlier argued that Takahashi would be needed in Japan, agreed.¹⁶ Takahashi was no stranger to the problems that confronted Japan, financially, in the war with Russia. As early as November, 1903, he had been instructed by Matsuo to give consi-

¹² Hayashi to Komura, January 15, 1904, Gaimusho, *Nihon Gaiko Bunsho* (Japanese Diplomatic Documents), Tokyo, 1958, XXXVII-2, 126-127 (hereafter cited as *NGB*).

¹³ Hayashi to Komura, January 16, 1904, *ibid.*, 127-128.

¹⁴ Hayashi to Komura, January 18, 1904, *ibid.*, 128-129.

¹⁵ Hayashi to Komura, January 22, 1904, TS 40.

¹⁶ *Takahashi Korekiyo Jiden* (Autobiography of Takahashi Korekiyo), Tokyo, 1936, pp. 651-652; Inoue Kaoru Ko Denki Hensankai, *Segai Inoue Ko Den* (Biography of Count Inoue), Tokyo, 1933-34, V, 65.

deration to those problems and had responded with a projection that the Bank of Japan specie reserve would fall quickly to Y52 million with the outbreak of war. Takahashi pointed out the necessity for Japan to curtail imports and to obtain foreign capital to shore up the specie reserve.¹⁷ Now, in meetings with Inoue and Matsukata, as well as with the cabinet, Takahashi was told that expenses for the war were estimated at Y450 million. If, as in the Sino-Japanese War, one-third of that amount was to be spent overseas, it meant that the projected specie reserve of Y52 million would leave Japan nearly Y100 million short of the specie necessary to cover those expenditures. Takahashi was instructed therefore, to arrange for a bond flotation of that amount overseas, using Japan's customs revenues for security if necessary. But that amount would be adequate only for the campaign to drive the Russians out of Korea, he was told. If the war advanced beyond the Yalu River into Manchuria additional funds would be needed.¹⁸

On February 17th the Finance Minister obtained a decision from the cabinet on floating a sterling public bond issue of up to 20 million pounds (approximately Y200 million) in the London market, or, if that proved impossible, to sell overseas some of Japan's previously floated public bonds. For this purpose the cabinet agreed to the proposal for the dispatch of Takahashi Korekiyo overseas with suitable credentials. While he was authorized to float up to 20 million pounds, if the opportunity arose, it was 10 million pounds that was needed, Takahashi was told, and that amount could be obtained in two flotations of 5 million pounds each if it proved impossible to obtain the entire 10 million pounds at one time. The interest rate should be under 5%, the price of the bonds should be in accord with market conditions (subject to the approval of the Finance Minister), and the bonds should be long term. Japan's customs receipts and railroad receipts were available as security, and Takahashi was to explain that the purpose of the flotation was to augment Japan's specie reserve and thus preserve her international accountability. The bonds were not to pay for the war, he was to tell the London bankers. Japan had domestic resources adequate to that task.¹⁹ On February 24th, Takahashi sailed from Yokohama with his private secretary, Fukai Eigo, after a farewell luncheon given by the Yokohama Specie Bank at

¹⁷ Koga Hidemasa, *Takahashi Korekiyo*, Tokyo, 1967, pp. 130-131.

¹⁸ *Takahashi Korekiyo Jiden*, pp. 657-658.

¹⁹ *Meiji Taisho Zaiseishi*, XVII, 51-52.

which Inoue Kaoru impressed all in attendance with the importance of Takahashi's mission in a tearful farewell speech. The fate of Japan, he told those in attendance, was hanging on the success or failure of the Takahashi mission.²⁰

Takahashi's first stop en route to London was in New York City. There he met with a number of bankers to determine their attitude toward Japan under the circumstances and to explore the possibility of obtaining capital from the New York financial market. From those with whom he talked, Takahashi got the impression of strong support for Japan in her war with Russia. There seemed, however, no likelihood that Japan would be able to float her war bonds in the United States with any success since the United States was, in 1904, still importing capital from Europe for its own internal development.²¹ Nevertheless, there were signs that Americans were ready as individuals to respond to Japan's financial needs should it come about that Japanese war bonds were floated in the United States.²² Japanese living in the United States, moreover, were permitted to subscribe to Japan's domestic war bonds, and some Americans contributed financially through the Red Cross and other charitable groups.²³

While in New York City Takahashi received a wire from the manager of the London branch of the Yokohama Specie Bank, Yamakawa Yuboku, who told him that there was no prospect of successfully floating Japanese bonds in London. The Yokohama Specie Bank, he said, had no credit among the British people whatsoever, and to attempt to float the bonds in London would only lead to humiliation for Japan. The only possibility, he told Takahashi, was to obtain the money in the United States. That alternative having already proved impossible, Takahashi left New York for London facing what seemed to be sure failure. In London, however, Takahashi set quickly to work to open negotiations with banks with whom Japan had previously done business — Parr's Bank, the Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank, Union Bank and Chartered Bank — and with other influential

²⁰ *Segai Inoue Ko Den*, V, 70; Fukai Eigo, *Jinbutsu to Shiso* (Personalities and Thoughts), Tokyo, 1939, p. 45.

²¹ *Takahashi Korekiyo Jiden*, pp. 658-659.

²² Minister to the United States Takahira Kogoro to Komura, February 15 and 16, 1904, TS 41.

²³ Komura to Takahira, February 17, 1904, TS 41; Takahira to Secretary of State John Hay, May 6, 1904, "Notes from the Japanese Legation in the United States," National Archives Microfilm M-163, Reel 8.

bankers such as Lord Revelstoke of Baring Brothers, Sir Ernest Cassel, and the Rothschilds.²⁴ As had been the case in New York, Takahashi found a good deal of support for Japan's cause in the war with Russia, but when the discussions came around to tangible ways in which that support might be demonstrated, they tended to produce no concrete offers. Takahashi concluded that there were a number of reasons for the lack of willingness on the part of London bankers to assist with Japan's financial needs:

1. Russia had the backing of French bankers, and since the outbreak of war the value of Russian bonds on the Paris and London markets had been increasing, while those of Japan were falling in price. There seemed little likelihood, under these circumstances, that a new issue of Japanese bonds would find a ready reception among the public.

2. If the bond issue did indeed end in failure, the existing Japanese bonds would be further affected. What was worse, the evidence of Japan's inability to raise funds abroad that such a failure would provide, would adversely affect Japan's prospects of victory over Russia.

3. If the bond issue did end in failure, the adverse affect on the existing Japanese bonds would be harmful to the banks and private individuals holding them.

4. The British Government had not made clear its position on the Japanese bond flotation.

5. The British and Russian royal families were related.

6. Russia's own finances seemed to be so secure, based on the French banking connection, that the war would inevitably end in Russia's favor.²⁵ Some concern was also expressed over the fact that the Russo-Japanese War was a conflict between the yellow and white races, and the inadvisability of Britain siding financially with the yellow side in such a war.²⁶

On April 8th, however, Komura wired Hayashi in London that:

it is imperatively necessary for us to procure an ample fund. This necessity is increasing with time and the Imperial Government is anxious to secure the funds as quickly as possible even by arranging with powerful financiers for a private loan which

²⁴ *Takahashi Korekiyo Jiden*, p. 661.

²⁵ *Loc. cit.*

²⁶ *Segai Inoue Ko Den*, V, 71; *Komura Gaikoshi*, I, 410-411.

may subsequently be turned into a public one at favorable opportunity and they wish to know your opinion in consultation with Takahashi. You are further requested to telegraph fully to me the views regarding financial conditions of leading British financiers with whom Takahashi is reported to have interviews.²⁷

Hayashi responded that the time was not yet ripe for a bond flotation, but that progress was expected within the next two weeks.²⁸ On April 10th, three bankers — Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank, Parr's Bank and Panmure Gordon and Company — proposed a short term loan to Japan of 3 million pounds at 6% interest, with a flotation price of 92% of face value, and with Japan's customs receipts as security. What is more, the British side wanted to appoint someone to supervise Japanese customs, on the order of Sir Robert Hart in China. Takahashi objected strenuously to this last provision as demeaning to Japan. Japan, he pointed out, had never defaulted on the principal or interest of any foreign loan and to place her in the same category with China, therefore, was insulting.²⁹ This provision dispensed with, Takahashi turned his attention to bringing about improvements on the other conditions proposed by the British banking group. In this he was assisted by the string of Japanese military and naval successes in the Far East, and the effect that these successes had on the market price of existing Japanese public bonds in London and Paris. Between April 12th and 20th, the various existing Japanese bond issues rose by $3\frac{1}{4}$ to 5 points in the market, while Russian 4% bonds fell by $2\frac{1}{2}$ points. Under such favorable conditions Takahashi was able by April 27th to get the London bankers to agree to an increase in the amount of the bond flotation to 10 million pounds, with half the amount (approximately ¥50 million) to be floated at once, the other half to be deferred. The bankers also agreed to extend the term from five to seven years and to raise the flotation price to 93% of the face amount, with net proceeds (after commissions) for the Japanese Government of 88%.³⁰ Tokyo, however, was not satisfied. The authorities there were willing to settle for a flotation of 5 million pounds, even though 7 million pounds was needed immediately, but it argued that if customs receipts were to be given as security, the sale price should be 95% of the face value and the government's net proceeds should be 90%,

²⁷ Komura to Hayashi, April 8, 1904, *NGB XXXVII-2*, 134.

²⁸ Hayashi to Komura, April 8, 1904, *ibid.*, 134-135.

²⁹ *Takahashi Korekiyo Jiden*, pp. 671-672; *Komura Gaikoshi*, I, 411.

³⁰ *Meiji-Taisho Zaiseishi*, XVII, 56-57.

while it suggested other minor changes as well.³¹ Hayashi, however, supported Takahashi in contending that the terms were as good as could be obtained under the existing circumstances. When Komura passed on the Finance Minister's query as to the possible salutary effect the army's victory in the Yalu River battle might have on the negotiations, Hayashi responded again that the terms were the best that could be obtained under the circumstances and that the matter should be left to Takahashi's discretion. Despite the victory by the Japanese Army "the notion of ultimate victory by Russia is still lingering at the bottom of the public mind," he told the authorities in Tokyo.³²

Perhaps unaware of the difficulties Takahashi was encountering with his own government, a friend, financier Arthur Hill, hosted a dinner party to celebrate the achievement of the April 27th provisional contract. At the dinner party Takahashi was seated next to a leading American banker, Jacob H. Schiff, senior partner in Kuhn, Loeb and Company of New York City. Schiff was returning to the United States from a trip to Europe which had begun in January. A German-born Jew, Schiff was an ardent foe of the Russian Government over its mistreatment of Russian Jewry and was a proponent of the use of financial pressure against that government. He had not only opposed the sale of Russian government bonds in the United States, but had also called upon Jewish bankers like the Rothschilds to refuse to do business with the czar so long as he continued to oppress his Jewish subjects.³³ Now Schiff plied Takahashi with questions at dinner concerning Japan's economic situation and post-war plans. When Schiff expressed doubt that 5 million pounds would be adequate for Japan's needs, Takahashi, explained that his government had directed him to raise double that amount, but that he had been successful in getting London bankers to accept only 5 million pounds at present. Much to Takahashi's surprise, the following day he was informed of the identity of Schiff and told that the New York banker had offered to underwrite the remaining 5

³¹ Matsuo to Komura (for Takahashi), April 30, 1904, *NGB* XXXVII-2, 136.

³² Hayashi to Komura, May 1, 1904; Komura to Hayashi, May 2, 1904; Hayashi to Komura, May 3, 1904, *NGB*, XXXVII-2, 137-140.

³³ Gary Dean Best, "Financing a Foreign War: Jacob H. Schiff and Japan, 1904-05," *American Jewish Historical Quarterly*, LXI (June 1972), 314-315.

million pounds that Takahashi sought, with the bonds to be floated in the United States.³⁴

On May 4th, Hayashi wired Komura that he had been informed by Takahashi of the prospect that Japan would be able to float half of the 10 million pounds in the United States, and that the marquis of Lansdowne, the British Foreign Minister, had expressed considerable satisfaction at the prospect of a joint Anglo-American bond flotation for Japan. Hayashi pointed out to the Japanese Foreign Minister that rather obvious benefits would accrue to Japan from such a joint flotation, not only in the financial sphere, but from the diplomatic standpoint as well. He urged a quick approval by Tokyo of the terms of the proposed bond issue to take advantage of this financial diplomacy.³⁵ The following day Hayashi wired Tokyo again:

In view of the high probability of our loan being taken up by American and British financiers, I submitted to you... my views on the subject, laying stress upon the desirability of a prompt decision on the part of the Imperial Government. Takahashi now tells me that he has received instructions regarding the details of minor importance. I am afraid if much time is spent upon the detailed points without deciding upon the general line, the present favorable opportunity may easily be missed. Lord Lansdowne . . . was much pleased to learn that a part of our loan could be raised in America. He was also satisfied to know that the other half could be taken up here. In circumstances such as these, it is of the utmost importance to decide at once upon the general measure to be taken on the matter... It is needless to say that Takahashi is doing his utmost to secure the best possible terms under the circumstances, and it is advisable that the details should be left entirely to Takahashi's discretion. The effect of the loan if successfully raised both in England and America will be most beneficial to us in every way.³⁶

A few days later, the difficulties with Tokyo and with the bankers cleared away, Hayashi reported that a provisional contract had been signed on May 7th. As a result of Japan's Yalu River victory and "especially of American participation in the financial operation," a very favorable reception was being accorded to the flotation, with the new bonds already commanding a premium of up to 2½ per cent even before the flotation. "After all," Hayashi wired Komura, "there is no doubt that Takahashi has secured the best possible terms in time of war, taking advantage of those favorable circumstances. There-

³⁴ *Takahashi Korekiyo Jiden*, pp. 673-674.

³⁵ Hayashi to Komura, May 4, 1904, *NGB*, XXXVII-2, 141.

³⁶ Hayashi to Komura, May 5, 1904, *ibid.*, 141-142.

fore, I hope that the Japanese public will not display grumbling and a discontented mood with respect to the loan by indulging in academic argument. Such an attitude if taken will not make a good impression here."³⁷

With the addition of the Americans to the underwriters of the bond flotation, Takahashi was able to get the price raised to 93½ per cent of the face value.³⁸ On the day of the flotation, Takahashi visited the London stock exchange where he made a brief speech and received an enthusiastic welcome. It was quite a rare honor for an outsider to be so invited and the impact on the news media was heightened by the fact that he was mistaken by many for the Japanese minister Hayashi.³⁹ Subscriptions were closed at 3 p.m. of the same day they were opened in London, with over 150 million pounds offered for the British share of 5 million pounds of the bond issue. Over 30,000 subscriptions were received indicating the broad support the bonds received from smaller investors. In New York City, subscriptions closed the day after they were opened, with the American share oversubscribed by five times.⁴⁰

While the London oversubscription was the greater, the success in New York was at least as surprising, given the lack of experience there with foreign public bonds. Even midwestern cities like Chicago and St. Louis were heavy subscribers to the Japanese bond issue.⁴¹ The demand for the bonds in the United States was so great that some were changing hands at 96¾% even before they had been issued.⁴² Various explanations were advanced for the success in the United States. The American press pointed to the intimate and extensive commercial relations of the United States with Japan and recalled that it had been the United States which had brought about Japan's entry into contact with the modern world, a fact which, the press concluded, had no doubt exerted a sentimental influence on

³⁷ Hayashi to Komura, May 8, 1904, *ibid.*, 145.

³⁸ *Meiji-Taisho Zaiseishi*, XVII, 58; copies of the London and New York prospectuses, with Japanese translation, are on pp. 60-74.

³⁹ "A Talk on Floating Foreign Loans: Account of a speech delivered by Bank of Japan Vice-Governor Takahashi before the Banking Club dinner on January 24, 1905," *Ginko Tsushinroku*, February 1905, reprinted in *Nihon Kin'yushi Shiryo*, VI, 1066.

⁴⁰ *Meiji-Taisho Zaiseishi*, XVII, 75-76.

⁴¹ Consul Kiyomizu (Chicago) to Komura, May 25, 1904, *NGB*, XXXVII-2, 157-159.

⁴² Takahira to Komura, May 13, 1904, *ibid.*, 149-151.

Americans.⁴³ Others pointed to the attractive terms of the Japanese bonds compared to terms prevailing in the market for less speculative securities, and to the successes of Japan's army and navy.⁴⁴ As for the success in London, there was general agreement that American participation in the bond issue had much enhanced the marketability of the bonds there.⁴⁵ The earlier described concern at the prospect of Britain doing it alone with financial support for Japan was dissipated when the British were joined in the affair by the United States. As Schiff later described the effect of the American participation, it gave Japan's loans "a moral backing and stimulus which at once changed the entire situation and made everybody eager instead of hesitant, as had been the case until that moment."⁴⁶ Of assistance, too, in popularizing the cause of Japan, and thus in making Japan's war bonds more attractive, was the public relations effort mounted by Japan during the war years.⁴⁷

The flotation accomplished, Takahashi made preparations in June to return to Japan, only to be instructed to remain in London.⁴⁸ The war crossed the Yalu and the earlier estimate of war expenses had to be revised. An additional Y200 million was needed, the authorities decided, and Takahashi was directed to float a new bond issue of 20 million pounds using the income from the tobacco monopoly and, if necessary, the income from the railroads as security. Takahashi argued that conditions were not satisfactory for such a bond issue, however, so close on the heels of the first. It would probably be October at the earliest, he told Tokyo, before the London market would be prepared to digest another Japanese bond issue.⁴⁹ Moreover, Takahashi calculated that the customs revenue should be adequate to secure an additional Y120 million of foreign bonds without the necessity for using any additional security.⁵⁰ By early October conditions had not much improved. Jacob Schiff argued that any new

⁴³ *Loc. cit.*

⁴⁴ *Ginko Tsushinroku*, June 1904, reprinted in *Nihon Kin'yushi Shiryo*, VI, 1019-1021.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, July 1940, reprinted in *ibid.*, VI, 1025-1029.

⁴⁶ Schiff to Takahashi, February 24, 1910, Jacob H. Schiff Papers, microfilm reel 3, American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati, Ohio.

⁴⁷ Robert Valliant, "Selling Japan: Japanese Attempts to Manipulate Public Opinion," *Monumenta Nipponica*, XXIX (Winter 1974).

⁴⁸ *Takahashi Korekiyo Jiden*, p. 687; Komura to Hayashi, July 27, 1904, TS-41.

⁴⁹ *Meiji-Taisho Zaiseishi*, XVII, 87-88.

⁵⁰ *Takahashi Korekiyo Jiden*, pp. 687-688.

flotation of Japanese bonds should be delayed until January.⁵¹ A number of incidents in early October contributed further to insecurity in the London market where Japan's bonds were concerned. A speech by Okuma Shigenobu, which dwelt on Japan's need for enormous amounts of foreign capital with which to finance the war, and the North Sea incident involving Russian warships and British fishing boats, combined to bring about a weakening in the position of Japanese bonds on the London market.⁵² In mid-October Takahashi succeeded, however, in reaching tentative agreement with the syndicate over a 12 million pound issue which Minister Hayashi called the best which could be obtained under the circumstances with the outcome of the war still considered by the bankers to be very much in doubt.⁵³ Since the new bonds were a second mortgage on Japan's customs revenues, the terms were somewhat inferior to those for the first bond issue. Under the proposed terms the price of the bonds would be 90% of the face amount, with a net to the government of 85%, with the other details substantially the same as in the case of the first issue.⁵⁴ The government, however, was insistent that it should receive net proceeds of 90% as in the case of the first bond issue.⁵⁵

During the balance of October, negotiations continued between Takahashi and the banking syndicate, and between Takahashi and the authorities in Tokyo, designed to reach terms on which all could agree. Takahashi was able to get the syndicate to agree to net proceeds of 87½%, but he was convinced that despite the continuing string of Japanese military and naval victories, the figure would not go above that amount, and in this conclusion he was supported by Minister Hayashi, who urged the government to consent to a flotation on that basis.⁵⁶ The government, however, was convinced that the impending victory at Port Arthur would make possible better terms in the bond flotation. The talks with the syndicate should not be broken off, Takahashi was told, but should be stretched out until that victory was

⁵¹ Uchida (Consul-General, New York) to Komura, October 5, 1904, *NGB*, XXXVII-2, 179-180.

⁵² Arakawa (Consul General, London) to Komura, October 7, 1904, *ibid.*, 181; *Meiji-Taisho Zaiseishi*, XVII, 90-91.

⁵³ Hayashi to Komura, October 12, 1904, *NGB*, XXXVII-2, 182.

⁵⁴ Takahashi to Matsuo, October 17, 1904, enclosure #1 in Komura to Hayashi, October 19, 1904, *ibid.*, 185-186.

⁵⁵ Komura to Hayashi, October 19, 1904, *ibid.*, 185.

⁵⁶ Hayashi to Komura, October 20, 1904, *ibid.*, 186-187.

achieved. The present terms might be regarded as satisfactory under the conditions in London, but they were considered to be controversial in Tokyo.⁵⁷ In the meantime, however, general market conditions in London worsened to the point that the syndicate withdrew even its offer of 87½%. Now, it informed Takahashi in late October, the market price would have to be reduced from 91% to 90% of the face amount, with net proceeds to the Japanese Government of only 86½%. Its stalling tactic having worked to Japan's detriment, and the Russian resistance having proved stouter than the authorities in Tokyo had anticipated, approval was speedily wired to Takahashi to go ahead with a bond flotation on those terms, but to exert every effort to obtain an improvement if that were possible. In the end Takahashi managed to get the sale price raised to 90½% in the agreement of November 8th, and the second flotation of 6% bonds was made at this price.⁵⁸

In the middle of November, market conditions in London began to improve, and while the second bond flotation was not as popular as the first it was a great success in both London and the United States. In London applications were closed at noon of the day following the opening, with nearly 30,000 subscribers again applying for 13 times the London share of the flotation. In New York City applications closed on the 18th, four days after they opened, with an over-subscription of roughly four times the American share.⁵⁹ Again the unsatisfied demand for the bonds led to their sale at a premium immediately after the flotation. On December 5th, 1904, Takahashi left London for New York City to arrange for disposition of the money as it came in from subscribers. While there the close friendship between Schiff and Takahashi which had begun in London was further cemented. In January, Takahashi returned to Japan from his first financial mission overseas after nearly a year abroad.⁶⁰

Takahashi arrived in Yokohama on January 10th, 1905. The following day he was visited by Bank of Japan Governor Matsuo, and he then reported to Finance Minister Sone on the 12th, to Matsukata on the 13th, Inoue on the 14th, and to Prime Minister Katsura Taro on the 15th. On the 16th he was commanded to an audience with

⁵⁷ Komura to Hayashi, October 21 and 22, 1904, *ibid.*, 187-188.

⁵⁸ Komura to Hayashi, November 2, 1904, *ibid.*, 190; *Meiji-Taisho Zaiseishi*, XVII, 90-92 — copies of the prospectuses are in pp. 94-108.

⁵⁹ *Meiji-Taisho Zaiseishi*, XVII, 108.

⁶⁰ Koga, *Takahashi*, pp. 150-151.

the Emperor Meiji after which, with Matsuo, he held talks with Inoue. Late in January a conference of the elder statesmen (*genro*) was held at Prime Minister Katsura's official residence, with Inoue and Matsukata in attendance, as well as Ito Hirobumi and Yamagata Aritomo. Invited to the conference, Takahashi was asked if it would be possible for the government to raise an additional Y200 million to Y250 million in foreign bonds. Takahashi responded that he was sure he could do so by telegram without so much as leaving Japan. Would it still be possible to raise that amount if the tide of battle turned against Japan, he was asked. By careful timing it could be, he answered, but the terms would naturally be less advantageous. On this note Takahashi withdrew from the conference.⁶¹ At some time late in January, however, Takahashi wired Schiff in New York concerning the possibility of a new bond flotation. Schiff, who had earlier in the month expressed the hope to London financier Sir Ernest Cassel that Japan would not place another foreign loan on the market again soon, nevertheless responded favorably to Takahashi's overture. As he wrote Cassel on February 9th:

Japan will apparently come out with another loan soon, because we received a wire from Takahashi at Tokyo two weeks ago, asking what we thought of the chances for a new loan, and how we thought it ought to be funded. We replied to him very fully by cable, and now the newspapers report that Mr. Takahashi is sailing from Tokyo on February 17th for America. We here believe that by the time the matter is ready it will be possible to place another Japanese loan, if it is secured by the railroads or the tobacco monopoly, especially as the outstanding bonds have recently become more and more popular with the public. Also it appears from several indications that the war is not likely to continue long.⁶²

A few days after the conference in late January, Takahashi was instructed to proceed to London to arrange for a new flotation. On his first financial mission, in 1904, Takahashi had gone abroad as a Bank of Japan Vice-Governor, which meant that he was not an official representative of the Japanese Government. Now he was appointed a Special Financial Commissioner of the Imperial Japanese Government in order to facilitate his negotiations with the banking syndicate

⁶¹ *Takahashi Korekiyo Jiden*, pp. 697-699; *Segai Inoue Ko Den*, V, 76.

⁶² Schiff to Sir Ernest Cassel, January 9, 1905 and February 9, 1905, Schiff Papers, Reel 20.

and with officials of foreign governments. He was also nominated by the emperor to the House of Peers.⁶³

On February 11, 1905, Takahashi was given the government's instructions concerning the new bond flotation and his power of attorney. That evening he was entertained by Inoue at a farewell banquet, and on the 14th, Bank of Japan Governor Matsuo hosted a farewell party for him attended by Inoue, Matsukata, Prime Minister Katsura, Foreign Minister Komura, Finance Minister Sone, business leader Shibusawa Eiichi and others. On the 17th he departed Yokohama for London by way of New York, instructed to float Y200 million in public bonds either in one flotation or, if that proved impossible, in two flotations of Y100 million each.⁶⁴ His train delayed by heavy snow, Takahashi did not reach New York from Vancouver until March 6th. In New York City Takahashi consulted with Schiff on the possibility of floating not the Y200 million his government had requested, but Y300 million. With ease he obtained Schiff's agreement to underwrite half of this large amount in the United States. Moreover, Schiff told Takahashi that he could obtain further assistance for Japan from German bankers like Max Warburg of Hamburg if Takahashi considered it desirable.⁶⁵ This intimation of German interest in helping to underwrite Japan's war effort was supported by diplomatic despatches between Berlin and Tokyo.⁶⁶ Negotiations for this third loan proceeded so smoothly and so rapidly, however, that the German desire to serve as joint underwriters with London and New York could not be accommodated.

Takahashi arrived in London on March 19th and in four days reached agreement with the London syndicate. On the 22nd Takahashi reported to Tokyo that the Anglo-American banking syndicate had agreed to a flotation of 30 million pounds, with half to be floated in each country. The bonds were to be secured by the income from the tobacco monopoly and were to be sold for 90% of face value at an interest rate of only 4½ per cent and with maturity in twenty years. Banks on the European continent were to be allowed to act

⁶³ *Takahashi Korekiyo Jiden*, pp. 697-700; *Segai Inoue Ko Den*, V, 75-76.

⁶⁴ *Segai Inoue Ko Den*, V, 76-77; Komura to Hayashi, February 16, 1905, *NGB*, XXXVIII-2, 50.

⁶⁵ *Takahashi Korekiyo Jiden*, pp. 707-709.

⁶⁶ For example, Inoue (Minister to Germany) to Komura, March 3, 1905, *NGB*, XXXVIII-2, 55-56.

as agents of the syndicate in accepting subscriptions there.⁶⁷ Again Takahashi encountered difficulties with the authorities in Tokyo. Although he had succeeded in floating a bond issue 50% larger than that requested by Tokyo, and on far better terms than the previous issues, he found the government pressing for an increase in the flotation price. Although he was unable to bring about such an increase, Takahashi did manage to get a slight improvement in the net proceeds to the Japanese government to 86¾%.⁶⁸ Again Hayashi supported Takahashi's efforts in cables to Tokyo, and when he learned that a London newspaper had received a telegram from Tokyo expressing dissatisfaction with the terms of the new bond issue, he wired the government that:

the terms which Takahashi virtually has succeeded in securing the best obtainable under the present circumstances, and such telegrams... can do nothing but injure the popularity of the loan, especially as it is understood to have come from a very good source. I think it advisable therefore that Takahashi should be fully confided in and the sending of any such undesirable telegrams should be discouraged.⁶⁹

In the face of such support, the reluctance on the part of the authorities in Tokyo withered, and the following day Foreign Minister Komura wired to Hayashi the government's approval of the terms of the third bond flotation.⁷⁰

This third Japanese war bond flotation, the first 4½% sterling public bonds, was even more successful than the first two, despite the size of the loan, being aided, no doubt, by Japan's victory at Mukden. In London applications were accepted only between 9 a.m. and 2:30 p.m. on March 27th, with over 50,000 subscribers in Great Britain applying for over 150 million pounds, while subscriptions through agents on the European continent totaled over 11 million pounds from Germany, Belgium, Switzerland, Holland and Austria-Hungary, for a total of nearly 163 million pounds, or nearly 11 times the London share of the flotation. In the United States applications totaled approximately \$500 million (approximately 100 million pounds), or about seven times the American share. In both countries a large percentage of the applications continued to come from small subscribers.⁷¹

⁶⁷ *Takahashi Korekiyo Jiden*, pp. 710-711; *Segai Inoue Ko Den*, V, 78.

⁶⁸ *Meiji-Taisho Zaiseishi*, XVII, 117.

⁶⁹ Hayashi to Komura, March 24, 1905, *NGB*, XXXVIII-2, 58.

⁷⁰ Komura to Hayashi, March 25, 1905, *ibid.*, 58-59; copies of the prospectuses are in *Meiji-Taisho Zaiseishi*, XVII, 119-132.

⁷¹ *Meiji-Taisho Zaiseishi*, XVII, 132.

In April Takahashi made preparations to return to Japan. Not only had he succeeded in floating an issue of war bonds considerably larger than the government had told him was necessary for 1905, but domestically the government had floated a Y100 million loan in March and had announced its intention to float another in April. In fact, so close had the three loans followed one another that Tokyo worried lest the world conclude from it all that Japan was in financial difficulty. This was not the case, Komura assured Hayashi, but rather each of the bond issues represented a part of the total of 780 million yen estimated to be necessary for the war effort during the current financial year.⁷² On April 21st Takahashi left London for New York City to arrange for the disposition of subscription money there, intending to leave from New York for the return trip to Japan. While in New York, however, Takahashi received a wire informing him of Japan's victory in the naval battle at Tsushima of May 27-28, followed soon by a wire from Matsuo asking if it would be possible for Japan to capitalize on the naval victory to float an additional Y300 million in public bonds in Great Britain and the United States. Matsuo's wire described the Y300 million as a consolidation loan, and Takahashi responded that it was the opinion of the bankers that the war bonds should be consolidated only after the conclusion of peace.⁷³ If the war was to be continued, then further war bond flotations should take place only after that decision was made. Matsuo, however, quickly replied that if the war was to be continued, Japan would need a total of Y780 million, of which it would need to float foreign bonds to the amount of a further Y300 million, and this amount might have to be raised in a hurry. Takahashi answered that it would not be possible to float another bond issue until the middle of October, and that the best time would be April or May of 1906. He again requested permission to return to Japan.⁷⁴

Pressure from Tokyo continued, however. On June 15th Takahashi received a further wire from Matsuo explaining that the government had used Y200 million more than it had estimated for the

⁷² Komura to Hayashi, April 18, 1905, TS-62.

⁷³ Instead of a consolidation loan, the Y300 million was considered by Foreign Minister Komura, who represented Japan at the peace conference, as an essential condition for strengthening Japan's position at the peace table. Okamoto Shumpei, *Japanese Oligarchs and the Russo-Japanese War*, New York and London, 1970, p. 152.

⁷⁴ *Takahashi Korekiyo Jiden*, pp. 719-722; *Meiji-Taisho Zaiseishi*, XVII, 139-140.

year, and that it calculated it would need Y235 million to carry it until March of 1906. All told, Y535 million was needed for the remainder of 1905 and the early months of 1906. Of the total Y500 million would have to be raised through public bonds. However, Y500 million of public bonds had already been floated within Japan and the nation was groaning under the weight. Therefore, Y300 million of the total needed would have to be floated overseas. While the money was designed to meet the expense of continuing the war if that proved to be necessary, if the peace negotiations that were about to begin proved successful in ending the war then the money would be needed for evacuating the Japanese armies from the Asian continent and for paying servicemen's and survivor's bonuses. Any surplus could be used to redeem the early high interest domestic bonds.⁷⁵ Takahashi consulted with Jacob Schiff in New York City. Prospects were not good, he was told, for floating such a loan in just the United States and Great Britain so close on the heels of the first 4½% bonds. Something novel would be needed to improve the prospects. And now the close relationship that had developed between Takahashi and Schiff paid dividends. German bankers, with the support of their government, had desired to participate in the third flotation as joint underwriters with the London and New York syndicate members. If Germany now entered the syndicate, Schiff told Takahashi, it would enhance the general popularity of the bonds while at the same time it would clear the way for Japanese bonds to penetrate the world market on a wider scale thereafter. With Takahashi's approval, Schiff cabled a relative, Max Warburg, a banker of considerable influence, in Hamburg. The Warburgs replied that they were ready to join in the flotation at any time. As Schiff explained the situation to Sir Ernest Cassel in London:⁷⁶

The proposal of the Japanese Government to raise another £30 million apparently surprised Mr. Takahashi as much as us, for he was preparing to go home last week when he received orders to stay for the purpose of taking up new negotiations. It seems that the Japanese have not the greatest confidence in Russia's willingness to conclude a peace upon the conditions which they intend to stipulate, and the Government apparently wants to protect itself in all directions. Mr. Takahashi says that even if peace should come, he thinks the proceeds of any additional foreign loan would be applied toward the retirement

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 723-725.

⁷⁶ "Speech by Takahashi before Bankers' Club dinner," *Ginko Tsuchinroku*, April 1906, reprinted in *Nihon Kinyushi Shiryo*, VI, 1081-1087.

of the internal loans, which the Japanese Government must want to liquidate as soon as possible, so that the country's own capital ... can once more become mobile. We have suggested to Mr. Takahashi, if the money must be raised, that the new loan be of the same type as the last, and that it be secured by a second lien upon the tobacco revenues ... [We] are very much in favor of including Germany this time, particularly as the gentlemen of the Deutsch-Asiatische have recently intimated to us through Warburgs that they would be willing to go into a new Japanese loan with us ... We have furthermore received the impression from Mr. Takahashi that his government would be glad to see the German market also opened to its securities... [We] here think it would be best to distribute the new loan among the three markets, which would in any event make a good impression.

He asked Cassel to explain "our viewpoint" to the London members of the syndicate.⁷⁷

Schiff was correct in assuming that the Japanese Government was interested in securing the financial backing of German bankers. Since Germany had for long been a source of funds for Russia, the capture of the Berlin financial market by Japanese war bonds would be a coup of financial diplomacy second only to the conquest of the New York market. Tokyo did not have to be told, as it was by a German close to financial circles, that for Japan to float public bonds in Germany would be a blow to Russia and one way to encourage Russia to make peace.⁷⁸ Yet contemporary sources agree that it was Schiff who took the initiative in inviting the Germans to participate and who was then instrumental in getting the London syndicate to go along.⁷⁹ The ease with which the United States and Germany were enlisted behind the fourth bond flotation, however, was in sharp contrast with the difficulties experienced with the London group of bankers. At the same time that Schiff wired the Warburgs soliciting their participation, Takahashi cabled the bankers in London to get their opinion of the new flotation and of German participation. In reply he was told that it was undesirable from London's standpoint for any new Japanese bond issue to be floated at present. When Takahashi responded that he had no other choice, and that New York and Berlin were each willing to take one-third, he was told by one of the London bankers that it would be to Japan's disadvantage

⁷⁷ Schiff to Sir Ernest Cassel, June 23, 1905, Schiff Papers, Reel 3.

⁷⁸ Inoue (Minister to Germany) to Komura, March 24, 1905, *NGB*, XXXVIII-2, 57.

