

Memories of War: A Dulag Leyte Survivor's Narrative and Images

DENNIS M. BAUTISTA

ABSTRACT

The Second World War is one of the most brutal armed conflicts ever recorded in human history. However, after nearly a century, the world has not learned or it has remained unaware of the stories of the survivors and their ramifications. This untold World War II story by a native of Dulag, Leyte, Philippines named Jovito “Vito” or “Joving” Estosane Bautista Sr., recounts what he observed before the declaration of war in 1940 up to the return of Gen. Douglas MacArthur in October 1944. The Allied operation in Leyte was the first most complex military campaign

and the most crucial, major combined operation to liberate the Philippine archipelago. The coastal town of Dulag and its adjacent towns became the center of activity between the contending forces, the Americans with the aid of the Filipino guerilla forces and the Japanese forces. This earnest narrative recounts an extremely interesting and terrifying human experience by the narrator about his first-hand experience of the events prior to the coming of the Japanese, the life during the Japanese occupation, the eventual allied victory, and the liberation of the entire island of Leyte. The horrors of war, the sheer resilience, and the determination of the hapless people to survive the bombs, chaos, and hunger were depicted vividly. This unimaginable memory could contribute to the cumulative historiography of the Second World War in Leyte, Philippines.

KEYWORDS

World War II, memories of war, narrative and images, Leyte Landings, Politics, Local History, Dulag, Leyte

INTRODUCTION

Dulag in Leyte seldom is mentioned in the Philippine history books. The most mentioned places are usually from Luzon, and so the history of the Philippines depends on what happened in those areas. This study fills this gap since Philippine historical studies have little mention of

what happened in the countryside before, during, and after the Second World War. Limited studies discussed the Leyte situation; most studies focused on what happened in Luzon. Stories on the bombing of Clark Field, Lingayen landing, declaration of Manila as an “Open City,” battle of Bataan and Corregidor, the Death March, and stories of collaboration with the Japanese in Manila were the ones mostly told. Yet mentions about what happened in Leyte only focused on the Balangiga encounter and the return of the Americans led by Gen. Douglas MacArthur on October 20, 1944.¹

Dulag was an economically thriving barangay settlement in Leyte in the 1600s, a settlement located along the seashores of the Pacific side of Leyte. Just like any other settlement, it was ruled by a datu who was fiercely independent from other datos. Struggling in maintaining independent settlements, the datos waged war with each other to settle disputes, obtain goods and other things necessary for survival. When the Spaniards arrived, the locals embraced their conquerors’ religion and way of life. They built a church, a rectory, and a wall made of stone, which somehow protected it from the Muslim Raiders. Thus, the raiders were unable to invade them successfully, despite several attempts.² Merchants coming from China, Sumatra, Siam, Cambodia, and other places went to Dulag to sell and purchase goods, making it known as one of the many international transshipment points. William Henry Scott described it as a place “where local and foreign goods procured either by trade or raid were exchanged.”³ In the 1800s, Dulag grew economically and became a busy trading post. Infrastructures like roads and wooden bridges

were constructed, allowing easy transport of goods to other pueblos. Agriculture eventually improved. Thus, products like rice, coconuts, abaca, staple root crops, coconut oil, and tobacco were produced in great abundance.⁴

Once a barangay settlement, Dulag grew into a large and progressive coastal town of Leyte. The economy depended on agriculture and trade with other neighboring islands and countries. In the 1900s, it continued to exist as an important commercial hub where ships coming from other parts of the world docked at its port to trade products. It was said that its shores were lined with large warehouses filled with goods imported from other countries. To boast of its prosperity, the town constantly organized events that were probably at par with the famous Carnival of Manila in 1927. The Dulag Carnival of 1927 may have been a grand and pompous event. In that particular event, they elected a carnival queen named Queen Teofila I. The event has been long forgotten now by most Dulagnons, except by the surviving heirs of Queen Teofila I. Memories of this event were preserved in rare photos where the queen-elect could be seen with her princesses and escort complete with the Philippine-American trimmings and trappings of a royal coronation.⁵

However, the said progress was threatened by an impending war between two countries, one of which was an ally of the Philippines. The situation grew worse in 1939 when the United States purposely denied the renewal of the 1911 Commercial Treaty with Japan [in reaction to Japan's undeclared war in China]. The Filipinos then braced for a war that was not of their own making.

