

**HEROISM OF FILIPINO WOMEN  
IN THE POPULAR MOVEMENTS  
(1896-1935)\***

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The popular movements gained a complex character when the 1896 Revolution erupted. A popular movement deals with the efforts of people who foster the welfare, well-being, and the rights of a nation—that which pertains to citizens with a deep cultural and historical bond; and the Motherland—that which pertains to the “total organic system of the citizens” or government that depends on a deep cultural and historical link which is based on the total “mag-anak—kamag-anakan/angkan/sambahayan—banua/bayan/ili.”

From 1896 to 1935, the popular movements evolved into various forms which were all part of the continuing spirit of collective struggle in the name of freedom and independence of the Motherland.<sup>2</sup> From the outbreak of the Philippine Revolution to the start of the Filipino-American War, the popular movements flourished. Despite Miguel Malvar's surrender in 1902, the formation of popular movements continued.

Among these were the Kilusang Bagong Katipunan headed by Luciano San Miguel; Republika ng Katagalugan under Macario Sakay's stewardship; Guardia de Honor in La Union,

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Ilocos Sur, Nueva Ecija, Pangasinan, Zambales, and Tarlac; Bagong Herusalem Movement of "Papa" Ruperto Rios of Tayabas; Santa Iglesia headed by Felipe Salvador or "Apo Ipe"; Pulahanes Movement in Samar; Dios-Dios in Samar and Leyte and the Babaylanes Movement under the leadership of Dionisio Magbuelas or "Papa Isio" who was then active in Panay and Negros. There were many popular movements launched by the Igorots in the Cordillera, and Lumads and Moslems of Mindanao. During the 1920's, Colorum movements became popular in Nueva Ecija, Rizal, Tarlac, La Union, Batangas, Surigao, Agusan, Cotabato, Samar and Leyte. Meanwhile, the Colorum Movement of Tayug, Pangasinan then reached its popularity; and so with the Tanggulan Movement of Manila, the Asedillo-Encallado army in the Southern Tagalog area; the Communist Party and the Socialist Party of the Philippines and the Sakdalista Movement in the 1930's. From the revolt of the Sakdalistas to the establishment of the Commonwealth in 1935, it can be maintained that in such particular period, our history was replete with popular movements.<sup>3</sup>

In various forms, the spirit of the women's movement was similarly kept alive in the popular movements. From the Philippine Revolution of 1896, the contribution of women to social struggle had been enormous and consistent. During the Filipino-American War, the heroism of women was so manifested in their continued commitment for the Motherland. And during the times when "accommodation and continued struggle" existed side by side, the women's movement became more complicated. Some women, such as the feminists and suffragists devoted themselves in attaining better conditions for the womenfolk in general within the American colonial system. On the other hand, there were also women

who aimed at and fought for complete freedom and independence of the Motherland through armed popular movements.<sup>4</sup>

Among the popular movements, it is good to review the nature and characteristics of the Philippine Revolution of 1896—the *Colorum* and the *Sakdal* Movements as particular examples—in order for us to see the great significance of the participation and involvement of exemplary women as heroes in the said movements. At this point, it must be clarified that heroism, though it can be “manifested in form”, cannot be classified “according to the degree of importance.” Thus, the chronological order of narratives of the participation and involvement of women as forms of heroism does not mean that one form is higher than the other. This aspect is important in the light of placing heroism within the confines of the “degree of significance” that oftentimes under-rates women's heroism and highlights the heroism of men commonly considered to be of higher level.<sup>5</sup>

Our review then does not only serve to trace, through some episodes, the long history of the national movement but also to expand in some episodes the long history of the women's movement.

