

Satirizing Women: The Ilustrados and Women in Waray Poetry

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It would not be surprising if I argue that there is only the 'silence' of women in Waray Literature. Victor Sugbo's anthology *Tinipigan* (1995), for instance, does not record a woman's poem until the 1980s. The explanation that women have no voice simply because they have never written a single poem or that they have always been pushed away from the public sphere, which was basically dominated by men, can be reaffirmed. Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar, for instance, would complain that pioneering women poets were faced by an absence of a women's literary tradition. Tillie Olsen, referring to the absence of women's voice in literature, would say that these 'silences' are 'unnatural.'

There would be no point in writing this paper if the problem were just the silencing of women and men's attempt to speak for the former. Feminist critics have already done such criticism. What is more problematic and more relevant for critics, not necessarily feminists, is to answer why in the early period of Waray literature, women were the target of Leyte's Ilustrado writers' satirical poetry. They were not only mute; they were the dartboard of the Ilustrado writers. The scene during the 1920s to the 1950s was like a circus where the male Ilustrado writers spun their knives toward a woman target in front of an applauding audience. Women who started wearing American-inspired clothing; who began using American cosmetics; and those who followed the American way of courtship became the primary, if not the only target, of the literati.

The critic Jean Franco tries to give an explanation of this contradiction between the literati and women in her essay 'Beyond Ethnocen-

trism' (1988). Using the Latin American literary scene as basis, Franco says that the 'Intelligentsia', which is a 'systematically constituted group bound by a common Habitus, that is, common perceptions, dispositions, practices,' tries to 'subordinate manual labor and women.' They try to relegate the 'belief systems of the indigenous, blacks, and women' as 'archaic,' thus closing other options to the latter. This subordination pushes the woman to a 'region of refuge' like 'traditions, moral rights and spiritual bonds.' The intelligentsia, in contrast, is 'secular' and 'empowered by writing,' qualities that make them superior to the majority of the population (505-506). Franco argues, therefore, that the intelligentsia is a conduit of the metropolitan discourse, which allows them access to the new or modern. On the other hand, women, being imprisoned in the private sphere, have only the old and the traditional.

Franco's explanation of the dominant position of the intelligentsia in a third world setting is illuminating, yet it can not be applied directly to the condition of the Waray Ilustrados of the early 20th century. For the situation during the Ilustrado's time is the direct opposite of the Latin American women. In Leyte, it was the women who accepted the new commodities and lifestyles, while the literati remained allied with the old in spite of their education.

Thus, this paper will argue that the new American colonial machine shook the old clerico-feudal-colonial order and turned it into a semi-feudal, colonial order (Sison 18-19) which partially freed the women from the bondage of the church and the family authorities. In this case, the women unchained themselves from the gripping morals of the old order and found themselves in the grip of a new form of domination—the control of the American commodity. In aligning with the new colonial order, the women positioned themselves in direct contradiction to the intelligentsia who were aligned with both the native and the old Hispanic order (unconsciously and ideologically). Since the Ilustrados could not attack the American colonial system directly because of their bureaucratic privileges, marginalized groups like women and the Chinese became the targets of their satire. This argument will be pursued through a materialist critique of art and gender, which entails the examination of the history of modes of production and their corresponding superstructures, as Jameson suggests. The approach will also take into account "the author's class position, ideological forms and their relations to literary forms, spirituality and philosophy, techniques of literary production, and aesthetic theory."

As Eagleton puts it, the text is the “unique conjuncture of all these elements” (16). At any rate, gender will also play a large role in this critique since what is directly constructed by the satires of the *Ilustrados* is the woman.