⁷⁹ Takahashi in his autobiography later wrote that Schiff sent the telegram to Warburg at his request. *Takahashi Korekiyo Jiden*, p. 729.

to permit German participation. According to Takahashi, Schiff then advised him to go to London to talk personally to the bankers there. If the London bankers would not consent to the new flotation there, Schiff personally would see to it that the entire Y300 million which Japan sought was floated in New York and Berlin alone.⁸⁰

Takahashi left New York for London on June 24, 1905. At Southampton an agent of the London bankers as well as the manager of the London branch of the Yokohama Specie Bank boarded his ship and tried to dissuade him from a fourth flotation. The arguments against the flotation were potent. It had only been a few months since the first Y300 million bond issue had been floated and subscriptions were still being paid in. Japan had an enormous sum of money still on deposit in London so there was no apparent need for additional money immediately, and the London market simply was not prepared to absorb another large Japanese bond issue so soon. It would not be good for the London market and it would not be to the advantage of those already holding Japanese war bonds. Moreover, these disadvantages would accrue to the disadvantage of any new Japanese bond issue. Not only were these arguments advanced by the bankers, but they filled the financial sections of London's major newspapers. Some questioned Japan's motives in seeking to raise such a large bond issue so soon after the first Y300 million flotation. Did Japan intend to negotiate in good faith at the peace conference, or was she making financial preparations to continue the war?⁸¹

Takahashi met these arguments with the same explanations he had provided for Schiff. Japan had to plan its finances well in advance, he explained, and in doing so it could not disregard the possibility that the peace conference might be unsuccessful or might drag on for months. Japan must therefore plan for war even while working toward peace. If she did not take advantage of the opportunity to float a bond issue now, and the peace conference did not succeed, the disappointment at the shattered peace prospects might make it impossible to float Japanese bonds at that time. It was better to float them now, and if the peace conference was successful, to use the money for evacuating the troops and other necessary post-war uses. As a result of his patient explanations Takahashi was able to bring

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 729-731.

⁸¹ "Speech by Takahashi," *Nihon Kinyushi Shiryo*, VI, 1082-1083.

most journalists to an appreciation of Japan's position.⁸² To the bankers' objections Takahashi responded by arguing that this time Germany would join in the flotation and that this would promote the popularity of the bonds.⁸³ When the British bankers objected to the participation of Germany, Takahashi pointed out the diplomatic advantages for Japan that would result from that participation and called to their attention the fact that the New York bankers strongly favored that participation. As a result the British finally consented to the Japanese war bond flotation, the second 4½% sterling public bonds, on terms substantially the same as for the first 4½% bonds. The terms were settled on July 4th, with the flotation amount being 30 million pounds, sold at 90 per cent of the face amount, with the government's net proceeds being 86¾% and the redemption period 20 years. The government approved the terms by telegram on July 5th and the bonds were floated on July 11, 1905.⁸⁴

Several days before the flotation, Schiff wrote his son that "people are so crazy about Japanese loans that in spite of the great stagnation which prevails in the whole investment field it appears that the public subscription will be a success." The German participation was helping to make the bonds popular this time, he reported. It meant that only a third of the bonds would come to the United States as a result, but that was not to be lamented since London and New York would have been oversupplied if the bonds had been confined to those markets.⁸⁵ True to Schiff's prediction, the fourth flotation, too, was a tremendous success. Applications closed in London at 2:30 p.m. on the day of the flotation, with the London share oversubscribed ten times. Berlin also experienced a ten-fold oversubscription, while New York's was 4½ times.⁸⁶ The loan successfully floated, Takahashi's thoughts again turned to leaving London for the return to Japan, but again he was instructed to remain in London. There would be a need for low-interest foreign capital in Japan's postwar plans, both for industrial expansion and for the redemption of high-interest wartime bonds. On September 5, 1905, the peace treaty between Russia and Japan was signed at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, ending the war. During

⁸² See, for example, *The Economist*, July 8, 1905.

⁸³ "Speech by Takahashi," *Nihon Kin'yushi Shiryo*, VI, 1083-1084; *Meiji-Taisho Zaiseshi*, XVII, 142.

⁸⁴ *Meiji Taisho Zaiseishi*, XVII, 141-143 — copies of the prospectuses are in pp. 145-174.

⁸⁵ Schiff to Mortimer Schiff, July 6, 1905, Schiff Papers, Reel 11.

⁸⁶ *Meiji-Taisho Zaiseishi*, XVII, 174-175.

the months between the fourth war bond flotation and the peace treaty, Takahashi worked at carrying out his government's policy of making the Industrial Bank of Japan the agency for introducing foreign capital into Japan. After the peace treaty was signed he turned to the task of floating a consolidation loan to be used for the redemption of high interest war bonds. In November, 1905, he succeeded in negotiating a ¥500 million, 4% interest, unsecured bond issue, with half to be floated that month to redeem domestic bonds, the other half deferred until it could be used to redeem the 6% foreign bonds. This flotation saw France join the ranks of the underwriters, with 12 million pounds of the 25 million pound flotation allotted to the Rothschilds in Paris, and the remainder divided between the British group (6.5 million), the American group (3.5 million), and the German group (3 million).⁸⁷

Considering the war-time years alone, Takahashi succeeded in floating four bond issues overseas totaling some 82 million pounds in face amount. The scale of foreign borrowing was unprecedented for Japan. The success of that borrowing, with each bond issue oversubscribed many times, with progressively strengthened credit despite the enormous increase in its public debt, was unprecedented in the financial markets of the world for wartime bond flotations.⁸⁸ This was fortunate since, as Fukai Eigo, Takahashi's private secretary, pointed out, this was the first time that the ebb and flow of Japan's national fortunes was intimately related to her success or failure in large scale foreign borrowing. And Japan faced the situation with very little experience at floating foreign loans.⁸⁹ By contrast with the Sino-Japanese War of a decade earlier, which cost approximately ¥255 million, the Russo-Japanese War cost ¥1.984 billion. Moreover, the cost borne through public bonds was increased from ¥117 million in the Sino-Japanese War, to ¥1.555 billion in the war with Russia. Since foreign borrowing accounted for roughly half of this latter figure, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Japan would have found it virtually impossible to carry through the Russo-Japanese War to its successful conclusion without the foreign loans negotiated in London and New York by Takahashi Korekiyo.⁹⁰ Not only did the foreign

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, XVII, 184-187 — copies of the prospectuses are in pp. 189-218. *Nihon Kin'yushi Shiryo*, VI, 1086-1087.

⁸⁸ "Speech by Takahashi," *Nihon Kin'yushi Shiryo*, VI, 1087.

⁸⁹ Fukai Eigo, *Kaiko 70 Nen* (Reminiscences of 70 Years), Tokyo, 1942, pp. 67-68.

⁹⁰ *Komura Gaikoshi*, I, 407.

borrowing contribute a significant share of the expenses of the war, but it also acted as a prop to the Japanese economy throughout the war. The inflow of specie from the borrowings abroad stimulated the domestic economy, providing capital elasticity and maintaining private purchasing power, and in this way contributed even to the success of the domestic bond flotations and tax increases which made up most of the remainder of the expenses of the war. Without the foreign bond flotations it is difficult to see how Japan could have maintained the level of her war effort in Manchuria without bringing about economic collapse at home.⁹¹

But Japan's success in floating 82 million pounds in foreign war bonds was more than a financial victory for Japan. It was a diplomatic victory as well. Only a decade before, at the conclusion of the Sino-Japanese War, Japan found Russia, Germany and France allied against her to deprive her of the Manchurian spoils of that war. Japan's isolation of those days had been partially corrected in 1902 by the conclusion of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. Her diplomatic position was further strengthened during the war with Russia by the successive conquests of the New York and Berlin financial markets by Japan's war bonds. By 1905 it was Russia which found itself increasingly isolated. It is certainly true, as some have pointed out, that American and German bankers probably would not have been permitted to participate in the flotations had this financial support of Japan not been in accord with the foreign policies of their government.⁹² To this extent the bankers' actions were only the surface manifestation of more complex foreign policy considerations. It is equally true, however, especially in the American case, that the bankers would not have participated in the flotations had those flotations not been in accord with the bankers' own foreign and financial policies. For Jacob Schiff, who played a central role in the success of Japan's financial diplomacy, the bond flotations offered a way for Jewish bankers to strike at the Russian Government for its oppression of Jews.⁹³ But from the financial standpoint, the bonds were attractive, especially in the commissions provided the underwriting banks. For investors, the prospect of an early redemption based on an in-

⁹¹ Akashi and Suzuki, *Nihon Kin'yushi*, I, 232; *Kin'yu Rokujunenshi*, pp. 437-452.

⁹² For example, Lionel M. Gelber, *The Rise of Anglo-American Friendship*, London, 1938, p. 172.

⁹³ Schiff to Kaneko Kentaro, February 10, 1905, Schiff Papers, Reel 4.

demnity for Japan from Russia offered the possibility of an even higher annual return on their investment. Without attractive terms, and tantalizing possibilities, the bonds could not have achieved the success of nearly \$200 million (face value) in flotations in the United States in eighteen months, no matter how ardent the support of the United States Government or of Jacob Schiff and other bankers. The importance, then, of the terms negotiated between the bankers and Takahashi Korekiyo cannot be overlooked, nor can the support of Tadasu in defending those terms to the authorities in Tokyo.

It was, as one Japanese historian has observed, a classic case of the intertwining of international politics and international banking.⁹⁴ Bankers were acclaimed as heroes and were awarded medals for their services in behalf of the Japanese war effort. Jacob Schiff, for example, was twice decorated by Japan and was received in audience by the Emperor Meiji.⁹⁵ King Edward VII, too, received Schiff in audience and expressed great satisfaction at the cooperation of American bankers in floating the Japanese bonds.⁹⁶ Takahashi Korekiyo was rewarded with a barony in 1906. Clearly the close personal relationship that developed between the two men during the war years and continued down to Schiff's death in 1920, were the key elements in the success of Japan's financial diplomacy.

⁹⁴ Gamaike Satoshi, "Nichi-Ro Senso o Meguru Gaisai Mondai," (Financial Problems Surrounding the Russo-Japanese War), Shinolu Seizaburo and Nakayama Jiichi, editors, *Nichi-Ro Sensoshi no Kenkyu* (Studies on the History of the Russo-Japanese War), Tokyo, 1959, p. 352.

⁹⁵ Uchida to Schiff, March 28, 1905, and December 23, 1905, Schiff Papers (originals); Schiff to Sir Ernest Cassel, May 14, 1904, Schiff Papers, Reel 15. See also Hayashi to Komura, June 30, 1904, TS-41.

⁹⁶ Hayashi to Komura, May 11, 1904, *NGB*, XXXVII-2, 139-140.

⁹⁷ Iwamura Takeo, *Hyoden Takahashi Korekiyo* (Life of Takahashi Korekiyo), Tokyo, 1948, p. 72.

THE STRUCTURE OF NATIONAL LAW-MAKING AUTHORITY IN BHUTAN

VALENTINE J. BELFIGLIO

Bhutan, the land of the "Thunder Dragon," is a sparsely settled realm of manifold and prodigious contrasts. The nation has been evolving from a feudal polyarchy into a modern representative democracy.

The Era of Oligarchial Polyarchy

In the eighth century Lamas from Tibet introduced Buddhism to Bhutan. During the twelfth century Bhutan was greatly influenced by the growth of the Dukpa sect founded by Yeses Dorji at Ralung. At that time Bhutan was developing a separate and distinct identity. The land had no central authority but was governed by a multitude of warring chieftains.¹

During the thirteenth century various Buddhist sects rivaled for supremacy.² By the sixteenth century Buddhism was the dominant faith of the Bhutanese people. In 1616 Nawang Namgyal, a distinguished lama from Tibet attempted to unify Bhutan by proclaiming himself as its chief spiritual and temporal ruler. With the help of allies, he forced the submission or exile of his competitors and assumed the title of Shabdung (Dharma Raja).

Under the Shabdung's reign many large forts and monasteries were built. Copying a system popular in Tibet, Namgyal introduced the dzong system of government to Bhutan. The dzongs (fortresses) concerned themselves with military functions and eventually formed a network of military-administrative centers responsible to whatever government was in power in a respective area.³

Namgyal brought some semblance of stability to Bhutan. The powerful Rajas (feudal lords) sent him presents and friendly missions from Koch Bihar, Gorkha and Nepal.⁴ With the death of Namgyal,

¹ V. H. Coelho, *Sikkim and Bhutan*, (New Delhi: Indian Council For Cultural Relations, 1970), p. 60.

² Ram Rahul, *Modern Bhutan*, (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1971), p. 20.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

unity crumbled and control over Bhutan returned to the warring chieftains.⁵

From 1650 until 1652 the Buddhists forged a formal governmental structure based on a dichotomization of authority between temporal and ecclesiastical leaders. The authority of the central government continued until the mid-eighteenth century.⁶

In the seventeenth century shabdung Doopgein Shepton La-Pha organized Bhutan into several provinces, each of which included one or more forts within its jurisdiction. Shepton consolidated Bhutan through the appointment of Ponlops, to govern the newly created provinces. The Ponlops were in turn empowered to appoint Dzongpons, to command forts within the province. Shepton exercised both spiritual and temporal authority, administering the nation through his appointed Ponlops. A loose theocracy prevailed throughout the land.⁷

Successive generations of Dharma Rajas began concerning themselves primarily with religious matter, leaving authority over secular affairs to an appointed minister known as the Deb Raja. The Deb Raja developed into the actual head of state, and this office was bestowed upon persons elected by a council of Ponlops, Dzongpons, and higher Buddhist (Drukpa) officials.⁸ By the end of the nineteenth century the Ponlops had grown increasingly more powerful, and the Deb Raja became a mere figurehead of the most powerful Ponlop, usually the Paro or Tongsa Ponlop.⁹

For more than two centuries there were continuous encounters and conspiracies throughout Bhutan. No central authority existed, and the nation was divided along feudalistic lines. The economic system relied upon land ownership and slavery.

Prior to 1907 the government of Bhutan was mainly an oligarchial polyarchy. It was a polyarchy because law-making authority was exercised by autonomous groups in the form of territorial Ponlops and

⁵ Coelho, *Sikkim and Bhutan*, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-63.

⁶ Foreign Affairs Studies Division, The American University, "U. S. Army Area Handbook for Nepal with Bhutan and Sikkim", 1964, p. 395.

⁷ Pradyumna P. Karan and William Jenkins, *The Himalayan Kingdoms: Bhutan, Sikkim and Nepal*, (Princeton: D. Von Nostrand, 1963), p. 32.

⁸ "U. S. Army Area Handbook for Nepal with Bhutan and Sikkim," *op. cit.*, pp. 402-403.

⁹ "Kingdom of Bhutan," *U. S. Department of State Publication* 8334, November, 1969, p. 1.

their Dzongpons. Routinized and institutionalized bargaining took place among these individuals, as the rulers of the various provinces contended for power and influence. An institutionalized accounting of the Ponlops to the Dharma Raja and Deb Raja existed in theory. In reality, homage was given to the most powerful Ponlops.

The political system at the national level was oligarchial in that resources in the form of land and military power were represented rather than people. Feudalism, slavery and wealthy landholders were the predominant economic characteristics of this period of Bhutanese history. In nineteenth century Bhutan, no democratic institutions nor political participation on an individual basis were provided for. This dominant position of the leading chiefs and lamas lasted until the creation of a hereditary monarchy in 1907.¹⁰

The Era of Pluralistic Autocracy

In 1885 the Deb Raja requested and was refused Chinese military aid for the purpose of defeating the powerful Ponlops of Paro and Tongsa. During this period all the Deb Rajas, except for one Paro client, were puppets of Tongza.¹¹ The Shabdung office, though never officially abolished, was deprived of powers in December of 1907. There is still a Shabdung resident in India today. At this time Wangchuk was elected as the hereditary monarch (Druk Gyalpo) of the country.¹²

To appease the British and protect Bhutan against Chinese expansionism, King Wangchuk on January 8, 1910, signed the Treaty of Punakha. The Treaty specified that Bhutan's foreign relations be guided by the advice of British India. Bhutan, however, retained full control over its internal affairs, including law-making authority.¹³

Secular and religious law were now vested in the Wangchuk family. This facilitated the establishment of a unified, centrally administered government for the first time in Bhutan's history.¹⁴ The Druk Gyalpo let the other Ponlop titles continue to be used in an honorary capacity, and reduced the size and influence of the Buddhist

¹⁰ Rahul, *Modern Bhutan*, p. 32.

¹¹ U.S. Dept. of State Publication 8334, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-3.

¹² "U. S. Army Handbook for Nepal with Bhutan and Sikkim," *op. cit.*, p. 404.

¹³ U. S. Dept. of State Publication 8334, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-3.

¹⁴ "U. S. Army Area Handbook for Nepal with Bhutan and Sikkim," *op. cit.*, p. 404.

clergy. With the former semi-religious system terminated, the new hereditary kings established direct personal rule.¹⁵

The economic system of the nation continued to be feudalistic, with local elite families losing much of their landholdings to members of the Wangchuk family. These proprietors also held high government posts, and had partial control over army units located in their dzongs.¹⁶ In Bhutan between 1907 and 1952, slavery continued to prevail and no institutions for representative democracy were initiated.

In the first half of the twentieth century, the government of Bhutan was a pluralistic autocracy. The system was autocratic because it did not recognize the accountability of the Druk Gyalpo to any elected Body or Group. Temporal and religious authority were now embodied in the king, who ruled by decree. Political roles were clustered in a hierarchy in which each individual was accountable upward, and ultimately to the Druk Gyalpo himself.

The form of autocracy was pluralistic because the Wankchuk kings recognized the principle of social autonomy. There was a clear dividing line between political and social activities. Most Bhutanese lived in isolated valleys and practiced local customs without governmental interference. Religion, social mores, education, the family and arts were not intricately integrated with the governmental political structure. Because of the existing primitive communication and transportation facilities, it would not have been possible for the kings to accomplish this kind of incorporation, even if they had desired to do so.

The economic system continued to be feudalistic with landowners receiving large revenues from their provinces. There was compulsory labor (chunidom) which in essence was a form of taxation. However, slaves, apparently were not numerous if the number of ex-slave families is a guide. No provisions were made for popular elections, and there were no opportunities for people to bargain on political matters during this phase of Bhutanese history. The source of legitimacy that sustained the political structure was procedural in the hereditary succession of the Wangchuk family. Law-making authority was thus derived from adherence to an institutional norm.

¹⁵ Pradyumna P. Karan, *Bhutan: A Physical and Cultural Geography*, (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1967), p. 9.

¹⁶ Muriel Grendrad ed. "Bhutan and Sikkim: Two Buffer States," *The World Today*, Vol. 15. No. 12, December 1959, 493-494.

Ugyen Wangchuk was succeeded by his son, Jigme Wangchuk in 1926. The new Druk Gyalpo consolidated his control over Bhutan by appointing his relatives to posts of responsibility. He exercised a rigid control over the dzongpons most of whom were his personal appointees and kinsmen.¹⁷

When India received its independence from the United Kingdom in 1947, the Druk Gyalpo felt it necessary to replace the treaty Bhutan had with Britain. An Indo-Bhutan Treaty was signed in 1949 permitting Bhutan control over its internal affairs, but requiring that the kingdom be guided by the advice of India in its foreign relations.¹⁸ When King Jigme Wangchuk died, he was succeeded by his son, Jigme Dorji Wangchuk, who was installed as Maharaja on October 27, 1952.¹⁹

The Era of Transition

King Wangchuk demonstrated great executive leadership in leading Bhutan toward a modern representative government. Shortly after coming to power, the monarch abolished slavery and serfdom, limited landholdings to 30 acres (except for royal family and religious institutional holdings) and opened 200 schools with Indian help. However, most of the land in central and eastern Bhutan still belongs to landlords closely related to the Wangchuk family.²⁰

In 1953 the Druk Gyalpo inaugurated the establishment of a unicameral representative body called the Bhutanese National Assembly (Tsongdu), at Punakha. The Tsongdu was later moved to Thimpu. The main executive and decision-making body is the Lhungye Shuntory which consists of the Council of Ministers and the Royal Advisory Council. The king presides over the Council of Ministers.

The old feudalistic order is almost non-existent these days at Thimphu, but there are disenchanted elements. In April 1964, a reform leader named Jigme Palden Dorji was murdered. In December 1964, an unsuccessful coup d'état was attempted. In July 1965, the Druk Gyalpo was fired upon by would-be assassins.²¹ As yet

¹⁷ Rahul, *Modern Bhutan*, p. 55.

¹⁸ U. S. Dept. of State, *Publication No. 8334*, op. cit., p. 3.

¹⁹ "Bhutan and Sikkim" Published by the Information Service of India, Political Office, Gangtok, Sikkim, July 5, 1968, p. 4.

²⁰ Rahul, *Modern Bhutan*, op. cit., p. 59.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 62-63.

there is no written constitution in Bhutan although efforts are being made to draft one.

Tsongdu Membership

The total membership of the Tsongdu was first set at 130, then increased to 150 to incorporate 20 more officials. There are three categories of persons who hold office in this legislative institution. These include Peoples' Representatives, Monastic Representatives and Official Representatives.

The Peoples' Representatives constitute 110 of the total Assembly strength.²² Village headmen are elected for five-year terms from Tsongdu constituencies. Constituencies are made up of representatives from local villages elected for three-year terms.²³

Monastic Representatives are nominated by the monastic bodies located in the Thimbu, Paro, Wangdiphodrang and Tongsa dzongs. The central monk leader nominates one, eight regional monk bodies nominate one each and the Dorji Lupon (the number-two man in the Drukpa hierarchy) is the tenth member.

Official Representatives are nominated by the Druk Gyalpo on a functional basis. This group includes five ministers, the eight members of the Royal Advisory Council, a Deputy Chief Secretary, senior civil servants, the Thrimpons (civil administrators) of the Dzongs, Ramjams (sub-divisional officers) and assistant civil administrators.²⁴

The Kingdom is divided administratively into 15 districts and two sub-divisions in Southern Bhutan. Each district is headed by a civil administrator and a magistrate.²⁵ The king nominates the ministers who are approved, or disapproved, by the Tsongdu. In addition, all royal appointments must be approved by a majority vote of the Assembly. Appointed ministers and senior civil servants may be removed from office by a majority vote of the Tsongdu at any time. The term of office for all members of the Bhutanese National Assembly is three years. The organization meets twice annually — in the spring and in the fall — for three weeks each time.

²² "Tsongdu: The National Assembly of Bhutan," Information Service of India, Political Office, Gangtok, Sikkim, Aug. 1969, p. 3.

²³ "Bhutan and Sikkim," *op. cit.*, pp. 4-5.

²⁴ "Tsongdu: The National Assembly of Bhutan," *op. cit.*, p. 3.

²⁵ Shasikant Jha, "The Kingdom of Bhutan," Published by His Majesty's Government of Bhutan, Printed at Calcutta, India, 1970, p. 19.

The Speaker has always been one of the Official Representatives in the Tsongdu. He is elected from among the membership by simple majority vote for a term of three years and officiates over the daily activities of the Assembly²⁶ The Speaker also presides over the Lhungye Shuntsory; his most important function. The Tsongdu enacts laws and advises the Druk Gyalpo on all matters of national importance.

Removal Powers

In 1969, King Wangchuk proposed to the Spring of the Tsongdu that it assume the power to remove the Bhutanese monarch at any time, by a two-thirds majority vote. This proposal was accepted by the Assembly in May, 1969, making that organization the ultimate sovereign body of the Bhutanese government. The king is now required to seek a vote of confidence every three years from the Tsongdu membership. A negative two-thirds ballot constitutes a vote of no confidence. In that event, the king must abdicate. However, the Wangchuk dynasty provides the new monarch in order of succession.²⁷

In May, 1970, the Druk Gyalpo presented a second resolution to the National Assembly which sought to empower the organization to terminate the rule of the monarch by a simple majority vote. The Assembly turned down the proposal, electing instead to retain the existing two-thirds requirements.²⁸

The Royal Advisory Council

A Royal Advisory Council, composed of eight members elected by the Tsongdu, examines foreign and domestic problems. The Council meets daily and makes recommendations to the king and his ministers, advising them on all matters of national importance. The group also arbitrates disputes between departments and ministries. Its decision is final in such cases.²⁹ The Council is composed of the people.³⁰

²⁶ "Tsongdu: The National Assembly of Bhutan," *op. cit.*, p. 10.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.

²⁸ *Hindustan Times* (New Delhi), May 30, 1970, p. 1.

²⁹ P. N. Sharma, *Glimpses of Bhutan* (New Delhi, India Press, 1969), pp. 29-30.

³⁰ Coelho, *Sikkim and Bhutan*, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

National Law-Making Authority

The Peoples' Representatives are responsive to their constituents, to whom they are responsible and depend upon for re-election. Villagers make demands upon their Tsongdu Representatives who in turn make known these demands before the Bhutanese National Assembly. After each legislative session, the Assemblymen are required to give a report of the proceedings to the villagers they are accountable to. The only free speech in Bhutan is in the Tsongdu itself. A Free Speech proposal by the king was rejected by the Tsongdu.³¹

Bhutan has no political parties. This eliminates controversial politics and forces the demands of villagers, religious, military and bureaucratic groups to be coordinated and compromised at the regular sessions of the Tsongdu, and at formal and informal meetings among Assembly members. The National Assembly has enacted many civil and criminal laws proposed by the government including those relating to taxation, compensation, property and the land tenure system.³²

At the opening of each legislative session of the Tsongdu, the king presents a state of the union message before the membership. In his speech, the monarch raises issues he would like the delegates to discuss.³³ The king continues to play an active role through his Chief Secretary who presents draft bills and proposals for the consideration of the Assembly during its regular sessions.³⁴

A Bill may be introduced by the king or a member of the Bhutanese National Assembly. It can be passed or defeated by a simple majority of the Tsongdu, voting by secret ballot. If the Bill receives a favorable endorsement from the legislature, it goes to the monarch for his signature. When he signs the measure it becomes law. However, the king may refer it back to the Assembly with his objections attached thereto. The Tsongdu then re-examines the Bill in the light of the king's comments. If the legislature again passes the proposal by a simple majority, the Bill becomes the law of the land.³⁵

Conclusion

Bhutan is currently a traditional conservative monarchy. However, under the leadership of King Jigme Dorji Wangchuk, the gov-

³¹ "Tsongdu: The National Assembly of Bhutan," *op. cit.*, pp. 5-6.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 4.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

³⁴ Coelho, *Sikkim and Bhutan*, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

³⁵ "Tsongdu. The National Assembly of Bhutan," *op. cit.*, pp. 9-10.

ernment of Bhutan in May, 1969, moved closer to becoming a democratic polyarchy. It is a polyarchy because political power is diffused among several autonomous groups. These include the village units, monastic bodies and agencies of the government bureaucracy. In addition, there is provision for an institutionalized accountability of the representatives of these entities to their respective constituents or superintendents. Open and aggressive debate takes place in the Bhutanese National Assembly.

The kingdom is now ruled oligarchically, and despite land reforms initiated by the king, its distribution of social and economic benefits remains uneven. However, Bhutan is not very authoritarian. Pressure to conform is internalized in members of the polity through the weight of tradition.

The national government is unitary yet the Bhutanese monarchy has not been characterized by personalized or "charismatic" leadership. The freedom of action of the Druk Gyalpo comes from, and is limited by, the origin of his position. He is free to act because the Bhutanese political system is based on limited participation, and the legitimacy of the king is high among the population as a whole.

Geographic, demographic and economic factors influence national rule-making in Bhutan. The Kingdom is a small state, relatively isolated from world events by the Himalayan mountains. The country has a population of only 1.1 million, and few concentrations of people living in urban areas. The per capita Gross National Product is less than \$250.00.

In Bhutan, individual political participation is uncommon, since the Kingdom's governmental institutions are appendages of family, village, religious and bureaucratic groups. The role of the Bhutanese National Assembly, Druk Gyalpo and other political structures is dependent upon the support of these communal groups and their leaders. Demands, or inputs into the rule-making process of Bhutan are injected by the communal groups. Each Bhutanese citizen is normally represented by only one of them.

The function of the Assemblymen is to formally and publicly convey the desires of the groups, and take part in the policy process that affect them. Because of strong legitimacy ties, Bhutan is able to maintain a National Assembly with powers to overthrow the monarch, without the need for political parties. The likelihood of such an overthrow, however, is remote.

The degree of politicization and participation is very limited. Slavery has been abolished, landholdings have been limited and a public education system has begun. Because of these changes, feudalism may eventually become less viable as an economic system in Bhutan. However, currently, the church and the military are still strong forces in the nation. Should the kingdom experience rapid urbanization, this could engender a bigger bureaucracy and military establishment. These institutions might then ultimately lead to a populist or authoritarian conservative regime unless they contained enough individuals from the communal groups to retain some of the traditional loyalties. This would also be true of any new educational classes that might develop.

The transition of the government of Bhutan from a pluralistic autocracy to a modern representative democracy had been a primary goal of the late king Jigme Wangchuk. The king had followed the example of democratic India, with whom his nation maintains close political and economic ties.

The dependence of Bhutan upon India is very apparent. Indian financial assistance to the Kingdom in 1973 totalled nine million dollars.³⁶ The national currency of Bhutan is the Indian rupee. Indian civil servants are entrenched at all levels of the government bureaucracy, and the only foreign mission in the Kingdom is an Indian Representative.

King Jigme Wangchuk realized the great political and economic advantages that might be obtained for his country by a democratization of the Bhutanese government. Late in 1969, in his last vote of confidence, only four Tsongdu members voted against the king, one abstained and 135 cast their ballots in favor of retaining him in office.³⁷ Whether this vote reflected the real views of the various members of the legislature is difficult to ascertain.

Nevertheless in Bhutan today, people are being given greater representation in the National Assembly than land or other resources. The supreme law-making authority of the nation is vested in the Tsongdu, an institution whose members are accountable to the will of the electorate as groups. Modern political parties may eventually

³⁶ Bernard Weinraub, "End of Isolation Brings New Problems for Bhutan," *New York Times*, January 1, 1974, p. 4.

³⁷ *Hindustan Times* (New Delhi), May 30, 1970, p. 13.

emerge from these powerful communal groups, if Bhutan continues to evolve into a democratic polyarchy.

With the death of King Jigme Dorji Wangchuk, Prince Singhye Wangchuk became the Druk Gyalpo of Bhutan in July 1972. When the young king was formally installed at a coronation ceremony at Thimphu on June 2, 1974, the rituals were watched by the representatives of twelve nations including Britain, the United States, France, China and the Soviet Union. The new king said that his kingdom had made good financial progress and that he was grateful for the increasing financial and technical assistance of other countries, especially India.³⁸

The new Druk Gyalpo promised to accelerate economic development of his nation. The start of tourism, school and hospital construction and a gradual flow of assistance from the United Nations and foreign countries are now planned.³⁹ The king appears to be carrying on with his late father's policies. He stated on June 13, 1974 that he was interested in developing the monarchy into a constitutional one. According to press reports, the Tsongdu has given up its right to hold a vote of confidence in the King every three years. Nevertheless, this Body has grown into a genuine consultative agency on issues of national importance.⁴⁰

Relations between Bhutan and India remain good and King Wangchuk asserts that there is no need to review the Indo-Bhutani treaty.⁴¹ With continuing economic, technical and educational development in Bhutan, an accompanying political awareness may evolve among the Bhutanese people. Some Bhutanese students are sent every year for short-term training to Australia, New Zealand, Japan, Singapore and Britain, with fellowship under the Colombo Plan. As Bhutan continues to expand its contacts with Western concepts and customs it may move swiftly towards a modern representative democracy.

³⁸ *Hindustan Times* (New Delhi), June 13, 1974, p. 13.

³⁹ Bernard Weinraub, "Bhutan King, 18, Crowned Amid Pageantry," *New York Times*, June 3, 1974, p. 10.

⁴⁰ *Hindustan Times* (New Delhi), July 11, 1974, p. 6.

⁴¹ *Hindustan Times* (New Delhi), June 20, 1974, p. 13.

PHILIPPINE "SEDITIONARY PLAYS"

PAUL A. RODELL

I. *Introduction*

All forms of literature are a reflection of the society of which the writer is a part. They mirror the author's particular culture even though a specific piece of literary work may make only a small portion of society its central focus or audience. This does not exclude "escapist" literature because culture determines the manner in which fantasies are developed and the form and direction which they take. Even "art for art's sake" and "dada" counter art movements can be viewed as being reflective of their societies or culture.

In the Philippines today many artists of all types, be they writers, actors, directors, or painters have become quite concerned with attempting to make their work "committed" and "relevant." Many of these more perceptive artists have taken a long hard look at their society and have come to some basic conclusions as to the whys and hows of its ills. As I see it, the main problem of contemporary Philippine society as perceived by these artists, is a combination of a search for a Filipino identity and the proper means for eliminating economic, social, and political inequalities dividing their countrymen.

In the immediate future the search for the proper methods to express commitment to the improvement or change of Philippine society through relevant literature will become even stronger. Committed literature as such will gain an increasingly important role in the realm of Philippine arts due to the felt need of contemporary artists to deal with the problem of present day Philippine society. This new sense of commitment is basically different from previous attempts of writers to deal with, understand, or explain Philippine society because:

"... after 1970, writers saw that while they were concerned with social problems, they had not seen the real causes of these problems. So committed literature differs from socially conscious stories in that it follows a certain ideological line in analyzing the Philippine experience."¹

¹ Bienvenido Lumbera, "Literature in Ferment," *The Philippine Collegian*, March 2, 1972, p. 4.

However, this does not negate other theories of literature for as Gemino Abad said in his article "The Criticism of Literature".

"... since critical statements are relative, we ought to regard the various theories of literature 'heuristically', that is, as useful techniques, each appropriate for different ends. We would then avoid the dogmatic stand that this or that theory of literature is the only valid one or the most adequate for any question that might be asked about a literary work."²

Yet, while many different forms of literary work have a function in society it seems that other roles for literature to fulfill will increasingly take a back seat to committed literature which follows an ideological line. What final ideological line the Filipino artist will choose in his analysis of Philippine society and in what medium and with what techniques he will choose to present his analysis to his public I do not feel competent to suggest. However, in my short study of the so-called seditious plays which were staged throughout the Philippines around the turn of this century I have gained two insights which I feel invaluable when presenting committed literature in at least its dramatic theatrical form.

These insights are: one, art grows out of the life of the people and therefore, if the artist wishes to be of assistance to his people and their intellectual growth and material welfare, he must communicate with them through that ill-defined folk culture which forms the whole basis of society. The closer to the people the artist can communicate his ideas, the better he will be understood and accepted. Two, this need to return to the grassroots of the people's culture will, by definition make irrelevant much of the artistic influences of alien cultures. However, foreign artistic forms and concepts need not be rejected outright. Foreign ideas, if carefully chosen and adopted to the local situation, can be of real value.

The seditious plays staged in the Philippines at the turn of the century had a definite commitment, that of expelling the American military government so that the Philippine revolutionary forces could resume power. The art form used to communicate this was of foreign origin but had been, through a process of acculturation adopted to the Philippine setting. The plays appealed to local audiences because they enjoyed the stories presented which were an accurate reflection of the workings of the real culture in both its positive and negative aspects.

² Gemino Abad, "The Criticism of Literature," *The Philippine Collegian*, March 2, 1972, p. 4.

Furthermore, the plays, by the use of more or less subtle techniques spoke eloquently of the people's desire for liberation from the new colonial ruler. Thus, this foreign theatre form which had been adopted to the Philippine culture and the necessities of the moment spoke to the people on two levels: the basic story plot which reflected either their real life or popularly idealized situations, on the one hand, and the underlying nationalistic appeals on the other.

The success of these plays can be gauged by their positive box office attraction among Filipino audiences and by the determined effort of the American authorities to put an end to this sort of "insidious" rebellion.

This paper is an attempt to learn more of the nature, extent, and use of the theatre by nationalistic writers at the turn of the century. To achieve this end we will look into the theater forms used, the biographies of some of the authors, the plays as staged, and the reaction to the plays on the part of the Filipinos themselves and their new ruler, the American government. From this exercise I hope we may see the value of writing for the people using stories based on their own lives and also how successful adoption of alien art forms can add greatly to the impact of communicated ideology. Perhaps such an inquiry will be of some benefit to concerned writers of the day who wish to make their commitment relevant and useful.