### **Heroism of Women in the Revolution**

Different forms of women's heroism were manifested during the Philippine Revolution in 1896. Even during the preparatory stage of the Revolution, the women already played some significant roles. Of great importance were the roles of the members of the Women's Chapter of the *Katipunan* led by Josefa Rizal, president; Gregoria de Jesus, vice president; Angelica Lopez-Rizal, fiscal; and Marina Dizon, secretary. It was their duty as members of the *Anak ng Bayan* (ANB) to

recruit others, whether male or female. They also served as couriers of important decrees or circulars of the Katipunan to the ANB. If there was a secret meeting of the Katipunan, the women members acted as guards and tricksters to the Spanish authorities. They were also the safekeepers of weapons, records, and the Katipunan's coat of arms. At this point, it is high time to disregard the useless remark that the Women's Chapter of the Katipunan was allegedly established only to avoid the doubts, suspicions and inquiries of wives on the activities of their Katipunero husbands. If the membership of the Women's Chapter would be examined, one would notice that the women did not join as mere followers of their men. The sisters Josefa and Trinidad Rizal provided an example to support this.<sup>6</sup>

From the outbreak of the Revolution on August 24, 1896 to its continuation in the Filipino-American War, the women played more brilliant exploits in their participation.

Many joined the revolution in various ways. Tandang Sora or Melchora Aquino, for example, opened her house to the ANB. She provided food to a great number of Katipuneros during the "Cry of Balintawak" which signalled the start of the Revolution and the establishment of the revolutionary government. The same thing was done by Mrs. Paneng or Epifania Potente who, in a true sacrifice and love of freedom, offered her house to Supremo Andres Bonifacio. Her home became the headquarters of the KTT Council of the ANB, including a big rice warehouse which was opened and reserved for the use of the Katipuneros. It must be pointed out that the daughters of the Katipuneros became the aides and helpers of their mothers who fed and cared for the Katipuneros. There were also those who ministered to the wounded like Josephine Bracken and some of the young

women of Cavite. Mrs. Hilaria del Rosario organized the association of the Young Women of the Red Cross while Praxedes Fajardo headed its branch in Pampanga. Nazaria Lagos also became the chief director of the Revolutionary Army's Hospital in Iloilo. Also noteworthy was the involvement of writers like Rosa Sevilla-Alvero and Florentina Arellano who wrote and became a member of *La Independencia*. Equally significant was the gallantry of the women who used various *noms de guerre* and wrote "Hibik Namin" in *Heraldo Filipino*. There were also women spies such as Tia Patron or Patrocinia Gamboa of Iloilo. The women also initiated the counter-espionage which was said to be very important since it was an attempt to discover, to resist and to outsmart the strategy of the enemy which served as the measurement of defeat or victory in war.

There were also women who attended to the war-related needs of the ANB like the women of Ilocos under Eleuteria Florentino. Some women were also involved in gathering arms and ammunition. Espiridiona Bonifacio herself was able to accumulate arms by concealing them under her skirt to evade attention. Moreover, Dionisia Bacanto gathered gunpowder for the ANB of Capiz. There were also some *lechera* (milkmaids) who did not only transport milk to and from the Intramuros but also gunpowder for the ANB. In another incident, with the help of the cunning tactic of the Batangueño revolutionary leader, Aniceto Oruga who deceived an armed Spanish vessel, they routed all the cannons and rifles and killed most of the passengers except for two who survived.<sup>7</sup>

In daily heroism as in every actual encounter, there were also many patriotic women who chose to become real combatants. In the battles related to the simultaneous attack of Manila on August 29-30, 1896, many of them fought val-

iantly, notably Segunda Fuentes of Sampaloc, Manila and Gregoria de Jesus who belonged to the “kawal” and studied how to shoot and use different kinds of weapons. Agueda Esteban took part in some skirmishes at Cavite and in the battles at Dalahikan, an old woman named Goria or Gregoria Montoya also fought valiantly to death. Paula Malolos of Batangas also participated in many encounters. In the battles of Bulacan, the participation of the Enriquez women in armed conflicts could not be underestimated. In one of the greatest, if not the biggest encounter in Kakarong de Sile, many patriotic women sacrificed their lives for their Motherland.<sup>8</sup>