It was common knowledge that what happened in Leyte in 1944 became the turning point of the war in the Pacific. However, little was discussed about the things and experiences of the people prior to the return of Gen. Mac Arthur. Using the first-hand account of a war survivor who witnessed what happened in his place during this momentous event, the study aims to examine the survivor's narrative and relate it with existing literature about World War II.

Mr. Jovito "Vito" Estosane Bautista was a native of Dulag, Leyte. He was born on February 15, 1930, to a couple, Jesus Serrano Bautista and Pelagia Estosane, who were both from Dulag. He recalled and wrote in his memoir the things that occurred in those days. Mr. Bautista was a young nine (9) year-old lad in the elementary grade when WWII happened. Most of what he wrote is not available in history books. He vividly recalled that when the news of the impending war circulated, people began to ask questions like, "Why go to war?" "Why involve themselves in a mess, not of their own doing?" "If it indeed comes, what are we going to do?"

Dr. Josefina B. Gravoso, was also a native of Dulag born to spouses, Teofilo A. Bautista and Teofila Q. Bautista. Her father was a teacher while her mother was a housewife. Dr. Gravoso was a retired professor of the Eastern Visayas State University. She was a four (4) year old girl when the war happened.

There were many theories by different authors about the things that happened in the areas occupied

by the Japanese in World War II. One of which was the idea suggested by McCoy⁶ that a “dual collaboration or mock collaboration” had happened among the Municipal officials, the guerillas, and the Japanese authorities. The Municipal Officials established a cordial relationship with both the enemy and the guerillas in the Visayas region, which according to McCoy, made the collaboration more complex.⁷ In the case of Dulag Leyte, the Japanese did not only establish a cordial relationship with the locals but also forged a deep friendship that lingers even until today.

This study attempts to examine Lolo Jovito’s narrative and answer the following questions:

1. What was Dulag Leyte before the Second World War?
2. What happened in Dulag during the Japanese occupation?
3. What kind of social environment existed in the municipality that influenced the political conduct of its residents?

DULAG BEFORE THE WAR

The progressive town of Dulag had an existing school, functioning municipal officials, peace officers, fire brigade, women’s auxiliary, municipal doctor and nurses, and important government agencies. The existing government agencies then were tasked to prepare the populace for the imminent war. They conducted trainings and evacuation procedures to this effect. Training such as attending to and

treating wounded and sick civilians were undertaken with the supervision of Dr. Manuel Fuentes and Mrs. Vecera, Municipal Doctor and Nurse of Dulag, respectively. Civilians were trained also on how to compose themselves when faced with emergencies and when caught between skirmishes. Likewise, the construction of bomb shelters and ditches started. Civilians prepared bomb shelters in their farms as evacuation houses. They also trained civilians to survive in total darkness [the blackout-to prevent the enemy from locating targets at night.] Round-the-clock patrols by soldiers and volunteers were conducted to see to it that everyone was safe and sound.⁸

Nobody had an idea as to when the war would break. The Dulagnons only depended on the news coming from the four (4) radio sources in the municipality. One radio was found in the municipal building. The second radio was in the residence of the municipal doctor who resided in the corner of Real Street and Serrano (part of Brgy. Catmonan.) Another radio was in the possession of Severino Serrano of Brgy. Sungi. The fourth was owned by a Chinese merchant residing in Brgy. Candao. Every morning, the townsfolk gathered in these four sites to hear the news of the day, most specifically about the impending conflict.