II. *Theatrical Forms in the Philippines*

The Filipino people have long been the recipients of aspects of foreign cultures which have often come in such massive doses that the average Filipino has good reason to wonder what has been developed by native intellect and in what ways have foreign art forms and ideas been assimilated into the culture. An answer to such a question would give the Filipino a clearer concept of what makes him "tick" and of what distinguishes him from other peoples. I cannot directly answer this question but in the field of drama I can state that the Filipino people have had dramatic forms of their own even before the Spaniards came.

Drama in the Philippines probably had its origins in ritualized ceremonies dealing with religious practice. This may be called dramatic art as there were definite characters, lines, and plots. Later, even during the Spanish colonial regime the population had its own dramatic

forms such as the *duplo* which was a farcical portrayal of local customs associated with both domestic and public life and the *karagatan* held during social get-togethers in which individual guests would be asked to make extemporaneous speeches revolving around amusing situations involving the group or some people in the group.³

Spanish priests added to the Philippine dramatic cultural heritage their own standards of drama which had a definite religious orientation. There were works like the *Panapatans* depicting the birth of Christ, the *Cenaculo*, presented during Lent which dealt with the suffering and resurrection of Christ, and, of course, the very popular *Pasion*.⁴

Later in the 17th century, Filipino and Spanish priests began to translate Spanish comedies into local dialects and these became known as *comedias* and later as *moro-moro* plays. Each play was a story of conflicts between Christian kings and nobles and Mohammedans. The struggle, which was spiced with a good deal of humor, always ended with a victory for the Christian rulers. Over a period of time the moros began to look more like Muslims from Mindanao and the fight scenes began to represent more closely battles between different groups of Filipinos rather than battles of Spaniards vs. North African or Middle Eastern moros.⁵ Yet, assimilation of Spanish religious plays was more profound than mere changes in dress and actions. Vicente Barrantes in his book *El Teatro Tagalo* as quoted by Quintina Daria observed that:

"The punctiliousness, the loyalty, the love and religiousness which abound in those comedies are genuinely Filipino without any of the unpalatableness of egoism and fierce fanaticism or the immorality and blasphemy which seemed to characterize their counterparts in the Spanish theatre of the 17th century;"⁶

Meanwhile, another theatrical form, which later became known as the *zarzuela*, had been developing in Spain. It was first known as the *Sainete* and to the dramatic action and dialogue were added music and dance. It was:

"... a brief comedy or farce, usually in one act, depicting scenes from popular or middle class life. The tone is humorous, ironical, or satirical, but no attempt is made at preaching or reforming manners. Plot is of less importance than humor of

³ Quintin Daria, "A Study of Severino Reyes as a Dramatist." (unpublished Master's Thesis, University of the Philippines, Diliman, Quezon City, 1954), pp. 17-18 and 21.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

situation and liveliness of dialogue. The characters, representing familiar types from lower classes, vary in number from two to twenty, and they talk and act in a perfectly natural manner. The majority of the Sainetes are simply *tranch de vie*, slightly exaggerated, that might be seen at anytime in cafes, squares, and market-places of a big city; occasionally they represent provincial life."⁷

Still later the introduction of Italian opera caused the demise of the "zarzuela grande," but a variation of the original which was not as extensive in production, the "zarzuela chico" did survive and it was this *zarzuela* form which eventually entered the Philippines.⁸

The *zarzuela* was first introduced into the Philippines in 1878 when the troupe of Dario Cespedes from Spain came to Manila. A year later Elisea Esguerra and Alejandro Cubero arrived in Manila to train local actors and to form their own troupe.* By 1893 the Zorrilla Theatre was opened to hold *zarzuela* productions thus indicating the enthusiasm with which the performances must have been greeted.⁹

However, even though the audience could enjoy the real life situations, thinly veiled social comments, and interspersed music and dance, issues which might have created a controversy over religious or political questions were carefully avoided in the dialogue. On October 4, 1839, the *Censura Previa*, a Royal Order to establish a censors commission in the Philippines had been issued and much later on October 7, 1856, a Superior Decree was promulgated pursuant to the Royal Order for the establishment of a Permanent Commission of Censors.¹⁰ With such a body inspecting artistic works any dissent would not have been tolerated in, at least, the early years of the history of the *zarzuela*.

The effect of the Philippine revolt against Spain was to liberate her authors from the repressive hand of censorship and the stifling atmosphere of Spanish rule. The *zarzuela* became the logical choice of dra-

⁷ Isagani R. Cruz, "The Zarsuela in the Philippines," *A Short History of Theater in the Philippines*, Isagani R. Cruz editor (No publisher or date given probably from the National Media Center as it was undertaken at the behest of the First Lady, Mrs. Imelda Marcos, copies available at the Cultural Center of the Philippines Library and at the University of the Philippines Library), pp. 124-125.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 127-128.

⁹ Daisy Hontiveros-Avellana, "Philippine Drama: A Social Protest," in *Brown Heritage: Essays on Philippine Cultural Traditions and Literature*, edited by Antonio G. Manuud, (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1967), p. 670.

¹⁰ Teodoro Agoncillo, "The Development of Tagalog Language and Literature," *Fookien Times Yearbook*, (September, 1952), p. 79.

matists to use as a vehicle of protest. One of the leaders in writing patriotic and anti-Spanish *zarzuelas*, whose work *Walang Sugat* will be discussed later, was Severino Reyes. He realized the educational value of the zarzuela and together with other writers the *zarzuela* soon became a living newspaper which reported the events of the day and attacked the excesses of the Spaniards.¹¹

In April of 1902, Reyes staged his one act *zarzuela*, *Sumalangit Nawa* (R.I.P.), a parody on the moro-moro portraying it as a long-decayed corpse awaiting burial.¹² This play effectively symbolized the awakened Filipino spirit which now sought to spread ideas of independence from restraining aspects of the Spanish cultural influence, in particular, religious-oriented drama.

When the United States entered the war against Spain and collaborated with Aguinaldo, the hopes of the revolutionary forces were understandably high. The great American republic was coming to aid the nationalist Filipinos who were professing the ideas expressed in that egalitarian document, the Declaration of Independence. As events were soon to show, however, the difference between expressed ideals and actual practice is often great. The Treaty of Paris and McKinley's "Benevolent Assimilation Proclamation" of 21 December, 1898 extended American rule over the Philippines and military commanders were instructed to implement this policy.¹³ The effect of the American act of betrayal was crushing, coming as it did after the Filipino people had gotten a taste of freedom and a smell of victory. While American rule imposed controls over Philippine life, there did remain more avenues of expression and dissent open to the writer than had been known under Spanish rule. This factor, plus the newly promulgated law which outlawed the word "kasarinlan" which referred to Philippine independence greatly influenced Filipino writers to turn their *zarzuela* writing skills on the "bagong panginoon" or new lord.¹⁴

However, I should mention here that there seemed to be some doubt as to whether or not all the plays that have earned the label of

¹¹ Iluminada Magno, "A Critical Study of the Zarzuela in Pangasinan of Catalino Palisoc," (unpublished Master's Thesis, The University of the Philippines, Diliman, Quezon City, 1954), p. 9.

¹² Daria, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

¹³ Teodoro A. Agoncillo, and Oscar M. Alfonso, *History of the Filipino People* (Quezon City: Malaya Books, 1967), pp. 256-257.

¹⁴ Teodoro A. Agoncillo, "Pasulyap na Tingin sa Panitikang Tagalog, 1900-1950," *Philippine Studies*, Vol. 18 No. 2 (April, 1970), p. 230.

sedition were, in fact, *zarzuelas*. Eufronio Alip says that Aurelio Tolentino's work *Luhang Tagalog* (Tagalog Tears) was a play not a *zarzuela* and credits Tomas Remigio's *Malaya* (Free) with being a symbolic and patriotic play.¹⁵ Nicanor Tiongson of the Department of Filipino and Philippine Literature of the University of the Philippines claims that *Malaya*, *Tanikalang Guinto* (The Golden Chain) by Juan Abad, and even Aurelio Tolentino's *Kahapon, Ngayon, at Bukas* (Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow) were not, strictly speaking, *zarzuelas*, but were rather lyric plays or "mga dula sa berso,"¹⁶ Finally, one play which certainly does not fit the description of a *zarzuela* was Pedro A. Paterno's *Magdapi* (Fidelity Rewarded) which used mythical characters in a fantasy story to drive home its message.

III. *The Authors*

Whatever theatrical form, *zarzuela* or otherwise, was being used at the turn of the century to promote nationalism, there can be little doubt that each individual writer had made his own personal commitment to this cause. Throughout the country writers had first attacked the Spanish friars and government and also had spoken eloquently on behalf of patriotism. When the American government took control of the Philippines, writers continued their cries for patriotism and a growing number wrote works urging resistance by the people against the new masters. Although the line between a patriotic and a "subversive" play might sometimes be very hard to determine, some writers are most often cited as being subversive in their writings. The best known of these subversives are Juan Abad, Patricio Mariano, Juan Cruz Matapang, Pedro A. Paterno, Pascual H. Poblete. Tomas Remigio, Severino Reyes and Aurelio Tolentino, all of whom showed a commitment in their writings and personal lives. In order that we might better understand the thinking of the aware writers of this time period and the sacrifices they were willing to go through to deliver their thoughts to their fellow countrymen a short review of the biographies of some of these writers is now important. For this purpose we will choose four of the better known writers: Abad, Tolentino, Poblete, and Reyes.

Juan Abad who was born in Sampaloc, Manila, had a history of working for Philippine independence which first manifested itself in

¹⁵ Eufronio Melo Alip, *Tagalog Literature* (Manila: University of Santo Tomas Press, 1930), pp. 112 and 118.

¹⁶ Nicanor Tiongson in a private interview January 15, 1972.

1898 when he joined the staff of the newspaper *La Independencia*. His interests gradually turned him to the theater. On September 3, 1900 he staged his play *Mapanglaw na Pagka-alaala* (Sad Remembrance) at the Teatro Universal. This led to his first arrest and the discovery that he had not taken an oath of allegiance to the United States which all adult males were supposed to have done. His next play, *Manila-Olongapo*, was about his arrest, his imprisonment, and later exile to Olongapo. This did not daunt Abad and in 1903 his most famous play *Tanikalang Guinto* (the Golden Chain) opened in Batangas causing his second arrest. The judge of the Batangas Court of First Instance, Paul W. Linebarger, convicted Abad of sedition giving him a sentence of two years and a fine of \$2,000. While appealing this decision to a higher court, Abad, who was out on bail, wrote another play, *Isang Punlo ng Kaaway* (A bullet of the Enemy). After the Supreme Court had reversed the decision of the Batangas court, he staged this latest play at the Teatro Rizal in Malabon, Rizal on May 8, 1904 and was again arrested. These repeated molestations and the defeats of the revolutionary forces by American troops successfully frustrated him and he wrote no more.¹⁷

The story of Aurelio Tolentino is more involved but it is also much more interesting. Tolentino was born in Guagua, Pampanga on October 6, 1868. Upon finishing his schooling he worked as a clerk in Tondo where he met Andres Bonifacio and became introduced to the Propaganda Movement by helping to distribute *La Solidaridad*. He became a Mason and after the break-up of the *Liga Filipina* he became one of the earliest members of the katipunan after the formation of the first triangle. He had joined Emilio Jacinto, Andres Bonifacio, Faustino Mañalak and others in their trip to Pamitinan Cave in Montalban where the first demand for independence was made on 10 April 1895. He was arrested some two weeks after the outbreak of the revolution but was soon released. Upon being released, he joined General Aguinaldo and was one of the signatories to the Declaration of Philippine Independence at Kawit on June 12, 1898. He then went to the Bicol Region where he served General Vicente Lukban as *inspector de armas*.¹⁸

¹⁷ E. Arsenio Manuel, *Dictionary of Philippine Biography Volume I*, (Quezon City, Filipiniana Publications, 1955), pp. 1-5. See also Teodoro A. Agoncillo, and Oscar M. Alfonso, *History of the Filipino People* (Quezon City: Malaya Books, 1967), pp. 306-307.

¹⁸ E. Arsenio Manuel, *Dictionary of Philippine Biography Volume II*, (Quezon City, Filipiniana Publications, 1970), pp. 371-373.

With the outbreak of the Philippine-American war, he was named to the Filipino Commission which was to confer with the Schurman Commission about the question of peace. He became a staff writer for the newspaper *La Patria* and was arrested in November of 1899 for his writings, but was later released. He then tried starting his own paper *Filipinas* but this was soon stopped by the authorities because of the paper's political color.¹⁹ It was then that Tolentino seriously turned to what for him was a new form of ideology communication, the theater.

His first play, *Sinukuan*, was a symbolic *zarzuela* in three acts which had the downfall of the revolution as its main theme. His next work *Luhang Tagalog* was not actually seditious but did stir up the audience and "inspired thoughts of war and treason." The American authorities, by a policy of harassment and threats of arrests, managed to suppress its showing.²⁰

For his part Tolentino knew that while the Filipinos might not be a match for the American troops, the spirit of independence had to be kept alive. Because arrest would be imminent if his writings were too outspoken, he, as well as the others, realized that symbols would have to be used. His play *Kahapon, Ngayon, at Bukas* (Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow) staged at the Libertad Theater** on May 14, 1903 went too far, however, in its condemnation of the American regime. Everyone in the theater was arrested and Tolentino was convicted of sedition and charged with 2 years imprisonment and a fine of \$2,000.²¹

The play was suppressed and the conviction of Tolentino sought because Enriquez Calderon, a former Spanish officer, objected that certain lines in the script which had been noted "Not To Be Used" were actually included in the production.²² However, the opening night performance showed more than ample evidence of the incendiary nature of the play. Tolentino's own part in the production included the ripping apart of the neck of a nipa eagle. Meanwhile, at another point in the play, the actors, who were dressed in appropriate colors, came together so that for a moment they collectively formed the Philippine

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 374.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 374-375.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 376-377

²² Amelia Lapeña-Bonifacio, *The "Seditious" Tagalog Playwrights: Early American Occupation* (Manila: Zarzuela Foundation of the Philippines, Inc., 1972), p. 15.

flag.²³ Before the play was finished fifteen or twenty Americans in the audience, being unable to control themselves, leaped upon the stage smashing scenery and furniture thereby creating a serious riot which made for the immediate cause of the arrests.²⁴

While free on bail he joined his old friend Artemio Ricarte in Palomar, Tondo on about the 5th or 6th of January 1904 and advised him that his planned uprising using only knives and bamboo lances which had been effective against the Spaniards would pose no threat to the American soldiers. Still later when Ricarte's other plan to lead an uprising vanguarded by some old friends of his who were then members of the Ilocos Constabulary failed, Tolentino again joined him. This was on February 9, 1904. Two days later, when people sent by Macario Sakay met with Ricarte and Tolentino, it seems that Tolentino had already been named as dictator by Ricarte for the revolutionary government they were planning to set up. These delusions of grandeur did not remain long and soon Ricarte and Tolentino wrote a petition to Governor-General Wright asking to be included in the amnesty of July 1902. Wright never answered and the two revolutionaries soon went their separate ways each to be arrested after not too long a time.²⁵

Tolentino was incarcerated in 1904 with a sentence of life imprisonment but had his sentence gradually reduced to eight years and finally in 1912 Governor-General Forbes granted him pardon.²⁶

Rather than the story of an intransigent radical like Tolentino the life of Pascual H. Poblete seems more typical. He was born in Naic, Cavite in 1857 and from 1888 until 1896 he founded a number of newspapers voicing the desire for a liberal government. In 1896 he was sent to Spain as a prisoner but upon his return he became active again.²⁷ Turning his attention to the new American regime he wrote *zarzuelas* in addition to his newspaper activities.

His *zarzuela*, *Pagibig Sa Lupang Tinubuan* (Love for One's Native Land), was severely censored and became the subject of extended litigation in 1900. When it was finally shown it was still quite potent

²³ Arthur Stanley Riggs, "The Drama of the Filipinos," *Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. 17, No. 67, (October-December, 1904), p. 285.

²⁴ Bonifacio, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

²⁵ *Memoirs of General Artemio Ricarte* (Manila: National Heroes Commission, 1963), pp. 127-130.

²⁶ Teodoro A. Agoncillo and Oscar M. Alfonso, *op. cit.*, p. 307.

²⁷ Hector K. Villarroel and others, *Eminent Filipinos* (Manila: National Historical Commission, 1965), pp. 211-212.

and Poblete and his producer Melencio de Leon were imprisoned but were later released by General Otis.²⁸ Poblete kept up his spirit, however, and became one of the founders of the Aglipayan Church, the Nacionalista Party, and the first labor union in the Philippines.²⁹

Finally, we will look at the life of Severino Reyes who we have already noted as the leading exponent of the *zarzuela*. His plays, unlike those of the above authors, were not actually seditious but were very patriotic. Thus Reyes is more representative of the majority, although not the most progressive, of Philippine playwrights.

Reyes was born in Santa Cruz, Manila on February 11, 1861. He was arrested on the charge of being a Mason when the revolution broke out in 1896, but was soon able to escape. He did not fight during the war but started his *zarzuela* career writing plays in support of nationalism. They gained immediate acceptance and he became a very popular writer.³⁰

Two of his patriotic plays were *Filipinas para los Filipinos* (The Philippines for the Filipinos) and *La Venta de Filipina al Japon* (The Sale of the Philippines to Japan). In the latter play one character suggests that the Americans will abandon the Philippines to Japan and then a Filipino patriot ends the play with a speech about freedom.³¹

Reyes' play *Walang Sugat* (Not Wounded) has been a subject of contention as to what the message of the play really was. For example, Tionson, of the University of the Philippines' Department of Filipino claims that *Walang Sugat* was a comical anti-Spanish farce and not a serious anti American drama.³² His point is well taken as the play is set in the last years of the Spanish regime and the manuscript of the play doesn't indicate any particular anti-American bent. However, Bonifacio points out how this analysis can be deceiving because *Walang Sugat*, and some other works, to be properly classified should be known as *Chameleon Plays*. The *Chameleon Play* requires only a simple alteration of costume, scenery, or make-up to completely change the play's object of derision.³³ Thus, *Walang Sugat* which was

²⁸ Teofilo del Castillo, *A Brief History of Philippine Literature* (Manila: Progressive School books, 1937), pp. 210 and 228.

²⁹ Villarroel, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 227-228.

³¹ Avellana, *op. cit.*, p. 672.

³² Tionson Interview.

³³ Bonifacio, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-31 and 35-36.

originally an anti-Spanish work became anti-American due to the need of the cause of Philippine independence.

Reyes wrote these and other plays to increase Philippine national pride and to develop a real national theater but did not go to the extremes taken by Abad, Tolentino, Poblete, and others so as to encourage the wrath of the American government. Thus, we can see that he was perhaps not as fervent in his methods and approach to achieving Philippine national independence as these others were, but what is more important is that he, as well as the more militant writers, used the same sorts of story plots and worked his messages into the plot in the same manner as the "subversives." Each writer used a common style of writing because the people would be attracted to the play's content and would accept its ideas only if presented by the use of symbols and *double entendre* familiar to them.

IV. *The Spread of Seditious Plays*

When considering the impact of Philippine committed drama during the first years of American rule it is important to look to those areas lying outside of the direct influence of Manila. All of the writers so far mentioned were born and raised in Manila, Central Luzon, or in the general area known as the Southern Tagalog region. Abad's play *Tanikalang Guinto* was shown in Batangas which is in the southern Tagalog region and the other plays were produced in either Manila proper or in what is now known as Rizal province. Did this form of committed drama have influence outside of this Tagalog area? Some writers seem to think not.

Isagani Cruz in his article *A Short History of Theater in the Philippines*, says that Tagalog *zarzuela* writers were more revolutionary because they viewed themselves as being "creative writers of literature". Writers in the other provinces, meanwhile, were more concerned with attracting large audiences and doing well at the "box office".³⁴ Later he states that "Political theater flourished in Manila; it did not flourish in any real sense in any other part of the Philippines."³⁵ How true is this view?

If we think of the spread of culture, politics, economic programs in the Philippines, we will notice that Manila has almost always been in

³⁴ Cruz, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 151.

the forefront. Almost everything new begins in or enters through this "primate" city. It is therefore logical to expect that this dramatic movement reached its most complete and fullest form in Manila. Furthermore, because the American government acted swiftly to stifle this heresy, once it had been brought to their attention, there was possibly little opportunity to transmit seditious plays in their most radical state to provinces outside of Manila's direct influence. Yet, the question remains as to whether this movement was completely stopped from entering other areas.

I think it can be said without too much hesitation that, while not disregarding the bravery and valiant efforts of the Filipino revolutionary forces, the American government was fairly successful in quickly establishing their rule over the country. However, to say that this theater gained popularity only in and around Manila denies the fact that Filipinos in other areas of the country might not also have empathized with and appreciated the messages of patriotism, freedom, and anti-Americanism inherent in many of these plays. To say that this spirit did not exist in non-Tagalog areas lends credence to the view that the revolution was instigated and pursued solely by and for the Tagalog "tribe". Also, to make categorical statements about the extent of the "seditious" plays is very premature since there seems to be little real knowledge even now of what drama was being produced at the time. Currently some instructors connected with the Department of English at the University of the Philippines are collecting works that were staged in places like Cebu and Iloilo during the early period of American rule and are discovering much previously unknown material.

Lilia Realubit, in her Master's thesis on popular drama in Bikol, found that when Alejandro Cubero's *zarzuela* troupe broke up in 1892 some of the actors came to Naga to spread the theatrical form there. It never became extremely popular because of the popularity of a local theater form the *Veladas* and because of the essential conservatism of the capital which was under heavy priestly influence. The residents taking the pastoral letter of 1886 seriously thought that *zarzuelas* were not for Catholic eyes and ears. Even in places in the Bikol region which permitted *zarzuela* productions the development of scripts in the vernacular was retarded because of the abundance of Spanish actors.³⁶ How-

³⁶ Lilia Maria Fuentebella Realubit, "A Study of the Popular Drama in Bikol," (unpublished Master's thesis, the University of the Philippines, Diliman, Quezon City, 1961), pp. 121-126.

ever, during the revolt, the situation began to change and some local plays such as Timoteo Ortile's works which were both fiercely anti-Spanish and patriotic, were produced.³⁷

Later, during the American regime, some patriotic and semi-seditious plays were written such as *Pinapagtios sa Pirit* (Forced to Suffer) written by Eustaquio Diño, the former editor of the "Herald Bicol," in which the girl Didang (representing the Philippines) is forced by her parents to marry a man (representing America) she did not want.³⁸ In Sorsogon, Sorsogon, Asisclo Jimenez wrote a number of plays some of which were quite nationalistic such as *Ang Pagkamoot Asin na Balos* (Love and its Rewards) and *Pagkamoot sa Banuang Tinoboan* (Love for the Motherland).³⁹

Illuminada Magno has analyzed the works of the Pangasinan author Catalino Palisoc and found that many of them stress patriotism.⁴⁰ Also, Jay Javillonar has noted that Proceso Pabalan in his *Apat Ya Ing Junio* stressed the need to keep alive the idea of and the search for freedom "especially in a subdued suffering nation".⁴¹ And finally, Bonifacio has noted that the "seditious" play *Ang Katipunan* (The Katipunan) by Gabriel Beato Francisco was staged in Laoag, Ilocos Norte as late as February 21, 1905.⁴²

In addition to all this, Arthur S. Riggs, who was a correspondent and daily newspaper editor in Manila from 1902-1904, tells us that after the play *Hindi Ako Patay* (I Am Not Dead) was suppressed and its author arrested, "copies of the play, painfully written in longhand, circulated throughout the province...."⁴³ In fact, Riggs was quite certain of the widespread appearance of seditious plays and stated that they were, "acted throughout the provinces of Luzon, Samar, and other large islands".⁴⁴ Of how many plays this was true, we cannot say, but certainly people far from Manila might have witnessed some of the best of the seditious plays.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 132.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 137.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 143-144 and pp. 153-154.

⁴⁰ Magno, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

⁴¹ Ely V. Javillonar, "The Significance of Mariano Proceso Pabalan in Capampangan Dramatic Literature," (unpublished Master's Thesis, University of the Philippines, Diliman, Quezon City, 1961), p. 77.

⁴² Bonifacio, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

⁴³ Arthur S. Riggs, "Seditious Drama in the Philippines," *Current History*, Vol. 20 No. 116 (April, 1951), pp. 202 and 207.

⁴⁴ Riggs, *The Drama of the Filipinos*, p. 284.

In the light of these facts and the absence of complete data it doesn't seem fair to state that outside of Manila playwrights would be unaware of or unsympathetic to nationalism. Manila was the most advanced in regards to seditious plays but she was certainly not the sole reservoir of nationalism. Plays presented in the provinces may not have been as strident as Manila presentations, but there were writers dealing with the subject and audiences who appreciated their efforts. The reaction of the American government and of individual American citizens supports this view and shows that drama as a vehicle for agitation and social protest was both commonplace and widespread.

V. *The American Reaction*

In the preceding sections we have investigated the probable extent to which both the comparatively mild patriotic play and the radical seditious play were written and produced. We found the extent of radical and seditious productions to be quite impressive and from this fact we might presume that they continually met a receptive audience. To confirm this presumption I would like to quote some observations made by a man who although quite racist, was nonetheless a witness to this period of Philippine drama, the aforementioned Arthur S. Riggs. He said:

"Who of us Americans has ever dared arrest and jail to see a play, however lurid? The Filipinos did that again and again. At times entire towns made up the audience. In more than one instance, also, it was suspected that local detachments of police or constabulary were secretly sympathetic."⁴⁵

The reason he credited for the interest in this form of entertainment was that:

"... the Filipino had been tricked into believing that independence was a sacred natural right,"⁴⁶

this was easy because,

"... the illiterate native psychology is of a mixed oriental nature,"⁴⁷

and those fooling the masses and producing those plays were,

"... a fifth column of saboteurs who strove to drive all Americans into the sea for the sake of their own personal benefit and glorification."⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Riggs, "Seditious Drama in the Philippines," p. 204.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 203.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 202.

⁴⁸ *Loc. cit.*

Riggs sent copies of two "seditious" plays plus the "relatively harmless" *Magdaspio* to his friend Dr. Albert Ernest Jenks, Chief of the Ethnological Survey of the Islands, who as an "official opinion" wrote back to him that:

"I am glad to have seen these plays, because now I know the Filipino character better than before . . . They show the pitiful shallowness of the native mind, and its lack of inventiveness. . . They are puerile and weak, where one would most naturally look for something strong and essentially virile."⁴⁹

John Foreman, another observer, noting how the plays were so openly presented in front of the authorities couldn't quite understand why the revolutionary writers would try such tactics and wrote off the phenomena as "... one of those mysteries which the student of native philosophy must fail to solve."⁵⁰

Yet, the native mind was not as mysterious as Foreman believed because for quite some time the Filipino playwright had been able to stage his "puerile and weak" plays right under the very nose of the American military government. There were many reasons why such a situation could have taken place, the most obvious being the language barrier. As well, the Americans scorned the native's concept of drama and were put off from attending Filipino productions held in playhouses of dubious quality. Instead, the American rulers imported their own forms of entertainment directly from the mother country. And finally, the Filipinos and their mestizo friends kept up a wall of silence as to the real nature of these plays until the earlier mentioned Calderon at last blew the whistle on them.⁵¹

Once the situation was fully realized the military government assumed the duty of suppressing seditious drama as part of its campaign of "pacification". Brigadier General Henry T. Allen as the Chief of the Constabulary, was put in charge of this activity and he noted that:

"Tagalo (sic) dramas of a highly seditious nature were produced at first in Manila, subsequently in the provinces, under the auspices of said party (he was referring to the fledgling Nacionalista Party which staged a number of *zarzuelas* during their formative years so as to gain attention and public sympathy). Partially veiled meanings of the dialogue were supple-

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 204

⁵⁰ John Foreman, *The Philippine Islands*, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906), pp. 553-554.

⁵¹ Bonifacio, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-2.

mented by the stage setting, and double entendres were freely resorted to."⁵²

Obviously, this conspiracy had to be stopped.

In the provinces, the American military government sometimes used the heavy hand of totalitarian suppression to stop these plays. On October 24 of 1899 a *zarzuela* troupe which had been started in Bikol under the auspices of no less than the *gobernadorcillo*, Don Hugo de la Torre, staged a performance at the Legaspi town fiesta. This was to be the last such production to be held for as soon as American troops arrived, this dramatic form was seen no more and the troupe eventually broke up.⁵³ As we have already seen, nationalistic playwriting was not completely stopped in the Bikol Region, but such repression obviously presented a serious obstacle to the growth of committed drama in the area.

This strategy could not be resorted to in Manila and many other areas. Police authorities had to allow the presentation to go on and content themselves with finding and suppressing only those plays which were truly "seditious".

General Allen had a very difficult job because plays could be staged under a false and innocuous title thus deceiving the authorities as to its real content. When a play was found to be "seditious" the police had to act quickly so as to stop the production and arrest the "guilty parties".⁵⁴ Later the court case had to be constructed and handled with great care so that convictions could be gained.

This latter aspect of police work must have been a particular problem to the authorities for as we have seen in the discussion of individual authors; Juan Abad's conviction for staging *Tanika'ang Guinto* was reversed by the Supreme Court, Aurelio Tolentino was only threatened but not arrested for producing *Luhang Tagalog*, and General Otis, himself, felt compelled to release Pascual Poblete after his arrest for showing *Pag-ibig Sa Lupang Tinubuan*. The fact that convictions could not always be gained in these cases which involved some of what are often considered the more seditious of this period's dramatic works shows the skill of writing that the authors had mastered which communicated the "committed" message but which also made a conviction based on the Sedition Law very difficult to obtain.

⁵² Manuel, *Dictionary of Philippine Biography Volume II, op. cit.*, p. 378.

⁵³ Realubit, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

⁵⁴ Riggs, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

Even the new Americanized school system in its attempt to change Filipino thinking attacked Filipino drama. The policy was that drama was only to be used as a means of learning English and for such a purpose it should be read but not seen.⁵⁵ Realubit noted that even as late as about 1922 or 1923, according to an informant, when a *zarzuela* was scheduled to be shown in Naga the American school teachers there were successful in banning it.⁵⁶

Thus, we can see that the sentiments of individual Americans and those in authority in both the military and civilian branches of the American government were quite negative in regards to the "seditious" drama presentations. Furthermore, the American military forces were engaged in an active campaign to suppress these productions and while they were often frustrated by the courts we have noted that the authorities were successful in cutting short the playwriting career of many a seditious writer.

To have a clear idea of the techniques used by these artists so that we might better understand why the plays were so powerful, disregarding Riggs above stated opinion, it is necessary that we now look at the plays themselves and their manner of production.

VI. *The Seditious Plays*

The first play we will review is *Kahapon, Ngayon at Bukas* by Aurelio Tolentino. By looking in depth at this play we can see some of the techniques used to incite the passions of the audience.

In this play, as in almost all the others, even the very names of the characters had a double meaning. The names and their translations and significance are as follows:⁵⁷

<i>Tagalog</i>	<i>Translation and Definition</i>	<i>Significance</i>
Inangbayan	Mother Country	Philippines
Dilatnabulag	Blind one with her eyes open	Spain
Bagongsibol	New comer-intruder	America
Masunurin	Very Obedient	Filipina girl
Taga-ilog	People of the river	Tagalog people
Matanglawin	Hawk eyes	Spanish government

⁵⁵ Cruz, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

⁵⁶ Realubit, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

⁵⁷ Ricarte *Memoirs, op. cit.*, pp. 191-192.

<i>Tagalog</i>	<i>Translation and Definition</i>	<i>Significance</i>
Malaynatin	The one we know	American government
Asalhayop	Beastly	Tagalog traitor
Dahumpalay	A Venomous snake	Tagalog traitor
Haring-bata	Young King	Chinese King
Halimaw	Lion	Friar
Walangtutol	Without objection to orders	Filipino countrymen

The synopsis of the play goes like this:⁵⁸

Act I. YESTERDAY. — Period prior to the arrival of the Spaniards in these islands. From the day that the Chinese took Balintawak the anniversary of that day has been celebrated as a day of mourning, but Asalhayop has a feast and has dishonored this day of mourning. Inangbayan has given them advice, and not having succeeded in dissuading them she told them to continue celebrating the feast over the tombs of their ancestors who had died to defend the people. Tagailog arrived and invited all to take up arms to redeem the country from the power of Haring-Bata who had reduced it to subjection. Asalhayop informed Haring-Bata of this for the purpose of serving the enemy but when Inangbayan denounced Asalhayop's treachery to Tagailog the latter ordered that Asalhayop be burned alive. Then the battle commenced; Haring-Bata was killed, and the people triumphed. Dilatnabulag arrived together with Matanglawin; they told Inangbayan and Tagailog that the Tagalog armies would fight against them, and offered to aid them in their peril. This they swore, and in order to solemnize the oath, Tagailog and Matanglawin each drank of the other's blood from a golden cup.

Act II. TODAY. — The present time. All the people appear kneeling before Dilatnabulag, Halimaw and Matanglawin, and all offer their wealth except Tagailog. When told that he must offer his wealth as the others did he threw before Dilatnabulag the money which he offered. He was immediately imprisoned. Dahumpalay advises or urges Dilatnabulag that Tagailog be shot, but Matanglawin orders that he be liberated. Halimaw visits Tagailog in prison in order to insult him. An order arrives to set Tagailog free. Halimaw received the order and hid it and did not put Tagailog at liberty. Halimaw called Inangbayan and her daughters and despoiled them of their jewels, offering to liberate Tagailog. Tagailog discovered that the one who had betrayed him was Dahumpalay, and his face was burned so that it might not be recognized; Tagailog put on Dahumpalay's clothes, exchanging his own for them, and taking the pass of the dead man left the prison without being recognized by anyone. Dilatnabulag and Matanglawin entered the prison with the idea of ordering that Tagailog be shot. Upon seeing the dead body of Dahumpalay they thought the corpse was that

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp 190-191.

of Tagailog who had committed suicide. Immediately a rumor was spread that Tagailog was dead, and simultaneously a report that his spirit commanded a big army. Halimaw ordered that Inangbayan be buried alive. The revolution against Matanglawin began and Tagailog was victorious. The grave where Inangbayan was buried opened and she came forth immediately, not dead, but on the contrary, reincarnated and with more glorious life than before. Thereupon Bagongsibol and Malaynatin arrived and united themselves to Inangbayan and Tagailog, promising to be true friends.

Act III. TOMORROW. — The future. The hearts of the good and the bad have united in order to upraise the people. Inangbayan and her daughters were sewing the flag of the people which they will float as soon as the new moon appears. Tagailog asks Malaynatin to give independence to the people. Malaynatin does not agree, and later falls asleep and dreams, and in his dreams it appears to him that a great misfortune will come to him. Tagailog organizes some air ships, cannons and guns with electric bullets, trenches and movable fortifications as well as the army which he has organized and said that the countersign and signal were as follows: when he raises the blue light, it will be the signal that the flag waves in the town; if the light which follows is red it is a signal that Malaynatin has agreed to give independence. The hour arrived; the signal was given and the flag was hoisted. Bagongsibol and Malaynatin arrive and Inangbayan asks them to grant her independence which she desires, but Bagongsibol does not agree to it. Inangbayan shows her the thousands of men who form Tagailog's army, but in spite of all this Bagongsibol does not consent. Immediately there appear boys and girls who prostrate themselves before Bagongsibol and ask independence for the people. Bagongsibol is unable to deny this request, and kindly grants the desired independence for which she is cheered and Inangbayan and Malaynatin and Tagailog are hailed with honor.