The women also displayed their heroism as leaders. In an attack at Tondo and Quiapo, a troop of revolutionaries composed of thirteen members called *tulisanes* or bandits, spear-headed by a woman who had bruises in both arms (proof of the participation in the Katipunan by virtue of blood compact) attacked the headquarters of the Spanish army. A number of them gained fame in leading the 1896 Revolution, namely Trinidad Tecson, heroine of the battles in Bulacan and Central Luzon; Silang Bagsik or Marcela Marcelo, heroine of the Cavite skirmishes; Henerala Agueda Kahabagan, heroine of the Laguna battles; Nay Isa or Teresa Magbanua, heroine of the battle in Panay and Susana Nacional, heroine of the clashes in Balangiga, Samar.<sup>9</sup>

The heroism exemplified by women in the revolution only proves that heroism cannot be gendered.

### **Heroism of Women in the Colorum<sup>10</sup>**

In Pangasinan, the popular movement intensified in the form of a local association headed by Pedro Colosa.<sup>11</sup> The association formed as Philippine National Association in 1928,<sup>12</sup> probably called the Sociedad ti Mannalon or Society

of Tenant Farmers at Sinarauay during its heyday in 1930,<sup>13</sup> was composed of approximately a thousand peasants, women included, from Pangasinan and Nueva Ecija. The women probably gravitated to the objectives of the association: to improve the status of living in the barrios, to uphold the rights of the tenant farmers and to emancipate the Motherland.<sup>14</sup> It cannot be denied that as peasants, the women suffered more; that aside from doing the household chores, they also worked in the fields.

As the association grew stronger, the women took part in the planning for the revolt in Tayug. They prepared the clothes and the arms which likewise symbolized what the amulets and rituals signified. These were to be employed during the uprising that was expected to bring about the widespread revolt to realize their objectives.<sup>15</sup>

On January 11, 1931, thirty to fifty men, including fourteen valiant women, began hostilities at Tayug, Pangasinan. The attack erupted at 1:00 in the morning, with thirty to forty people convening at San Nicolas, five to ten kilometers away from Tayug. Here, the revolutionaries burned down the residence of two municipal policemen. While the houses were on fire, the revolutionaries, equipped with bolos and shotguns, seized two buses of Pangasinan Transportation Company or Pantranco which they used to reach Tayug. On the way to Tayug, twenty to thirty more people joined the revolutionaries.<sup>16</sup>

In the town, the revolutionaries, fourteen women included, attacked the Constabulary headquarters. One of the women tricked the lone sentry which made the entry of the revolutionaries possible. The revolutionaries burned down the headquarters and seized the Constabulary weapons. Enemies were killed, including two officials of the Constabulary,<sup>17</sup> Lt.

Sulpicio Bachinni and Lt. Martin San Pedro. The women participated actively in the occupation which probably prompted Pedro Colosa to describe the event as "the night the Constabulary ran away chased by our women." After the revolutionaries seized the Constabulary headquarters, they went after the colonial authorities and attacked the town hall. The men were armed with knives, daggers, bolos, and wore amulets while the women carried small prayer books, stones, and medals. The *presidencia*, which stored the much-hated documents of agricultural lands, was burned down. And so was the Tayug Post Office. At the same time, the revolutionaries set a storehouse on fire and barged into it afterwards. They did the same to houses of the rich in the town proper. We could infer why the women participated in these attacks. They were the primary victims of the injustices committed by the colonial authorities. Because of this, Tayug fell into the hands of the revolutionaries. Then, the revolutionaries crossed the plaza and entered the convent. They ordered Father Eusebio Bermudez to hold a Mass and demanded that a breakfast be served. The priest and his assistants took heed of their words and the revolutionaries were thankful for these. Soon after, the representative of the revolutionaries suggested that the priest and his assistants leave the building. Then they waited for what would happen next.<sup>18</sup>