The Leyte *Ilustrados*

The satirical attack on women is a predominant character of the *Ilustrado* poetry of Leyte during the “*Ilustrado* Period in Waray Literature” which refers to the decades between 1900-1950. This periodization has not been used in Waray literary criticism, but it could refer to class membership and mode of production. The period was dominated by a group of writers known as the *Sanghiran san Binisaya* which included intellectuals and bureaucrats. During these decades, there was a rise in the publications of poetry and the production of plays by the *Ilustrados*. After 1950, the group would decline due to old age and death (Salazar 218). This periodization also strategically refers to a mode of production that Jose Maria Sison calls colonial and semi-feudal. This economic base, according to Sison, is the result of the entrance of American monopoly capital in the clerico-feudal order (18-19).

It is necessary to identify the names of the so-called ‘pioneers’ with their corresponding class background. Conventionally, the Waray canon gives credit to Iluminado Lucente, Eduardo Makabenta, Cashiano Trinchera, Norberto Romualdez Sr., Vicente de Veyra, Francisco Alvarado, and Agustin O’hora. Most of them come from the intelligentsia and the upper classes. Lucente was mayor of Tacloban; Norberto Romualdez, who was of Spanish descent became associate justice of the Supreme Court and member of the National Assembly; Alvarado worked as chief of the Minutes Division of the Philippine Senate; de Veyra was a dentist; Makabenta was appointed Juez de Paz (Justice of the Peace) and interpreter of the Court of First Instance in Tacloban. There is a lack of information about Trinchera and O’hora. Nevertheless, it is assumed that O’hora also belongs to the same social status since he studied at the University of San Carlos, while Trinchera was a distinguished member of the *Sanghiran san Binisaya* aiming to cultivate the Leyte-Samar language, *Sanghiran* did not use the term ‘Waray’ (which literally means “nothing”) due to its negative connotation (Luangco 218; Polo 12).

Given the class of the writers who dominated the years 1900-1950, it is only apt to call this period 'the Ilustrado Period'. For Renato Constantino, the word 'Ilustrado' refers to the "classes that arose as a result of the developing national economy" during the late 19th century. The Ilustrado came "from the families that had benefited from the economic development" and thus he was "able to take advantage of the educational opportunities" provided by the Spanish colonial government. Most of the Ilustrados were "sons of provincial elites" who "went to Manila to study," while the more affluent went to Spain (150).

One must be able to differentiate the Manila Ilustrado of the 19th century from the Leyteño Ilustrado of the 20th century. The former tried to reach an equal status with the colonial masters. He wanted to be at par with the Spaniard. This is evident in Rizal, Lopez Jaena, and Luna. The 19th century Ilustrado wanted to beat the Spaniard in his own game. Rizal spoke several languages and wrote the *Noli me Tangere*. These are feats unequalled by any insulare or peninsulare writer. As Lopez Jaena put it: "*el Filipino es capaz, capaz de llegarse hasta el genio... el genio es patrimonio de todos y que la capacidad y el talento no es exclusivo de ciertas casta*" (Colome 46-48). Lopez Jaena here predated Aimée Cesaire who would later utter that no race has the monopoly of beauty and talent.

In contrast, the Leyteño ilustrado did not aspire to become another Spaniard or American. He did not want to be assimilated by the colonial culture. He refused the dominant culture and turned to the 'regional/marginalized' culture as if it were the last bastion of freedom untouched by colonization. He tried to recover the dignity of his own culture. His culture, he thought, had been degraded and thus needed to be saved from dissolution. This vision is best captured by Vicente de Veyra who writes in his "Visayan Orthography" that the Leytenhon or Waray language must be 'purified.' He proposes that one must 'not use... any foreign words or expressions when there are still equivalent words or expressions which are available' in Waray (Luangco 31-37). In addition to this new consciousness, the Leyteño Ilustrado also became aware of his peripheral position in relation to the center. The opposition between the colonial language, for example, and the Waray language was even made more problematic by the emergence of Tagalog — the language of the center. Thus, the Tagalog-Waray opposition becomes obvious in the poetry of Leyte. According to Jaime Biron Polo, this contradiction between City and *Bukid* (countryside) is the determined result of the colonial policy of

selected development or modernization.

The differences between the 19th century *Ilustrado* and the *Leyteño Ilustrado* call to mind Franz Fanon's theoretical formulation on the evolution of a third world National Culture.