In addition to the names of the dramatic characters and the general plot, Tolentino added a number of different techniques to heighten his message's impact.⁵⁹

Tolentino did not seek to instruct the public by the use of purely figurative language but filled his drama with political phrases seething with sedition, rebellion, and insurrection and it is only necessary to know the definition and significance of the respective characters to arrive at a complete understanding of the meaning of the author. In the second act in which Aurelio Tolentino took the part of Tagailog, it was represented that the chief of the Filipinos was a ghost, and that a ghost could not be killed or conquered: that America and the American government were molesting Spain and her government, and that if America and the American government sided with the ghost of the Filipino people, Spain and the Spanish government would fall

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

without fail; that the American government told the Philippine people that the Filipinos with their own forces could not dominate Spain and the Spanish government, and as Spain had been America's enemy the Filipinos were asked to help to fight the Spaniards, and the Filipinos and Americans agreed to help each other. The Philippine people were represented as being victorious over Spain and as persecuting the friars; that the Philippine people demanded of the friars the whereabouts of Inangbayan (Mother Country), meaning the Philippine Islands, and that the friar showed where he had buried her, and the Philippine people pulled her out of the grave; whereupon a rising sun appeared from behind mountain peaks painted on the scenery of the stage decorations, and the mother country thereupon declared, "Now that my sons will live while the world lasts, have confidence that so long as I shall produce flowers without end and flowers of the most beautiful liberty;" and she then ordered that the friars, Spain and the Spanish government be buried alive in the grave where they had buried her; whereupon these three characters were pushed into the open grave, there being a hole in the floor of the stage representing a grave.

In Act 3 it was represented that the Philippine Islands ordered America and the American government to leave the Filipinos alone and not to disturb them in their exclusive liberty, accompanied by the threat that if America and the American people impede or disturb the exclusive liberty of the Philippine Islands the blood of the people will run in torrents, and in that case America and the American government will have to respond before the creator for the lives which are lost and for the orphans who will be at the mercy of death. America replied, "It cannot be."

Thereupon the children appeared and knelt before the character representing America and said: "This is the record of our unhappy country. We offer it to thee that thou mayest be acquainted with the history of our fathers." Then they placed the book in Bagongsibol's hands from which it fell, and where it fell there appeared, as if by magic, a banner or flag like the one Inangbayan (Philippine Islands) was carrying, and which was, by manipulation of a wire, drawn across the stage, accompanied by the words "Mabuhay ang Bayan" (Long live the people).

The play *Hindi Ako Patay* by Juan Cruz Matapang as reported by Foreman utilized many of the same techniques. However, his plot, unlike Tolentino's highly politicized story, has more mass appeal in that it uses a love story filled with rivalry and deceit as its basis. Foreman describes the play as follows:

"Maimbot (personifying America) is establishing dominion over the islands, assisted by his son Macamcam (American Government) and Katuiran (Reason, Right, and Justice) is called upon to condemn the conduct of a renegade Filipino who has accepted America's dominion, and thereby became an outcast among his own people and even his own

family. There is to be a wedding, but, before it takes place, a funeral cortege passes the house of Karangalan (the bride) with the body of Tangulan (the fighting patriot). Maimbot (America) exclaims, "Go, bury that man, that Karangalan and her mother may see him no more." Tangulan, however, rising from his coffin, tells them, "They must not be married, for I am not dead." And as he cries *Hindi Ako Patay*, ("I am not dead,") a radiant sun appears, rising above the mountain peaks, simultaneously with the red flag of Philippine liberty. Then Katuiran (Reason, Right, and Justice) declares that "Independence has returned," and goes on to explain that the new insurrection having discouraged America in her attempt to enslave the people, she will await a better opportunity. The flag of Philippine Independence is then waved to salute the sun which has shone upon the Filipinos to regenerate them and cast away their bondage."⁶⁰

Juan Abad's play *Tanikalang Guinto* is very similar in this respect, but its ending is not on such a happily expectant note as is *Hindi Ako Patay*.

"The Golden Bracelet in many ways is a common place theme, somewhat reminiscent of older plays like *Malaya*, but quickened, by a touch of bitter farce at the final curtain and by the introduction of a parrot as a spy. Liwanag, the heroine, is the daughter of Maimbot, who represents the American government. She wishes to marry the loyal Filipino Kaulayao, whom Maimbot disapproves of for obvious reasons. Nag-tapon, the inevitable traitor, who eventually proves to be Kaulayao's own brother, is in Maimbot's pay, and the action develops through a long series of stratagems and frustrations. In Act II Maimbot gives his daughter a golden bracelet to distract her attention from her loyalist lover, and to bribe her to agree to his plans to "enslave" the Filipinos. Before the unreal medley is over, Maimbot tries unsuccessfully twice to kill her, and is prevented once by nightmare spirits, once by a miraculously appearing angel. Kaulayao is shot by his traitorous brother, and dies. Liwanag also dies, and is shown at last riding a cloud into heaven and bidding farewell to Kaulayao, to whom she will return when she has circled the universe and Nag-tapon is dead. On the stage Nag-tapon laughs bitterly and exclaims that he is immortal. This last is a touch indicating the hand of an expert dramatist, for it suggests that evil and its forces are immortal, while peace and independence can never emancipate any people until traitors are converted."⁶¹

Finally, we come to Pedro A. Paterno's play *Magdapio* which was quite different from the above three. Paterno did not use a directly, politically motivated historical plot as did Tolentino or a story based on

⁶⁰ Foreman, *op. cit.*, p. 554.

⁶¹ Riggs, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

the problems of Philippine romance. Instead Paterno wrote a mythologically oriented love story which leaned heavily on the use of allegory. A description of the story which was translated into English and privately published by General Allen in 1903 goes something like this:⁶²

ACT I. The Aetas are in possession of a sacred mountain *Magdapio* which according to legend has a beautiful girl and her father living inside it. The Malays believe that because the mountain contains this girl and many fine jewels it should belong to them and not the Aetas. A battle is fought to determine the future ownership of the valuable mountain and the girl inside.

ACT II. The mountain splits open and Mapalad the chief of the Aetas and a number of his men come to see the girl who is named *Magdapio* after the mountain and her father Botokan. Love between *Magdapio* and Mapalad immediately develops and marriage plans are made even though there is great danger from the unvanquished Malays. Due to the danger from the Malays a marriage ceremony is quickly performed and as soon as the newlyweds are about to leave, a number of arrows are shot onto the stage. Mapalad and Botokan are wounded, *Magdapio* faints, and the Malays come onto the stage and carry off *Magdapio* and Mapalad.

ACT III. In the camp of the Malays somewhere near Laguna de Bay the Malay warriors and their chief, King Bay, are celebrating the victory. Bay tries to take *Magdapio* for his own, but reviving from her state of confusion and fainting spell, she fights him off. Because of his anger at being rejected Bay has Mapalad thrown into the sea to be eaten by alligators. Heartbroken, *Magdapio* jumps in after him gladly accepting the same fate.

ACT IV. On the bottom of Laguna de Bay lives the god Baguio who is seated on his throne. An alligator brings the body of *Magdapio* to him and places her at his feet. The good and wise god Baguio questions *Magdapio* and learning of her faithfulness makes her Queen of the Oriental Sea.

In all of these plays the real situation was never directly dealt with and America was never named outright because arrest would have been immediately forthcoming. The strategy was to use a presumably innocuous sounding plot but to fill the production with a number of double meanings, revolutionary symbols, and allegorical situations ren-

⁶² Castillo *op. cit.*, p. 197.

dering the real purpose of the play explicit to only the native audience. The story plot which was superficially similar to many non-political productions but which used these stories to introduce an ideological message of nationalism had a great appeal to the local audiences which may not have understood or appreciated a more direct ideological approach.

The seditious plays were also used to communicate very direct warnings to would-be "Americanistas". One play, *Ang Kalayaang Hindi Natupad* (The Freedom That Has Not Been Obtained), promised all traitors that they would be buried alive. Meanwhile, the play *Pulong Pinaglahuan* (The Eclipsed Island) asked the traitors how they could accept positions in government from the invader while their brothers were in the mountains fighting for freedom, and vowed not to let a foreign power and its local lackeys make slaves of the people again.⁶³

Perhaps so as to be sure that the audience understood the play's message it was quite common for one of the actors to make a rousing speech at the end of the performance as was mentioned above in connection with Reyes' play *La Venta de Filipinas al Japon*. This was not a new technique because the *zarzuela* traditionally had a speech for its conclusion which restated the moral message of the play. However, the eulogy of the seditious play is quite unique.

"... these speeches were delivered extemporaneously, the speakers, depending on how strongly they were inspired and goaded on by the cheering audiences, became quite impassioned in their tirades against the U.S. and their countrymen who have turned traitors to the cause of independence."⁶⁴

Yet, the Filipino playwright did not limit his imagination to the lines of the play. He also made effective use of his stage props. A number of these devices such as Tolentino's nipa eagle, his flag colored actors, a rising sun which represented the Katipunan, a hole-in-the-stage grave, a slogan-bearing banner pulled across the stage by a wire, red flags, and the hero riding to heaven on a cloud have been mentioned above but should again be noted. The Filipino playwright used each of these, and more, devices to present non-verbal symbolisms which effectively heightened the meaning and dramatic impact of his work and, sometimes, to facilitate the transformation of an anti-Spanish play into an anti-American one.

⁶³ Bonifacio, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

It almost need not be mentioned that the mere fact that the audience could identify with and become involved in the story tends to show the assimilation that foreign theatrical forms, mainly the *zarzuela*, had undergone. Native dramatic art forms had been heavily influenced by an influx of alien ideas and forms but had in turn adopted these forms by injecting Philippine stories and situations based on local values. By presenting stories based on these values and injecting allegorical parallels concerning Philippine independence, these forms had been successfully remoulded and integrated into Philippine culture and at the same time and because of this, the theater had become a powerful tool for ideological use because issues integrated into stories based on Philippine values became meaningful and real to the common *tao*. The characters looked, talked, and acted like real people possessing human qualities and faults. The virginal young maiden might be forced or influenced to consider the rich alien as a future mate but ultimately she made her decision based upon what was right and good, i.e., the true love she felt for her faithful and ardent boy-next-door suitor.

VII. *Summary and Conclusion*

The Filipino people had a rudimentary form of theater even before the arrival of the first colonizers. This theater may not have been the sophisticated and polished drama which we of the twentieth century conceptualize as being the legitimate stage, but it was nonetheless theater. This theater fulfilled the needs of the people and was based on their culture's values, norms, and mythology.

The arrival of the Spaniards introduced not only a new form of government but also new values, norms, and myths and communicated these new concepts, in part, through Spanish (and therefore new and alien) dramatic forms. The result of this cultural influx was an increase of Philippine social complexity and at the same time a modification of these foreign concepts and art forms so that they could be assimilated into the framework of the local culture.

However, the stability of the state wherein Spaniards ruled over Filipinos was far from complete and satisfactory. Antagonisms built up between the two groups which finally erupted in 1896. In addition to bolos and guns the Philippine revolutionaries used subtle weapons such as short stories, novels, newspapers, and plays to free their country from Spanish rule. Although it seems very likely that many different forms

of plays were presented there seems to be little doubt that the majority of plays used against foreign colonialists were *zarzuelas*.

This form of dramatic art was particularly useful to the revolutionists for a number of reasons. First, the story plots, unlike religious plays, were based on the lives of common people and were presented as naturally acted out stories using everyday speech and dress. Second, the situations encountered and the problems dealt with were familiar to the audience and the production was spiced with entertaining songs and dances. And finally, the *zarzuela* presented thinly veiled comments and socially relevant pronouncements in relation to the plot which was in turn based on social, religious, and political issues of the day which directly concerned the audience.

Before the outbreak of the hostilities, Philippine authors had been reading works by Spanish authors such as Zorrilla, Calderon de la Barca, Benavente, and others and had been able to improve their writing techniques.⁶⁵ Once *zarzuela* techniques were synthesized into the context of Philippine culture they might have become a powerful weapon of social reform but the heavy hand of Spanish censorship negated the realization of this potential role.

By breaking the bond of censorship the revolution became a catalytic force to a period of Philippine literature which saw a great deal of creative effort blossom forth where formerly there had been only occasional and limited glimpses of Filipino creativity. However, the topic of this paper was not an examination of this particular phase of the history of Philippine literature, but of the period immediately following the early years of American occupation. The excesses of the Spanish government and religious orders were not completely forgotten by then but the focus of this time period became completely unified under the ideology of patriotism and nationalism and therefore anti-Americanism. Hence, much of the literature of these years was in a real sense, totally committed.

Many plays were written during the first years of this century which attacked the new American regime and while we have not had the time to analyze but a very few of them, we have had the opportunity to discover the manner in which many were produced. Radical anti-American authors used the common *zarzuela* format and injected double

⁶⁵ Agoncillo, "Pasulyap na Tingin sa Panitikang Tagalog", *op. cit.*, p. 231.

entendres, revolutionary symbols, and meaningful allegory. The basic story plot was kept simple and was used to increase the impact of the double meanings because underlying messages were clarified by the microcosmic action on the stage which was a representation of a real life situation. It was a happy circumstance that the techniques used to increase the clarity and impact of the *zarzuela* also kept the American authorities, in many cases, from completely realizing the full meaning of each of these plays.

However, the new rulers inevitably had to discover the real meanings of these plays and when they did a policy of suppression was initiated. One arrest followed another and soon the truly seditious play could no longer be seen. We might look upon Aurelio Tolentino's final imprisonment in 1904 as a data at which the seditious play ceased to effectively exist. The arrest of Tolentino, and also Abad, had coerced other anti-American writers who were loyal to the ideology of freedom from foreign domination to change their format.⁶⁶ In the future only those plays concerning politics which stressed patriotism without going to the extent of advocating rebellion against the American government were seen. Another factor which sealed the fate of the "seditious" *zarzuela* and made it passe was the establishment of the Philippine Assembly in 1907. By this time nationalists had realized the futility of fighting against superior armed strength and were using the strategy of working non-violently for eventual independence by proving themselves and their country worthy and capable of managing their own affairs.⁶⁷

When vaudeville came to the Philippines, the *zarzuela* and other forms of theater were already waning in popularity and the population readily accepted this new form of entertainment. Still later, motion pictures came to the country and delivered a deadly blow to Philippine theater.⁶⁸

Thus, we can see that seditious plays, most often the *zarzuela*, were made into an effective form of committed art. The *zarzuela* had been originally derived from a foreign source but was assimilated into Philippine culture and had become a popular form of entertainment. The *zarzuela* with its accent on social comment set within stories based di-

⁶⁶ *Loc. cit.*

⁶⁷ Manuel, *Dictionary of Philippine Biography Volume I, op. cit.*, p. 5.

⁶⁸ Cruz, *op. cit.*, pp. 154.

rectly on common values and situations found among the average citizen's experiences became a perfect tool for committed theater which wished to show the ultimate cause of the nation's problems from an ideological standpoint. Later, under the force of military suppression and the opening up of a peaceful alternative avenue to the goal of achieving Philippine independence, the "seditious" plays lost their popularity.

Today, as was mentioned in the introduction, more and more young artists in the Philippines are looking at their society and are making some definite conclusions as to the how and why of its ills. The mere fact that so many intelligent and idealistic persons are engaged in such an activity is indicative of the fact that something must indeed be acutely wrong. I started this paper not so much to influence anyone's ultimate conclusions as to the why of present day Philippine society's ills but rather to offer some suggestions as to how personal commitment to an ideology might be best translated into effective and relevant committed art. For this purpose I choose the theater because other forms of art:

"... do not have the kind of voice that utters sentences, offers propositions and problems and arguments the way theater, for instance, can become a voice."⁶⁹

I also became quite confirmed in my initial belief that art in general and "committed" art in particular need not be so other-culture oriented and that its impact will be greater if divested of phony aspects.

"The problem in the Philippines, however, is made more crucial by the injection of a high degree of what Cavell terms as 'fraudulence'. It is manifested by a glib aping and parody of every 'avant garde' or 'in' movement abroad fostered by an equally gullible dilletante clientele. By and large, Philippine artists have shown an absolute lack of awareness for the issues involved in painting (and until recently we might have added theater). Consequently, there is also an inability to come to grips with the issues in terms of the Philippine situation."⁷⁰

I furthermore hope that today's committed artists do not make tactical errors in their attempts to establish effective communications with the Filipino people. For, after all, meaningful communication is

⁶⁹ Gemma Mariano, "Art for Art's Sake — A Requiem," *The Philippine Collegian*, March 9, 1972, p. 4.

⁷⁰ Rodolfo Paras-Perez, "Art and the Reverence for Relevance," *Solidarity*, Vol. 5 No. 12 (December, 1970), p. 43.

the essence of art and especially so for committed art which must be as effective as possible in communicating its underlying ideology.

For example, Jose Ma. Sison's suggestions for the future form of the *zarzuela* is to:

"Replace the mawkishness and class reconciliation in the zarzuela with the revolutionary spirit and proletarian standpoint; and foolish love songs with revolutionary songs."⁷¹

I think it is obvious that change in all societies is inevitable and because of this presumption I find nothing wrong in altering or completely rebuilding any social institution or, in this case, any culture's art forms. Instead, what causes me concern is that too radical a transformation of Philippine dramatic art may keep committed art from effectively relating with the average Filipino who may not be ready for the change. The use of popular social situations combined with ideological themes was extremely effective in capturing the attention of widely scattered audiences during the early years of American rule and in implanting a determination to achieve the goals of national freedom. The educative value of committed theater may be lost if there is an overemphasis on strident revolutionary form rather than effective communication. Education of those unaware of the logic and conclusions of whatever ideology is the primary objective of committed art and effective communication with the audience is the only way to achieve this educational function.

"But it is precisely why you write so that people will know. You see, how many people know about, really understand what national democracy means; or the class struggle in Philippine society. It's a phrase one hears. Perhaps, one knows the definitions. But the committed writer does not simply clarify definitions but objectifies in very vivid terms what seems to be only a phrase or a clause. So to show class struggle a short story writer may write a story about a farmer who works for an hacendero as a collector. The farmer has a family he is trying to keep together, children he has to send to college, so that he allows himself to be the instrument of oppression of the landlord. There are other peasants who have to pay their debts, who have to give their share of the harvest, with the farmer acting as intermediary. Now this is a situation which clarifies the role of an individual farmer who becomes an instrument of oppression, although he himself belongs to the class of the oppressed. Such a situation clarifies what would just be an abstract discussion in an interview like this."⁷²

⁷¹ Jose M. Sison, "Task of Cadres in the Cultural Field," *Sinag*, January, 1972, p. 4.

⁷² Lumbera, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

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* The actual date of the introduction of the *zarzuela* seems open to some question. Iluminada M. Magno in her U.P. Masters Thesis "A Critical Study of the Zarzuela in Pangasinan of Catalino Palisoc" claims that Spanish zarzuelas first came to the Philippines in the 1840's and that one of the first *zarzuela* companies was headed by a certain Don Narciso de Escosura and his wife. This was the only reference I found.

As well, Isagani R. Cruz in his article in the book he edited *A Short History of Theater in the Philippines* gives 1880 as the date when Alejandro Cubero and Elisea Esguerra came to Manila. The names and dates I have used were the ones most often to appear in various sources.

** Daisy Hontiveros-Avellana on page 671 of her article "Philippine Drama: A Social Protest" found in Antonio G. Manuud's anthology *Brown Heritage* mistakenly claims that it was held in the Zorrilla theater.

SAIR NONA FIENTJE DE FENIKS An Example of Popular Indonesian Fiction in the First Quarter of the Century

CYRIL WILLIAM WATSON

If one reads any of the standard accounts of the development of modern Indonesian literature, whether those written by foreign scholars or by Indonesians themselves,¹ one is liable to get an exceptionally distorted picture of what reading material was available and what the readership of this material was, particularly for the period before the Second World War. The reason for this is that standard accounts have concentrated almost exclusively on works published by the official colonial publisher Balai Pustaka or produced by B. P. staff and, at least as far as prose is concerned, have ignored other publications. There are various reasons for this, but perhaps the most important is the influence exerted by Professor A. Teeuw, the pioneer² in the field of modern Indonesian literary studies. Since his early work *Vooltooid Voorspel* (1950) which was the outcome of a course of lectures on modern Indonesian literature during which, as he himself admits, he was reading the literature for the first time and simply keeping himself a little way in front of his students, Professor Teeuw has delimited the field of research and his example has been followed without much questioning by subsequent writers such as H. B. Jassin and Professor A. Johns. Professor Teeuw can hardly be blamed for what has occurred since he painstakingly dealt with all the material that was at hand to him. I don't think he himself realised when he came to write what is often taken to be the definitive account, *Modern Indonesian Literature* (1967), just how much material he

¹ See for example Ajip Rosidi: *Ichitisar Sedjarah Sastra Indonesia* (1969). H. B. Jassin: *Kesusasteraan Indonesia dalam Kritik dan Esei*, 4 vols. (1967), A. H. Johns: 'Genesis of a Modern Literature', in R. McVey (ed): *Indonesia* (1963); A. Teeuw: *Modern Indonesian Literature* (1967).

² Armijn Pane had earlier written a brief synopsis of modern Indonesian literature, but the texts dealt with in this book (written in Dutch and never published in translation in book form) are the same as those dealt with by Teeuw. See Armijn Pane: *Kort Overzicht van de Moderne Indonesische Literatuur* (1949).

was ignoring and how important it was in the context of modern Indonesian social history. It has only been relatively recently, in part as a deliberate reaction against the Dutch colonial view of modern Indonesia, that the importance of what was unknown to Professor Teeuw has been brought to light by among others, P. A. Toer and his colleagues.³ Unfortunately for political reasons these recent researches have been curtailed because of the alleged involvement of this group of scholars in the coup of 1965. Although occasional mention is made of the necessity of continuing to investigate these matters⁴ not much has been done within Indonesia, and outside Indonesia scholars are hampered by a lack of material, since libraries too seem to have taken their cues from Dutch scholarship. Consequently, the student of modern Indonesia unless he has a special knowledge of one or two books and articles⁵ tends to think of modern literature developing along some such lines as follows.

Balai Pustaka established as a proper publishing house began to publish original novels with the appearance of *Azab dan Sengsara* by Merari Siregar in 1921. These early novels were written for the most part by Sumatrans, in particular Minangkabau, who had a greater facility in writing the kind of Malay which was being officially promoted by the colonial government than their Javanese counterparts whose knowledge of Malay was limited. These early novels of which the most outstanding examples were *Sitti Nurbaya* (1922) and *Salah Asuhan* (1928) were romantic in character and dealt with themes and problems peculiar to the Minangkabau community with its own very special adat and kinship systems. These novels were intended for the readership of secondary school children. Subsequently, in the 'thirties, more intellectually inclined writers tried to write a more serious type of novel which got away from the preoccupation with Minangkabau society and tried to focus on more universal problems arising from modernisation. The most successful of these attempts was *Belenggu* (1940). Modern poetry is thought

³ The results of their researches were published in the weekly cultural column (Lentera) of *Bintang Timur* from 1963 to 1965.

⁴ See for example the essay "Perlu Peningkatan Penelitian Sastra Indonesia" in Ajip Rosidi: *Masalah Angkatan dan Periodisasi Sedjarah Sastra Indonesia* (1973).

⁵ Those interested might care to consult the following: Bakri Siregar: *Sedjarah Sastra Indonesia Modern* (1964); V. V. Sikorskii: *Indoneskiya Literatura* (1964); Nio Joe Lan: *Sastra Indonesia-Tionghoa* (1962).

to have begun with the publications of sonnets modelled from Dutch examples in cultural magazines sponsored by nationalistically inclined youth movements. The poems by M. Yamin published in *Jong Sumatra* in 1921 are usually considered to be the first modern poems. Although Balai Pustaka did publish one or two collections of verse, for the most part poetry was handled by private publishers. Medan was apparently an important centre for the publication of poetry. The themes of the poetry were lyrical and romantic and derived from imitation of Dutch romantic poets of the 'eighties and a contemporary fascination with esoteric Eastern culture as reflected in the works of Tagore and the publications of the Theosophical movement. The great cultural debate of the period, constantly discussed in the journals and newspapers of the time was whether Indonesia should go all out and adopt Western civilization as a model for development or whether there was a special Indonesia or Eastern pattern which should be the foundation of future progress. Contemporaneous with this cultural debate the nationalist movement was picking up momentum, and, although perhaps not yet a political force of any consequence, was nevertheless gaining a certain amount of notoriety from the activities of some of its leaders, most notably Sukarno.

The trouble with this account is that it's true as far as it goes but it doesn't go very far. As in most histories of twentieth century Indonesia which are political histories one finds here no appreciation of the social dimensions of the changes occurring during this period. What it was that the majority of people were thinking, feeling and living through during this time is simply ignored. If one wants to find out, one has got to peruse travel accounts, travelers' journals, eye-witness reports, souvenir books of societies and organizations, or one has to read the newspapers and journals with a discriminating eye, forgetting for a moment the headlines and concentrating on minor items, the advertisements, criminal reports and so on. In doing this, piece by piece a picture emerges of the society of the time which is quite unlike the standard accounts, although admittedly it too has its bias in that the picture is drawn largely in terms of what was going on in the urban centres, and doesn't provide all that much information of what was going on in the villages. There are of course a number of studies of rural sociology but on the whole one reads them without getting any sense of the "feel" of the period. Far better, if they are available, to read biographies and autobiographies

which although written with an upper class perspective, can provide interesting insights. Alternatively one can read the heavily tinted *Indisch* (Indies novels written by Dutchmen), and, peering between the lines, understand much.

As far as the standard account of the development of literature is concerned the distortions are particularly great when one realises that the majority of novels written by Minangkabau and dealing largely with Minangkabau problems were mostly incomprehensible to the book-buying public in Java, both from the point of view of language and in understanding the peculiarly Sumatran point of many of the stories. Their saving grace is that the stories are well-constructed and interesting and a number of them, although usually dealing with Minangkabau protagonists, are set in Java, which would lend them some familiarity for Javanese readers. Apart from the occasional glimpse one gets of an urban way of life in some of these novels (I am thinking now of novels like *Karam Dalam Gelombang Pertjintaan*. *Tak Membalas Budi, Nasib*) there is very little that can be gathered from them about what was going on in Javanese society (Javanese referring here to the island rather than the ethnic group). This needs stressing because too many scholars, it seems to me, have focused on the sociological implications of the literature without being aware of the methodological problems involved. I have tried to show in an earlier article how attempts to derive information of an anthropological nature about Minangkabau society from these novels is a dangerous business.⁶ It should be clear, then, to try to reach conclusions of a general nature about what was happening in Indonesia as a whole, based on the evidence of these novels, is a procedure which should be regarded with great suspicion. It is fairly easy to extract a few relevant themes from well-known novels and then calibrate them with a few observations about Indonesian society, but the value of such work is non-existent. The only legitimate sociological observations one can make are limited to a study of the writers themselves in particular the changes of consciousness revealed in the shifts of emphasis within the corpus of one particular novelist or the different kinds of consciousness between one writer and another which a comparison between their works brings to light. To go, then, to Balai Pustaka novels for information about Indonesian society in general is to proceed in error,

⁶ See "The Social Universe of the Minangkabau Novels" in *Sumatran Research Bulletin*. April, 1973.

indeed to sift any literature for information about attitudes and general perceptions of society is problematic.

Having said this I should perhaps explain what I am trying to do in what follows. In contrast to the novels in Malay published by Balai Pustaka between 1917 and 1942, which number about forty or fifty at an intelligent guess, it has recently become clear that there were hundreds, if not thousands, of novels published outside Balai Pustaka between 1900 and 1942. Although there is no direct evidence of this in terms of circulation figures, it seems reasonable to say that in Java, at least, the readership of these novels was several times greater than that of Balai Pustaka works. In just the same way it is reasonable to conclude today that the readers of "*silat*" (adventure stories involving heroes of superhuman powers, usually translated or adapted from Chinese originals) far outnumber the readers of the publications of the officially sponsored Pustaka Jaya which are of far superior literary quality. Any observer of the book stands round Banteng in Jakarta, or in the market area of Padang could confirm this. If, then, one wants to get some idea of what people were reading at this period, it is to these works one should turn. One shouldn't expect to find anything of outstanding literary merit in these works, although occasionally the writing is remarkably good, but there are features of interest which deserve to be investigated. One of these is the language of these works. Usually in this context one meets terms such as Bahasa Melayu-Tionghua (Chinese-Malay) or Bahasa Melayu Rendah (Low Malay, distinguished from High Malay, the language of Balai Pustaka publications) or Bahasa Melayu casar (Market Malay), but none of these terms has been defined sufficiently accurately, and no single one encompasses the range of the language with its borrowings both semantic and syntactic from Bahasa Betawi (the Jakartan dialect), Sundanese, Javanese, Chinese and Dutch. I shall give some examples of this later. As far as I know, although occasional reference is made to this linguistic hotch-potch in most accounts of the development of the Indonesian language, there has been no detailed research in this field. If it was to be undertaken, it is to these early literary works and to the journals of the period that the researcher would have to turn.

Another interesting feature of these works is the information they provide about a style of life seen in what I referred to earlier as the occasional glimpse. Here I should stress that I don't mean the kind of information about the sociology of change which I ques-

tioned earlier. What I have in mind is the occasional description of fact: dress, entertainment, habit, custom; exactly the kind of descriptions one meets in the travellogues, which taken together contribute to a general picture of a way of life. This incidental information abounds in these stories, and when the social history of Java in the twentieth century eventually comes to be written they will be an invaluable source material.

A third feature which interests me is the light which these works throw on the development of a modern literary consciousness. Modern literature or, to be more precise, a modern literary form such as the novel does not spring up overnight and the shape in which it does eventually emerge depends on particular historical and cultural antecedents. What we have in examples of modern literature of the early twentieth century in Indonesia is literary form in embryo. Although translations from foreign sources take a large share in determining this form, and therefore determining what readers are to expect from literature or fiction, there are, nevertheless, indigenous elements which also in part contribute to the making of a literature conscious public. Again this is perhaps something which emerges more clearly from the work published outside Balai Pustaka since the novels published by the latter were determined as far as their construction was concerned by imitating the form of European popular novels.

In what follows I want to show how one particular text can be read for information on these three features, thereby, I hope, suggesting the possibilities which a thorough examination of many such texts would reveal in these different fields of socio-linguistics, social and cultural history. I have mentioned elsewhere⁷ that one of the most enduring of types of literary writing that are to be found in modern Indonesian literature is the crime story based on actual events. This is the same kind of interest that the English reading public has in murder cases which has led to the popularity of the Chamber of Horrors and the familiarity with the names of famous murderers: Jack the Ripper, Palmer, Crippen, Christie. And in just the same way as in England many of these characters have become the subject of books and plays, so in Indonesia too, famous crimes have become literary subjects, but whereas in England it is predominantly the theme of murder—how the murderer tries to escape detection and how he

⁷ See "Some Preliminary Remarks on the Antecedents of Modern Indonesian Literature," *Bijdragen T. L. V.*, vol. 127 no. 4, 1971.

is eventually detected and caught, thus bringing the reader the satisfaction of seeing justice done — which is of main interest, in Indonesia the popular stories are not concerned with murder *per se*, but with the combination of murder and passion, the figure of the *femme fatale* and the disreputable world of brothels, criminal gangs and devilish villains. And even more obviously then in the English examples great care is taken to point the moral that justice never prospers, although this is often appended in such a way that the reader is so conscious of its artificiality that he ignores it.

Just recently I have come across one of the classic examples of this type of fiction, an account of a series of events which took place in Batavia between 1912 and 1915 connected with the murder of one Fientje de Feniks. The subsequent arrest and trial of the murderer appear to have aroused great public interest, and as a result three books were published which gave a fairly extensive account of what happened.⁸ In addition to these prose versions an adaptation was written in *syair* form by the same author (the *syair* is a type of Malay verse). The *syair* usually has the advantage of brevity over prose, and the language is uncomplicated and the rhyme and metrical schemes are simple. These factors combined to make the form particularly popular at this time, especially as a vehicle to carry fairly straightforward narratives without much poetic elaboration. A number of *syair* had been written dealing with contemporary crimes and usually these had been based on a prior prose account. The most famous of these *syair* were probably *Sair Njai Dasima* and *Sair Rossina* both very popular stories of Batavian life in the nineteenth century. *Sair Nona Fientje de Feniks* is in this tradition, but as we shall see with some interesting differences.

Tan Boen Kim⁹ was apparently an autodidact whose works were extremely popular. He began writing round about 1912, that is, just after the death of Lie Kim Hok the pioneer and the most well-known of all Chinese writers in Malay. Most of Tan Boen Kim's works to which I have had access or know about are concerned with the Chinese community in Indonesia although he did write or adapt (?) one or two novels set in China itself and he also wrote stories about Javanese society. All in all he seems to have been very prolific. One

⁸ The titles of these books were: *Fientje de Feniks*, *Njai Aisa* and *G. Brinkman*.

⁹ For some information about Tan Boen Kim see Nio Joe Lan, *op. cit.*

of his particular interests, of which the Fientje de Feniks stories are an example, was the re-telling of famous contemporary crimes. Besides the three short books and the syair on the Fientje de Feniks case he also wrote accounts of a famous murder of passion *Si Riboet* (1916), an account of the operations of a Chinese gang c. 1920 *Si Tjengkrong*, and an account of another gang involved in burglary cases, *Rampok di Grisee* (1918). This last book contains photos of criminals involved.

The story of Fientje de Feniks as related in the syair is as follows. Fientje de Feniks, a Eurasian, is a society prostitute. When the story begins she is waiting impatiently in her house for her current lover, Baba Sia Katja Mata, a rich Chinese of a respectable family. Before visiting Fientje Baba Sia has stopped off at the "raison" where he first met her and there he converses for a short while with the madame of the house, an old decaying Dutch beauty now given to smoking opium. Eventually he leaves and goes to see Fientje and together the pair of them go to the theatre. There Fientje attracts the excitement of an Indo-Dutchman, Willem Frederik Gramser Brinkman. After the performance Brinkman approaches her pretending to recognize in her someone he met in Semarang. From this conversation, conducted in Dutch so that Baba Sia can't understand, Brinkman obtains permission to call and see her. This he does a few days later and although nothing "happens" on this occasion — the writer says this is a deliberate piece of strategy on Brinkman's part — the relationship between them is established. About this time Fientje learns from second-hand that Baba Sia is intending to get married and, feeling hurt because he had concealed this from her, she decides to break off the relationship with him, and thus he quietly drops out of the story. Brinkman then becomes Fientje's "keeper" and at first everything works well, then suddenly without reason (and with very poor rhyme) the relationship sours and they grow cool towards each other. Fientje is rarely at home and this makes Brinkman jealous. On one occasion she is absent from home for a number of days and Brinkman goes wild with jealousy looking for her. Eventually he meets her by chance in the street and after a few minutes conversation persuades her to go with him. He takes her to a hotel in a lonely part of town and there murders her. He is arrested and stands trial and although at first convicted an appeal which he makes is successful and he is freed. During the time he was in prison he

made the acquaintance of a certain Johan Emil Soffing, a fellow prisoner, and on his release Brinkman goes to live with Soffing. The two of them embark on a dedicated life of crime, one of Brinkman's intentions being to steal enough morphine so that he can poison the witnesses who gave evidence against him at his trial. They get involved with a third partner a young soldier called Shafma who has a mistress called Aisah. Shafma deserts his barracks intending to set up house with Aisah and accepts Brinkman's invitation to join them. Eventually however Shafma is caught and imprisoned and Aisah having nowhere to turn to asks Brinkman and Soffing to help to spring Shafma which they promise to do. Some time goes by but Brinkman shows no sign of helping Shafma instead he begins to worry that Aisah might be a danger to their security and so with Soffing's reluctant approval he decides to murder her. Pretending that they are going to help Shafma they persuade Aisah to follow them and take her to a deserted spot. There they murder her and after stripping her of her clothes and taking away distinguishing items they return. The corpse is found and investigations are set under way. Suspicion falls on Brinkman and Soffing and the police are careful this time to collect a great deal of incriminating evidence. At the trial Brinkman tries to use the same evasive tactics which he used on the previous occasion, but this time to no avail. The trial arouses a great deal of public interest and, it appears, sympathy for Brinkman. Soffing, who throughout has been portrayed very much as the dupe of Brinkman is sentenced to twenty years imprisonment and Brinkman himself is sentenced to death. He plans all sorts of maneuvers to stay his execution, from trying to persuade Soffing to admit to sole responsibility, to planning to escape from prison, but all these plans fail. Finally the night before his execution he hangs himself in his cell. At the burial of the corpse there is a large number of mourners and a number of wreaths are sent and so ends the story. The writer of the syair himself seems to have taken an ambivalent attitude. On the one hand he describes Brinkman's deeds without any attempt to apologise for them or defend them, yet the full title of the syair *Nona Fientje de Feniks and all her victims* seems to indicate that Brinkman's crimes are all the result of his having fallen prey to the charms of a *femme fatale*.