For the security and safety of civilians, volunteer guards were organized in every district in the poblacion and in every barrio of the municipality. The guards were armed with spears made of iron or *bagakay* (a special type of small bamboos,) while others, especially well-to-do residents, provided themselves with revolvers and other short-arm guns

of their own. Some armed themselves with butts and other things that could kill the enemies. Air raid drills were conducted also.⁹

DECLARATION OF WAR

On that unusual early morning of December 8, 1940, a broadcast of the radios formally announced that war was declared by the U.S. Congress against Japan. This untimely declaration of war was caused by the treacherous bombing of Pearl Harbor by the Japanese Imperial Army on a Sunday, before the declaration of war.¹⁰

The agony of uncertainty was finally over as war began its course. Japanese bombers began to attack American targets in the Philippines, inevitably affecting Filipino lives. The Dulagnons, though prepared, were apprehensive as to what they would do. To them, this was the right time to apply the trainings and preparations they had months before. According to Jovito Bautista:

Many households prepared their food and clothing for evacuation to their farmhouses. They thought that the war would soon be at their doorstep.¹¹

Although some Dulagnons began trekking to their prepared foxholes, others stayed calm and never left the town proper. Local officials continued to function and went about their usual business. Mr. Bautista and his family decided to stay in the town proper because his siblings were attending school. He said that another

reason why they stayed was that they needed to “return the books to the school to avoid losing them.” Since it was a Monday, they attended the morning flag ceremony in school. After the flag ceremony, their school principal, Mr. Efepanio Verzosa, announced that the class was suspended until further notice. Lolo Jovito further said that the announcement came as a surprise for some; while others were happy about it because it meant a long Christmas vacation. Other pupils went home sad because they would miss their classes and lessons.¹²

The Municipal government of Dulag continued to function with its incumbent officials headed by Mayor Nicolas Bautista and his council. I never knew how they worked, with their compensation unsecured. During the latter part of the period, they either got paid by whatever amount they saved from taxes or rendered their services “gratis et amore.” Loyalty and patriotism were at the peak during this time. People were willing to serve the government voluntarily even without pay.¹³

JAPANESE ARRIVAL

The Japanese Imperial Army pushed the entire United States Army Forces in the Far East (USAFFE) to their last stronghold in Bataan and Corregidor. After three months of fighting, the United States Army Forces in the Philippines (USAFIP) in Bataan Peninsula surrendered on April 9, 1942. The Japanese consequently captured the Island of Corregidor on the 6th of May of the same year. The surrender took effect upon the instruction of Gen.

Jonathan Wainwright.¹⁴ Meanwhile, President Manuel Quezon, select members of his Cabinet, and the USAFFE Commanding General, Gen. Douglas MacArthur, fled to Australia on the night of March 11, 1942 [Quezon left Corregidor on February 20, ahead of MacArthur. But he stayed in the Visayas, later proceeding to Mindanao] with the latter leaving a promise that he would return. The surrender was announced through the radio and was heard by almost the entire Filipinos here and abroad. The Dulagnons were informed also about the surrender since many of them trooped down every morning to the place where they heard the radio broadcast. Army cadre and members of the Philippine Constabulary (PC) units were assigned to secure the towns together with the 93rd Infantry. Unfortunately, the 93rd Infantry of the USAFFE activated on December 15, 1941, was assigned to Mindanao on January of 1942.¹⁵ [The 91st and 92nd Infantry regiments from Leyte and Samar were sent to Luzon earlier.] The troops defending Leyte dwindled in numbers. What remained was the Leyte Provisional Regiment, ill-equipped and unprepared to take contingency measures to defend the island. Some soldiers fled to the mountains to avoid captivity, and eventually became part of the resistance unit. The guerilla or resistance units became the archenemy of the Japanese Imperial Army during the occupation period. When the news about the surrender further spread, many townspeople fled to their farms where they prepared bomb shelters. The Municipal mayor remained in town to assure the remaining townspeople that everything was all right. However, the townspeople began to panic and evacuated to their farm bomb shelters, while others took this opportunity to earn and prey on the hapless civilian. Bautista recounts:

Few days after the soldiers of the Philippine Army fled to the mountains, a bandit named Juan (family name unknown) terrorized some families in¹⁶ the barrios. He posed himself as a guerilla leader, asking from several households any forms of aid for his men. He was given cash and some food and clothing. He even demanded sidearm from well-to-do families. The people were afraid and eventually, they told other guerilla leaders about this man. The guerilla leaders were infuriated about the information since he (Juan) was not one of them. He was proclaimed as a bandit. He was arrested by the guerillas who decided for the bandit's execution to save the prestigious name of the underground movement¹⁷

The guerilla units stayed as protectors of the people from the invading Japanese Imperial Army and from local bandits who made the life of the evacuees even more miserable. The guerillas maintained peace in town and the barangays, which made them earn the trust of the townsfolk. In some instances, they put justice into their own hands to let the people know that they were serious.

August 23, 1942, as far as I could recall, was the scheduled date for the execution of the bandit. He was brought to the Catholic Cemetery. I actually saw him being tied by the hand and pushed by the guerillas on their way to the cemetery. Fr. Francisco Acebedo, our priest, walked several meters behind them. I could not go with the big crowd to the cemetery for my mother would exact punishment should I go with them. I stayed on the roadside

leading to the cemetery. An hour later, I heard a shot, which ended the life of the bandit right after his confession to Fr. Acebedo.¹⁸

The Japanese Imperial Army finally arrived in the town of Dulag.

“The execution was not really significant to me. However, this incident got stuck in my mind because of the arrival of the first Japanese Imperial forces at Dulag. They arrived at around 10 in the morning on August 23, 1942, shortly after the execution of the bandit. Had the execution been delayed for an hour, I believe there would have been a dangerous exchange of fire between the newly-arrived soldiers and our guerillas. We would have been punished severely by the enemies. Thank the Lord, this did not happen.”¹⁹

The first contingent of Japanese soldiers landed in Capoocan, Leyte in May 1942. They were known as the Nagano detachment force headed by Maj. Gen. Kameichiro Nagano, tasked to organize the provincial government through the Japanese military administration. During this time, Gov. Bernardo Torres of Tacloban headed the provincial government. Then the Matsunaga detachment force followed the first contingent stationed later on in Tacloban. The following year in 1943, the Omori unit headed by Col. Yoshitsugu Omori replaced the Nagano detachment. These two detachment units functioned as a security force to oversee the procurement of food supply for the troops.²⁰

The arrival of these Japanese contingents sent a chilling effect to the townsfolk because of atrocious stories they heard about the Japanese. However, the town mayor had reminded them already not to be scared and terrified, admonishing that if they came across a Japanese soldier, they had to bow their heads and say “Ohayo” (Good morning) or “Konichiwa” (Good afternoon.) After establishing their garrison at the Dulag Elementary School, the Japanese immediately conducted a patrol around the town. They gathered the Dulagnons at the municipal building for an assembly to explain why they waged war against the U.S. and let the Dulagnons understand the concept of the *Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere*. This concept was used by Japan in an attempt to mobilize the indigenous population to support their war effort in creating a new order in East Asia. The people were encouraged to cooperate “in the spirit of universal brotherhood leading to peace and prosperity.”²¹ They were told to accept the idea that the sphere would create self-sufficiency, that it would free people from the suppression of White people, and that eventually, it would “form a realm where all countries and people would co-exist in co-prosperity under the aegis of Japan (Daitōa Kyōeiken).”²² The Japanese denounced the colonial objectives of the Americans, but they gave them credits for the overall improvement of the occupied Islands.

The Japanese contingent appointed a new Municipal Mayor named Marcial Lagunzad because they had no confidence in the pre-war mayor.²³ Then, later on, Eleuterio Caing was appointed Mayor of Dulag in 1944, along with Atty. Ciriaco Tupaz as Municipal Judge. According to Lolo Jovito Bautista, the municipal officials of the previous

regime continued to function; but apparently, the newly appointed officials were the names duly recognized. The old set of municipal officials had to cooperate with the Japanese for fear of being branded as an enemy. As one author says, during the Japanese occupation, the people likened themselves to a "*bibingka*," a local rice cake delicacy. When the "*bibingka*" is cooked, it is placed in clay or a can shaped into an oven where "*fire is from above and below*".²⁴ This is known as the "*dual collaboration and wait-and-see attitude*" of the Filipinos during the occupation.²⁵ Town officials and common folk pleased both the Japanese military and the guerilla. Most of the town officials did their job "*gratis-et-amore*," for their own safety and the well-being of the people.