In his *Les Damnés de la Terre* (1961), Fanon formulates the three-stage evolution of a national culture. In the first phase, the "native intellectual" sees to it that "he has assimilated the culture of the occupying power." He is European in orientation. Thus, Rizal belongs to this "period of unqualified assimilation." In the second phase, the native intellectual turns "backwards towards his unknown roots." He realizes that "he is becoming estranged." Indeed, the *Leyte Ilustrado*, instead of propagating Spanish, seeks refuge in the arms of his native language. He wants to purify the language. He wants to retrieve the virgin signifier which was lost in the labyrinth of colonial domination (Fanon 265-271).

There is, therefore, a sense of continuity between Rizal and Lucente or Trinchera. The new consciousness of the *Leyteño* can never be isolated from that of the urbanized *ilustrado* like Rizal. Rizal wrote in Spanish, while Lucente wrote in Waray, but Waray writing was not a separate development. The crumbling of the old Spanish order as a result of the 1898 revolution which in turn was arrested by U.S imperialism put the *Leyte* intellectuals in an ambiguous position. The intellectual could no longer use the language of the old order; but neither could he embrace the new colonial order.

This dilemma was resolved in several ways. Some of the Intellectuals, Jaime de Veyra, E. de los Santos, and Rafael Palma, resisted American imperialism by aligning themselves with the old order. Thus, they would hold on to the Spanish language despite the pressure of the new language of power—English. Others would ally themselves with the oppressed/old order and at the same time embrace the new language. E. San Juan Jr., for instance, would position Nick Joaquin within "the Filipino *ilustrado* stratum suppressed by U.S corporate hegemony, forced to ally itself with the oppressed and the marginalized sectors (tribal elements, women, nativists) in trying to recover its already forfeited claim to National leadership." One may add, since San Juan does not mention Joaquin's usage of the English word, that this alliance is strategic, since Joaquin would not use the native Tagalog in his literary and journalistic production. A third group of

Leyteños like Lucente, Trinchera and Makabenta would resolve the ambiguous position of the intelligentsia by aligning themselves with the Waray language/ culture. They would avoid both Spanish and English (though as their poetry would later show, they were unconsciously and ideologically still aligned with the old order). They would defend the still unconquered vernacular. As Lucente would argue: “our language—our Visayan language—is part of the region’s long history: its development costs much time, like the languages of the world.... the Americans, the Spanish, the Chinese do not love the Visayan language. We, the Visayans, are the only ones who could care for its development” (translated by the author from Polo 12).

The third resolution may seem a retreat. It is indeed a retreat, but not a sign of capitulation. The problematic ideological position taken by the Leyteños during the consolidation of the new American colonial domination is in a sense productive. The disintegration of the revolutionary movement, formerly led by the ilustrados, in the face of the American war machine could not but lead to a semi- nativist position. However, this same position also enabled the Leyteños to produce literary texts that raised the Waray language to a literary language. It is therefore argued here that the emergence of Waray literature was not a mere product of brilliance and mysticism. There is nothing mystical about a people who when confronted by a second colonization, took refuge in the barracks of their own tongue. There is nothing mystical about a defeated people’s attempt to wage an anti-colonial resistance in the realm of language. Thus, the literary production of the early 20th century was the direct yet mediated result of the contradictions among dominant (ilustrados) and emergent classes (comprador bourgeoisie), among declining (clerico-feudal) and rising (semi-feudal/monopoly capitalism) modes of production. It was in that sense historical. This is argued by Karl Marx in his study of Greek art: “the charm of Greek art... is not in contradiction to the underdeveloped stage of society on which it grew... it is its result,... and is inextricably bound up, rather, with the fact that the unripe social conditions under which it arose, and could alone arise, can never return” (cited in Tucker 245).