Soon, a Constabulary reinforcement arrived from Dagupan. Almost twelve hours of crossfire ensued until both sides seemed to have run out of ammunition. In the short respite, the convent door opened and out appeared the chief negotiator, the flag bearer of the revolutionaries and the daughter of their own Col. Arcadio Vidal. While the surprised Constabulary stood amazed, the barefoot woman



marched boldly, waving the flag at the plaza. But when the woman reached the monument of Dr. Jose Rizal, the silence was shattered by gunshots from the Constabulary. The heroic and brave woman fell. Then, the government soldiers destroyed the convent door and immediately went inside. The revolutionaries surrendered. At 7:00 p.m., the revolt finally ended.<sup>19</sup> Among the casualties of the encounter, six were revolutionaries and one of them was the symbolic bearer and the other was a woman, while twenty of the forty who surrendered were seriously wounded. Two women—students both—were also wounded. Some fifteen to twenty were likewise believed to have escaped. On the part of the government soldiers, five died and another five were wounded.<sup>20</sup>

Those who staged the revolt were called “colorum” by the Americans and pro-Americans. It was said that the revolutionaries were illiterates, ignoramuses, or fanatics.<sup>21</sup> The noble mission and the pure intentions of the revolutionaries who aimed for social reform based on social goals for the Sons of the People and independence for the Motherland were not recognized. The longing for the just sharing of land profits and the desire to end the abuses of the municipal police and the Constabulary were ignored. Other social rights were utterly neglected.<sup>22</sup>

Throughout the noble uprising, the role of women was immense—that of being caretakers of the costumes and arms, tricksters to the enemy, active participants in the armed struggle and as symbolic bearers of the revolutionaries. The role of women in the popular movements was invaluable. No doubt, the women were an important factor in the heroic uprising in Tayug in 1931.

**Heroism of Women in Sakdal<sup>23</sup>**

From the time the movement was launched on June 28, 1930—simultaneous with the release of the maiden issue of its publication, *Sakdal* on October 13, 1930—the ordinary citizens including many brave women, played a significant role in spreading and supporting the movement and its publication. *Sakdal* was established as a protest against the prevailing status of the Philippines as a virtual colony of the United States of America and also as a movement to advance the cause of independence for the country.<sup>24</sup>

With the help of daughter Leticia, Benigno Ramos<sup>25</sup> effortlessly made the newspaper *Sakdal* popular throughout Luzon, particularly in the provinces of Rizal, Cavite, Batangas, Tayabas (now Quezon) and Nueva Ecija. The newspaper was a hit. People bought it because they wanted to understand the events of the times. A paragon of the *Sakdal* adherent was Salud Algabre who said that she often bought fifty to a hundred copies of the newspaper for its distribution among her townmates. The *Sakdal* paper came out with articles that denounced the actions of Manuel Quezon and other “big time” politicians who were alleged to have shamelessly misappropriated huge sums to fund futile and worthless Independence missions while the Filipino people starved. It featured articles that disclosed detailed lists of employees and their corresponding salaries and that of properties and politicians' expenditures, particularly Quezon's. The published articles clearly made the point that only leaders who could be relied upon in times of crisis were deserving of the people's mandate.<sup>26</sup>

Taking this principle to heart, the movement created the Sakdalista Party on October 29, 1933.<sup>27</sup> Many Filipinos, including women from various parts of the archipelago ad-

vocated and supported the association. There were reasons in joining the party. First, the Sakdal Movement which later became the Sakdal Party was admired for its fearless expose of politicians' corrupt ways. Second, the party was considered a genuine advocate of the interests of the poor and the oppressed. Third, for its clean and steadfast position vis-a-vis the issue of independence. And lastly, for its principled integrity that is free from the greed to misappropriate the people's money.<sup>28</sup> These were the perceived reasons of the women who bore the family's burden but still were able to join the organization. They considered the organization as an instrument to promote their welfare and interests. This was not very surprising because the organization held the women in high esteem as reflected in some of the published Sakdal literature.<sup>29</sup>