So much for the story. Let us now look at the form of the syair a bit more closely. The book was published in Batavia by Kho Tjeng

Bie and Co. in 1923. The work is divided up into thirteen chapters each chapter comprising between seven to twenty nine verses (average about sixteen verses). Each verse contains six lines and within each verse the same rhyme is used for the ending of each line. There appears to be no regularity whatsoever. The number of words in a line vary between about nine and fourteen and the number of syllables too varies without any regularity. Strictly then, this is not a syair despite its claim to be. The syair form follows a very strict pattern consisting of a four-line, four word (pronouns, prepositions and conjunctions not counting as full words) rhyme scheme a, a, a, a. The lines are end stopped and there is usually a caesura after the second word. Here is an example from *Sair Tjerita Njaie Dasima* (first edition 1897).

Dikarang sair moela pertama
Sair tjerita Njaie Dasima
Belon ada sebrapa lama
Di Kampoeng Koeripan dia beroema

(And now the syair is begun/ the syair which tells the tale
of Njai Dasima/ who not so long ago/ lived in Kampung
Kuripan)

This is quite different from:

Itoe nona ada doedoek di satoe roewangan deket djoeroesan
pintoe,
Fientje de Feniks, begitoelah ada namanya nona yang
doedoek itoe
Dalam golongan bidadari doenia, Fientje ada terkenal
sebagai goela-goela jang nomor satoe,
Pengawakannja kentjang, pinggangnja, langsing, parasnja
eilok soeda boleh dibilang tentoe,
Ramboetnja jang itam dan gomplok, alisnja kerang, matanja
tjejli, ada membikin roepanja sabagi Ratoe
Bibirnya jang mera delima, djikaloe ia bersenjoem ada
kaliatan manis seperti goela batoe.

(The woman sat in a room near the door/ Fientje de Feniks, that
was the name of the woman who sat there/ Among all the world's
nymphs, Fientje was known as the best of mistresses./ Her figure
was trim, her waist narrow and of course her face was beautiful./ Her
hair was thick and black her eyebrows fine (?) her eyes bright,
all making her look like a queen/ Her lips were as red as the delima
and if she smiled it looked as sweet as sugar cubes)

Clearly something has happened to the concept of the syair here. Again I think this is a problem which has not yet been sufficiently

investigated. Although poems in traditional syair form continued to be written there had been a number of experiments at writing a new type of verse — still called syair ⁷ long before the publication of Yamin's sonnets. These experiments were not universally successful as the example above amply demonstrates, yet they nevertheless deserve to be studied. One possible starting point might be the poem *Siti Akbari* by Lie Kim Hok, a poem originally published in 1884 which did successfully experiment with new forms. Here for example is the first verse.

Pada waktœ boeroeng-boeroeng barœ tinggalkan sarang
Ija itœ pada waktœ hari barœ djadi torang
Dalam Barbari soedah ada banjak orang
Jang terbangkit akan mendjoewal dan membli barang

(When birds were leaving their nests/ that is when it was just
growing light/ there were already a lot of people in Barbary/ who
had risen to go about their trading/)

This isn't the place to examine what was happening in detail, but I should perhaps state what I think happened in broad terms. The original syair form was popular as a vehicle for straightforward narrative perhaps even more popular than prose. (By 1922 *Sair Njaie Dasima* had gone through six editions, while the original prose version only went into a second edition in 1926). Writers therefore took to the syair as a means of reaching a large popular audience. The popularity of the form continued right through to the 'thirties when it was noticeable for example, that books of syair published by Balai Pustaka were among their most popular publications. Towards the end of the nineteenth century writers had however, attempted to experiment and break away from the original form being perhaps fed up with the monotony and requiring more flexibility. They did, however, retain the original rhyme scheme. To judge from the popularity of *Siti Akbari* which went into a third edition in 1922 these experiments were successful with the public, and writers were encouraged to experiment further. By 1923 when *Sair None Fientje de Feniks* was published experiment had reached such a stage where only the rhyme scheme was retained and it was only this plus the appearance of the lines on the page which made it resemble verse. To all intents and purposes it could have been written in prose.

The writer himself clearly felt uneasy about writing in what he thought was verse. For example, at the end of the syair he concludes by saying:

Writing a syair in verses of six lines is truly a very difficult business/ A syair can't speak as well as a story in prose, because the words are so sparing (himat)/ If you want to know more clearly we suggest with all respect that you read the prose version.

It seems an extraordinary but very honest admission by a writer who has just taken some trouble to write a syair. On another occasion too, when describing the proceedings at the first trial he writes:

Because the Sair can't find sufficient words the trial can't be described clearly.

Tan Boem Kim clearly felt ill at ease trying to write verse and expressed his uneasiness without a blush in these asides. Presumably he felt compelled to try his hand at it because stories in verse were so popular during this period.

The language used in the syair is a farrago of words picked out of different languages and dialects and is, one imagines, representative of the kind of colloquial, daily language spoken in Batavia. Some examples of these unusual words will perhaps give some idea of this. There are a lot of Dutch words not found commonly in Indonesian usage at present, for example, *bestel* (order), *lid* (member), *acteur* (actor), *tekenon* (signature) *chauffeur*. From the Sundanese there are *dahar* (eat), *neng* (miss); from the Javanese *manda* (put up with), *angot* (delirium) *kalap* (possessed); from the Chinese *soehian* (brothel) and *djitoe* (just right), from the Jakarta dialect *gompiok* (thick, luxuriant) *liplap* (half-caste, two-tone). There are even examples of Malay usage which are not now commonly used in Indonesian *suka-hati* (happy, glad) for which *bergembira* is now used and *kasoet* (shoes) for *sepatu*. This list is by no means exhaustive since it wasn't my intention to do a linguistic analysis of the text, but it does, I hope, give an indication of the variegated nature of the language of the period.

Another interesting aspect of the language is the peculiarity of some of the grammatical usages which are not found in the standard Malay of Balai Pustaka, but which are found today in spoken Indonesian and, increasingly, written Indonesian. I think the evidence of these examples goes a long way towards supporting the contention

of those who argue that the Indonesian language which emerged during the Japanese occupation and during the time of Revolution derived more from the colloquial Malay spoken in the major towns and sea-ports of the archipelago rather than from the officially sponsored Malay of Balai Pustaka. Here are some examples of constructions and usages:

1. *Koetika meliat tangan aloes memegang botol hatinja Brinkman seperti katarik dengan ilmoe*

(When he saw her soft hand holding the bottle, Brinkman's heart felt as though attracted by magic).

Here the construction *katarik dengan ilmoe* is taken from the Javanese where the *ka* prefix indicates the passive and where normal Indonesian would be *tertarik* (if the construction *keburu nafsu* which is commonly used today).

2. *Itoe waktoe* (that time) rather than the usual Malay *waktoe itoe*. This inversion which is now more or less accepted in colloquial language is said to be the result of Chinese influence as is the following:

3. a) *Fientje tida' poenja itoe pikiran* (that was not Fientje's intention) rather than *itoe boekan pikiran Fientje*;
 b) *jang ada dalam ia poenja sakoe* (which was in her bag) rather than *dalam sakoenja*

This use of *punya* (to have) to express possession is fairly widespread now (if Sukarno's famous *Aku punya mau* — I have a wish, my wish is) although it is still associated with Indonesian spoken by Chinese-Indonesians. In this *syair* it is heavily used.

4. *Di atas itoe sado ada doedoek* ... (in that carriage sat ...) rather than *Diatas sado itoe doedoek*.

The use of *ada* is redundant here, and is still not acceptable in modern Indonesia. The superfluous use of *ada* (is) in this way is often said to be the common fault of Europeans learning Indonesian (of the English "was sitting"). It is also perhaps an example of Chinese usage transferred into Indonesian, which seems to be the case here. Quite by the way it is interesting to observe that the use of *ada* and *adalah* is far more frequent in Malaysian than it is in Indonesian, presumably because of the influence of English.

There are also examples of morphological changes not found in Balai Pustaka Indonesian.

5. *Jang doeloe pakardja'an ngeboedjang ia soeda perna lamar*
(who had previously applied for a job as a servant).

The use of the prefix 'ng-' here is a typical Jakartan usage where Indonesian uses 'me-', 'ng-' is used fairly commonly now in Indonesia particularly among those (particularly students) who like to sprinkle their conversation with Jakartanisms to show their cosmopolitanism. Some Jakartan words such as *ngobrol* (chat) and *ngomong* (speak) are used universally.

6. *Koetika sasoedanja dibilangin begitoe* (After this was said)

The suffix "-in" instead of "-kan" or instead of a zero morpheme in Indonesian is also common Jakarta usage and is used frequently in the syair. In one verse for example, the following rhymes occur "tjeritain", "tjari'in", "djandji'in", "loepain," "mati-in", "pasti-in". Again this Jakartan usage is fairly common even outside Jakarta.

7. *Fientje menanggoeken katjinta'an* (Fientje waited for her lover).

Here, and in fact throughout the syair, the suffix "-ken" is preferred to the Indonesian "-kan". Possibly this is simply a spelling irregularity but more likely, I think, we have a Sundanese usage which is occasionally used, particularly in West Java, as an alternative to "-kan".

All these are simply a few of the more obvious examples and the list is by no means exhaustive, and even though I might have wished it to be I'm not sufficiently qualified to be able to make a thorough linguistic analysis. Nevertheless I hope these few examples are of sufficient interest to persuade those expert in the field that this text and others like it provide much material for anyone interested in the history and development of Indonesian and perhaps more than any other source they give a good impression of the language used during this important period.

And in just the same way as the language hasn't been purified or touched up to conform to certain artificially set standards (as was the case with Balai Pustaka published works, for example), so too the content of these stories hasn't been subject to the censoring of the

Balai Pustaka editorial board. Balai Pustaka was particularly censorious over issues of sexual morality and those scenes which were thought to offend current standards of morality were carefully suppressed. This wasn't the case with other publishers who occasionally published books which were deliberately salacious. On the other hand writers themselves at times self-imposed their own censorship even when dealing, as is the case here, with subjects which are potentially pornographic. There is one rather amusing example of this is *Fientje de Fenijs*. The author at a critical scene writes as follows:

Sasoeda menoetoep pintoe kamar, Brinkman dan nona Fien
berdoea lantas naek ditempat peradoean,

Apakah jang marika itoe bikin??? — Itoelah sama sekali ampir
tida kataoean,

Maskipoen hal ini kita taoe adalah amat soeker boear boeat ditoe-
toerken dengan perkata'an

.....

Berselang satoe djam, seleselah kadoeanja orang jang bertjinta
itoe maenken ?? lelakonnja komedi,

Sakaloearnja ia dari toneel(?) [sic] marika itoe doedoek
kembali ditempat yang tadi.

(After they had shut the door of the room, Brinkman and nona Fientje climbed up on the trysting bed/ What did they do? This is something which is absolutely almost (sic) unknown to us/ Although we might know what it was it's exceptionally difficult to put into words/ An hour passed. The two lovers had finished playing? their scene of comedy./ After they came out of the performance (?) they sat down again in their previous places)

Is Tan Boen Kim being deliberately coy here, or is there a genuine feeling of embarrassment? Either way the passage is amusing.

Taken as a whole this story gives an interesting view on a class of society and a kind of life which we should have difficulty learning about from other sources, certainly one couldn't find out much about it from Balai Pustaka novels. What we have here is a description rather rough and raw, but providing an insight, nevertheless, into the demi-monde of Batavian society. Of course I'm not suggesting that the description of such a society is intrinsically more interesting than the subject of Balai Pustaka novels, but I am saying that if one were led by the latter to ignore what was going on in

this social group at that period one's picture of the social life would be incomplete, and therefore we should be grateful that the literature does exist which gives us an idea of the seamy side of life. But in addition to learning about the whoring habits of the Dutch and Chinese (a subject which soon becomes tedious) we can also through careful reading get to know much about the general social life of the period. For example there are long descriptions of dress in this *syair*. There is also a lengthy description of a theatrical entertainment which includes a lion-taming act. There are numerous mentions of cars and taxis and various types of carriage. An outing to Bogor by train is also recounted. All these details if cumulatively taken add up to an interesting picture of the society of the period. Clearly from one text one can't attempt to reconstruct a whole social history, but I would argue that a careful study of many such texts would enable the diligent scholar to produce a fascinating portrait of the period between 1880 and 1942. Something of this kind has been done for the Dutch Indo-European community by R. Nieuwenhuys and Tjalie Robinson, yet much more, I feel, is still to be done. Up till just recently the scholar might justifiably have complained of the lack of sufficient material to enable him to carry out such a study, but lately a very large number of texts have become available both in the metropolitan museum of the special district in Jakarta (D.K.I.) and also at the library of the Universiti Kebangsaan in Kuala Lumpur. My description of *Fientje de Feniks* isn't even the tip of an iceberg, it's the tip of a tip, which I hope may encourage social historians to look more intensively at the material.

Finally a word or two about the literary assumptions underlying the structure of the story. The most obvious point is that the writer hasn't really appreciated the difference between a factual report and a story. The clearest point of difference is in the operation of a principle of selection. The writer of a story selectively describes events and characters so that there is an interdependence and an interrelation between them, thus a narrative pattern is built up which lends to some sort of climax. In a straightforward account of what happens, on the other hand, the writer simply tries to piece together chronologically everything which is known to have happened. There is no search for relevant interconnections; the factual report is simply the raw material out of which the imaginative writer later constructs his fiction. Tan Boen Kim seems unaware of the

need to shape his material. The writer of *Sair Njaie Dasima* is, far superior to him in this respect, since there the story is carefully constructed with a beginning, a middle, and end which sustains the readers' interest throughout. In *Fientje de Feniks* numerous threads are taken up which lead nowhere. After going to some trouble to describe the character of Baba Sia Katja-mata, for example, this character is suddenly dropped and disappears completely from the reader's sight. Other characters, too, appear only never to reappear again, such as Brinkman's friend at the theatre, Piet, or Jeannie Oort, the brothel keeper. Fientje shows a pistol to a friend leading the reader to expect that this preludes some scene where the pistol will be used, but this is not the case. The very title of the book and the opening passage gives the reader a false idea of what most of the *syair* is about. Fientje is murdered half way through and the rest of the story about Fientje are thereby frustrated. In terms of organising a pattern the structure is weak, critical points in the narrative are glossed over or simply ignored. The most glaring of these is in the passage describing the disintegration of the relationship between Brinkman and Fientje. After describing in some detail an outing to Bogor when the relationship was still very fresh the writing proceeds as follows:

Kaloe dilihat begitoe, njatalah perhoeboenganja itoe doea orang
ada rapat sekali,

Karapetan mana soeker ditjari, maski dengan seorang sekal,
(sc. sekali) poen soesa boeat dibeli,

Begitoelah katjinta'annja Fientje da (sic) Feniks dan Gramser
Brinkman sabelonnja sampe di boelan Juli,

Satoe apa sebabnja, keonjoeng koenjoeng perhoeboengan itoe
kaliatan genting ia poenja tali,

Hingga dari wates itoe, pengidoepannja nona Fien tida lagi seperti
jang bermoea kali,

Kerna itoe waktoe orang dapatken perhoeboengan jang tadinja
begitoe rapet djadi renggang kembali

(It would appear, then, that the relationship between these two was very close/. Indeed a closer relationship would be hard to find; even with money it would be difficult to purchase/. This was the love of Fientje de Feniks and Gramser Brinkman up till the month of July/. Then for some reason, suddenly the tie between them grew tense/. So from that time on nona Fien's life was not as it was when the relationship which had once been so close had become slack again)

For the previous few pages the writing has been building up to this point where the relationship between Fientje and Brinkman reaches its climax, and the reader is expecting to find a correspondingly long description of the period of happiness, yet suddenly just as he is prepared to savour this, he is told in two brief lines, quite out of proportion with the importance of the event that the relationship breaks up for no specified reason. His expectations are again thwarted and the whole story appears unsatisfactory. These examples show just how primitive narrative technique could be at the time, yet this was, it would appear, a stage through which the sensibility of reader and writer had to pass before a higher level of literary awareness could be reached. Other works of the same period dealing with crimes and actual events had achieved greater sophistication, but as a whole this was still an experimental period when writers were trying both to gauge what the public wanted and at the same time write something they thought was reasonably good.

This kind of literature could I think be profitably compared with the ballads and broadsheets of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in England where the reporting of crimes and murder cases is still rough and unshaped. It was of course from these sources that such plays as *Arden of Feversham*, *The Miseries of an Enforced Marriage*, and at a later date *The London Merchant* came to be written. What is an interesting point of comparison in the development of both modern English Literature and modern Indonesian Literature is that in both cases the transition from an essentially aristocratic, classical, written literature, to a popular literature for the populace at large was initiated by the spread of journalistic accounts of crimes and unusual events which later became the source material out of which imaginative writers worked colourful stories which excited the interest of a large public. I hope to elaborate on this comparison at a later date.

Sair Nona Fientje de Feniks is far from being a good or even mediocre piece of literature and for anyone whose interests are purely literary (if it is possible to use literary in this way) I would hesitate to recommend it. Nevertheless I hope that I have done sufficiently to indicate that to anyone interested in the development of Indonesian urban culture and society in the first quarter of this century, the book has its own fascinations, and this gives some indication of the copious material about this period still to be studied.

THE PÆKCHONG: "UNTOUCHABLES" OF KOREA

SOON MAN RHIM

Introduction

The most outcast group in Korean society was the Paekchong.¹ Their origins, their social treatment and their occupations are described in this paper. In addition, considerable coverage is given to the steps by which they were elevated to the common level of Korean society. Until the recent past, the Paekchong had no social status to speak of.² They were subjected to the cruelest treatment and persecution, just like the untouchables of India or the Eta (outcastes) of Japan.

1. *The Origins of the Paekchong*

There were various legends regarding the origins of the Paekchong. According to one legend, when Prince Hui of Tan'gun, who reputedly set up Korea's first kingdom in 233 B. C., attended the assembly of all nations, he assigned a temporary duty to each attendant. The descendants of those who were appointed to slaughter cattle became the Paekchong.

Another mythology relates that when Kija of the Un Dynasty fled to Korea and set up capital of Pyongyang, he handed all the criminals over to the despised classes, or ch'onmin. After a period of time these classes became the Paekchong.

¹ Since the Koryo Period (918-1392) the term Paekchong simply meant "common people," as in T'ang China. Because of the assimilation policy of the early kings of the Yi Period (1392-1910), the term became associated with the despised outcastes. Consequently, this derogatory notation has been reserved for them ever since. See Herbert Passin, "The Paekchong of Korea," *Monumenta Nipponica*, XII (Tokyo, 1956), pp. 32-34. For a detailed discussion of the term Paekchong in the Koryo Period, when Paekchong is used as the term for common people instead of the despised or servile class, see Fusanoshin Ayugai, *Zakko Hwarang-ko, Paekchong-ko, Nobi-ko* (Miscellaneous Studies on the Hwarang, the Paekchong and the Nobi) (Kokushhokankokai, 1973), pp. 203-211.

² In respect to this, Gyu Tae Lee went so far as to argue that "if there were such terms as the minus status below zero, they would fall into that category." See his *Kaehwa Paekkyong* (Panorama of Enlightenment), Vol. II (Seoul: Sintaeyangsa, 1969), p. 199.

There is another belief that at the fall of the Koryo Dynasty in 1392, seventy-two high officials of the nobility retired into the mountains and strongly resisted the new Yi Dynasty. Eventually, because of starvation, these resisters had to surrender. They were then confined to a restricted area known as Tu-mun-dong in Songdo or Kaesong. It is said that their posterity became the Paekchong.³

There is another theory that the Paekchong were Tibetan immigrants. In still another theory the Paekchong were the descendants of immigrants who were the low castes of India. Another possibility is that they had migrated from Tartar. (The term 'Tartar' seems to have been a general term for all northern peoples, Mongolians, Manchurians, and so on.) Still another possibility is that the Paekchong were the descendants of the offspring of captives taken during the Japanese invasions of 1592-1598.

Most of the above theories have not been substantiated by historical documentation. However, the theory of migration of the Tartars has been taken seriously by some scholars. Their belief is mainly based upon the writings of Jung Yak Yong who was one of the most distinguished scholars on the methodology of historical researches in the reign of King Jungjo (1777-1800) and King Sunjo (1801-1834). In his book, *A-on' gak-bi*, Jung Yak Yong referred the origin of the Paekchong to a roving group of the Koryo period known as the Yangsuchuk or Mujari.⁴

Being an alien people from Tartar, the Yangsuchuk were hardly assimilated into the general population. Consequently, they wandered through the marshlands along the northwest coast. They were engaged in the making and selling of willow baskets. They were also proficient in slaughtering animals and had a liking for hunting. Selling their wives and daughters was part of their way of life. This type of activity was despised by the people of the Buddhist Koryo Dynasty.

³ The view that the Paekchong are the descendants of the loyal subjects of the Koryo Dynasty seems to have been supported by the Paekchong themselves. For example, one of the leaders of the Paekchong outcastes, Chang Chi-p'il said:

Entering the Yi Dynasty, the loyal subjects of the preceding dynasty were compelled to hold the ch'ilch'on, or the 'seven lowest official occupations'. The diehards of them were all given the name of Paekchong because of the uprightness. The *Dong-A-Ilbo.*, May 20, 1923, p. 3.

⁴ *Han'guksa-sajon* (Dictionary of Korean History). Seoul: Tonggach'ulp'ansa, 1959, p. 131. This dictionary was edited by Social Science Publication Society.

It should be noted here that even these scholars who see the connection between the Paekchong and the Hangsuchuk of Koryo period do not argue that all of today's Paekchong are descendants of the Yangsuchuk. They maintain that the alien tribe known as the Yangsuchuk is part of today's Paekchong.⁵ Since the Koryo period, other alien peoples, such as the Manchurian Kitans and foreign captives taken during the wars, might have entered the Yangsuchuk. In addition, even expelled nobility⁶ might have hidden themselves in the ranks of the Paekchong.

In the light of the above discussion, it is clear that finding the true origin of the Paekchong requires further scholarly research.

2. *The Social Treatment of the Paekchong*

In discussing how the Paekchong suffered from the contempt and discrimination in ordinary society, it is interesting to notice that the status of the Paekchong was far below that of the slaves in the traditional Korean social system.⁷ They were both the ch'onmin, or the "despised people"⁸ who were at the bottom of the social strata. Their status, however, was quite different. The slaves were chattels of varying degree, whether their masters were private individuals or the State. Although the slave status was hereditary, there were ways to buy free-

⁵ See, for example, Tomo Imamura, *Chosen Fuzoku-shu* (Compilation of Korean Customs) (3rd ed., Seoul: Utsuboya-shoseki-ten, 1919), p. 43; Sang Chan Ch'a, *Chosonsa oesa* (A Chronicle of Korea), Vol. I: *Custom and Institution* (Seoul: Myongsongsa, 1947), pp. 102-103; and *Han'guksa-sajon*, loc. cit.

⁶ For example, during the reign of Yon'sangun (1495-1503), Yi-Jangkon who had been a high official of the nobility, went into exile and hid in a Paekchong community. Also, he married a Paekchong woman. For a more detailed account, see GYu Tae Lee, *Han'gukin ui inmaek* (Extract of the Korean Peoples), Vol. III (Seoul: Sintaeyangsa, 1971), pp. 139-141.

⁷ According to Man Gab Lee, six classes, plus an outcaste group, existed in the traditional Korean social system: the royalty, the nobility (yangban), the country gentry (hyangban), the middle folk (chungin), the illegitimate sons of nobility (soja), the commoners (sangmin), and the "humble folk" (ch'onmin). *Han'guk Nongch'on-ui sahoekujjo* (The Social Structure of Korean Villages), Vol. V (Seoul: Korean Research Center, 1960), pp. 4-5.

⁸ This class included Buddhist monks, nuns, shamans, buffoons, traveling dancers, singers, and the Paekchong; and also included private and public slaves. For a detailed account of the "despised people" see Gregory Henderson, *Korea, the Politics of the Vortex* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968), pp. 53-55.

dom and to attain the status of sangmin or the commoners.⁹ As Herbert Passin observed, however, "there was no way for the Paekchong or their descendants to break out of the outcast status and to become yangmin."¹⁰ In this sense, the Paekchong were untouchable just like the untouchable of India or the Eta of Japan.

The woes of these untouchables were too many to enumerate. Some of these are to be seen in the following illustrations of discriminative treatment.¹¹

a. *Separate communities*

Until the breakdown of Korea's traditional social order at the end of the 19th century, the Paekchong were forced to live in segregated quarters isolated from the common people. As Herbert Passin noted:

These were usually on the outskirts of towns and villages, and the paekchong were not allowed to move freely outside the boundaries of their allotted territory. Even when there was a great increase in population and in the number of house, these areas were not as a rule enlarged, so that in the course of time, they became very overcrowded.¹²

The Paekchong had to live in segregated communities not only by popular custom, but also by law, since the 15th century. According to the provisions of the Compilations of National Laws known as the Kyongguk-taejon,¹³ the Paekchong were limited to residence in only certain areas of the capital as well as in certain areas throughout the provinces. The rationale for these laws was that the Paekchong were originally vicious and uncivilized, and they enjoyed killing animals. They were, therefore, kept apart from the ordinary people in order to maintain public peace and public morals. Accordingly, the common people treated them just as they would treat those who serve a sentence of penal servitude.¹⁴

⁹ The vast bulk of the Korean population fell into the class of commoners or sangmin. (The commoners were also called yangmin.) They were producers, such as farmers, artisans, and merchants. For further information see Kwang Chull Lim, *Yicho Bongkun Sahai-sa* (Feudal Social History of the Yi Dynasty) (Tokyo: Chaeilbon-chosonin-yonmaeng Chungwang-ch'ongbonbu Mun'gyobu, 1949), pp. 90-93.

¹⁰ Passin, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

¹¹ For discussions of these illustrations I am indebted to Ch'a, *op. cit.*, pp. 104-109; Imamura, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-47; Passin, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-43.

¹² Passin, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

¹³ These laws were promulgated by King Songchong in 1474.

¹⁴ Ch'a, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

b. *Restrictions on Dress*

The Paekchong were forbidden to wear the ordinary headgear of black varnished lacquer which was worn by all married people. It was considered too good for them. Instead, they had to wear the p'aeliangi, a crude bamboo hat. On the street, the Paekchong were easily identified at a glance, because they wore the p'aeliangi on their heads with dishevelled hair. Instead of the usual black silk band to tie that hat on, they had to use a thin cord. Although the common people wore the p'aeliangi at funerals, the paekchong had to wear a kerchief on their heads. They were unable to wear silk clothing. They could not wear the common long coats (called chung ch'imak); instead, they had to wear a high-length upper garment (the chokoli) and the broad trousers (called pachi). These were really workclothes. They were forbidden to wear the durumagi (the Korean overcoat). On their feet they could wear only straw sandals, not leather. The common married women wore their hair in a bun at the back of their head. The Paekchong women, however, parted their hair in the middle and twisted the sides down over the forehead. They were forbidden to wear ornamental hairpins.¹⁵

The following two examples will show to what degree the Paekchong longed to wear the common man's headgear and desired to dress like the common people. When they were liberated under Resolution 37 (passed on August 2, 1894) of Kabo Reform "they were so elated that they wore their hats day and night."¹⁶

When a Japanese scholar visited a Paekchong house in the early 1910s, he observed the strange ancestral altar. He saw the common man's hat and the durumagi laid before the wooden spirit tablet of the departed father. Having been asked what these were meant for, the head of the family explained that his father had died before the new law was passed, and was, therefore, unable to enjoy wearing the hat and the durumagi. Therefore, he offered them to his father's spirit as a token of consolation.¹⁷ What a heartrending story!

¹⁵ Ayugao, *op. cit.*, pp. 190-191. Cf. Passin, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

¹⁶ S. F. Moore, "The Butchers of Korea," *Korean Repository*, V, 1898, p. 131.

¹⁷ Imamura, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

c. *Marriages and Funerals*

According to common custom at weddings, the groom wears a crown and rides to his bride's house on a saddled horse. The bride rides in a covered palanquin. The Paekchong groom, however, was forbidden to ride on horseback although he was permitted to wear a crown. The Paekchong bride was not allowed to ride in a covered palanquin. In spite of these humiliations, the Paekchong men, as an expression of ostentation, rode on a bull, while their women rode in the uncovered palanquin or stretcher.¹⁸ Intermarriage, of course, was completely forbidden.

When in mourning, the Paekchong were not allowed to wear mourning hats or to use mourning staves. They were not allowed to use the community funeral cart to transport the corpse. These carts were usually found in each village.¹⁹ Furthermore, their dead had to be buried in segregated plots so as not to pollute the sacred burial grounds of the common people.²⁰ These restrictions described above were extremely humiliating and must have brought on very deep resentments.

d. *Restrictions on Names*

Throughout most of the Yi era (1392-1910), the Paekchong were permitted to have only personal names, not family names. Subsequently, family names were allowed, but "they were restricted to words of 'unpleasant' meanings, such as, ch'u (autumn), p'i (skin), kol (bone), and yae (no meaning)."²¹

Even for personal names, the Paekchong were barred from using certain Chinese characters, such as, 仁 (in), benevolence, 義 (ui), justice, and 禮 (ye), civility. If they used words having respectable meanings, they could be lynched on the ground that this was an indiscreet act.²² Under these circumstances, the Paekchong, usually, had to choose names, for example, that were used for slaves: 萬石 (mansok), 億石 (oksok), 武劍 (mukom), 小介 (sokae), etcetera.²³

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 46. Cf. Lee, *Kaehwa Paekkyong*, *op. cit.*, pp. 200-201.

¹⁹ Passin, *op. cit.*, p. 42. Cf. Ch'a, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

²⁰ Passin, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 42-43.

²² Lee, *Kaehwa Paekkyong*, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

²³ Ch'a, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

e. *The Honorifics*

If a sangmin (a commoner) met a yangban (one of the nobility) on the road, the sangmin was obliged to bow out of the way and to use extremely respectful language, even to the children of the nobility. Likewise, the Paekchong had to act with the utmost servility before the sangmin. Whenever a Paekchong addressed a commoner, the following honorifics had to be used: "saengwonnim" to old persons; "sopangnim" to young men; "doryongnim" to young boys and "aekissi" to young girls.²⁴

According to Korean custom, the man always used the low form in speaking to boys, who, in turn, had to use the highest forms when replying. In the case of the Paekchong, however, this custom did not apply. Even from boys of all other ranks, the Paekchong received low form and, in turn, had to address them in the high form. It was this above all else that generated a sorrow which penetrated even into their bones. A Paekchong expressed his feeling with regard to the above facts:

It were much easier to endure the ignominy of going hatless, and mangelless but no amount of money loss could be compared to the grievous trial of being addressed in low talk by 'boys'.²⁵

f. *The Census*

Because of their position on the social scale, the Paekchong were not counted in the census. As a result of this, they did not have the civil rights held by the ordinary people. Since they were not considered worthy of citizenship, they were exempt from taxation, military service, and compulsory labor.²⁶ Even if they were willing to do these duties, the State never thought that they were fitted for such obligations.

Following the census registration law of 1899, the Paekchong's names were finally being counted. To have their names entered in the census register was to them a great honor as well as an auspicious occasion. Consequently, when the census was being taken in the Paekchong communities, the census takers often were given a warm reception along with a dinner party. The census takers were the local police.²⁷

²⁴ Lee, *Kashwa Paekkyong*, *op. cit.*, p. 201. Cf. Imamura, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

²⁵ As quoted by Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

²⁶ Passin, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

²⁷ Lee, *Kashwa Paekkyong*, *op. cit.*, p. 203. Cf. Imamura, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

In addition to the previously mentioned injustices, it was forbidden for the Paekchong to use tile for the roof of their houses.²⁸ They were not allowed to buy fresh fish in the public market.²⁹ They were even punished differently from the other peoples. Normally, as punishment for offenders, prisoners were placed on a platform and beaten with a cane. Paekchong prisoners, however, were never placed on the platform; instead, they were thrown on the ground and beaten.³⁰ In addition, they were not allowed to smoke or drink in public. They were not permitted to hold parties that would attract attention from the outside.³¹

3. *Occupations*

According to Herbert Passin, the Paekchong were divided into two basic groups: the chaein and the Paekchong proper. The former were the actors, jugglers, acrobats, and magicians; the latter were the butchers, leather-workers, and basketmakers. These groups at times were together and at other times became separate.³²

The special occupations of the Paekchong proper enumerated by Passin were as follows:

- (1) basketry, which was the main occupation of their ancestors, . . . including making baskets, wickerwork, sieves, hoops, etc.;
- (2) butchering, which included the slaughter of animals, selling meat, processing the meat, making tallow from the fat, etc.;
- (3) leatherwork, including tanning, shoemaking, armor-making etc.;
- (4) straw-sandal making.³³

They also performed specialized tasks such as barkpeeling, removal of carcasses, dog-catching,³⁴ killing of wild dogs,³⁵ and operating restaurants which specialized in soups prepared from dog meat.³⁶

In discussing Paekchong's occupations, it should be noted that butchering — their main occupation — was more a public obligation than a source of income. They slaughtered the animals for the five great animal sacrifices that were offered each year. At these sacrifices a great

²⁸ Passin, *op. cit.*, p. 42. Cf. Ch'a, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

²⁹ Passin, *loc. cit.*

³⁰ Ch'a, *op. cit.*, p. 107. Cf. Passin, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

³¹ Ch'a, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

³² Passin, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 43-44.

³⁴ Henderson, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

³⁵ Passin, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

³⁶ Imamura, *op. cit.*, p. 47. Cf. Ch'a, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

number of animals — some 350 to 450 head of oxen, sheep, and pigs — were slaughtered.³⁷

Besides these, sacrifices to the ancestral shades are offered twice per month when about 10 heads of swine are killed; sacrifices are offered to the household gods of the palace several times a month, a representative of the king attending. Sacrifices are also offered monthly to Koan Kong, the Chinese general, who is said to have come in a cloud some 300 years ago and rained arrows upon the Japanese, thus enabling the Koreans to win the victory. His image is found in the large temples outside the south and east gates where even the king bows and sacrifices, and Koan Kong is considered the greatest among the gods next to Hananim. Special sacrifices are frequent — twice per year to Confucius, and there are sacrifices to Hananim, 'The honorable Heavens,' accompanied by prayer for rain, or for cessation of rain, or for freezing weather, when the king sends some nobleman as his representative who prays from a written form.³⁸

At all of the sacrifices animals were slaughtered, and this was not an easy task. This work took place at the capital as well as the various magistracies throughout the country. It was done by the Paekchong without pay.³⁹

In addition, whenever an ordinary man wanted some butchering done, he would call a Paekchong to do it. No compensation was received in these instances as well.⁴⁰

It is interesting to note that these despised occupations were not only an imposition but also a monopoly. It allowed the Paekchong to control certain areas of economic activity.⁴¹ They were permitted to drive out competitors who tried to enter the slaughtering business or any of the other Paekchong occupations. "When, for example, in the 20th century, non-Paekchong went into slaughtering and other traditional occupations of theirs, they raised a great protest against this invasion of their prerogatives."⁴²

³⁷ Moore, *op. cit.*, pp. 129-130.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 130.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ Passin, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

⁴¹ On this subject, for example, Gregory Henderson states: "Butchers . . . are still one of Korea's most cohesive groups, with electrically swift means of informal price controls operating through hundreds of small stores. The Paekchong were not necessarily poor, and the butchers especially, maintaining good price controls and profit margins, are today comparatively well-off." Henderson, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-54.

⁴² Passin, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

In addition to the occupations mentioned above, the Paekchong were assigned to do torturing and executing of prisoners.⁴³ In Seoul, there was an official executioner, called kosa and some of the provinces had a regular executioner called mangnanbu. However, when no regular executioner was provided, a Paekchong was called in to carry out capital punishment.⁴⁴ This was especially true in the provinces. This was an extremely distasteful job. As Passin said: "When Paekchong community was called upon to supply an executioner, the job was assigned to some hapless member, sometimes practically an insane person."⁴⁵ The latter fact seems to explain why the executioner was also called huikwang⁴⁶ which implies insanity.