This brings the argument to the idea of artistic form. Art form here is understood as nothing but the conjuncture of several political, economic and aesthetic contradictions. This notion of art is supportive of the formulation that art is not timeless and universal. Art is a historical product. In the *Grundrisse*, Karl Marx argues that art is “bound up with

certain forms of social development." He adds: "from another side, is Achilles possible with powder and lead? Or the Iliad with printing press, not to mention the printing machine? Do not the song and the saga and the muse necessarily come to an end with the printer's bar, hence do not the necessary conditions of epic poetry vanish?" (cited in Tucker 246).

In other words, an art form like the epic, the sonnet or the novel is a product of definite material conditions. The novel could never be produced in a communal society, while the epic could never survive the bourgeois period of printing. This is applicable to the 'satirical poetry' of the Leyteños which critics like Merlie Alunan now long for (162). But this satirical poetry was actually peculiar to the time of Lucente and Trinchera. The material conditions, like the dominance of the *Ilustrado* class and the frailocracy, the direct rule of imperial America and the collective feudal relations, which produced this art form have now altered, if not disappeared. Hence, to long for the revival of the satirical poetry is nothing but nostalgia.

Philippine Social Contradictions and the Rise of Satirical Poetry

Satirical poetry is the strongest tradition in the literature of Leyte and Samar. It is only rivaled by the popularity of lyrics, which is, at its best, romantic love poetry. Two poets, Makabenta and Trinchera whom Merlie Alunan considers the finest in Waray were basically satirical poets. Their stature as poets is primarily based on satirical works like '*Despidida kan Kirikay*' and '*Ina Wasay*' (anthologized in Sugbo's *Tinipigan*).

Given this assumption, it is appropriate therefore to study satire as a form. For the Marxist critic Walter Cohen, satire is a "form... (that) structurally excludes a positive moral perspective" (282). In his study of Renaissance theatre (which the critic Caudwell considers poetry), Cohen says that satire "transforms the formally didactic, allegorical, popular morality play." He then shows an opposition between what is 'satirical' and what is 'didactic.' In this opposition, he does not deny, though, that certain similarities between the two forms still exist. He argues that "although satiric comedy, like the morality play, may demonstrate the self-destructiveness of vice," the former, in contrast, "rarely shows the social efficacy of virtues." That means, the satirical does not explicitly say what ought to be or what is right. The satirist "has much to criticize"; yet, he would "offer no positive alternative to contemporary reality" (283).

Cohen consequently positions satire vis-à-vis romantic comedy. He suggests that “romantic comedy renders the successful adaptation of the nobility to social change,” while “satiric comedy dramatizes the class’s failure to adapt” (284). He also adds that satire does not emerge out of nowhere but from a specific historical era. It appears “at a time of violent transitions” in political and economic structures. He cites the Roman shift from republic to empire and the economic apex of the slave mode of production. The rise of satire in the English neo-classical era, according to Cohen, is also a response to the shift of the English mode of production. Thus, Jonson’s plays “bear witness to the decline of medieval agrarian civilization” to a “historical transition” which is “reminiscent of the conjuncture from which antique satire emerged” (294).

Based on Cohen’s Marxist analysis, one may now understand the emergence of satirical poetry in the 20th century and its decline towards the middle of the century. But before illustrating that point, satirical poetry in Philippine poetics must first be understood as a dialectical synthesis of two antithetical forms—religious didactic poetry and comic poetry. In Waray literature, both can be deduced from the riddles and proverbs. The comic and the didactic are often interwoven in both traditional forms. It means the proverbs can be both comic and didactic. Two examples of proverbs may show this point:

1. *‘an kariko diri dayuday’* (wealth does not last forever) (Vilches in Luangco 6).
2. *‘an mapili makaaragui hin tabigui’* (he who is choosy gets the worst) (Tamayo in Luangco 8).

The first proverb is an explicit didacticism rooted in Catholic and colonial morality. Catholic teachings in the Philippines have always focused on the vice of material prosperity for the Indios. They are an obvious conduit of the colonial structure that impoverishes the Indios, while providing extravagantly for the colonial elite. Meanwhile, the second proverb could still be considered colonial in the sense that it mocks the demand for choice. It supports the colonial system that leaves the majority with no choice at all. However, unlike the first proverb, the second knows how to mock.