Soon, the party triumphed in the elections of July 5, 1934. In the provinces where the party had *balanggays* (councils) like Laguna, Bulacan, Nueva Ecija, Rizal, Cavite, Marinduque and even in Tayabas, Quezon's bailiwick, the party generated admirable victory.<sup>30</sup> In this success, even if the women did not participate in the elections, still they had contributed a lot by taking part in the campaign, by safeguarding the ballots and through many other ways.<sup>31</sup>

In the wake of this success, the party laid down its new mission for the future. They presented in a meeting the following: (1) investigation of friar lands; (2) creation of a 500,000-strong Philippine Army; (3) use of the native languages as medium of instruction in the public schools; (4) extension of legal services to the needy clients; (5) reduction in the salary of government officials; (6) raise in the salary of teachers, policemen, Constabulary men and workers; and (7) utilization of machines in the pools to avert election frauds.<sup>32</sup>

But the advancement of these new objectives did not occur. In the face of growing social turmoils, there were elements in the party that espoused the idea of staging an uprising. And indeed in 1935, with the impending creation of the Philippine Commonwealth, the majority of the ordinary Sakdal members decided to initiate a revolt which aimed at gaining immediate freedom and independence for the Philippines.<sup>33</sup>

Many women joined the revolt of May 2 to 3, 1935. From the assembly at the railway station to the attempted seizure of a number of municipalities like Calamba, Cabuyao, Biñan, and Sta. Rosa, Laguna, tens of thousands of women from many towns joined the revolt. Some participants were only hoping for a better life which, they believed, independence might bring. They believed that only when the Philippines had become free, can their families be saved from poverty.<sup>34</sup>

Among those who joined the revolt, the most distinguished could be the courageous Salud Algabre. Born in Cabuyao, Laguna on October 10, 1894, Algabre, together with her husband, became a Sakdal member out of disenchantment with the government. She was only dreaming of a good life for her family. But later, she understood more clearly and deeply what Sakdal was fighting for. She grasped the importance of agrarian issues, of a just social system and of the need to end foreign domination. She recognized the significance and value of genuine freedom. She proved her conviction when she became one of the leaders in the revolt of May 1935. She was admirable when she led the people of Barrio Banlic in the march to the town proper. For fifteen hours, she led the cutting of the telephone and telegraph lines, the blockade of railroads and south highway towards Manila. She blocked all vehicles, including a car where four American marines were divested of guns.<sup>35</sup>

After the Sakdal revolt and with the success of the establishment of the Philippine Commonwealth, the Americans and the pro-Americans thought that another popular movement had just ended. The demands of those who revolted went unheeded and were deemed as responsibilities of the Commonwealth. The true causes of the revolution which was rooted in the very quest for social progress based on social justice among the *Anak ng Bayan*, and freedom, and independence for the Motherland were ignored.

In the Sakdal revolt, the Filipino women showed once again their contribution to the popular movements. On the whole, whether their role in the movements had been great or small, the women as a sector was a significant factor in the revolution.

### **Conclusion**

The Revolution, the Colorum and the Sakdal uprisings were part of the long history of popular movements in the Philippines. It is a part of the long tradition of struggle and revolt, in pursuit of happiness, reason, and liberty. It is the continuation of a collective revolt rooted in being members of the *Anak ng Bayan* who yearn for freedom and independence of the Motherland.

The Revolution, the Colorum and the Sakdal uprisings were also part of the long history of women's movement founded on a larger social movement. It is a continuation of the engagement, empathy and involvement—heroism—of the Filipino women in improving their lot, not only for themselves and their kins but for the Philippine society in general.

It is said that the Revolution, the Colorum and the Sakdal uprising failed to reach their respective goals. But, as Salud Algabre once said, “no revolt fails—each is a step towards

the right direction." Therefore, each revolt is a step towards victory. The Revolution, the Colorum and the Sakdal uprisings were part of a long tradition of popular movements and women's movement that took a path which leads to a society where prosperity, justice, freedom and independence reign. It is a part of the historical manifestation of heroism—the kind that, hopefully, would become the moving force behind the involvement and sympathy of women to the continuing struggle towards the true formation of the Motherland.