Some of the Paekchong were chosen as Yosakun who drew the coffins and horses at state funerals. The Paekchong considered this function very honorable. This was a very rare occasion since they were able to participate in functions along with the ordinary lower class people.⁴⁷

After a funeral service or an execution, they were given special privileges which corresponded to the particular activity. On the basis of these privileges they were allowed to establish the Paekchong Guild in the latter Yi period. The headquarters of the organization was called the Sungtong Doka and was located in the eastern part of Seoul's Pagoda Park known as kaechangsukol.⁴⁸ Later on, branches of the organization were set up in the Paekchong communities throughout the country.⁴⁹ An executive and guiding committee was also established and it was made up of representatives from the provincial Paekchong communities. The organization carried on many beneficial activities. These included the establishment in Seoul, of a supervised slaughterhouse and restaurants that specialized in dogmeat dishes. The organization was also able to act as the official representative of the Paekchong in dealing

⁴³ Henderson, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

⁴⁴ Imamura, *op. cit.*, p. 48. Cf. Passin, *op. cit.*, p. 44, and Ch'a, *op. cit.*, p. 108. It is interesting to note that when a Paekchong was not available to perform executions, the merchant class, the lowest of the commoners, substituted for the Paekchong. This shows how much the merchant class was also despised in the Yi era. See Sang Guk Lee, *Han'guk munhwasa Kaekwan* (A general Cultural History of Korea) (Seoul: Hyondaesa, 1955), pp. 458-459.

⁴⁵ Passin, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

⁴⁶ Ch'a, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 108. Cf. Passin, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

⁴⁹ For example, in Pyongyang there was a branch organization called okachong or tochung. It kept in touch with Seoul until the 1894 reform when it ceased to exist. See Ch'a, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

with the authorities.⁵⁰ They had sufficient authority to adjudicate disputes within the Paekchong community and to enforce and execute its decisions.

4. *Attempts to Improve the Status of the Paekchong*

This paper concludes with a brief history of the attempts to improve the status of the Paekchong.

a. *The Assimilation Policy of the Early Yi Dynasty*

With the beginning of the Yi Dynasty, actions were taken to remove the Paekchong from the chonmin class. It was done by forcing their absorption into the common people class. They were ordered to stop wandering, to settle down in regular communities, to begin farming and to give up their traditional occupations. In addition, they were required to intermarry with common people. By the standards of a caste society, no such drastic measure as intermarriage had been conceived.⁵¹

But in spite of the efforts of the authorities, the new policy of assimilation did not work. The common people and officials refused to accept them into their ranks. Accordingly, the Paekchong refused to engage in farming, and they did not give up their wandering as well as their thieving and illegal slaughtering. They, therefore, remained separate from the ordinary communities.

At this point one may begin to wonder about the motives behind the attempts to assimilate them in this caste-ridden society. The full explanation may be too complex. It seems to be clear, however, that such a measure was taken because the Paekchong had become a great menace to the public order. It was not from a desire to emancipate these peoples. With regard to this matter, Passin pointed out:

There is no evidence ... that this was conceived as part of a democratic reform of the class system as a whole. No effort was made to abolish the chonmin as a class; on the contrary, their definition and separation from the common people was affirmed even more strongly than before.⁵²

⁵⁰ Passin, *op. cit.*, p. 41. It is interesting to know that the head of the organization was called yongwi. He allotted to his subordinates the office duties such as general management, public trial, business management and accounting. Those who performed these duties lived on the income contributed by the Paekchong membership. See Ch'a, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

⁵¹ Passin, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-34.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 53.

b. *The Tonghak Rebellion of 1894*

An important aspect of Korean society was, on one hand, the fanciful life of the elite class, and, on the other, the poverty stricken life of the peasants. The Tonghak Rebellion of 1894 was the earliest uprising of the Korean people against both foreign subjugation and the rule of the landed gentry. This great peasant revolt established its headquarters in Cholla Province. The peasant insurgents overwhelmed the Korean government forces. The revolt failed, however, chiefly because of the armed support given to the Korean government by the Chinese and the Japanese.⁵³

What is most significant in the peasant revolution in connection with the Paekchong problem was to be found in a program presented by the Tonghak leader, Chon Pongjun (1854-1895). He had proposed a 12-point program to the government as the basis for a truce agreement. Two of the 12 points in the program were: (1) To end slavery by burning up the servitude contracts, and (2) To improve the welfare of 'the seven socially degraded groups' and to get rid of the p'aeli-angi, a crude bamboo hat, which was worn by the Paekchong.⁵⁴ This peasant revolt was concerned about the oppressed classes including the lowest class of all, the Paekchong. This concern for the Paekchong is not very well known.

c. *The Kabo Reform of 1894*

As previously mentioned, the Tonghak Rebellion was crushed by the armed intervention of China and Japan. When there was no longer any danger of internal unrest, the Korean government requested the withdrawal of the foreign armies. In response to this request, China proposed a simultaneous withdrawal of Chinese and Japanese troops from Korea. China had found it difficult to make either war or peace with the Japanese. Japan, however, dared not only to establish strong control over Korea, but also to provoke war with China. The provoca-

⁵³ For detailed discussion, see Son Kun Lee, *Han'guksa* (A History of Korea), ed. by Chindan Hakhoe, Vol. VI (Seoul: Ulyusa, 1971), pp. 2-123.

⁵⁴ For text of the 12 points, see Chong Ch'ang Mun, *Kunseilbon-ui choson ch'imt'alsa* (A History of the Modern Japanese invasion and Assault on Korea) (Seoul: Baekmundang, 1964, pp. 361-362. According to S. F. Moore, the seven socially degraded groups consisted of the following: 1. The servants of the sheriff who beat men; 2. The buffoon — the traveling singer; 3. The butchers; 4. The basket weaver; 5. Women sorcerers; 6. Dancing girls; and, 7. Shoemakers. Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

tions brought about the Sino-Japanese war in August of 1894. Japan was quickly able to defeat the Chinese armies, and to remove all Chinese influence from Korea.⁵⁵

As a result of her victory, Japan established a pro-Japanese government in Korea. She pressed the king to make a number of reforms which were designed to modernize the country. These reforms were also supported by reformist factions which were under Japanese influence. A reform program had been established and became known as the Kabo Reform of 1894. It extended to every field of economic activity, politics, society, and culture.

Its most interesting features, from our point of view, are the ones directly affecting the class system:

... the equality of common people and yangban before the law; the destruction and abolition of registers of public and private slaves; the prohibition of the sale of human beings; the ending of the unfree class status for tanners, actors, station keepers, and members of particular occupations; the abolition of the old system of examination for office; the establishment of a new law for selecting officials;... the abolition of distinctions of superiority for civil officials and inferiority for military officials;⁵⁶

In the reform program described above, improvement was made in status of the tanners as well as the actors, and all of these people were members of the Paekchong. The status of the other despised classes was also improved.

The Kabo Reform removed all legal discrimination against the Paekchong. Old prejudices, however, die hard especially in conservative societies. Assimilation was, therefore, quite slow, but the position of the Paekchong improved nevertheless, especially in the cities. One could, however, still find strong prejudices as well as a good deal of covert social discrimination, especially in the countryside. For example, in 1907, a reactionary farmers' association in Chinju, located in the southern part of Korea, demanded that the Paekchong men wear the p'aeliangi, a crude bamboo hat with a leather tie cord. The association also demanded that Paekchong women wear a skirt with a patch of black hemp cloth. Both these measures were taken to demoralize the

⁵⁵ Takashi Hatada, *A History of Korea*, trans. and ed. by Warren W. Smith, Jr. and Benjamin H. Hazard (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, Inc., 1969), p. 102.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 103. For further detailed discussion of the reform program, see Lee, *Han'guksa*, *op. cit.*, pp. 242-245.

Paekchong by making them conspicuous at a glance.⁵⁷ Writing as late as 1911, a Japanese scholar stated the following:

Only the law recognizes the paekchong as equal . . . Even though the rules forbidding them to wear the long clothes and the hat have been withdrawn and they enjoy many advantages, including sending their children to schools, still people cannot accept them on a level of equality and associate with them.⁵⁸

d. *The Influence of Christianity*

Meager as it seems to be, the influence of Christianity regarding the elevation of the Paekchong was to be seen in and around Seoul, the capital.

The Reverend S. F. Moore, of the Presbyterian Mission to Korea, was the pioneer in the field of evangelism among the Paekchong. The missionary was assigned to the Kong Dang Kol Church, which was particularly interesting since upper classes and members of the Paekchong belonged to the same congregation. When the church was established in 1893, it had a membership of forty-three. A year later, however, when a Paekchong by the name of Pak was converted and came into church, several of the nobility or the yangban class of people left the church.⁵⁹ Their position was that "they had endured the admission of servants and other low class people to the church, but butchers were a little too much."⁶⁰ In a couple of weeks, however, they all returned to the church except one yangban by the name of Shin. He said that he would return on one condition: that the yangban be given "high seats" and the Paekchong "the low ones."⁶¹ Even among Chris-

⁵⁷ Lee, *Kaehwa Paekkyong*, op. cit., p. 211.

⁵⁸ Quoted in Passin, op. cit., p. 60.

⁵⁹ Roy E. Shearer, *Wildfire: Church Growth in Korea* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1966), pp. 88-89.

⁶⁰ Samuel F. Moore, *Evangelistic Report to the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.* (Seoul: 1895). Cf. Harry A. Rhodes, *History of the Korea Mission, Presbyterian Church U.S.A. 1884-1934*, Vol. I (Seoul: Chosen Mission of the Presbyterian Church U.S.A., 1934), p. 101.

⁶¹ Moore, *Evangelistic Report*, op. cit., 1895. It is interesting to note that "some South Indian Churches have always made their ex-untouchables sit apart from their ex-Brahmins." Clark D. Moore and David Eldredge, ed., *India: Yesterday and Today* (New York: Bantam Pathfinder, 1970), p. 91. During the Tokugawa Period in Japan (1600-1868), Buddhism was the state religion. "In those temples to which both outcastes and non-outcastes belonged, separate seats within the temples, Eta-Za, were set aside for the Eta of the community." Hiroshi Wagatsuma, "Non-Political Approaches: The Influences of Religion and Education," in *Japan's Invisible Race Caste in Culture and Personality*, ed. by George DeVos and Hiroshi Wagatsuma (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1964), pp. 88-89.

tians, equality with the Paekchong was hard to swallow. Since that time, however, the number of lower class people increased much more rapidly than the yangban class. In the four years following the birth of the church, one hundred eight adults were baptized. Thirty of them belonged to the Paekchong caste.⁶²

Since the Reverend Moore was very much interested in the Paekchong and wanted to raise their position to the level of the ordinary Korean working people, he appealed to King Kochong as well as to the Japanese Minister, Count Inouye whose influence was strong in the pro-Japanese government. As a result, the government promised to grant the requests asked in the appeal. That is to say, the government pledged to post bills throughout the kingdom, commanding the people to cease oppressing the Paekchong and to recognize their right to wear hats and be treated like "ordinary people."⁶³

It is interesting to note that when the Reverend Moore petitioned the king, he did it with the help of Dr. C. R. Avison, the king's physician⁶⁴ as well as a Presbyterian medical missionary. Dr. Avison presented this matter in a private meeting with the king. Thus, the Reverend Moore and Dr. Avison were instrumental in securing the right of citizenship for the Paekchong.

At the time when the regulations of the Kabo Reform were slow in bringing about changes, the first Paekchong convert to Christianity, Mr. Pak, petitioned the government three times for liberation and equal treatment. The petitions were accepted and the Paekchong were given improved social and political status. For example, in response to Mr. Pak's petition of April 1895, the government replied as follows: "Your desire is granted. Wear the hat and mangan, dress like other men, and be on common level."⁶⁵ As for Mr. Pak's appeal of March 1896, the reply was as follows: "Since all are alike subjects, how can your request be refused, and your grievance be left unremoved?"⁶⁶

Mr. Pak became an evangelist and devoted all his time to preaching the gospel everywhere among his caste. In many towns he persuaded the magistrates to put the government order into effect. Since many Paekchong did not dare to put on their hats because of public pressure,

⁶² Shearer, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

⁶³ Moore, *Evangelistic Report*, *op. cit.*, 1895.

⁶⁴ More, "Butchers of Korea," *op. cit.*, p. 131.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

Mr. Pak, together with several other Christian Paekchong, "went about encouraging their brethren and thus assisted them in donning their hats."⁶⁷ At one meeting in the city of Suwon, located about 25 miles south of Seoul, 50 Paekchong were present to hear the Word. They had to sit, however, out in the yard on mats under the starry sky since the place where the address was given was too small. Mr. Pak thus became an instrument for spreading Christian liberty as well as social freedom among his caste. In a few years, there were 132 Christian Paekchong in the capital and in the provinces.⁶⁸ This figure, of course, was not a large one since it was reported that the whole Paekchong class numbered "thirty thousand."⁶⁹ What is important, however, is that there were a few social prophets who were trying to save them not only spiritually but also socially. If the Korean Protestant Church had followed the gospel preached by them, it never would have been known today as an "other-worldly church."⁷⁰

e. *The Hyongpyong-sa, or, "Equality Society"*

All legal discrimination and disabilities were removed since the Kabo Reform of 1894. The Japanese Government-General continued this

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 132.

⁶⁸ Rhodes, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

⁶⁹ Moore, *Evangelistic Report, op. cit.*, 1895. Also found in George L. Paik, *The History of Protestant Missions in Korea, 1832-1910* (Pyongyang, Korea: Union Christian College Press, 1929), p. 193.

⁷⁰ On this subject, Dr. Chai Joon Kim, one of the few prophets of social Christianity on the Korean religious scene declared:

The Korean Church has been too much other-worldly. The believers are given a simple itinerary: to withdraw from 'the world' into the churches where they remain until they go to heaven after death. Hence, they do not attempt to concern themselves with the mundane things. In order to keep their faith pure, they try to escape from the world as much as possible. . . . The Korean Christians confine themselves in the fortress of the church and aim their guns at the rest of the world. They look as if they are ready to shoot when it comes too near.

It is regarded as the church's missionary function to send out guerrillas to the world in order that they may capture some sinners and carry them into the church. They do not want to admit that this world is the object of God's love and Jesus Christ is the Lord of history. They believe that this world is destined to perish by the brimstone fire under the judgment of God. They do not feel, therefore, obligated to solve the economic, social, political and cultural problems. The Church does not need to be concerned with worldly problems. Even though they do not assume responsibility for these problems, they shared the results. This is a shameful attitude. Chai Joon Kim, "Christianization of the Korean Church," *The Third Day*, trans. by Soon Man Rhim, I (March 1, 1971), p. 11.

policy of nondiscrimination on an official level since their occupation in 1910. The Paekchong, however, were still an object of social contempt and ill-treatment. Under these circumstances, the Hyongpyong-sa or "Equality Society" was organized in May of 1923 in the city of Chinju. The purpose of this organization was to liberate the Paekchong.

The leaders of this society consisted mainly of self-conscious and wealthy Paekchong.⁷¹ They had been influenced and encouraged by the successful activities of the Japanese eta's Suiheisha or "Levelers' Association." This latter society was organized in March 1922 in order to aggressively eliminate the social discrimination that still existed in Japan.⁷²

The starting of the Hyongpyong-sa, however, was a result of the bitter experiences of Hak Ch'an Lee, a wealthy Paekchong living in the city of Chinju. The bitter experiences resulted from repeated efforts to have his son admitted to school. His son was rejected on each occasion by the parents of the students as well as by the school because he was a Paekchong.

Having been angered by these rejections, Hak Ch'an Lee, together with his friends, visited Kang Sang Ho, a young progressive, and Sin Hyon Su, the manager of the Chinju Branch Office of the *Choson Ilbo*. They told them of their predicament and discussed the possibility of starting a social movement to end the discrimination against the Paekchong. With the hearty support of the two gentlemen, they founded the organization.⁷³

⁷¹ Ui Hwan Kim, "P'yongdung sahoe rul wihayo — Hyongpyong Undong" (For the Equality of Society), in *Han'guk hyondaesa* (A Modern History of Korea), Vol. VIII (Seoul: Sin'gumunhwasa, 1971), p. 353. There were considerable numbers of wealthy Paekchong. This was due to the fact that many were able to make fortunes in their monopolistic occupations. They, however, could not spend their fortunes on the purchase of a luxurious life. See above, pp. 6, 7. Consequently, it is said that some poor nobles as well as common people secretly visited the Paekchong to borrow money. At the time they borrowed money, they used terms of respect toward the Paekchong. When they returned money, however, they treated the Paekchong as usual. See Imamura, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-49.

⁷² Passin, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-67. For further information on the Japanese eta's Suiheisha, see George O. Totten and Hiroshi Wagatsuma, "Emancipation: Growth and Transformation of a Political Movement," in *Japan's Invisible Race*, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-61.

⁷³ Kim, "P'yongdung sahoe...", *op. cit.*, p. 357.

Soon after the founding, the movement grew rapidly throughout the country. This was accomplished by the assiduous efforts of its leaders, the enthusiastic support of the Paekchong themselves, and the progressive social organizations. Within half a year after its start, the Hyongpyong-sa had 12 branch offices and 67 district offices.⁷⁴ The organization at its high point of membership had an enrollment of 16,000 persons.⁷⁵ As is shown in the following chart,⁷⁶ this figure is nearly half of the Paekchong population of 1923, the year of the birth of the organization.

PAEKCHONG POPULATION, 1923

<i>Province</i>	<i>Number of Households</i>	<i>Population</i>
Kyonggi	509	2,431
Ch'ungchong-puk	493	2,418
Ch'ungchong-nam	737	3,296
Cholla-puk	863	3,724
Cholla-nam	759	3,034
Kyongsang-puk	1,367	6,121
Kyongsang-nam	811	3,384
Hwanghae	894	4,221
P'yong-an-nam	259	1,015
P'yong-an-puk	337	1,456
Kangwon	429	2,184
Hamgyong-nam	118	394
Hamgyong-puk	12	34
	<hr/> 7,588	<hr/> 33,712

The above data shows that there were 33,712 Paekchong in 7,588 households. It is interesting to note that the great bulk of the Paekchong lived in the present area of South Korea whereas relatively few Paekchong lived in the present area of North Korea. The largest numbers of Paekchong lived in the south-eastern section which was known

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 360.

⁷⁵ Passin, *op. cit.*, p. 66

⁷⁶ Chart based upon a survey made by Police Section of Korean Government-General. See Kim, "P'yongdung sahoe..." *op. cit.*, p. 356. Hyongpyong-sa, in its official pronouncements, estimated Paekchong Population of 400,000. See *The Dong-A-Ilbo*, May 20, 1923, p. 3., and January 22, 1927, p. 4. There seems to be no basis for this figure, however. It was estimated there were over 500,000 Paekchong during the Yi Dynasty. See Lee, *Han'guk munhwasa ... op. cit.*, p. 309. But for this estimate as well, there was no basis.

as the Yungnam district. These areas were the strongholds of Confucianism. The Confucianists upheld the feudalistic class system.

As the equality movement became more successful, strong resistance arose in various places, especially in the southern provinces. It was reported that there were 42 serious disturbances between the Paekchong and common people from May 1923 to September 1925.⁷⁷ In Kyongsangpuk Province alone, where there was a dense population of the Paekchong, 109 incidents were reported from 1923 to 1927.⁷⁸ A few examples may serve to see the nature of the incidents.

In the southern part of Korea, there was a low-class farmers' organization known as the Nongch'ong, which consisted of petty farmers and farm laborers. A local unit of this organization was composed of 20 to 200 members, mainly young men. The organization had been given the right to control the Paekchong. It was a reactionary group which was devoted to defending the interests of its masters. The landlords had given them the right to lynch Paekchong.⁷⁹ The organization was never an important pressure group which was against landlords and employers.

On May 14, 1923 the day following the formation of the Hyongpyong-sa, about 2,000 members of the Nongch'ong gathered in the city of Chinju to demonstrate against this Paekchong organization. They demanded that the Hyongpyong-sa be dissolved. In the midst of this gathering a member of the Nongch'ong brought in a cow and killed it in front of the people. After covering the platform with the animal's blood, he raised up the blood-stained knife and called upon the people not to buy meat from the Paekchong. This animal sacrifice developed into a meat boycott. Marking themselves with the blood flowing from the platform, the demonstrators resolved not to buy meat from the Paekchong.⁸⁰

Reacting against this, forty members of the Hyongpyong-sa climbed to the top of a mountain in the vicinity of Chinju and at this place organized a preparedness for death squad. Then they performed a ceremony which entailed a pledge to die willingly for the human rights of

⁷⁷ Kim, "P'yongdung sahoe . . .," *op. cit.*, p. 360

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 370.

⁷⁹ Lee, Kaehwa Paekkyong, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 210.

the Paekchong. Because of this, the city of Chinju was filled with a feeling of uneasiness and some of the citizens sought safety by fleeing.⁸¹

On August 14, 1925, a young men's oratorical contest was held at Hyongpung-myon in Talsong County which is in Kyongsang-puk Province. When one of the speakers, a certain So, delivered a speech in which he praised the equality movement, the audience shouted and stopped the speaker. After the meeting, So, together with a member of a progressive youth organization, a Mr. Kim, cursed those who had interrupted the address by telling them they were inferior to cats. Finally, on August 29, Mr. Kim clubbed a Mr. Cho because the latter had verbally attacked the youth organization to which Mr. Kim belonged. This youth organization was closely allied with the Hyongpyong-sa. This incident enraged the common people. They assembled about 600 supporters out of those who gathered on the September 2nd market day. These people began to search for both Kim and So. They failed to find them, however. About 100 of them, then, stormed the houses of the director and the executive secretary of the Hyongpung district office of the Hyongpyong-sa. They destroyed the furniture in both houses. The authorities arrested 12 ringleaders and committed them to prison. The hostility between the Paekchong and the common people continued to exist in that area for a long time afterwards.⁸²

Besides the outside conflicts described above, the Hyongpyong-sa also had to cope with debilitating factionalism within its ranks. Since 1926, one could see the struggle between the Hyongpyong-sa progressives and the Hyongpyong-sa conservatives. The former group advocated active participation in the socialist movement, whereas the latter group wanted to separate the social movement from the political one. (The progressive group was controlled by the members of non-Paekchong origin.)

On July 23, 1926, an incident involving Korean communists occurred and 30 communists were arrested. In connection with this, several leaders of the headquarters group of the Hyongpyong-sa were also rounded up.⁸³

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² Kim, "P'yongdung sahoe...", *op. cit.*, pp. 365-366.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 369.

In January 1927, Chang Chi-p'il as well as a few other leaders of the Hyongpyong-sa were arrested because of a so-called Sinuichu Communist incident.⁸⁴

When the Hyongpyong-sa was started, communist leaders quickly established communications with their leaders and sought to affect political trends within the Hyongpyong-sa. On March 17, 1929, it was reported:

The People of this class do not have much class consciousness, and even their leaders, Chang Chi-p'il and O Song-hwan, do not have a thorough, class-conscious understanding of social revolution. Therefore, a healthy movement here is yet to be constructed.⁸⁵

From this report one is able to see that the Korean communists were not successful in expanding their influence among the Paekchong. After the arrest of the Chang Chi-p'il, et al, the mainstream of the Hyongpyong-sa made it clear that their movement would separate itself from political movements and only concentrate on bettering the status of the Paekchong.

Since early 1927, the organization began maintaining closer relationships with the Japanese eta's Suiheisha by exchanging visits of their leaders. The disputes between the Paekchong and the common people began to subside after 1929.⁸⁶

Before 1930, despite many difficulties, the Hyongpyong-sa had some success in raising the sense of personal dignity of the Paekchong. This was done through organization, activities, education and training. Many had been deeply moved by the Paekchong's enthusiastic attitude toward education. During the time of the equality movement, the percentage of common peoples' children attending school was only 5% of their total population, whereas the percentage of the Paekchong attending school was a fantastic 46%.⁸⁷

As the Japanese continental policy in the 1930s became more and more aggressive, the Hyongpyong-sa, like many other social movement

⁸⁴ Chi Hun Cho, *Han'guk minjok undongsa* (A History of the Nationalist Movement in Korea), Vol. I, "Han'guk munhwasa taek" (An Outline of the History of Korean Culture) Seoul: Koryotaeakkyominjok-yon'guso, 1964), p. 733.

⁸⁵ Quoted in Robert A. Scalapino and Chong-Sik Lee, *Communism in Korea*, Part I. "The Movement." (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1972), Chapter II. "The Years of Trial," p. 70.

⁸⁶ Cho, *op. cit.*, p. 733.

⁸⁷ Kim, "P'yongdung sahoe...", *op. cit.*, p. 355.

organizations, was forced by the Japanese authorities to dissolve. The organization, however, maintained its headquarters in Taechon under the name of Taetonghoe. It lost its function as a social movement organization. Accordingly, the leaders of the organization could not but go underground.

5. Conclusion

Nowadays, students of class, stratification, and race relations are familiar with the word "untouchability" which is usually associated with the low castes of India. Untouchables, however, can be found in other Asian countries, for example, Japan. There the untouchables are called the Eta. This group has drawn the attention of many scholars. And yet, the untouchables of Korea, known as the Paekchong, are least known to scholars.

As far as I know, except for the articles by Herbert Passin,⁸⁸ there is no English work that offers detailed treatment of the Paekchong problem. It is hoped that research would be continued in order to achieve a fuller understanding of this segment of Korean history.

The term Paekchong has at the present time almost disappeared from the daily language in Korea. For an understanding of the term Paekchong, the younger generation has to consult a dictionary. In North Korea, especially, it is claimed that discrimination against the Paekchong has ended once and for all through land reform. Many other democratic reform measures have also been adopted since the liberation from Japanese rule in 1945.⁸⁹ After centuries of institutionalized immobility, they, the Paekchong, have vanished almost without trace into the main stream of Korean society.

We should not forget that the Korean people are not different from other Asian peoples who had oppressed their minority groups as if they were lesser humans. This study shows that the Koreans have come a long way in recognizing their brothers and sisters as equals.

⁸⁸ See his "The Paekchong of Korea," *op. cit.*, pp. 27-68; and "Untouchability in the Far East," *Monumenta Nipponica*, XI (Tokyo, 1955), pp. 27-47.

⁸⁹ *Ryoksasachon* (Historical Dictionary) (Tokyo: Sahoekwahak ch'ulpansa, 1972), p. 982.

A NATIVISTIC REACTION TO COLONIALISM: THE SINHALA-BUDDHIST REVIVAL IN SRI LANKA

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Not very long after the British had succeeded in accomplishing what two earlier European powers — the Portuguese and the Dutch — had failed to do for a period of about three hundred years¹ a Commission of Inquiry sent by the Colonial Office to investigate and make recommendations on the island's affairs declared that Ceylon was the "fittest spot in our Eastern Dominions in which to plant the germ of European Civilization whence we may not unreasonably hope that it will hereafter spread over the whole of those vast territories."² This hope never materialized. On the contrary within a few decades a resurgence of indigenous culture had begun which proved to be the foundation of the struggle for political independence.

The form of the cultural resurgence which began in the mid 19th century appears to have been defined by nostalgic memories of a glorious past acting upon the humiliations of a dismal present. The great accomplishments of the Sinhalese in the fields of engineering, architecture and the arts had originated in an almost total dedication to the cause of Buddhism.³ National historiography has recorded that the island self-sufficient in worldly requisites, was in spiritual matters the repository of the Buddhist doctrine, as prophesied by the Buddha himself on his deathbed.⁴ Tradition claims that the self-content and

* I wish to thank my colleague Derek De Silva who read the original draft and made many valuable suggestions for its improvement.

¹ The maritime provinces of Ceylon were occupied first by the Portuguese (1505-1658) and then by the Dutch (1658-1796) who during this period made constant attempts to subjugate the Sinhalese kingdom in Kandy and thus became masters of the whole island. The British who ousted the Dutch from the maritime provinces in 1796 were able to bring Kandy under their rule in 1815.

² From the report of Charles H. Cameron Esqr., upon the Judicial Establishments and Procedure in Ceylon (31 January 1832). See G. C. Mendis (ed.) *The Colebrooke-Cameron Papers*, London, 1956, Vol. I, p. 152.

³ See, C. W. Nicholas and S. Paranavitana, *A Concise History of Ceylon*, Colombo, 1961, pp. 116-121; pp. 268-276.

⁴ See *The Mahawamsa* (the 5th cen. historical chronicle), translated by W. Geiger, Colombo, 1950, Ch. VII, verses 1-4.

moral integrity of the people were such that a beautiful maiden of sixteen could walk in perfect safety with a gem in her hand from one end of the island to the other.⁵

Whatever the real causes of the collapse of this civilization might be, in the popular mind it is generally attributed to the invasions of South Indian armies which are depicted in historical chronicles as having breached tanks, plundered monasteries and created much havoc in the land as though they were "the armies of Mara" — the god of Death.⁶

Subsequently, the Sinhalese kingdom was re-established in the South-West, away from the ancient centres of civilization in the Northern-Central and South Eastern regions. Several kingdoms continued their weak existence in the South-West up to the beginning of the 16th century when with the advent of the Portuguese in 1505 a fresh era of adversities befell the Sinhalese. Thereafter an incessant struggle against the Europeans continued for a period of over three centuries when the Portuguese, the Dutch and the British in succession controlled the seaboard and closed in upon the Sinhalese whose only succour lay in the natural defences of the country, its jungles, hilly terrain and a weather inhospitable to the European. Finally, the Sinhalese kingdom in Kandy, in moral and military reserves equally depleted was ceded to the British by the signing of a convention whereby the British promised, among other things, to "maintain" and "protect" Buddhism to safeguard indigenous customs.⁷

The manner in which these assurances were kept led to wide dissatisfaction. Realization came that the maintenance or the fostering of national cultural traditions could not be expected under the rule of a foreign power. Movements arose for the preservation and upliftment of religious, literary, artistic and other cultural traditions. The struggle for political independence was launched subsequently and freedom won in 1948. Thereafter a process was set in motion during the fifties to remedy the reversals of fortune suffered by the indigenous cultural traditions during the period of foreign rule. The hopes, fears and aspi-

⁵ Based on a claim by King Nissankamalla (1187-1196) in one of his numerous inscriptions.

⁶ *The Culavamsa* (the continuation of *The Mahawamsa*), translated by W. Geiger, Colombo, 1953, Ch. 80, verse 70. For a historical study of the collapse of this civilization see K. Indrapala (ed.) *The Collapse of the Rajarata Civilization*, Ceylon Studies Seminar, Peradeniya, 1971.

⁷ For details of "the Kandyan Convention" see Lennox A. Mills, *Ceylon under British Rule*, Colombo, 1964, pp. 159- ff.

rations of the Sinhalese in the twentieth century may be understood in the light of this background.

Two phases can be distinguished in the cultural renaissance of the Sinhalese society during the 20th century. The first arose in the context of foreign domination as a nativistic assertion which marked millennial tendencies, the second began as a nationalist backlash immediately following the end of colonial rule and reached its climax as an attempt to insure against a future imperilled by the threat of Tamil domination. The Tamils, although minority in the island were regarded as having a numerically strong and politically dangerous alliance in South India, only a few miles across the Palk Strait.

The Beginnings of the Cultural Revivalism

Although the crown of Kandy was ceded to the British in 1815 with contrivance of the traditional power elite — the feudal chieftains and the Buddhist clergy — who believed that the convention signed by them and the British would ensure the safe continuance of traditional institutions, especially those connected with Buddhism, the same power elite very soon appear to have had second thoughts. The outcome of these misgivings was manifested three years later in the form of a rebellion which was subdued with severity.⁸ Subsequently opposition to foreign rule was expressed sometimes by attempts at rebellion⁹ and sometimes by millennial yearnings.¹⁰ It was as if the generation responsible for the cession of 1815 never overcame their feelings of guilt.¹¹ The success of the colonial government in subduing the strivings of the spirit of indigenous protest brought in its wake a strong wave of Christian proselytization.¹² It would have appeared to the Sinhalese elite of the day that the subjugation of the whole island to a 'heathen foreigner' meant the eclipse and perhaps the impending doom of institutions which had hitherto been cherished even by those living in the maritime provin-

⁸ For the rebellion of 1818 see Mills, *op. cit.*

⁹ The 'incidents of 1820, 1823, 1824, 1842, 1848, 1858 and 1834. See Mills, *op. cit.*, pp. 165-166.

¹⁰ For example, the movement reported by Ivers. See Kitsiri Malalgodda, "Millenialism in Relation to Buddhism", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 12, 4, 1970, pp. 424-441, esp. p. 437.

¹¹ cf. A Kandyan chief is supposed to have asked Governor Torrington (1847-1850), "What good have we gained by British rule if you violate our Treaties — not only cease to protect our religion but on the contrary endeavour to destroy it?" K.M. de Silva, *Social Policy and Missionary Organization in Ceylon, 1840-1885*, London, 1965, p. 107.

¹² See K. M. de Silva, *op. cit. passim.*

ces under virtual foreign rule. Thus the main theme of the insurgent endeavours and the millennial yearnings of the 19th century was the restoration of the *status quo ante*.¹³ In the attempts at insurgency although the erstwhile subjects of the Kandyan kingdom formed the vanguard, they were supported sometimes openly and in the circumstances to the best of their ability by the Sinhalese in the maritime provinces.¹⁴ The Sinhalese people, who in their self-image were a 'chosen people' entrusted with the responsibility of preserving the doctrine of the Buddha in its pristine purity¹⁵ seem to have evolved during this period a nationalism out of their primordial feelings of ethnicity due to the circumstances in which they were placed under the British Raj.

The cultural symbols around which nationalist ideologies could be woven had been unearthed from oblivion by a religious, literary and artistic revival that occurred in the Kandyan kingdom during the second half of the 8th century, several decades before the advent of the British. This movement succeeded in giving a new phase of life to Buddhism, Sinhalese literature and the indigenous arts which had fallen into decline during the foregoing period of about two and a half centuries of warfare with the Portuguese and the Dutch. During a spell of peace which occurred as a result of the conciliatory attitude of the commercially-minded Dutch together with the desire of the war-weary Sinhalese for a breathing space, the renaissance was accomplished mainly through the efforts of a monk named Weliwita Asarana Sarana Saranankara (1698-1778) who was actively supported by the king at the time, Kirthi Sri Rajasinghe (1747-1780). The movement was carried to the other parts of the island by the associates and pupils of Saranankara and the tradition that was re-established continued by pupiliary succession. However, the subsequent fall of the Sinhalese kingdom proved to be a setback to the full flowering of the renaissance spirit.

With the stabilization of the British rule over the whole island during the first half of the 19th century the atmosphere was more suited than ever for the expansion of Western culture. In the face of the growing tide of Christian proselytization and the general westernization of the society the energies of the indigenous cultural elite

¹³ See Michael Roberts, "Variations on the theme of Resistance Movements: the Kandyan Rebellion of 1817-18 and the Later Day Nationalisms of Ceylon", *Ceylon Studies Seminar*, 1970/72 series, no. 9, p. 21.

¹⁴ Thus for example Puran Appu and Gongalegoda Banda, two of the leading figures in the rebellion of 1848 — the most serious since 1818 — were from the maritime provinces.

¹⁵ See Malalgoda, *op. cit.*, pp. 431-432.

was gathered together and mobilized in three centres of Buddhist learning, namely, Paramadhammacetiya (founded in 1849), Vidyodaya (founded in 1873) and Vidyalankara (founded in 1875). These institutions which were called *pirivenas*, being attached to Buddhist temples became in addition to being centres of learning the nursing grounds of Sinhalese patriotism. The future cultural elite which was to launch a militant Sinhalese-Buddhist re-assertion was nurtured in these three *pirivenas* and their offshoots.