The dialectical synthesis of the comic and the didactic in satire is, of course, determined by the violent transition from Spain to America dur-

ing the late 19th century to the time of consolidation of American colonial rule. In terms of class, the ruling Peninsulares declined with the rise of a consolidated Ilustrado class supported by the majority of the Indios. But the intrusion of the American imperial regime divided the Ilustrados into the Hispanics, the Nativists and the collaborators. The ambiguous position of the Nativists was most conducive to producing satire because they were neither pro-Hispanic nor pro-American. They were aligned with the local and the native through an ideology based on the feudal-Catholic rule. This enabled them to view satirically the cultural practices emanating from the new semi-feudal order structured by American monopoly capital. Thus, one can attribute the dominance of satire to the cultural leadership of the Ilustrados and its relative decline in the mid-century to the dissolution of that class.

On another level, the synthesis in the cultural sphere (didactic+comic=satire/ cultural dominance of Ilustrados) corresponds to the synthesis in the mode of production. Jose Maria Sison would explain the dialectical synthesis of contradictory modes of the era in a new exploitative economic base. Thus, the "local feudalism" that clashed with "American monopoly capitalism" produced the new "semi-feudal" mode of production (18-19). The new economic base, consequently, saw the decline of church power. The introduction of American pedagogy robbed the church of its traditional role and its monopoly of the educational apparatus. Today, the church is still educating the upper and middle classes as shown by the dominance of Ateneo de Manila University, De La Salle University and the University of Santo Tomas. Nevertheless, this change in the base resulted in the decline of didacticism, though not necessarily its disappearance. What this means is that didacticism, which is associated with Catholic morality, was forced to assume hidden forms. Pure and direct didacticism in poetry, which reminds the reader of sermons, has already been discredited. In contrast to didactic poetry was comic verse which emerged from a new colonial order that did not accept "critiques." The imprisonment of nationalists like Teodoro Kalaw and other anti-colonial critics curbed outright denunciation. The critique and moralizing in that era had to be cloaked in the joke of the comic verse. Thus, the emergence of "satire" from the struggle between didactic and comic poetry is no less a product of the conjuncture of contradictory social classes and economic bases.

Women, Consumerism and The Patriarch

After the argument that 'satire' emerged from a dialectical collision, specific satirical poems that ridiculed women shall now be examined. Andikula's "An Pagpalabi sa Isigkatawo, Kaaway san Pagpaubos," first published in 1920, is about a persona who faces the dissolution of feudal relations with the intrusion of commodities produced by American capital. The persona complains of the women's acceptance of the commodity. As he says, "when she goes to market to buy fish/ she will not leave without putting on powder/... being old, she should not dare to sport the bouffant hairdo...more appropriate to us...should be going to church, praying" (5). From the excerpt, one already gleans that the persona is aligned with the old clerico-feudal order that relegates women to the home and the church. The persona believes that old married women have no life apart from the domestic and religious. The persona faces the contradiction produced by the entrance of the commodity. In using the commodity, the woman is freed partially from her traditional space and enters the public space of the streets. This time she wants to gain public attention even at the expense of making herself the object of men's desire. She is no longer afraid to become the spectacle. Thus, the new mode of production frees the woman (just as the bourgeoisie frees the public from what Marx calls the idiocy of rural life) from the bondage of the private space of the home, which resembles the prison house. However, the feudal bondage of the home and the church is just replaced by a new mode of control which is the mechanism of the commodity. This contradiction baffles the persona. He witnesses the slow deconstruction of his authority to exclude women from the public eye. He complains, "how tiresome and difficult my state is." He is indeed helpless in the face of capital intrusion. His only comfort is to have a sense of irony: "if she does not change her habits/ I will go on with my plan/, the sap of the korot/ I will squeeze so rashes will fill her body"(7).