#### ENDNOTES

<sup>1</sup>On the definition of *kilusang bayan*, *bayan*, and *Inang Bayan* (popular movement, nation, and Motherland.), see Atoy Navarro, "Ang Talastasan ng Kabayanihan sa Pagbuo ng Inang Bayan sa Ilang Piling Tula nina Claro M. Recto at Amado V. Hernandez," (Discourse on Heroism in the Formation of Motherland in Selected Poems of Claro M. Recto and Amado V. Hernandez), a major paper submitted to Philippine Literature 295 U.P. Diliman, Second Semester, Academic Year 1996-1997, p. 2; Rene Mendoza, Marilou Santiano, and Anya Karlenma Victoria Maruschchka Mendoza, "Alab ng Nasyonalismo sa Buhay at Paniniwala ng mga Rizalista: Selected Personal Notes Re the Rizalistas of Mt. Banahaw in Quezon, Arayat in Pampanga, and San Miguel in Bulakan" in *Culture of Nationalism in Contemporary Philippine Society: Conference Proceedings*, Baguio City: Cordillera Studies Center, U.P. Baguio, 1995, pp. 188-189; and Zeus Salazar, "Wika ng Himagsikan, Lenguwahe ng Rebolusyon: Mga Suliranin ng Pagpapakahulugan sa Pagbuo ng Bansa," in the book edited by Atoy Navarro and Raymund Abejo, *Wika, Panitikan, Sining at Himagsikan*, Quezon City: LIKAS, 1998, pp. 21-40.

<sup>2</sup>Inang Bayan (Motherland) was an important concept in the 1896 Philippine Revolution and in the succeeding revolts first recognized by Bonifacio and Jacinto of the Katipunan. For example, see Andres Bonifacio's "Pag-ibig sa Tinubuang Bayan" in Virgilio S. Almario's *Panitikan ng Rebolusyon (g 1896): Isang Paglilingon at Katipunan ng mga Akda nina Bonifacio at Jacinto*, Manila: Cultural Center of the Philippines, 1993, pp. 141-144.

<sup>3</sup>Partially based on Francis Gealogo's "Globalisasyon, Nasyonalismo, at Kasaysayan" (Globalization, Nationalism, and History), a paper read at the 1997 College of Social Sciences and Philosophy Conference held in Puerto Azul, Cavite on 14 November 1997, p. 2; and Alfredo Robles, et al., "Mga

Kilusang Mesianiko sa Pilipinas: 1900-1906” (Messianic Movements in the Philippines: 1900-1906) from *LIKAS*, Vol. I, No. 1 (December 1976), pp. 50-113.

<sup>4</sup>See Ma. Luisa Camagay's “Ang Kababaihan sa Pambansang Kamalayan” (The Women in the National Consciousness), *Philippine Social Sciences Review*, Vol. 52, Nos. 1-4 (January-December 1995), pp. 2-9 and Lilia Quindoza-Santiago's “Rebirthing Babaye: The Women's Movement in the Philippines” in Amrita Basu's *The Challenge of Local Feminisms: Women's Movement in Global Perspectives*, London and New York: Westview Press, 1995, pp. 118-120.

<sup>5</sup>This despite the lack of a holistic view of the role of women in these movements. Although several studies have been made on the role of women in the 1896 Philippine Revolution, few were made on the Colorum and Sakdal Movements. See what Aurora de Dios has emphasized in “Participation of Women's Group in the Anti-Dictatorship Struggle: Genesis of a Movement,” *Women's Role in Philippine History: Selected Essays*, Quezon City: UP Center for Women's Studies, 1996, p. 144.

<sup>6</sup>Selected writings of Zaide and Agoncillo based on Pio Valenzuela's testimony served as examples of how the role of the Women's Chapter was undermined.