When everything seemed to be in place, the Japanese began to open schools. Using the "*Co-prosperity Sphere*" platform, they introduced and taught their language as a solution to some misbehaviors of the Japanese soldiers caused primarily by linguistic confusion. The Japanese believed that Filipinos were born linguists; hence, it would be very easy for the Filipinos to learn to understand and speak the Japanese language.²⁶ Consequently, English subject was discouraged at the elementary level; instead, Tagalog and Nihon-go were taught. In some special classes, Nihon-go was taught using the English language as the medium of instruction. Japanese soldiers handled High School and College classes to teach them how to write Japanese syllabary or "*Katakana*," one component of the Japanese writing system. In less than two years, a few gifted Filipino students already spoke Nihon-go like a native speaker.²⁷ To aid the Filipino learners, daily Japanese

language course was run for several weeks. The Japanese teachers also taught them some Japanese songs that Lolo Jovito recalls and can still sing even to this day.

To maintain peace and order in occupied areas, Japanese authorities encouraged the sponsored local officials to organize a volunteer guard system or a home guard (*Jinkeidan*) in each barrio under a *teniente del barrio*, in accordance with the administrative order of the provincial governor. It consisted of all able-bodied men between 15 and 60 years old in each District and Neighborhood Association (DANAS). They were tasked to defend the barrios from invasion and to attack those (guerillas, bandits, and burglars) that disturbed the peace. The members of *Jinkeidan* were armed with bamboo spears or *Takeyari*.²⁸

DULAG DURING THE JAPANESE OCCUPATION AND CAPT. ISAO YAMASOE (THE GOOD JAPANESE)

The Japanese authorities maintained a cordial relationship with the Dulagnon. Lolo Jovito believed that said relationship was due partly to the Japanese Officer named Capt. Isao Yamasoe or Capt. Yamasoy who arrived in Dulag in 1942 and was remembered as a “smiling captain, a good leader and a friend to everyone” who implemented several programs promoting friendly interaction between the townsfolk and the Japanese. The good captain could have been a cruel leader. Just like other Japanese garrison commanders, he could have terrorized the locals so that those who thought of aiding the guerillas would not even

think about it. Instead, as a garrison commander, he ordered his men to treat the townsfolk with respect. He did not permit his men to abuse civilians, not even the prisoners. Lolo Jovito even believes that the local officials, civilians, Japanese military, and the guerillas forged a fair deal that thwarted bloodshed.²⁹

To prevent starvation and ensure the continued supply of food, the Japanese encouraged the Dulagnon to focus on intense food production. This was part of the “self-subsistence system” under the food procurement policy. This means that the occupying forces had to rely on locally-produced food to sustain the need of their troops.³⁰ The Japanese soldiers oversaw the implementation of the system on a controlled economy in Dulag, which became successful eventually because the place was under the full control of the occupying forces. In the implementation of the Japanese system, social distinction seemed to dissipate. The pre-war local officials and other people regarded before with high distinction and honor were working now hand-in-hand with ordinary people. As Lolo Jovito puts it, “*Napareho na an lukad ngan kagud*” (Everyone is now of the same stature.)³¹

In other towns, Japanese authorities confiscated food from the locals. Mariano Javier said, “The supposed economic self-sufficiency program, except for the lip service given to it, never had a head start. Filipinos were left to improvise and fend for themselves, and the Japanese procured by force whatever they desired on all matters.”³² Yet the case of Dulag was different. Townsfolk planted root crops and vegetables. They raised poultry and livestock in

their backyards. Fish were caught in abundance that some fishermen used their catch in exchange for farm products. The town of Dulag became the supplier of farm products in Tacloban and other neighboring towns.