Thus, the patriarch who is losing power over his wife has only one refuge: physical violence. His plan seems like a joke. Yet, a closer look would reveal that the line is a reaffirmation of male physical superiority on which man's power is based. This violence is none other than the control of the woman's body.

This reaffirmation of male superior physical strength is also used by Leyte's most satirical poet, Cashiano Trinchera. His poem "Panhapyud/ Caress" (1931) plays with the female body as well. Like Andikula, the

persona resorts to violence in the poem: “the fates forbid, o god!/ should my grandmother wear/ her camisola without sleeves/ to the frogs I will feed her”(45). This ironic violence is based on the assumption that men own the female body. Fathers can control their daughters’ bodies; husbands can control their wives’ bodies. Thus, it is only logical to dictate what a woman should wear. When women start to contradict the rules, they become the target of men’s ridicule. The poet, therefore, says, “there are arms which have scars/ like those from small pox vaccine/ large as pesetas... there are old women who are almost toothless/ who dare to wear sleeveless dress/ *ay, pastilan, Mana*, take off those garments for you are already wrinkled” (45). The persona’s conservative view on clothing is revealed. Men should not tell women what to wear. Men have no right to insist on what is proper to women. Let the women decide what to wear. A woman owns her body.

In addition, the satire unfairly focuses on women. It does not analyze the roots of the new fashion. It does not question how the sleeveless style is produced outside the archipelago. It does not examine the cultural roots of the commodity and the process of its reproduction and replication in the Philippines. In other words, the satire fails to acknowledge the hegemony of American culture and its relation to American capital. The satire, in fact, is totally silent on American rule.

Instead of attacking consumerism and the politico-economic base that produced the commodities, the satirist attacks the consumers. The woman is even reduced to a mere consumer. In “Panhapyud” for instance, women are considered faddists. The satirist says, “whenever there’s a new fad in clothes/our girls want to be first/ the camisola to use little cloth/ they removed the sleeves” (43). These lines echo Andikula’s attack on the consumerism of the woman in “An Pagpalabi..”: “she would make three kilos enough/ each week after having the copra weighed; and when I arrive home, no food is ready/ for she had bought ornaments” (5).

Both poems, therefore, accuse women as slaves of the commodity, and are therefore responsible for their misery. However, the problem is not seen as the product of consumerism. This is like blaming women for rape. Women, themselves not the patriarchal society, are the cause of submissiveness. The satire is therefore blind to how society works in conditioning women’s minds.

This accusation may also be construed as an effect of the subordinate position of women in economic production. In the traditional

Filipino setting, men work or produce outside the home. Their production is directly integrated into the whole economic mode of production. On the other hand, women work in the home. Their work is not directly integrated into the economy. Washing clothes and dishes, ironing clothes and rearing children do not have an economic value. Mothers are not paid in pesos. This dilemma forces women to work outside the house, thus doubling their burden. As the Marxist critic Margaret Benston puts it: "women, particularly married women with children, who work outside the home simply do two jobs; their participation in the labor force is only allowed if they continue to fulfill their first responsibility in the home" (Tong 53). Thus, unless women's domestic work is considered a sort of labor and production, women will remain consumers. Marxist feminists propose to "demand" wages for housework (54). On the theoretical level, Christine Delphy proposes to include "a domestic mode of production" which is also "a mode of circulation and consumption of goods" (261).

Women and the New Social Relations

Jose Maria Sison argues that the arrival of American imperialism changed the Philippine mode of production. The interaction, according to Sison, between American monopoly capitalism and the feudal structure of the country, formerly dominated by the Spaniards and the friars, created the now popular formulation of a 'semi-feudal'-colonial economic base. This new base, which was consolidated in the first decade of the 20th century (almost paralleled by the rise of Waray satirical poetry), was dominated by the comprador bourgeoisie who are basically the mediator between the imperialist capital and the local consumers. They were the beneficiaries of the new mode of production.