<sup>7</sup>Notes on the women's heroism in the 1896 Revolution were based from *Women in the Philippine Revolution* edited by Rafaelita Soriano, Quezon City: Printon Press, 1995; *Ulat sa Ikatlong Pambansang Kumperensiya sa Sentenaryo ng Rebolusyong 1896: Ang Papel ng Kababaihan at Katutubo sa Rebolusyong 1896 (Report on the Third National Conference on the Centennial of the 1896 Revolution: The Role of Women and Minorities in the 1896 Revolution)*. Baguio City: U.P. College Baguio, 1995; *Review of Women's Studies: Women in History and Revolution* edited by Thelma Kintanar, Vol. V, No. 2-Vol. VI, No. 1 (1996); and Lilia Quindoza-Santiago's *Sa Ngalan ng Ina: 100 Taon ng Tulang Feminista sa Pilipinas (In the Name of the Mother: 100 Years of Feminist Poems in the Philippines)*, Quezon City: U.P. Press, 1997.

<sup>8</sup>See endnote 7.

<sup>9</sup>See endnote 7.

<sup>10</sup>Unlike the discussion on the 1896 Revolution, there is a dearth of literature about the nature and character of the Colorum. Thus, it is important that the discussion of the heroism of women in the Colorum be placed in the historical context of the movement. The Colorum in this paper refers

to a particular popular movement that staged the 1931 Tayug Revolt. Many other popular movements were called *colorum*, a word believed to be lifted from the phrase *per omnia saecula, saecolorum*. Some of the groups first called by this name were *Cofradia de San Jose*, organized in 1841 by Apolinario de la Cruz or Hermano Pule; the *Cofradia of San Cristobal or Kolorum*, organized in 1897 by Sebastian Caneo; and the *colorum* associations of Nueva Ecija, Tarlac, La Union, Batangas, Surigao, Agusan, Corabato, Samar, and Leyte in the early years of American Occupation. See Milagros Guerrero, "The Colorum Uprisings: 1924-1931," *Asian Studies*, Vol. V, No. 1 (April 1976), pp. 65-68; Rafael Iletto's *Pasyon and Revolution: Popular Movements in the Philippines, 1840-1910*, Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1979, pp. 75-78, 120-121, 167-169, 185-187, 206, and 239-240; David Sturtevant's *Popular Uprisings in the Philippines 1840-1940*, Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1976, pp. 94, 119, 142-157, 166, and 173; and Cynthia Urgena's *The Colorum Uprising of Pangasinan*, Master's Thesis, University of the Philippines, 1960, p. 24.

<sup>11</sup>Pedro Colosa was a farmer from the barrio of Magallanes, Tayug, Pangasinan. He was born in Bauang, La Union then lived in Tayug at the age of seventeen, together with his parents. He was a circus magician before going to Hawaii where he stayed for eleven years. There, he got involved in a labor dispute which landed him in jail for nine months. When he returned to the Philippines, he established the *colorum* association in Tayug. See Urgena, pp. 14-20.

<sup>12</sup>See Sturtevant, pp. 184 and 273.

<sup>13</sup>See Guerrero, p. 69 and Urgena, pp. 26 and 28.

<sup>14</sup>For the association's aims, see Guerrero, p. 69; Sturtevant, p. 184; and Urgena, p. 27-28.

<sup>15</sup>Read how the revolution was forged in Guerrero, pp. 69-70; Sturtevant, pp. 184-185; and Urgena, pp. 40-41.

<sup>16</sup>See Guerrero, p. 70; Sturtevant, pp. 185-186; and Urgena, pp. 41-43.

<sup>17</sup>See Guerrero, p. 70; Sturtevant, p. 186 and 275; and Urgena, pp. 43-48.

<sup>18</sup>See Guerrero, p. 71; Sturtevant, p. 186-187; and Urgena, pp. 47-79 and 52-54.

<sup>19</sup>See Guerrero, p. 71; Sturtevant, p. 187; and Urgena, p. 51.

<sup>20</sup>See Guerrero, p. 74; and Sturtevant, pp. 190-191.