The townsfolk used three currencies when they bought goods: the Japanese currency (mickey mouse money), emergency/guerilla notes, and the so-called original notes (pre-war currency). The Japanese currency (mickey mouse) was a Japanese government-issued fiat currency.³³

The emergency/guerilla monetary currency “was a currency authorized by President Quezon “right after the attack on December 7, 1941, as legal tender for the general populace and guerrilla use. They were printed and circulated, and their special economic subsistence systems were established to procure food supplies and to distribute them among their members.”³⁴ Concerning exchange value, the mickey mouse money was given the least value, followed by the emergency/guerilla notes; while the pre-war currency had the highest value.³⁵

As there was no other purpose of the people except to live and survive, they labored in the intense production of farm products amid the difficulties. In places where there were least encounters of Japanese forces and guerillas, the people planted a variety of crops, some of which are no longer raised by farmers today. Root crops were raised in abundance. Cassava was planted along some streets of the poblacion,

making it hardly passable for two trucks because the street became very narrow.”³⁶

The concept of “Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere,” according to Japanese scholars, “would not endure unless founded on cultural ties and affinities.”³⁷ In constructing the “*New Philippines*,” three specifications had to be met: “First, Western cultural influence, especially Anglo-American, was to be reduced. Second, in place of the United States, Japan was to serve as the cultural focus of the Philippines. Third, the revival of elements of the pre-Spanish culture of the Philippines was to be encouraged, in so far as this was compatible with the goals and nature of the Co-Prosperity Sphere.”³⁸ Traditions and religious activities were allowed by the Japanese authorities to continue. Both the Catholics and the Protestants carried on their religious practices, rituals, and activities. Lolo Jovito recalled that weddings, fiestas, and other similar occasions remained to be celebrated by the community. During these celebrations, Japanese officials were invited usually to grace the occasion. They were given special seats along the church aisle during services and banquets. The Municipal building became the center for socialization, where weddings and birthdays of prominent people in the poblacion were held. At times, guerilla leaders and their subordinates secretly slipped into the celebration to dine and enjoy with their Japanese counterparts.³⁹

A hospital was set up in the poblacion, headed by an American-trained and English-speaking Dr. Suzuki. They housed the hospital in the two-storey building owned by Victor Beringuel in Buntay district. Civilians

and Japanese soldiers were treated in the hospital. Lolo Jovito remembered that Mrs. Lilian S. Kempis underwent an appendectomy operation in the hospital. Lolo Jovito's infant cousin Domingo Bautista who was inflicted with "*titane bacilli*" due to unskillful and unsanitary service of the *hilot* was given medical treatment as well in the same hospital.⁴⁰

The Japanese through the leadership of Capt. Yamasoe encouraged socio-civic clubs. Almost every district had a club where members met weekly. The clubs had their own eateries that eventually became their group hubs for activities. Brgy. Candao, for example, had a club called "Chico," and Brgy. Catmonan had "Wayside Inn." The Dulag auditorium was occupied by the local police or BC (Bureau Constabulary) known as the Japanese-organized auxiliary units and the replica of the defunct Philippine Constabulary. The Japanese, with the help of the local carpenters, one of which was Ludegario Serrano Gerodias (Galiong), built the "*Silabis ng Bayan*" in the area now known as the "Rosebowl Stage" where all socio-civic, cultural, and similar programs and activities were held, including morning calisthenics (radio taisō,) athletics, cultural shows, dances, and movie screenings. Local residents, guerillas, and the Japanese soldiers alike enjoyed the said activities. Teofilo "Peling" Bautista my father was one of the people in charge of the morning calisthenics (radio taisō) that was imposed for everyone in strict compliance. Fr. Acebedo, the Parish Priest, was not exempted from it. They did the morning calisthenics (radio taisō) before the celebration of the mass. Later on, locals who had to attend an early job,

including Fr. Acebedo, were exempted from attending the activity.⁴¹

Aside from the morning activity, the Japanese also loved and were enthusiastic to engage in different athletic games like baseball, softball, volleyball, and tennis. They encouraged the townsfolk to form teams and engage in athletic competitions. The Chicos, Abeda, Harbor Shark, Oriols, and Shooting Star were some of the teams that competed in the said activities held in the town plaza every afternoon. Lolo Jovito cannot remember exactly the prizes given, but the activity aimed to strengthen the camaraderie and health of both the Japanese and the Dulagnons. These programs were implemented by the garrison commander Capt. Yamasoe (Capt. Yamasoy) made him very popular and loved by the Dulagnons.⁴²