The semi-feudal mode of production now allowed the proliferation of commodities and the formation of a market. The women became the consumers of the new products. Moreover, the semi-feudal structure of the colonial society also formed new economic relations of production. More complicated relations between the comprador bourgeoisie, landlords and peasants destroyed the rigid landlord-peasant relations. Thus, new relations in the superstructures like the family also emerged; bourgeois social relations started destroying the old strict feudal relations. This can be elucidated in Cashiano Trinchera's "Ginkasal hin Casamiento" (1924). In the poem, the satirist frowns on the new attitude of the youth on marriage: "The other day Florin was abducted/...she landed in a courtroom to sign/ an agreement presided by the judge...the father got mad. The mother wept

bitterly/...that man, that brute devil, they charged in court for rape/...when a swain courted long ago/...he would cut firewood and fetch water./nowadays even children go off, elope/...slipping under the house, jumping from the backporch/ even if you threaten them at spear point" (19).

The poem shows two relations where the woman is involved: the father-daughter and the suitor-woman relations. In the old days, the parents decided whom their children marry. The parents were omniscient. Thus, the old relations were basically feudal relations at the level of the family and partnership. In contrast, the new relations are bourgeois relations. As Marx puts it, the family has lost its sentimental veil! The young ones are free to love despite parental disagreement. The lover and the beloved are as free as the laborers in capitalism. Unlike the old lovers whose obligations parallel those of the serfs, the new lovers have no sense of loyalty and obligation. The poem, thus, signals the arrival of the bourgeois love affair.

Obviously, the satirist does not like this new turn. He aligns himself again with tradition. He cannot believe that his world is crumbling, and a new alienating world is rising. In reaction, he hits the emerging world with satire. He criticizes the lovers and their bourgeois love. But he strikes at the woman more forcefully. For it is the woman again who leaves the secure but dominating home of her parents.

The satirist is therefore nostalgic of that time when the woman was chained to the house and the man served the family to gain the woman's hand. But this ideal is now being washed away like a dream. Bourgeois love is freeing the woman from parental and marital bondage. She can now choose her partner. Yes, the woman in bourgeois love can choose, for partnership is now commodified. One's partner is nothing but a commodity.

Yet, men can not accept this. They are afraid of a woman's choice. Men had always been the ones who could choose. They courted the women they liked and ignored the women they found unattractive. However, bourgeois relations gave this opportunity to women, too. In the poem "Kolitog kan Mana Juana" (1939), the satirist Luro mocks the woman because she rejects a man who wants to dance with her. The satirist says: "What's irritating, what's maddening/ was that when another man sought this flirt/ one so good-looking, who just dragged her off/ to his arms, Mana quickly clung" (67).

The satirist, with his obviously patriarchal attitude, could not accept the rejection. Yet, the structure of the benefit dance (the setting of the poem) reveals the commodification of women. Women sit beside each other, waiting for the male who will bring her to the dance floor. It is men the who choose, and women simply wait. The structure of the 'dance' is simply disadvantageous to women. Women are lined up like sardines in the grocery store. The attractive commodity is always in demand!

Nevertheless, to the patriarch/satirist's disappointment, *Mana Juana* reverses this structure. She wants to dance only with people she likes. She wants a choice. In response, the satirist says: "how dare you, *Inday*, to be so choosy/, your lips could have been swollen/ had he not been a gentleman/ ...here's my advice to you who are so choosy/ let these men also wait/ the Americans, Frenchmen, and the English/ Germans, Jews, and the Japanese/ when they ask you in dance"(69). Just like the other satirists, this satirist threatens women with physical violence. Of course, the line about swollen lips should not be interpreted literally. However, Freud says jokes are things one could not say explicitly. They are secret wishes.

At any rate, a more dramatic emergence of a woman's option to choose within the new economic relations is shown by two other satiric poems. These deal with marriage and separation. They attack women for their fading loyalty to their husbands/partners. Unlike traditional Chinese poetry which deals with women being left by their husbands for other women or for other causes like war, these satires show the women affirming separation. For such reversal of traditional relations, the satirists who identify with the persona of the husband target the wives.