<sup>21</sup>See Guerrero, pp. 74-75; and Sturtevant, pp. 191-192.



<sup>22</sup>As in the Colorem, heroism will be discussed in the light of Sakdal history. The Sakdal movement being referred to may be traced in the Bible, in the Letter from James, Chapter 1, Verse 4, which says: Let steadfastness have its full effect, that you may be perfect (Sakdal) and complete, lacking in nothing," and can be explicated in terms of "be perfect in your faith in God." See Motoe Wada (I), *Ang Kilusang Sakdal, 1930-1945*, doctoral thesis, University of the Philippines, 1992, pp. 34-35 or Motoe Wada (II), "The Establishment of the Sakdal Movement" edited by Jaime Veneracion, *Ang Kilusang Masa sa Kasaysayang Pilipino (1900-1992)*. "The Mass Movement in Philippine History (1900-1992)", special issue of the *Philippine Social Sciences Review* (January-December 1997), Quezon City: U.P., CSSP, 1994. p. 58.

<sup>23</sup>See Sturtevant, et al., p. 219; and Wada (I), pp. 33-34 or Wada (II) pp. 57-58.

<sup>24</sup>Benigno Ramos, the recognized leader of the movement, was born in Bulacan on February 10, 1893. He studied in public schools in Malolos. After studying, he worked as clerk in the provincial government of historic Malolos where he had the opportunity to become an expert in Spanish and English. In 1910, he passed the language examination for the elementary teacher's certificate. After two years of being head teacher, he and his wife transferred to Manila where he earned recognition in publications and politics, as an excellent translator of Spanish and English into Tagalog. Manuel Quezon was one of those who noticed Ramos' talent and eventually, he was named as Quezon's leading spokesperson in Tagalog. Ramos would have continued his political life had he not joined and actively participated in the protest of the students of the Manila North High School. He joined in the demonstrations against an American teacher who dropped racist remarks on Filipinos. The issue expanded and included the move for early independence which Ramos sided with. On this aspect, the paths of Quezon and Ramos finally diverged. Afterwards, Ramos began to lead the Sakdal movement. See Sturtevant, pp. 216-217.

<sup>25</sup>See Thelma Kintanar and Carina David, "Salud Algabre, Revolutionary," *Review of Women's Studies*, Vol. V, No. 2 and Vol. VI, No. 1 (1996), pp. 77-78; Sturtevant, p. 219; and Wada (I), pp. 35-37 or Wada (II), pp. 58-59.

<sup>26</sup>See Sturtevant, pp. 221-222 and Wada (I), p. 55 or Wada (II) p. 70.

<sup>27</sup>See Wada (I), pp. 67-68 or Wada (II) p. 72.

<sup>28</sup>See Ben Ruben's "The Cleanliness of Our Women," *Sakdal*, October 18, 1930 and "The Life of Mrs. Liboria de Castro: Pangbihira sa Kasaysayan

ng Babaing Pilipina," *Sakdal*, June 5, 1937. See also the important *Declaration and Policy of the Patriotic Association of Filipino Women (Pamahayag at Patakaran ng Samahang Makabayan ng mga Babaing Filipino*. Manila: Patriotic Association of Filipino Women, 1937.

<sup>29</sup>See Sturtevant et al., p. 224; and Wada, pp. 73-74.

<sup>30</sup>This is in the face of the non-implementation of the women's right to vote in 1933 [Act. No. 411112 (1937)] but only in the local elections of November 1937 such right to vote was carried out. See Myrna Feliciano's "The Filipina: A Historical-Legal Perspective," *Women's Role in Philippine History: Selected Essays*, p. 36.

<sup>31</sup>See Sturtevant, p. 225.

<sup>32</sup>See Sturtevant, pp. 227-242.

<sup>33</sup>See as examples the field reports about women in Sturtevant, pp. 283 and 285.

<sup>34</sup>See the interview with Salud Algabre in Sturtevant, pp. 286-299. See also Kintanar and David, pp. 78-81.