Capt. Yamasoe's genuine love and concern for the Dulagnons were put to test when he learned that a group of guerillas had planned to attack his garrison. He got worried about civilian casualties because he knew that an attack would cost many lives put in direct danger, both to the Japanese soldiers and to the civilians living in the poblacion. He immediately contacted the guerillas and told them to meet him outside the poblacion to avoid civilian casualties, to which both parties agreed. However, he was ambushed and was killed by the guerilla led by Lt. Jose Nazarino (Dulag-Abuyog) under the command of Col. Ruperto Kangleon. Capt Yamasoe was on his way to the battlefield when he was ambushed in Brgy. Curva (now Brgy. Del Pilar) on a Holy Thursday in 1943. This unfortunate incident consequently led to the deterioration

of the cordial relationship between the townsfolk and the Japanese authorities. A strict garrison commander named Capt Nishitsuka took over the command. Almost all programs implemented by the late Capt. Yamasoe were put to nothing as new policies were implemented to thwart the guerilla movements' plan to have a firmer grip on the town.⁴³ Unlike his predecessor, the new garrison commander was not friendly to civilians. He forced townsfolk, young and old, to work in the construction of defenses and an airfield outside the poblacion (present-day Brgy. Rawis [Landing and Victory]).⁴⁴

DULAG TOWN FIESTA OF 1944 AND THE PREPARATION FOR THE ALLIED COUNTER-OFFENSIVE

The Japanese presence in Dulag increased considerably by April of 1943, that the town was dubbed as "Little Tokyo." Korean recruits (*Yang Kyoungjong*) also came as reinforcement to the regular Japanese force [most of these were laborers,] of the 16th Division under Lt. Gen. Shiro Makino. The then Governor of Leyte, Pastor Salazar, issued Executive Order No. 4, telling government employees, Provincial Officials, and civilians "to render voluntary labor to construct an airfield in Burauen." In Dulag, Leyte, the construction of more foxholes and dug-outs commenced in the town plaza. More bomb shelters, trenches, and constant fly-over of Japanese surveillance planes were the only few visible things one could observe. This scenario gave everyone the impression that the Japanese were preparing for something. Lolo Jovito said that schoolchildren were not spared from the forced labor instigated by the authorities.

He and his two friends were assigned to assist a surveyor named Capt. Adachi. He was an “*impetus boy*” [*empitsu* is the correct Japanese word for pencil] or pencil boy. His main job was to carry the suitcase full of documents and to sharpen the pencil for taking notes. His two friends, Corazon Adanum “the rod boy” and Miguel Gabrino “the umbrella boy,” supervised the construction of trenches, foxholes, and improvised bunkers for Japanese soldiers. These were surrounded by barbed wire entanglement and sharp-pointed bamboos planted along the shores of San Rafael and Luan. In Lolo Jovito’s assessment, these constructions were meant to stop the Allied landing force and to inflict casualties.⁴⁵

A peculiar type of embankment was constructed by the Japanese. An improvised bank dug perpendicular to the shoreline made it hard for the American landing troops to move forward. They had to climb the almost 10-foot perpendicular embankment. They (Japanese) could inflict heavy casualties on the landing American troops.⁴⁶

September 8, 1944, was the last town fiesta under the Japanese regime. The townsfolk prepared a weeklong celebration with the usual fanfare. An agro-industrial fair was held, with exhibit booths and products prepared by each existing organization within the poblacion. Other activities such as stage play (drama), movies, and benefit dances were held also inside the carnival. Two days after the fiesta, while the townsfolk were still recovering from the hype of the celebration, the news of American coming began to spread. Around the middle of September,