In "*Malingoon nga Gugma*"(1924) by *Cashiano Trinchera*, the satirist starts: "I thought *Iday Bernardina*/ your love could never be unwound, never/ your words were just lies after all/ the oath, the enticements... I almost lost my job/as I willed to be with you...but faithless one! You took flight!/ lightning strike you!...you vagabond, you wanderer/ you're worse than *Iyo*, the merchant...cheat! Traitor! Liar! Ingrate! My love for you, you regard/ with betrayal!..."(21-23).

From the above verses, one hears the patriarch wailing in anger. He curses the woman who leaves him. He can not accept that a woman has rejected him. At first glance, the speaker mocks himself for being so foolish, as to believe the woman's words. He followed her. He sacrificed for her.

Indeed he believed totally. Yet, a closer look at the poem reveals that he is actually blaming the woman. It is Bernardina who ruins everything. It is the woman's fault. Thus, she deserves all the names— "cheat, traitor, liar, ingrate!" The woman has no loyalty. In other words, the woman is not the feudal woman with the virtues of loyalty and homeliness. The poem, thus, announces the rise and formation of the bourgeois woman who demands choices and refuses to be tied to anybody. She goes with men she likes and she leaves them after satisfying herself. In other words, Bernardina is the bourgeois *femme fatale*—a woman produced by the emergence of a new semi-feudal, colonial (with capitalist) mode of production.

This feudal line is supported by another satirist Eduardo Makabenta, in "Despidida kan Kirikay" (1940). The persona, who represents the satirist, seems to be encouraging the woman to leave: "Go, go if you must/ I don't care where you go...as for the saltfish, leave it behind/ the leftover rice, and the ladle...get off, go and jump into the sea/ so the sea snail may swallow you...I'll never bid you stay/ just go where you want to go. Leave the fire, the water,/ I'll never go after you" (73).

Unlike Bernardina's husband, the persona (implied husband) here is not melancholic. He does not ask "are you still coming back?" (Trinchera). Instead, he tells the woman to go. He seems to be an angry patriarch casting away a prodigal son. Although it is not clear why he wants to let go of his wife, it is obvious that he wants her to go without property. He says, "as for the salt fish, leave it behind." The patriarch considers their conjugal property as his own (in law, property acquired in marriage is conjugal.) It is clear that the satirist is ideologically feudal. For in feudalism, it is the patriarch who owns the land. He is responsible for economic production, while the woman is relegated to human reproduction.

Women and *Ilustrados* in History

As shown in this paper, Waray women were not only deprived of the power to write about themselves; they were also made targets of patriarchal revenge through the use of satire. The emergence of satire in Waray literature, as it is argued, was due to the synthesis between comic and didactic elements in Waray poetry. The rise of satire as a dominant form was paralleled by the rise of the *Ilustrados* of Leyte during the early American colonial rule. It became the weapon of the new class faction composed of the intelligentsia and bureaucrats like Lucente and Makabenta. The

Ilustrados, who found themselves aligned with the natives, contributed much to the formation of 20th century Waray literature, specifically written literature. However, although they advanced the native language, the Ilustrados could not yet free themselves from the feudal relations that constructed them during the late Spanish era. The analysis of their poetry in this paper has shown that they ridiculed the new way of life produced by American capitalism. They could not accept the new semi-feudal, colonial relations that freed women from their old bondage. Thus, as the Ilustrados saw their authority crumbling along with the old economic base, they could not do anything but attack the women who were enjoying bourgeois life for the first time. In other words, it was not the men, the Ilustrados, who were first embourgeoisified; it was the women. The new colonial order, freed women from the old mode of control by replacing it with a new and more sophisticated form of control—the domination of American monopoly capitalism.

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(The above poems are anthologized in Vic Sugbo's *Tinipigan* (1995))

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