The initial waves of the 19th century revivalism were mainly religious. The Buddhist religion had been, during the days of the Sinhalese kingdom, identified totally with the affairs of state. During the era of Portuguese and Dutch rule in the maritime provinces however, it had suffered severe setbacks. And, with the subjugation of the whole island by the British it soon became apparent that contrary to the pious hopes embodied in the Kandyan Convention, Buddhism was neglected as "heathen idolatry" and facilities provided for the spread of Christianity.¹⁶ This, naturally, created a sense of injury and brought about eventually a militant flavour to the religious activities of the Buddhists. At the forefront of this movement was the new bourgeoisie which had come into being as a result of the modernization and expansion of the economy during the 19th century. Also there appeared a militant type of Buddhist monk who was to be the preceptor and guide to the movement: the 19th century saw the metamorphosis of the Buddhist monk from a world-renouncing religious ascetic to a religio-nationalist-political leader. The fiery orator Migettuwatte Gunananda (1823-1890) and the scathing pamphleteer Batteramulle Subhuti¹⁷ (1854-1915) are two notable embodiments of this tendency. Guided by this type of leadership and financed by the upward mobile bourgeoisie, a vigorous counteroffence was launched against the rising tide of Christian proselytization which was being carried out through the missionary school system and patronage in government employment. The Buddhist reassertion received a strong impetus from the involve-

¹⁶ For the attitude of the colonial government towards Buddhism see K. M. de Silva, *op. cit.*, pp. 103-137.

¹⁷ Ven. Gunananda who led the Buddhist side in a number of public controversies against the Christians has been depicted by Olcott as "the most brilliant polemic orator of the island, the terror of the missionaries". (*Old Diary Leaves*, 1878 1883, quoted by V. K. Jayawardene, *The Rise of the Labour Movement in Ceylon*, Durham, 1972, p. 43). And Ven. Subhuti was the author of works such as *Durvadi Hrdaya Vidaranaya*, "The Exposure of the Heretic Soul" (Colombo, 1889) an acrimonious attack on the Christian Church.

ment of Col. Henry Steel Olcott (1832-1907), an American, and the Buddhist Theosophical Society founded by him (in 1880) which established consequently an effective counter force to the Christian missionary school system.¹⁸

Thus by the turn of the century Buddhist revivalism which began on a defensive note had almost taken the upper hand as the following excerpts from a contemporary Christian document shows:

"1903 — This year the Buddhists became very active in opposing Christian work and establishing opposition schools. Christianity cannot be said to be in a thriving condition here: converts are few and the best of them seem to be glad to get away to other parts.

1905 — The Buddhists are now building schools of a more substantial nature, which were thronged with children and in charge of efficient teachers.

1909 — The Buddhist opposition to Christian work is severe and intense and our means to combat it are limited."¹⁹

The sporadic waves of the 19th century revivalism was to receive during the early years of the 20th century an organizational framework in the Temperance Campaign. The Temperance movement was directed against the policy of the colonial government which began to open liquor shops everywhere with the adoption of the Excise Ordinance of 1912. It became an opportunity for the organization of a mass protest against a regime that was heedless of the moral traditions of the people. Anagarika Dharmapala (1864-1933) who was at the forefront of the campaign compared the present with the past. "The Buddhist kings never gave the Aryan Sinhalese opium, arrack, whisky and from the revenues of the land the people derived manifold advantages ... what do we see today? Drunkenness, poverty, increase of crime and increase of insanity. The British are giving the Aryan Sinhalese poisons of opium and alcohol which are destructive for the continuance of the Sinhalese race"²⁰

Being an issue on which the sympathy of all sections, religious as well as communal, could be mustered the temperance campaign gave

¹⁸ For details see "Progress of Buddhist Education", *Souvenir of the Buddhist Theosophical Society on its Diamond Jubilee*, Colombo, 1940, pp. 37-45.

¹⁹ J.W. Balding, *One Hundred Years of Ceylon, or the Centenary Volume of the Church Missionary Society in Ceylon, 1818-1918*, Madras, pp. 21-22, quoted in Ananda Guruge (ed.) *Return to Righteousness: A Collection of Speeches, Essays and Letters of Anagarika Dharmapala*, Colombo 1965, p. xxxii.

²⁰ Ananda Guruge, (ed.) *op. cit.*, p. 530.

the elitist class an unprecedented opportunity to identify themselves with the masses and to organize them in a campaign against the colonial government.

Although the temperance campaign had as its aim a common cause cutting across religious and communal boundaries in composition and flavour it was markedly Sinhalese-Buddhist oriented.²¹ At the forefront of the campaign were personalities such as Anagarika Dharmapala, D.B. Jajatilaka (1868-1944), F.R. Senanayake (1882-1926), Piyadasa Sirisena (1875-1946) and John de Silva (1857-1922) who comprised the Sinhalese-Buddhist leadership of the day. Moreover, the movement had in essence an anti-imperialist flavour.²² The following statement of Anagarika Dharmapala may be taken as epitomizing the attitude of the Sinhalese-Buddhist engaged in the campaign:

"This ancient, historic, refined people, under the diabolism of vicious paganism, introduced by the British administrators are now declining and slowly dying away ... the sweet gentle Aryan children of an ancient, historic race are sacrificed at the altar of the whisky drinking, beet-eating, belly-god of heathenism."²³

The Temperance movement was thus a mission-nativistic and anti-imperialistic in one.

In this manner the early years of the twentieth century was to witness a Sinhalese nation aware of and responding to a glorious cultural heritage and anxious to preserve and foster it in the face of the advances of European religion, customs and values.

Literature and other arts during the early years of the 20th Century

The general enthusiasm in culture awakened by the activities of the 19th century was manifested in a spate of literary, artistic and religious activity. The number of newspapers and periodicals that appeared between 1888 and 1924, a period when the spread of vernacular education was yielding fruit,²³ is an index to the demand of the

²¹ See P.T.M. Fernando, "Arrack, Toddy and Ceylonese Nationalism: Some Observations on the Temperance Movement", *Ceylon Studies Seminar*, 1969/70 series, No. 9. p. 18.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ Ananda Guruge, (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 482-484.

²⁴ The principle of vernacular education was accepted by the colonial government in the early 1840's. The expansion of vernacular education consequently can be seen in the figures pertaining to the following years. See Tables I and II in U.D.I. Sirisena, "Educational Provision and Progress under the laws for Compulsory Education" *Education in Ceylon: A Centenary Volume*, Colombo, 1969, pp. 513-524.

newly created Sinhalese readership. It is recorded that a total of 524 different newspapers and periodicals in Sinhalese appeared during this period; the figures being: 1888 — 1900 = 94; 1901 — 1907 = 47; 1908 — 1918 = 185; 1919 — 1924 = 198.²⁵

Due to the revivalistic energies of the scholars who were associated with the *pirivenas* mentioned earlier, almost all the major classics of Sinhalese literature came to be edited and printed during the second half of the 19th century.²⁶ In addition there was a series of translations²⁷ from English to satisfy the demands of the new readership. More significant is the emergence of the Sinhalese novel towards the end of the 19th century. Although the earliest novels written in Sinhalese were intended to be instruments of Christian proselytization²⁸ it so happened that it soon became the weapon of the Sinhalese-Buddhist protagonist. The most popular novelist of the early years of the twentieth century was Piyadasa Sirisena a tireless champion of the cause of the Sinhalese-Buddhist against Christianity and Western culture. Through his characters who were often made to deliver long discourses, Sirisena castigated the Christian doctrine, the drinking of liquor, eating of meat, western dress and other European customs upholding against them Buddhism, traditional Sinhalese customs, beliefs and values. In one of his numerous novels he claims that "from all our books a little over one lakh of copies has been sold. None of those works was mere empty prattle. Although they may be counted as 'new fictional stories' we have never written a book which does not direct the human mind towards the noble and the righteous doctrine".²⁹

Sirisena's influence was the most dominating factor affecting the novel of the early decades of the twentieth century. The fact that even some of the novelists who had begun their career before him consequently fell under his influence shows the kind of response he was able to evoke in his society. "The influence Piyadasa Sirisena exerted on the society of his time was by no means little. Though few will be interested in his novels today, it must be admitted that the present re-

²⁵ These statistics are based on Ven. Kalukondayawe Prajnasekara, *Sinhala Puvvatpat Sangara Itihasaya*, Vols. 4 and 5. Colombo, 1968.

²⁶ For details see, K.D.P. Wickremasinghe, *Nutana Sinhala Sahitayaya* Colombo, 1965, pp. 9-54.

²⁷ See E. R. Sarathchandra, *The Sinhalese*. Colombo, 1950, pp. 65-77.

²⁸ *op. cit.*, p. 78 ff.

²⁹ Translated from the Introduction to *Sucaritadarsaya*, Colombo, 1926.

awakening of the national consciousness is in no small measure due to the influence of his writings".³⁰

As Sirisena in the field of the novel so was John de Silva in the field of drama. In the introduction to the printed version of the play "Sri Vikrama Rajasimha Caritaya" (The story of the last king of Ceylon), he claims that the main aims of his plays was "to propagate once again the Sinhalese music that has gone into abeyance, to depict the ancient customs, dress, ornaments etc., to censure the evil habits among our people today, to re-create the Sinhalese national awareness that was there of yore and to foster a love for the Sinhalese language among the younger generation who now find it distasteful".³¹ De Silva wrote and produced a large number of plays centered on themes drawn from Buddhist literature and the history of the Sinhalese. The most notable among them are, *Sri Sangabo* (1903), *Sri Vikrama Rajasimha* (1906), *Valagamba* (1907), *Dutugamunu* (1910), *Mahanama* (1913), *Alakesvara* (1913), *Devanampiyatissa* (1914), *Vessantara* (1916), *Vihara Maha Devi* (1916), *Parangi Hatane* (1917), and *Keppetipola* (1917). The last but one had as its theme the struggle of the Sinhalese against the Portuguese and the last depicted the story of the most prominent Sinhalese general in the rebellion of 1818 against the British.

To ensure that his message was brought home to the audience De Silva was in the habit of making a speech during the interval of the performance.³² It is said that during the premiere of *Sri Vikrama Rajasimha* — the story of the last king of Ceylon — when the scene of the king's capitulation to the British was being performed the audience proceeded to clap hands and de Silva immediately ordered the curtain to be dropped and appeared on the stage to say:

"Alas gentlemen, this is not an occasion for us to cheer like fools. This is an occasion of national sorrow, and we must derive from it a message to protect our land, our nation and our religion."³³

The manner in which dramatic art was utilized during the early decades of the twentieth century for the purpose of re-awakening national consciousness is evinced in the works of other leading playwrights

³⁰ E.R. Sarathchandra, *Modern Sinhalese Fiction*, Colombo, 1943, p. 64.

³¹ Translated from the Introduction to *Sri Vikrama Rajasinghe Caritaya* Colombo, 1906.

³² L.D.A. Ratnayaka, *Nittigna John De Silva Nataka Itihasaya*, Colombo, 1963, p. 103.

³³ *op. cit.*, p. 217.

of the day such as Charles Dias, U.D.P. Abeysekera and D. V. Senviratne.³⁴

Thus the vogue of the day was art with a purpose — the purpose being the fostering of a religio-national fervour among the people.

The Emergence of the Sinhalese Language as a Symbol and a Cause

During the first two decades of the twentieth century nationalist agitation had reached a point where the demand came to be *swaraj-yaya* — self-government. The elite leadership had found the key to successful politics — political organizations. Several such organizations, namely The Ceylon Reform Society, The Ceylon Reform League, Ceylon National Association and the Ceylon National Congress³⁵ had come into being. Moreover, the working class had emerged as a politically cogent factor and organized trade unionism had appeared on the scene.³⁶

Another important development during this period was the rift that appeared in the anti-colonial struggle. The apparent harmonious relations between the two major communities, Sinhalese and Tamil, which had existed during the early days of organized agitation came to an end with a crisis in the Ceylon National Congress in the early 20's. In the end the erstwhile broad-based national struggle was reduced to a 'communalist' concern. It was now more or less a matter of how much each community could coax or wrangle out of the colonial master.³⁷

As far as the Sinhalese community was concerned this situation could not have been something unexpected. For this was only the inevitable and appropriate climax to the religio-national resurgence of the preceding period. The only task that awaited it was the specified formulation of a cause befitting the new situation. This was accomplished by a movement called *Hela Hawla*, "The pure Sinhalese Fraternity" led by a charismatic leader named Cumaratunga.

³⁴ For details see, L.D.A. Ratnayaka, *Sangita Itihasaya*, Colombo, 1946, p. 103.

³⁵ For details see, Calvin A. Woodward, *The Growth of Party System in Ceylon*, Brown Univ. Press, Providence, 1969, pp. 25-32.

³⁶ See V. K. Jayawardene, *The Rise of the Labour Movement in Ceylon*, p. 72 ff.

³⁷ For details of this development see W. Howard Wriggins, *Ceylon: The Dilemmas of a New Nation*, Princeton, N.J., 1960, pp. 80-90.

Munidasa Cumaratunga (1887-1944)³⁸ was the most outstanding figure in the Sinhalese cultural scene during the period extending from the 1920's to the '40's. His public career which begins in the early twenties and ends with his death in 1944 was devoted to the mission of reestablishing and propagating what he deemed to be "the genuine Sinhalese language", or as he called it — *Helese*.³⁹

According to Cumaratunga the "genuine Sinhalese" culture has a history extending back into a remoter antiquity than that depicted in the extant historiographical works such as *The Mahavamsa*. The land of the "genuine Sinhalese" or *Helese* was much larger, extending up to Madagascar and it was ruled by mighty emperors whose dominions sometimes reached as far as Greece. It was of such a great civilization that the *Helese* language, a language "older than the oldest of Indian languages",⁴⁰ formed the medium of communication. This great civilization was subsequently destroyed due to the treachery of "Helese traitors" who deserted to the side of the Indian enemies in the war depicted in *The Ramayana*.⁴¹ Consequently Indian influences swept over the *Helese* culture "debasing" and "corrupting", among other things, its language.⁴²

Cumaratunga believed that language was the most important aspect of a nation's culture. "Vulgarization" in language, according to him, was connected with the decline of the nation. Thus, he argued that in order to uplift a nation in decline, its language must first be "purified" of all "vulgarizations" and "debasements".⁴³

³⁸ In the course of his career he changed his name which was originally Munidasa Cumararatunga to Munidasa Cumaratunga, Cumaratunga Munidasa and Cumaratunga Munidas. Each change was an attempt to make his name tally with the "genuine Sinhalese" tradition which he sought to resuscitate. He is best known as Munidasa Cumaratunga.

³⁹ The career of Cumaratunga is discussed in detail in K.N. Dharmadasa, "The career of Munidasa Cumaratunga: Its socio-political significance", *Ceylon Studies Seminar*, 1973 series, no. 11.

⁴⁰ Cumaratunga made this declaration answering a query by one of the readers in *The Helio* — the English periodical of which he was the editor. Vol. I, nos. 11 and 12 (1941), p. 87.

⁴¹ This epic, Cumaratunga observed, written by the Indians depicts Vibhisana who deserted to the Indian side as a hero, and Ravana the Emperor of the *Helese* as a demon.

⁴² Cumaratunga's views on the history of Ceylon are found scattered in his numerous writings. He has never presented them in the form of a coherent theory in any single work. The references are given in the paper cited in f.n. 39.

⁴³ For Cumaratunga's views on the importance of language in national upliftment see, K.N.O. Dharmadasa, *op. cit.*

On the development of modern Sinhalese literary idiom, Cumaratunga has made an unmistakable impression. He follows in the wake of scholars such as Ven. Ratmalane Sri Dharmarama (1853-1919) and Mudliyar W. F. Gunawardene (1861-1935) who during the previous generation had resuscitated a large number of features in the literary idiom which had fallen into disuse during the period of decline following the reign of King Parakramabahu VI (1415-1467) during the Kotte period.⁴⁴ The literary language upheld by Ven. Dharmarama and Mudliyar Gunawardene was the "mixed Sinhalese" form characterized by borrowings from Sanskrit and Pali. This was the accepted language of all prose writings of the period.⁴⁵ Cumaratunga, however, was to strike a different note. Having been himself a user of "mixed Sinhalese" in the early days of his career, he adopted subsequently an idiom characterized by the exclusive use of "pure Sinhalese" words, a more archaic grammar, and new coinages modelled on archaic rules of derivation. According to him this was the resuscitation of the "genuine Sinhalese" language which had fallen into disuse during the period of national decline.⁴⁶ Although in his "return" to the "genuine Sinhalese" language Cumaratunga was followed by a considerable section of the younger generation, the bulk of the Sinhalese literati considered it as unwarranted extremism.

The puristic zeal of Cumaratunga, however, had its impact on the literary idiom. The intense propaganda he carried on in the cause of the "good language" through treatises of grammar, school textbooks, literary compositions, editions of classics, a newspaper and two periodicals of which he was the editor⁴⁷ contributed to shift the literary language further towards the classical ideal.⁴⁸

As was mentioned above, the promotion of the "good language" was in his conception the pre-requisite of a national resurgence. In a society which was yearning to free itself from foreign rule he was able to arouse considerable response. Mobilizing those who agreed with

⁴⁴ This is generally regarded as the end of the classical period of Sinhalese literature. See, Ven. Nivadama Dharmakirti, *Sinhala Sahityaye Swarna Yugaya*, Kelaniya, 1952.

⁴⁵ The development of modern Sinhalese literary idiom has been a story of consistent archaization. See M. W. Sugathapala de Silva, "Effects of Purism on the Development of the Written Language: The Case History of the Sinhalese", *Linguistics*, 36, Mouton, The Hague, 1967, pp. 5-17.

⁴⁶ For details see, K.N.O. Dharmadasa, *op. cit.*

⁴⁷ For details see, *op. cit.*

⁴⁸ For details see, *op. cit.*

his views he inaugurated in 1941 at Panadura the organization called *Hela Hawla*, "the pure Sinhalese Fraternity". The membership of the *Hela Hawla* consisted largely of the Sinhalese educated youth, especially Sinhalese school-masters and Buddhist monks. Soon branch organizations sprouted in a number of towns.⁴⁹

In its ideology the *Hela* movement was critical of the policies of the colonial government as well as the Establishment in the national leadership. Cumaratunga charged the Department of Education with the contrivance of a system of education designed to produce individuals with a servile mentality. "The Department has done and are (sic) still doing everything to make the language lawless, graceless, powerless and worthless", he said. "Language without dignity produces men and women without dignity. Men and women without dignity are as base as beasts and can be made to stoop to any meanness."⁵⁰

Contrary to the belief of some western-educated national leaders Cumaratunga did not expect the colonial master to prepare the country gradually towards self-government. According to him it was "a thought no sane person could harbour".⁵¹ Instead therefore of living in the expectation of grace from the higher powers he exhorted the Sinhalese literati, and the school-teachers in particular, to lead the way in developing a feeling "among ourselves that we can manage our own affairs"⁵²

For the delay in the growth of such a feeling of self-confidence, he blamed the established national leadership. "They (i.e. the British would have given us freedom long ago", he said, "had it not been for the treacherous conduct of some of our own leaders".⁵³ These leaders were the target of constant attack in the two organs of the *Hela Hawla* — *Subasa* and *The Helio*. The scholar monks and the university teachers came under severe criticism for their linguistic policy. "The pundits of the temple and the Universtiy", wrote Cumaratunga, "have created a language of their own which is at once debased, insipid and inelegant".⁵⁴ And the national political leadership was blamed for conniving

⁴⁹ For details see, *op. cit.*

⁵⁰ *The Helio*, Vol. I, nos. 9 and 10, 1941, p. 70.

⁵¹ "Lankave Adhyapanaya" — an article which originally appeared in 1934 in the newspapers *Lak Mini Pahana* of which he was the editor. (Reproduced in *Hela Heliya*, a collection of writings and speeches of Cumaratunga, No. 1, Colombo, 1961, pp. 14-18.)

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ *The Helio*, Vol. I, nos. 15 and 16, 1941, p. 125.

⁵⁴ *The Helio*, Vol. I, nos. 13 and 14, 1941, p. 105.

with them.⁵⁵ Thus in the view of Cumaratunga the colonial government and the national leadership — both political and cultural — were equally responsible for the perpetration of the “lawless, graceless etc. etc.” state of language which was at the base of the servile condition of the nation.

In this connection he considered as highly deplorable the attitude of the national political leadership which had by this time gained enough control over the affairs of government to be able to bring about a change of policy if it so desired.⁵⁶ Time and again he castigated these Western-educated elite for their indifference towards Sinhalese.⁵⁷

This head-on clash with the power elite of Sinhalese society prevented the *Helese* ideology from being acceptable to society at large. However, the impact of the movement was strong and contributed much in moulding the shape of events that were to follow. The near-fanatic emphasis given to language seems to have created an unprecedented language awareness, especially among the Sinhalese educated youth. Moreover in an era where the English-educated enjoyed socio-economic superiority, the battle cry of “Sinhalese, more Sinhalese and better Sinhalese”.⁵⁸ and the psychologically satisfying novel theories of history would have instilled a feeling of confidence and self-esteem into the minds of the Sinhalese literati. As this coincided with the obtaining of universal adult franchise (1931) and the subsequent dawn of political independence (1948), the net result of the *Hela* provocation was the genesis from among the Sinhalese literati of a movement to turn the tables in their own favour. This class comprised largely of Sinhalese school-teachers and Buddhist monks was at the forefront of the “revolution” of 1956, which Cumaratunga did not live to see.⁵⁹

Again, the emergence of the Sinhalese language as a political weapon may be traced to the career of Cumaratunga. He had urged as far back as 1922 the necessity of using Sinhalese in the affairs of government.⁶⁰ Subsequently in 1941, ten years after the adoption of

⁵⁵ See his criticism of personalities such as Sir D. B. Jayatilleke and Professor Malalasekara, discussed in K.N.O. Dharmadasa, *op. cit.*

⁵⁶ Under the Donoughmore Constitution which came into effect in 1931, there was a large degree of internal self-government.

⁵⁷ For details see K.N.O. Dharmadasa, *op. cit.*

⁵⁸ This was the slogan of *The Helio*, the English medium periodical of the *Hela Havla*, edited by Cumaratunga.

⁵⁹ For the role played by the Sinhalese literati in the “revolution” of 1956, see W. Howard Wriggins, *op. cit.*, p. 337 ff.

⁶⁰ See *Hela Heliya*, 1, p. 113.

universal adult franchise, he proposed "At the next elections let us adopt a new policy. Let us say beforehand, 'we shall not vote for a person who does not promise to speak exclusively in Sinhalese in the Council'".⁶¹ Thus the *Hela* movement may be considered in many ways as the forerunner of the events that were to occur in the 1950's.

The Religio-Nationalism of the Post-Independence Era

The transition from colonial status to self-government was accomplished peacefully in 1948 as a result of political bargaining by the Western-educated elite who comprised the national leadership. The preceding decades had witnessed, however, at mass level, a strong wave of nationalist feeling aroused in striving towards independence. A constant theme found in the literature of the period was the exhortation of the Sinhalese to follow the example of the past. Thus, for example, Ven. S. Mahinda wrote in his *Nidahase Mantraya* "Incantation of Freedom".

"Behold the scene in Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa, think of the freedom that existed then, raise more and more your youthful vociferation. Come! Let us onward! Rise! Do not fall asleep!"

By such appeals to nostalgic nationalism the Sinhalese came to be aroused to a consciousness of ethnic superiority. Moreover, the national self-image was as a "chosen people" — entrusted with the task of preserving the Buddhist doctrine in its pristine purity. *The Mahavamsa* reports that the Buddha lying on his death-bed addressed Sakka — the king of the gods — and said, "In Lanka, O Lord of gods, will my religion be established".⁶² Based on this statement an ideological basis for religio-nationalism, which viewed the island as the *dharmadvīpa* — "the land of the Buddhist doctrine", was evolved through the centuries.⁶³

As was mentioned above the Sinhalese-Buddhist revivalism of the 19th century arose as a reaction against the rising tide of westernization in general and Christian expansionism in particular. In view of the reverses of fortune undergone by the Sinhalese Buddhists under the yoke of foreign rule, the attainment of independence was viewed as an opportunity for restoration and restitution.

Firstly, there were the grievances and fears of the Sinhalese ethnic group. It was believed that the Sinhalese language was pushed aside

⁶¹ *Subasa*, iii, 7 and 8, 1941, p. 35.

⁶² See Kitsiri Malalgodā, *op. cit.*

⁶³ *Ibid.*

under the colonial regime and English enthroned. As social and economic advancement was linked to the knowledge of English, it was feared by some that eventually the Sinhalese people would forget their language. A notable theme in the revivalist literature was the exhortation addressed to the Sinhalese to cherish their valuable linguistic heritage.⁶⁴ The attainment of independence in 1948, however, did not bring forth a turning of tables as was expected. The attitude adopted by the English educated elite who held the reins of power was one of proceeding "slowly, slowly" in the fulfilment of these nationalist demands.⁶⁵

Secondly, there was a deep seated sense of injury among the Buddhists. They felt that tremendous damage had been caused to the interests of Buddhism for over a period of four hundred years, particularly in the maritime provinces. The attainment of political independence was therefore viewed as the opportunity to redress Buddhist grievances. The issue was connected to the concept of democracy and to the cultural tradition that existed prior to European rule. "The Buddhists who form two thirds of the population of Ceylon", said Professor G. P. Malalasekera, president of the All Ceylon Buddhist Congress, "are clamouring for their rightful status. Therefore what is asked for from the present government is to help to preserve the rights of the Buddhist populace".⁶⁶ "Rightful status" was conceived as the extension of government "protection" to Buddhist places of worship, and the granting of government assistance to Buddhist religious activities — a practice discontinued due to "pressure from the missionaries".⁶⁷ Again, the attitude of the government to these demands was one of caution and as far as possible non-interference in religious affairs.⁶⁸

At a time when the failure to move the government towards fulfilling these "legitimate" demands was causing considerable unease there came an event of unique religio-national significance which was to stir up the latent nativistic forces that had been gathering momentum during the preceding decades. This was the *Buddha Jayanti*

⁶⁴ For example see the references above to Piyadasa Sirisena and John de Silva.

⁶⁵ "*hemin, hemin*" (slowly, slowly) were the words attributed to the first Prime Minister of independent Ceylon, D.S. Senanayake, when he replied to a delegation of these interests.

⁶⁶ Addressing its 32nd anniversary meeting on Dec. 17, 1950. See K.H.M. Sumatipala, *Bodu Samulu Puranaya*, Colombo, 1968, p. 75.

⁶⁷ K.H.M. Sumatipala, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

— the 2500th anniversary commemoration of the passing away of the Buddha, of the founding of the Sinhalese race and the commencement of the history of the island.⁶⁹ Great enthusiasm was generated in preparation for the occasion, lavishly aided by the government which established a special department to organize the commemoration.

The expectations linked with the commemoration were explicitly millennial. According to tradition there was to be after the event, an unprecedented efflorescence of the Buddhist religion and the dawn of the golden age of the Sinhalese race under a king (sic) named *Diyasena*.

In the climate of religio-national enthusiasm generated during the *Jayanti* period the cause of Buddhism and Sinhalese emerged as a political issue. The ruling United National Party (U.N.P.) which had not shown much concern about the demands of the Sinhalese-Buddhist lobby was represented as “anti-national” and “anti-religious”.⁷⁰ A coalition group of opposition parties under the name *Mahajana Eksath Peramuna* (M.E.P.) “The People’s United Front” emerged at the time under the leadership of S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike. It espoused the cause of the Sinhalese Buddhists and promised to make Sinhalese the national language “within twenty four hours” as well as to remedy “the injustices done to Buddhism.”⁷¹

The national language issue and the Buddhist demand were both characterized by nativistic overtones. When the national language issue was first brought up in the legislature during the thirties and the early forties there was a tacit understanding that equal status should be given to Sinhalese and Tamil. Tamil is the language of 11 per cent of the population — the largest minority group whose elite had played a very significant role in the independence struggle.⁷² In the 1950’s, however, the problem took on a different colouring altogether. It was posed as *either* “Sinhalese only” *or* “Parity of status for Sinhalese and

⁶⁹ The date was the full-moon day of the month of *Wesak* (falling in May) in the year 1956. For details of the significance of the *Buddha Jayanti* see, D.C. Wijayawardhana, *The Revolt in the Temple*, Colombo, 1953, 3.

⁷⁰ The reference being to “The Sinhalese Nation” and “the Buddhist Religion”.

⁷¹ “Within twenty-four hours” are the word of S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike, the leader of the M.E.P. The policy statement on Buddhism is in the Manifesto of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, the main constituent of the M.E.P., of which Bandaranaike was the founder president. See, I.D.S. Weerawardene, *Ceylon General Elections*, 1956, Colombo, 1960, p. 58.

⁷² See for example, the debates on resolutions concerning the official language reported in *Debates of the State Council of Ceylon*, 1939, columns 450-456; 1944, columns 745-770 and 806-816.

Tamil". The latter proposition was viewed by the Sinhalese as a potential threat to the very existence of the Sinhalese linguistic community. For, it was feared that in the event of granting parity of status to both languages, Tamil with its tremendous resources in South India, a few miles across the Palk Straits, would eventually emerge as the only language of the island, squeezing out Sinhalese which existed only in Ceylon. This "minority complex" of the Sinhalese majority⁷³ made the demand for "Sinhalese only" reach near-hysterical proportions.

A similar trend of thought was evinced in the Buddhist lobby. The All Ceylon Buddhist Congress (A.C.B.C.), a powerful organization of urban middle class Buddhists, compiled in 1956 a report containing a detailed list of the reverses of fortune undergone by the Buddhists during the period of Western domination, and the propositions by which it sought to redress these "just" grievances and to "restore" to Buddhism its "rightful status".⁷⁴ Fears of missionary expansion and the subversive activities of a movement called Catholic Action were expressed constantly by some leaders of the A.C.B.C.⁷⁵ The A.C.B.C. put forward forty one demands on the eve of the general elections of 1956 and they were approved by the M.E. P.⁷⁶

At the elections, the M.E.P. was swept into power with a large majority as the champion of the Sinhalese Buddhist cause. It was conceived as a victory for the so far disadvantaged majority. Language and religion were the overt symbols through which the grievances of this majority, which had been awakened to an awareness of its rights and its strength, were expressed.⁷⁷

Later, the aftermath of 1956 has seen the fulfilment, one by one, of the aspirations of this post-independence wave of resurgent Sinhalese-Buddhist nationalism. Sinhalese has been made the "only" official

⁷³ See B.H. Farmer, *Journal of Asian Studies*, 24, 3, 1965, pp. 431-439.

⁷⁴ See *The Betrayal of Buddhism: An Abridged version of the Buddhist Committee of Inquiry*, Colombo, 1956.

⁷⁵ See I.D.S. Weerawardene, *op. cit.*, pp. 110-114; 132-133; 146-149 and *Catholic Action*, published by The Bauddha Jatika Balavegaya, Colombo, 1963.

⁷⁶ See K.H.M. Sumatipala, *Bodu Samulu Puranaya*, p. 114.

⁷⁷ See Michael Roberts, "The political antecedents of the Revivalist Elite within the M.E.P. Coalition of 1956", *Ceylon Studies Seminar* 1969/70 Series, no. 11.

language of Ceylon.⁷⁸ And more than ninety per cent of the demands of the A.C.B.C. have been conceded up to date by the different governments that came into office. A large number of these demands were granted by the governments of S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike (1956-1959), and Sirimavo Bandaranaike (1960-65). Even the U.N.P. government which followed (1965-1970) had to keep in step, as was evident when it established the *poya* (the Buddhist religious day) holidays instead of Sundays.⁷⁹ The 1970 government of Sirimavo Bandaranaike has, in the new Constitution adopted in 1972, given Buddhism "The foremost place" and accepted that "it shall be the duty of the state to protect and foster Buddhism while assuring to all religions the rights granted by section 18(1)d."⁸⁰

The concept of "protection" which may be traced to the nativistic ideologies inherent in the revivalist endeavours of the preceeding era, is markedly apparent in the activities of the Department of Cultural Affairs" — founded by the M.E.P. government of 1956 and continued since then by subsequent governments. Its activities cover the fields of religion, literature, arts and crafts. The review of activities of this Department during the first three years of its existence shows that its sole concern almost has been to cater to the demands of the Sinhalese-Buddhist lobby.⁸¹

The enthusiasm generated by the resurgent activities of the 50's resulted in a general efflorescence of the arts. In keeping with the main trends in society the vogue of the day was a romantic archaism. This was certainly one of the elements constituting the appeal of *Maname*, a very influential innovation in drama, which revived the forms and a theme of the traditional folk-opera to express a contemporary vision. In painting and sculpture the *Jatika Kala Peramuna* "The National Arts Front", followed the policy of reviving traditional techniques with much propaganda against the Western styles followed by leading artists of the day such as George Keyt, Justin Deraniyagala and

⁷⁸ By the *Official Language Bill*, presented to Parliament on 1956.06.05 and passed on the 14th of the same month. For details see *Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. 24, session 1956-57, columns 736-1939.

⁷⁹ See *Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. 60, 1965-66, col. 1509 and K.H.M. Sumatipala, *op. cit.*

⁸⁰ *The Constitution of Sri Lanka (Ceylon)*, Colombo, 1972, p. 4.

⁸¹ See *Ceylon Year Book*, pp. 214-216.

J.D.A. Perera who belonged to the English educated elite.⁸² In poetry there arose a romantic interest in folk compositions which had so far remained ignored by the Sinhalese literati. Leading literary artists such as Martin Wickramasinghe and G.B. Senanayake made comparisons between the compositions of the folk poets and those of the classical learned poets to illustrate the imitative drabness of the latter and the creative freshness of the former.⁸³ In music the search for genuine Sinhalese tradition, in place of the Indian classical tradition borrowed in the recent past, had already begun in the early 40's.⁸⁴ This attempt which did not receive much attention at the time, however, received a boost during the post '56 period. Renderings of folk music have become popular over the radio⁸⁵ and in the school curriculum where music is a subject, the tendency is to replace Indian classical music by a modernized form of folk music.⁸⁶

The resuscitatory zeal has had its impact on the linguistic affairs of the community as well. The "preservation" and "conservation" endeavours of Munidasa Cumaratunga and others⁸⁷ during the pre-independence era had found some respite during the early years of independence. Some leading writers of this time were even bold enough to suggest the abandonment of the accepted literary language based on archaic usage and the adoption, in its place, of the equivalent of the spoken form.⁸⁸ For example, Ven. Yakkaduwe Prajñarama, one of the leading most recognized scholar monks of the day adopted this attitude in his *Vanakata*⁸⁹ and he was supported by Martin Wickra-

⁸² For the art of George Keyt and others, see Len Vangeyzel, "Contemporary Painting in Ceylon", *Souvenir Catalogue, International Exhibition of Paintings, Colombo Exhibition*, Colombo 1952, pp. 27-38 and for the views of the Jatika Kala Peramuna see, Piyal Wickramasinghe, "Jatika Kalave Unnatiya", *Rasavahini*, I, 4, 1956, pp. 53-54.

⁸³ See, Martin Wickramasinghe, *Sahitya Kalava, Mount Lavinia*, 1950, pp. 69-70 and *passim*; G. B. Senanayake, *Vicara Pravesaya*, Colombo 1954, Ch. v, and *passim*.

⁸⁴ By Cumaratunga Munidasa. See his *Hela Miiyasiya*, Colombo, 1941.

⁸⁵ For examples, the *Jayagaayana* of the leading singer, W.D. Amaradeva.

⁸⁶ Under the guidance of the Director in charge of Music Education, W. B. Makuloulouwa who believes that "the genuine Sinhalese music is found in the village". (See his *Hela Gii Maga*, Maharagama, 1962, p. 2.

⁸⁷ For details see K.N.O. Dharmadasa, *op. cit.*

⁸⁸ The details of these controversies have been dealt with in K.N.O. Dharmadasa, *Spoken and Written Sinhalese: A Contrastive Study*, M. Phil. dissertation, York, 1968 (unpublished) pp. 25-39.

⁸⁹ A collection of stories published in Kelaniya, 1948.

masinghe who is acclaimed as one of the leading figures in the Sinhalese literary world.⁹⁰ However, this movement was soon to be overwhelmed by the nativistic upsurge of the mid-fifties and traditionalism was to triumph eventually as was evinced in the controversies over the school text books and the *Sammata Sinhala*, "standard Sinhalese", of the sixties.⁹¹

⁹⁰ See his *Sahitya Kalava*, pp. 34-35.

⁹¹ These controversial issues are discussed in K.N.O. Dharmadasa, *Bhasava ha Samajaya*, Colombo 1972, pp. 121-126.

THE WHITE MAN'S BURDEN

WILLIAM L. BRADLEY

*Take up the White Man's burden —
Send forth the best ye breed —
Go bind your sons to exile
to serve your captive's need;
To wait in heavy harness
On fluttered folk and wild —
Your new-caught, sullen peoples,
Half devil and half child.*

Rudyard Kipling

"With New England care and cultivation Siam might be made a paradise."¹ Thus did a Vermont Yankee, Lucia Hemenway, comment on the garden of Prince Kratai of Bangkok. She wrote that "it is laid out handsomely and with taste;" but she could not withhold the thought so common to westerners in Asia — It's beautiful, but we can show them how to do it better!

Lucia's remarks typify those of westerners a century ago. On the one hand they were greatly attracted by the land and its people, but they did not consider these Siamese their social equals — not to say superiors — which in fact most of them were. A handful of middle-class missionaries and commercial travellers were given access to the highest nobility of a nation whose history was richer than their own. But these self-appointed emissaries had come to preach salvation and technology to the "benighted" peoples of Asia, and accordingly were blind to the wonders which confronted them. Young, idealistic Mrs. Hemenway, spoke for all when she wrote, "My heart almost sinks when I think of the work that has to be done by Christians before the world is converted to Christianity."² This brave band of missionaries had sailed half way around the world to save a people who did not want to be saved.

¹ Lucia Hemenway's Journal, Feb. 11, 1840.

² Lucia Hemenway's Journal, Nov. 24, 1839.

Lucia Hunt had married a cause as well as a husband — perhaps the two were indistinguishable to impressionistic young women like Lucia who chose to be missionary wives in nineteenth century America. They had been caught up in the frenzy of a religious revival whose storm center was located in the “burnt over district” of western New England and New York State. Outwardly these fervent crusaders appear self-confident to the point of arrogance. Their journals generally reinforce this impression. Occasionally, however, one finds a diary entry which does more than simply state the facts in the laconic fashion of Lucia’s account of her wedding day: “Attended church. In the evening again I returned to the church and was married to the Rev. Asa Hemenway, missionary to Siam. Mr. J. T. Goodhue preached from these words ‘For the love of Christ constraineth us’ 2 Cor. 5, 14.”³ When a mood of introspection is permitted to intrude upon the sparse chronicle, more often than not it is the wife’s journal which reveals the self-doubts, pain, and sorrows of a self-imposed exile from her native land. “I have felt for a few days past weak and like nothing and of no use to anybody,” wrote Mrs. Hemenway after four months at sea in the cramped quarters of the *Arno*. “Perhaps I am wrong and wicked in indulging these feelings. I should like to get away alone and repent of my sins before him who is my guide.”⁴

These innocent young missionaries had taken on their shoulders the “white man’s burden,” just as others of their generation in America were dedicating their lives to the liberation of slaves, the spread of temperance, and the founding of new sects. All reformers shared the conviction that God was calling a chosen few to wage full scale battle against sin and injustice in the United States and against idolatry outside Christendom. Young people were exhorted to enlist in a holy war against all the forces of evil, with the promise that if they battled for the Lord they might gain salvation for their souls.

Their courage was generally extraordinary, their ability often somewhat less. The renown accorded many of them as missionaries might not have accompanied less glamorous careers at home, though of a few it must be said that they were outstanding innovators, scholars, and statesmen who would have left a mark whatever their chosen occupation.

³ Lucia Hemenway’s Journal, Apr. 14, 1839.

⁴ Lucia Hemenway’s Journal, Oct. 18, 1839.

One thing seems clear, nonetheless: the official accounts of that period, in glossing over the personal eccentricities of missionaries and others, dehumanize these people whose passions were so strong as to induce them to forsake the security of their middle-class environment to risk martyrdom in uncharted regions overseas. Missionary histories and biographies have contributed to the stereotype of the missionary as a bloodless, naive idealist who knows nothing of ordinary life, cannot be tempted, and lives off the hard-won earnings of the folks back home. In fact they were youthfully naive at first, but soon they learned the hard ways of the world and occasionally succumbed thereto. They knew sin at first hand, particularly the sin of pride. They deserve to be recognized for what they truly were: very human creatures, not saints, trying desperately to fight God's battles in a world they saw threatened by the knavery of scoundrels and idolaters, fearful lest the contest against evil would be lost because of their waning zeal.

It was presumptuous of such inexperienced young people as these, inadequately educated in a homeland which even then displayed unfounded messianic pretensions, to believe that they bore the responsibility and capacity to convert the continents of Africa and Asia to Protestantism in their generation. Possibly it was their very ignorance of the world outside that gave them courage to attempt this impossible task. Motivating them in this crusade was the conviction that they were engaged in God's business, and that he would support them in every trial. They did not doubt that their cause was just and would ultimately prevail. "The war of God against Buddhism has commenced," wrote Dr. Dan Bradley. "The Almighty has already planted his standard in almost every Buddhist nation on earth, and he is determined that the cross of Jesus Christ his Son shall ere long draw all men among them to confide in, and serve him who was nailed upon it . . . Why should it be thought incredible that he will fulfill this promise within the present century?"⁵

In those not-infrequent cases where private judgment stood in opposition to majority will, personal conviction would prevail. "Duty is mine and consequences the Lord's,"⁶ reflected amateur theologian Bradley in defending his position — which had contributed to the demise of the Congregational mission in Siam — against the views of

⁵ *Bangkok Calendar*, 1862, p. 69.

⁶ Dan B. Bradley's Journal, Aug. 27, 1954.

his seminary-educated colleagues. "I am not disposed to consult flesh and blood on any point when I have the word of God clearly before my mind."⁷

Fortunately perhaps for the resolution of their public as well as private doubts about their own roles in the missionary crusade, they had an Enemy to blame for every failure. Arrayed against them was God's great adversary, Satan himself, exploiting their every weakness to bring Jehovah's cause to nought. Too often they proved unequal to the struggle, but at least they could rationalize their failures and need never question for long the validity of their mission.

Lest the reader think that only missionaries were self-righteous, let him be assured that traders, mechanics, sea captains, and even diplomats were victims of the same conceit. True humility, then as now, was a quality uncommonly found in the foreign colony in Siam.

The story of American involvement in the domestic and international affairs of Siam begins in earnest in 1833, when Edmund Roberts concluded a commercial treaty with the Siamese Government. This provided diplomatic immunity and the freedom to propagate religion to the missionaries who began to arrive the following year. The first Americans to make Bangkok their permanent home were a group of Baptist missionaries, followed soon thereafter by representatives of the American Board. Not until 1856 when a consulate was established, did American business interests begin to find trade with Siam in any way attractive. So poor were the prospects until then, in fact, that not a single American vessel called at the bar of the Meinam Chao Phya between 1838 and 1856. The lean years for American trade mark the most influential ones for the missionaries, because their practical skills were sorely needed by the leaders of Siam as it adapted to modernizing pressures from the west. Some missionaries were asked by the Government to assist as English teachers, interpreters, and translators; others as printers and machinists; still others as physicians. Occasionally, as in Bradley's case, one man could fill all these roles. The Americans' great merit in the opinion of the Siamese, was their isolation from the struggle for control of Asia by expansionist European powers, notably England and France. The American missionaries sometimes quite self-consciously helped the Siamese balance the claims of European powers against each other.

⁷ Dan B. Bradley's Journal, Feb. 1845.

Siamese noblemen gladly granted the missionaries freedom to propagate their brand of Christianity, because Siam feared less the power of the Americans' religion than that of the Europeans' guns. In 1840 Prince Itsaret reported to Dan Bradley that he thought King Rama III "would like to get a good American sea captain because he is pleased with the Americans, they are honest."⁸ For the religious freedom freely granted to American missionaries, Siam received the benefits of medicine, education, and technology. In this Siam was fortunate, for not a few of those strangely garbed, bearded zealots had knowledge and interests beyond theology. When finally commercial treaties favorable to the expansion of western trade attracted businessmen and diplomats to Bangkok, the Siamese had decreasing need for the services of missionaries, and the latter played a diminishing role in the development of the country. It was then that an increasing sense of alienation afflicted the missionary community, leading some to abandon the formal work of missions completely, others to depart from the country, and still others to manifest neurotic symptoms even to the point of physical assault upon their colleagues.

Modern Thais credit Dr. Bradley with two of the most significant contributions toward the modernization of their nation: the introduction of printing and western medicine. It is true that he was the first long-term resident doctor in Bangkok, and for several years the only western physician in the country. It is also the case that the first printing press imported to Siam was the primitive wood-and-stone machine he purchased from the Baptists while in Singapore enroute to Bangkok.

The first western doctor to live in Siam, however, was not Bradley but Dr. Carl Gutzlaff, a German missionary who worked in Bangkok from 1828-31, four years before Bradley's arrival. A second physician, Dr. David Abeel, lived in Bangkok from 1831-2, but left the country due to illness. The extent to which Gutzlaff and Abeel prepared the way for Bradley cannot be estimated, but it must have been considerable. A third man trained in medicine, who preceded Bradley to Bangkok and was his colleague for a number of years, was Stephen Johnson, who attended medical schools in Philadelphia and Brunswick, Maine prior to his departure for Siam in 1833. Johnson enrolled in medical classes at the request of the American Board,

⁸ Dan B. Bradley's Journal, Jan. 11, 1840.

which had been urged by Gutzlaff and Abeel to send doctors to Siam. Strangely enough, Johnson seems never to have put his medical education into practice in Siam, for there is no record of his having done more than to dispense medicines at the time of his arrival; nor did he assist Bradley in the latter's clinic which was established soon after the latter's arrival in the summer of 1835.

Somewhat the same abbreviation of history is true in the case of printing. The first printing in the Siamese language was accomplished at the Baptist Press in Serampore, India, in behalf of a colony of captive Siamese in Burma. The type used in this press was then taken to Singapore where books in Siamese were printed by Robert Burn and C. H. Thompson. Bradley transported the press and type with him to Bangkok, and Charles Robinson was given charge of printing while Bradley conducted the clinic. For some reason — probably superior mechanical facility combined with an aggressive personality — Bradley slowly assumed management of the printing shop and established his reputation as the innovator, while Robinson and others were forgotten.

It was customary for missionaries to keep diaries beginning with the date of their commitment to a Christian vocation. Pages of these journals were mailed back to the mission boards, and excerpts were published in the religious press. Accordingly, most diaries were written with an eye to publication, and little was stated in them which could not be transcribed into print. Some missionaries kept private journals as well, and copies of these are still to be found occasionally in libraries, but more often in the attics of their descendants. These personal diaries reveal much that has long since been forgotten about the missionaries, and pieced together with letters and official records deposited in the U.S. National Archives, libraries, and mission headquarters, they provide living portraits of individuals of real flesh and blood.

Probably the most valuable foreign journal of nineteenth century Siam is Dan Bradley's. He was a renaissance man with a Puritan conscience. The diary commences with his decision at the age of twenty eight to complete a medical education begun eight years earlier, and to offer himself to the cause of foreign missions. It describes two years of training and practice in New York City, the search for a wife to accompany him to Southeast Asia, the voyage to Singapore and Bangkok, and his career of thirty-eight years in Siam.

A friend of kings, princes, and noblemen, Bradley records court gossip about domestic and international affairs of the Kingdom, describes the local practices of medicine, agriculture, religion, and politics, and chronicles the decades in which he played an active public role. Unlike many of his contemporaries who did not adjust as easily as he did to the changing circumstances of the foreign community, Bradley maintained some influence until his death at the age of nearly sixty-nine.

Important as are Bradley's copious journals for their record of public events in nineteenth century Siam, they serve another purpose as well. They reveal a complex personality who was constantly at odds with his fellow westerners, frequently unhappy with himself, and often despairing of the role he felt compelled to play. In reading this journal we become acquainted with a man who was sometimes brilliant, usually neurotic, but able despite his eccentricity to accomplish more of positive value than perhaps any of his contemporaries. We learn through his record that others who were stereotyped as uninteresting do-gooders were people often overwhelmed by passions inflamed by the lush climate of the tropics. Through his eyes we see not merely the Bangkok of the official histories, but a young city wherein groups and individuals were seeking to accommodate themselves to the dynamic circumstances of social change. Because Bradley's diary resembles a Confession rather than a Quarterly Report we get considerable understanding of a group of people who in many ways resemble overseas Americans of the present time.

II

Bradley's life-long companion was Guilt. In his New York Bowery garret where he studied medicine, he wrote, "A tempestuous night indeed has this afternoon been to my soul. The lusts of the flesh ... have rushed in upon me and lifted up as it were waves of black pollution. Such was the wild fury of the tornado that all my hopes of salvation were well nigh extinguished... The cause of missions to which I have dedicated myself was all shrouded in gloom. Every word of tenderness and compassion for the souls of the heathen seemed either to have been broken by the storm or buried in the flood mood of mire and sin."⁹ This young man in his late twenties

⁹ Dan B. Bradley's Journal, Dec. 22, 1832.

had only recently been appointed a missionary-physician to Southeast Asia. Ten days previously he had written a letter to his Cousin Jane, a girl much younger than he, undoubtedly asking her to accompany him as his spouse. He was soon to receive his M.D. degree from the University of the State of New York. But now he was overcome with the remorse of an adolescent because he could not suppress the passions of his vile humanity.

For all his life, it seems, Dan Bradley experienced the conflicting emotions of guilt and self-pity for his mother's death in child-birth. In a journal extending over a period of forty years he refers to his stepmother only once or twice, and with monotonous recurrence on his birth date recalls the misfortune of his having been a "motherless child" — this despite the fact that his father had remarried within seven months of his first wife's death. Whatever his father's expectations for Dan, they were not fulfilled when the son married "beneath his class"; for clearly Phineas Royce was not the squire in Clinton that Judge Bradley was in Marcellus. "I am as it were an exile from my father's house," wrote Dan at the time.¹⁰ There must have been something of his ambivalent love-dread of his father in Dan's attitude toward God, whom he was ever fearful of offending and from whom he constantly besought forgiveness. The failure of Protestant missions to convert more than a handful of Siamese to Christianity during Bradley's entire career in Bangkok made more acute his conviction that he had failed God in this, the most important aspect of his vocation. Only toward the end of his life does he appear to have found spiritual peace when he discovered that "it is all in vain and wicked to look for peace of conscience and full assurance from emotions, or purposes or experiences or anything else within myself... I have almost always been seeking to find rest within myself."¹¹ Rest he could not find, and little rest he granted others accordingly.

Judging by the autobiographical sketch which accompanied his application to the American Board, Bradley must have been hypersensitive even as a child. His ability to adjust normally to his environment became a serious problem during adolescence. His first crisis began with a fit of stammering in school. He so magnified this defect that he dared not speak in public for fear of causing

¹⁰ Dan B. Bradley's Journal, May 19, 1833.

¹¹ Dan B. Bradley's Journal, Dec. 18, 1869.

ridicule. This led him to cut his formal education and to abandon hopes for a college education. Apparently he was never free from the fear of stammering, for he recorded in his diary in 1849 that during a fund-raising speech in America he was seized by "one of my fits of nervous stammering" that lasted half a minute.¹²

While still an adolescent, young Dan suffered for a week or so from deafness which he feared would isolate him further from his fellow men. More pious than most, he sought desperately to experience the actual presence of God within his heart, believing that otherwise his soul would suffer eternal punishment in hell. On one occasion when working in his father's fields he blurted out a profanity, and this filled him with consternation lest he had committed the unpardonable sin.

While dreading the ridicule of men, he needed desperately to receive their praise and recognition. And so, after he finally felt adequate to make at least a tentative witness to God's presence in his heart, he joined the temperance movement in his county and soon became an Agent for the Temperance Society. This gave him confidence to speak in public without stammering. Twice he began a course of private medical study, then spent a winter term of classes in Boston. Finally he determined to complete his education in New York City, and during those months decided — against the advice of his father — to volunteer his services to the American Board as a foreign missionary. The choice of medicine was based on his desire for a vocation of service. The ministry was closed to him because he was too old to enroll in college by the time he had resolved his emotional problems. He studied theology while attending medical school, however, and three years after his arrival in Bangkok was ordained by his Congregational colleagues to the Christian ministry. From the very beginning of his work as a physician, Bradley believed that health of the soul took priority over that of the body, and even in his year's residency in New York he combined bedside evangelism with medical care. This unfortunate combination of prescriptions contributed to his enforced resignation as resident physician at the Lying-in-Asylum only three months after his appointment.

For most of his adult life Bradley managed to live with his neuroses. He was comforted in times of loneliness by his wife and

¹² Dan B. Bradley's Journal, Mar. 19, 1849.

children; and the praise denied him by his colleagues was showered on him by many Siamese. Certain periods of crisis in his life seem to have set him off once more on curious excursions into fantasy, however. It was during the extensive period of his first wife's terminal illness that he became embroiled in a theological battle with his more orthodox colleagues. So tenacious was he in his arguments that the dispute could only be settled by termination of the entire Congregational mission. After Emilie Bradley's death he tried to carry on his regular duties and manage his household. For the year that he tried it, he referred increasingly to himself in his diary as a bride of Christ. Many years thereafter, when his second wife, Sarah, and then his youngest daughter, Irene, were seriously ill with dysentery he spent an inordinate amount of time in the examination and description of their stools. If this were all we knew of Dr. Bradley we'd be inclined to write him off as a slightly unbalanced individual.

Unbalanced in many ways he must have been. We know of his strangeness because he committed his inner thoughts to the written word. Not only did he keep his journal, but he often poured over earlier years in retrospect. One almost wonders if he did not hope some day to see it published, so seriously did he peruse it! But this was not simply a diary of the inner life. He transcribed events and conversations with colleagues indicating that they, too, were beset with problems magnified by the environment.

Bradley could not have been alone in shouldering a heavy sense of guilt (perhaps the greatest of the white man's burdens). Emilie frequently berated herself for her sense of humor. One night she wrote, "I have yielded much, quite too much to my easily besetting sin, levity, today. Tonight while attempting to sing I made a remark which unexpectedly (caused) others to sin with myself. I had just prayed in my heart that the Lord would humble me and he left me to myself and I deeply wounded his cause and the hearts of my Christian friends. Like Peter I went out and wept bitterly, like him may I find pardon and justification through the blood of him against whom I have so grievously sinned. But can I forgive myself? I cannot even meet the eye of my Christian friends. O that I might have grace given me to forsake this sin that meets me at every turn."¹³ And Lucia Hemenway wrote woefully of herself:

¹³ Emilie Royce Bradley's Journal, Dec. 18, 1834.

"O my wicked heart! I almost sink under it so deceitfully wicked it is, will the Lord grant pardon and help to forsake every sin."¹⁴ Others manifested symptoms of anxiety that suggest a veiled sense of guilt. Dr. Samuel House was overcome by violent fits of temper against colleagues who learned that he had shrewdly bilked the Widow Caswell of a portion of a gift of money House conveyed to her from King Mongkut. And J. H. Chandler, a most pious layman, displayed excessive moralism against a Brooklyn creditor when the latter pressed charges for unpaid bills.

For most members of the American community one can only speculate about the part guilt played in their sometimes aberrant behavior. Such is not the case with Bradley, who committed to his diary a variety of inward doubts which others must also have experienced. Through his recorded moods and fantasies we learn that behind the acknowledged pride, arrogance, and conceit of the unswerving crusader there lay a timid man, very much uncertain of his capacity to fulfill the tasks he felt constrained to undertake, deeply troubled by what others might be thinking of him, often wounded by harsh but honest judgments made against him, contrite because his words and actions had brought pain to others. He believed that he had a course to follow no matter what the cost, and realized that the biggest loser might be Dan Bradley himself; but he was convinced that God required him to pursue his goal in this single-minded way.

Probably the most perplexing burden — and one from which the missionaries seldom found relief — was the yoke of a religion which demanded humorless obedience and offered little payment in return. "The Lord has been very kind in helping us into the field," wrote Mrs. Hemenway after an anxious voyage of months across the seas from Boston, "and we feel that he will take some of us hereafter if we trust him and obey his commandments."¹⁵ She had forsaken family and friends in response to an inward call to serve an unknown people thousands of miles from home. She knew that her chances of eventual return to Vermont were slight at best. The voyage had been rough and the quarters cramped. In addition to the ordinary discomforts of such a trip, the passengers had been entrusted with the care of an epileptic son of the Treasurer

¹⁴ Lucia Hemenway's Journal, Feb. 1840

¹⁵ Lucia Hemenway's Journal, Feb. 26, 1840.

of the American Board. His parents hoped that such a voyage might contribute to his health, but he was frequently overcome by violent fits. And now Lucia fervently thanked God for delivering them safely to do His work, and hoped as earnestly that they might all find acceptance by this stern, demanding ruler of their destinies.

One other reward there was — and when it was withheld the missionaries despaired. Somehow, in ways appearing strange to us, they believed they could collectively discern the presence of the Holy Spirit at their prayer meetings. Such occasions filled them with confidence and joy. When they found that the Spirit had been absent, on the other hand, they worried mightily. One day on board the *Cashmere* Bradley noted in his diary, "Find myself sadly shorn of my spiritual strength by having grieved the Holy Spirit last evening. The Lord has been far off from my soul. O why did I wound the sweet messenger of rest?"¹⁶ A month later he recorded that "There was reason to fear the Blessed Spirit was grieved by our levity yesterday. God's children seem to have become fearful of this and I trust they have humbled themselves and sought with much importunity pardon. Brother Dean had the exercises this evening. The Spirit of the Lord was present."¹⁷

This humorless inability to take life simply as it came, accompanied by the need to seek continually God's forgiveness for spontaneous outbursts of passionate joy or rage, led to a severity of style which amused the Siamese but often infuriated other westerners. In his introduction to the *Historical Sketch of Protestant Missions in Siam* — 1828-1928, Prince Damrong recalls his first meeting with an American missionary, "a tall spare man with a beard similar to the traditional Uncle Sam himself. He wore a grey helmet with a chimney-looking means of ventilation, a long black alpaca coat reaching almost to his knees, a pair of duck trousers, with an umbrella in one hand and a number of books in the other." In reply to the young prince's question, "Why did he always wear the same clothes?" the missionary responded, "I have used this hat more than ten years. This coat also has been in use for nearly ten years, and this umbrella is older than the two."¹⁸

¹⁶ Dan B. Bradley's Journal, Aug. 30, 1834.

¹⁷ Dan B. Bradley's Journal, Sept. 30, 1834.

¹⁸ George B. McFarland, ed., *Historical Sketch of Protestant Missions in Siam* — 1828-1928, Bangkok, 1928, pp. 3-4.

Members of the foreign community considered missionaries to be prigs and hypocrites. The officers of the British brig *Sparta* addressed a derisive poem to J. T. Jones as "President of the Squab" after the missionaries had declined an invitation to a New Year's party. Bradley's letter of apology intended as a gracious but forthright response to a generous invitation, sounds sanctimonious and bigoted. Bradley stated that "we have long had the impression that dinner parties conducted after the manner of Europeans in the East are not calculated to benefit the host, the guest or the community; but that they are too often powerfully efficient in fostering intemperance both in eating and drinking and a host of consecutive evils."¹⁹

The frugality and drabness of the missionaries' dress seem nonetheless to have been at variance with their stylé of life in general. While these Yankees never threw away anything of even doubtful value, they accumulated much in the way of comfortable belongings. J. H. Chandler's sixteen-room house was valued at \$13,000 when put up for auction to pay for business debts. Mr. S. C. George constructed a home so far beyond the budgetary limitations of the Presbyterian mission that after George's dismissal on the advice of his arch-rival and antagonist, Dr. House, the building was taken over by Mrs. House as a school for girls. D. B. Bradley landscaped his compound, which was rented from the Foreign Minister at a very reasonable rate — with croquet and tennis courts, and he furnished his home with melodeon, piano, and sewing machine. Life in Bangkok, while difficult at the beginning, later became as it is today a kind of paradise for the *farang*.

Another peculiar contradiction is the difference between love manifested as an abstract principle and as an unself-conscious way of life. Many European and American men in Bangkok married Siamese women and raised children by them. One of the best examples is that of the English Consul-General, Thomas Knox. The missionaries, on the other hand, for all the respect and compassion they showered on the Siamese and Chinese, did not marry them — not even those who joined the church. Nor did even missionary children born in Siam marry amongst the Siamese, as might have been expected. The "white racism" characteristic of modern Ame-

¹⁹ Dan B. Bradley's Journal, Jan. 4, 1836; also Emilie Bradley's Journal same date.

rica seems to have been present amongst the Protestant missionaries then, not only in Siam but in other fields of foreign service also.

The missionaries even frowned on marriages between "God's children" and fringe white members of their little closed-in church. Better that a twice-born Christian remain miserably single than marry outside the clan. The marriage of the widowed Mrs. Slafter to Capt. Brown was celebrated at Hunter's British Factory rather than at the church because of missionary approbation. "The astounding fact came out on Wednesday," wrote Bradley in his journal in 1841, "that our Sister Slafter was going to marry Capt. Brown the ungodly man. This together with the cases of alarming sickness we have among us and the speedy embarkation of Sister French has constituted a flood of trial for proving our faith."²⁰ Although an "ungodly man," Brown did not sever relations with the missionaries until two years later. "Capt. Brown has broken with the missionaries," Bradley wrote, "because he hears that when the natives enquire whether himself and Mr. Hunter are good Christians or not, that the missionaries answer in the negative. He has been exceedingly angry, taken the name of God in vain and cursed the missionaries. How must his wife feel. She was once the wife of a missionary and she thought she could mould her husband's views and feelings on religious subjects as well as on others."²¹ The missionaries took a patronizing view toward those they considered less pious than themselves. This included not only nationals, but also Roman Catholics (whom they did not consider Christians), foreigners other than Anglo-Saxons, and of course Americans whose habits included the use of alcohol.

III

These complicated, opinionated, strong-willed people, for all their obvious weaknesses of character — for their often having, as it were, *too much* character — lived interesting and exciting lives which equipped them poorly for existence in America whenever they returned to their homeland. Many of them remained briefly in the States, only to return once more to Bangkok. In part this must have been due to the phenomenal changes which made America less and less familiar to them. But more importantly, perhaps, these Americans found personal fulfillment in a place which permitted them to

²⁰ Dan B. Bradley's Journal, Nov. 4, 1843.

²¹ Dan B. Bradley's Journal, Jan. 3, 1846.

stand out, no matter how eccentrically, as leaders to whom many looked for counsel. They had unwittingly found their way into a culture which highly valued interpersonal relationships and gave high status to the foreigner. Their longing for personal recognition and prestige, so apparent in the journals which they kept, was nourished by the Siamese as it could not have been at home. Fulfillment of the need outweighed the disadvantages of separation from family ties, exposure to physical distress and danger, and gradual alienation from their own culture. Despite their unwillingness to accept the cultural values of Siam, theirs was a style of life which was contributory rather than parasitical. Nearly all of them identified themselves with the true interests of their second home.

It took physical courage for these young people to make the voyage to Siam. In the early years little was known about this country, which the mission boards expected to serve as a point of entry into China. Until the middle of the century no steamship had assayed the long and dangerous journey around the Cape to the Indian Ocean. The journey by sail from Boston or New York could take as long as six months, much of it spent in the sun-drenched doldrums of the South Atlantic. During Bradley's first voyage to Singapore, the rations of the crew ran low and the sailors came down with scurvy. At such times the superstitious crew blamed their bad fortune on a missionary "Jonah" in their midst. Bradley characteristically believed that he was the one on whom they fixed their blame on this occasion.

Most young missionaries were in their early twenties and had barely finished their education when they left the security of village life to face an unknown future. The mission boards strongly urged each man to find himself a wife. This he did, either by inducing a childhood sweetheart to share the dangers with him, or by being directed by ministers and knowledgeable members of the board to young ladies with a missionary inclination. When Dan Bradley had exhausted the possibility of one and possibly another cousin, he was given the name of Miss Emilie Royce by two of his former pastors. A long journey by steamboat, carriage, barge, and stagecoach took him from New York to Clinton, where he requested Miss Royce's permission "to take tea with her at 6 o'clock and spend a part of the evening in her society. The evening having gone well, Emilie's brother contributed to misinform the visitor of the departure of the

stage to Utica; and so Bradley was invited to stay over the Royces. Two weeks later, following a solemn day of prayer and fasting, the beautiful Emilie received a letter "which could not but excite much feeling. The question now comes will you go to a heathen land soon? But not as before will you leave every individual that you have ever called friend? But will you go with one who is interesting and whom you can confide in."²² Her decision was confirmed by prayer, and a year thereafter they married and set off on the *Cashmere* as members of a missionary company that included two Burmese converts returning from a fund-raising and recruiting tour of the United States.

The time from Boston to Singapore was six months. Another half year was spent at Singapore before the winds and currents were favorable for the voyage to Bangkok. The staterooms of the *Cashmere* measured slightly under six feet square. This is how Bradley describes the way he fitted up their quarters: "Our berth occupies the back of the room next to the side of the ship. It stretches across the room — is 3 1/2 feet above the floor — 3 1/2 feet wide. In other words it is a wide shelf with a board at the edge for a border 8 inches in width. Into this we have crowded 2 single mattresses. Under this we have most economically arranged one large chest — two trunks — a box of oranges and lemons — two large bags of clothing — a bag of dried apples — a medicine chest — several baskets of small articles of dress — a box of figs and sundry other vessels. The remaining part of the room is furnished with a wash stand in the corner at the left of the door by which we enter the room. Under this we have a trunk. In the corner at the right of the door we have another trunk. And lastly an arm chair having a writing stand on one arm stands a little under the berth facing our door. Our wash stand consists of a shelf fitted in the corner. Under this we have another shelf on which we set our slop bowl pitcher, etc. On the left side of our room above the wash stand and berth we have two shelves extending the whole width of the room. These contain some 30 or 40 volumes for use during the voyage, portable writing desk, bottles of Lemon Syrup, jars of Tartaric Acid and Soda, Loaf Sugar, etc. We have also a few little pigeon holes above the door which contain many little things — and

²² Emilie Royce Bradley's Journal, May 9, 1833.

finally we have the walls of our little parlour decorated with hats, bonnets, dresses of various kinds, brooms and brushes."²³

Most of the passengers spent long nights and days of seasickness in these tiny cubicles. Both Mrs. Dean and Mrs. Bradley were pregnant during most of the voyage. Coupled with the ordinary distress of crowded quarters, heat, and the rolling of the ship were the dangers of mutiny and piracy. Near the end of the voyage, when rations were low and scurvy was breaking out among the crew. Capt. Hallett was barely able to control his ship after a violent battle between himself and a steersman. The Captain's victory over his mutineers may have been due to the fact that eight of the thirteen crew members were too ill even to work the ship. Thereafter the male passengers had to fall to on deck, while the women worked in the galley.

A suspicion of pirates in West Indian waters proved to be unfounded, but Dean and Jones were attacked and almost killed by pirates in Singapore. Their small boat was boarded, Jones was thrown overboard, and Dean was barely able to stave off the pirates by using his umbrella as a weapon. The missionaries were saved only after bargaining with a nearby boatload of Chinese who rowed them back to shore for a price of \$20.00. Dean arrived back home with the barbs of two fish-pears embedded in his skin, while Jones was painfully blistered from the sun.

Not only physical courage, but also moral stamina was required of these early emissaries to Southeast Asia. They had to learn to adapt their puritan ethic to a culture operating under its own quite different set of values. The western preoccupation with punctuality did not fit well with the more casual Siamese sense of pace, and impatience was one of the greatest problems which the Americans had to learn to overcome. Not always was this possible. The band of recruits which arrived in Singapore after six gruelling months at sea must have experienced more than a few doubts about their own ability to preserve their sanity when they were given temporary charge of a spinster lady who had gone completely mad. A few years later in Bangkok a machinist sent out to help the Siamese construct their first steamship went berserk within a week of his arrival.

²³ Dan B. Bradley's Journal, July 31, 1834.

Most often it was not madness which attacked them, but a kind of neurosis which made them hyper-sensitive toward each other in their common work. Ten years after a disagreement between the Robinsons and Bradleys, Mrs. Robinson was still unable to forget the incident or to forgive the Bradleys for their insensitivity. This type of emotional tension must have contributed to the theological battle amongst the Congregationalists that induced a majority of the mission to recommend the dismissal of Caswell and Bradley — a proposal which reached headquarters in Boston when funds were low and confidence in the results of the Siamese venture lower still. The Board voted to disband the mission, send most of its workers to China and the Sandwich Islands, and request the resignation of Caswell and Bradley.

Religious scruples protected the missionaries from the temptations of alcohol, which proved to be the undoing of many another in Siam. Bradley's journal records the cases of many eminent victims of delirium tremens amongst the colony of business, professional, and diplomatic men in Bangkok.

Only years of experience, punctuated by untimely deaths, taught the foreign community how to maintain health in a tropical climate. In reminiscing about the high rate of infant mortality in the earliest years, Dr. Bradley attributed this primarily to bad food and too liberal a resort to drugs. Every symptom had a separate treatment. Bradley surmised that the drugs may often have poisoned rather than cured the patient. All were prey to tropical diseases. Sometimes a husband or wife would be dead within the first few months of arrival. Emilie Bradley, on the other hand, suffered for eight years from tuberculosis, and during most of that time was also ill of prolapsus of the uterus, neuralgia, and diarrhea.

Those who survived the first disappointing years of their life abroad learned for the most part to adjust their vision to the practicalities of the situation. They learned that much of their impatience was due to their own ignorant blunders rather than to deceptions practiced on them by malicious heathen. "I recall with pain the blunders I have formerly made," wrote Mrs. Bradley to a brother in America. "I used to be much vexed with a boy who often laughed in the midst of what I meant for a very serious reproof. I laugh now when I think of what I said to him. It is provoking, when ordering your dinner, to see the cook laughing heartily, while

you need to be composed to think first of anything you can eat, and secondly of words enough to communicate the result of your cogitation to him. But he must be a grave man to keep his countenance as you tell him to buy, or boil 'the doctor.' Yet in Siamese the difference between a doctor and an article which might be bought and boiled for dinner, is very slight."²⁴

The missionaries found also that although their dreams of the conversion of Siam to Christianity were impossible, their personal contribution to the well-being of a people they had come to respect was significant. Believing that the most fruitful means of evangelism would be the printed word, the missionaries established printing in Siam and initiated the production of a typescript in the Siamese language. They published not only their translations of the Bible, but also the royal edict prohibiting the sale of opium in 1839, as well as books on vaccination, midwifery, and astronomy. They spent hours working as machinists with the two princes who were to become the Kings of the Fourth Reign, and as physicians with the Siamese doctors of the Royal Court. It was a missionary who performed the first surgical operation in the country, introduced small-pox vaccination, and helped enlightened noblemen rid the upper classes of the practice of "lying-by-the-fire" in maternity cases. The primary schools, established by the missionaries for evangelistic purposes, became models in part for the educational system developed by Prince Damrong during the reign of King Chulalongkorn.

Missionaries often took the side of the Siamese in international disputes which sometimes seemed to threaten the sovereignty of the country. In his weekly *Bangkok Recorder*, Bradley published vivid accounts of alleged French designs upon the territory of Siam — stories which he received from Anna Leonowens and other foreign advisors working in the Grand Palace. King Mongkut refused to allow the British witnesses to testify in behalf of Bradley in the libel suit prosecuted by the French Consul-General, but American and British dispatches indicated that the facts were as Bradley stated them, and that Bradley had served the interests of the King in publicizing them. Later the King privately sent money to his American friend to pay the costs of the suit. American missionaries even made known to Washington the activities of their own consuls that seemed

²⁴ Nancy Royce, ed., *A Sketch of the Life and Character of Mrs. Emilie Royce Bradley*, New York, n.d., p. 154.

contrary to the best interest of Siam, as in the case of Consul Hood, who sold immunity cards to Chinese residents thereby enabling them to evade taxes under his protection.

Life in the foreign community in Bangkok was often stormy. Thrown together by a commonality of language, culture, and nationality, were a small company of saints and scoundrels — real and imagined — very much as in the villages of the American frontier. The rulers of Siam were right in according Britain and France much greater respect than they did America in the nineteenth century. The United States showed neither the sophistication in the conduct of its foreign relations in Asia, nor maturity in those who represented it officially and otherwise, to deserve the consideration of a major power. These vigorous, angular people did mirror well the nation that had given birth to them, however, both in their virtues and their faults. They believed unashamedly that it was their destiny as Americans to take up the white man's burden in behalf of their less fortunate brothers in Southeast Asia, whatever the cost to themselves or those they came to serve.

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