American planes attacked the airfield in Dulag and targets in Tacloban. Lolo Jovito said that it was four days after the town fiesta when American planes were seen suddenly in Dulag. Lolo Jovito and his contemporaries were in their classrooms at the Gabaldon building when the air raid warning was sounded. The Japanese soldiers, local laborers who were working in the plaza, and civilians all ran looking for cover. Many ran to their bomb shelters and waited for further announcement. It began at 9:00 in the morning and lasted until 4:00 p.m. He further said that he heard Japanese soldiers instructing them to eat their meals while the American planes were not around. The airfield in Brgy. Rawis was destroyed severely with bombed gasoline depot and strip. Fortunately, no civilian was killed. Few days after the bombing, life went back to normal as teachers and pupils continued the school activities and workers went back to their work at the airfield and the plaza.⁴⁷

Japanese propaganda was intensified. Local government officials and spokespersons with local band paraded the streets, announcing at every corner that the Japanese planes had sunk already the American ships that carried bombing planes; but the people did not believe such propaganda; instead, they continued to be vigilant and on watch for other subsequent bombing raids.⁴⁸

The American planes returned on October 12, 1944, bombing the Japanese defenses constructed along the seashores, and the airfields that were already destroyed previously. Likewise, the airfields in Brgy. San Pablo and Buri in Burauen were bombed, inflicting heavy casualties

to the Japanese forces. From then on, Japanese planes were observed also taking off from the airfield, but only a few returned. Lolo Jovito said that the planes probably were shot down while attacking American targets in the Pacific Ocean. On October 14, 1944, while he was helping fishermen cast their nets, he personally witnessed dog fights between American and Japanese airmen in the Pacific Ocean. A storm (typhoon Cobra/Halsey's Typhoon) hit Dulag on October 16, 1944, leaving the Japanese planes grounded while the American planes continued their reconnaissance flights. The following day seemed to be the rest day for both contending parties since no visible activity was noticeable.

The eastern shores of Leyte were chosen for the initial landing, since the beaches on this side were the best on the island, and were the logical entrance to the important airfields, base sites, and roads in Leyte Valley. Since the large number of naval vessels required considerable room for landing the assault troops and for maneuvering, the landing beach areas of the two corps were separated widely. In addition, the value of the road net, which connected Dulag with the Burauen airfields, formed an important consideration in the determination of the landing beach sites of the XXIV Corps. The initial assault for the island of Leyte began in the dim half dawn of 17 October, when elements of the 6th Ranger Infantry Battalion landed under the protection of naval gunfire and seized the small islands that guarded the entrance to Leyte Gulf. Harbor lights were placed on Homonhon Island and the northern tip of Dinagat

Island in order to guide the passage of the convoy into the gulf. Since it was believed that there were valuable mine charts on Suluan, that island was added to the objectives of the 6th Rangers. While the Rangers seized the small islands, the minesweepers and underwater demolition teams started clearing the gulf of natural and man-made obstacles. The fire support units moved in and started softening up the beaches. The completion of these missions concluded the first phase of the operation.⁴⁹

On the morning of October 18, 1944, Wednesday, the Dulagnon saw three ships on the horizon, which they unmistakably believed to be U.S. warships. Those who saw the ships felt mixed emotions. The civilians trooped to the seashore as if to welcome the incoming ships. The Japanese did not stop the civilians who went to the seashore. Seeing that the Japanese let them go near the shores, other civilians followed suit to see the incoming ships. Lolo Jovito said that out of curiosity, he and his siblings wanted to go to the shores but their parents warned them against it. They satisfied themselves by looking at the civilians passing by their place on their way to the beach. At 10:00 a.m. on the same day, their neighbor named Mr. Prospero Bautista (Mano Pero), a retired school principal, asked Lolo Jovito to climb a coconut tree, while Mano Pero himself was on top of another coconut tree. Out of eagerness, Lolo Jovito forced himself to climb one; and even while he was halfway to the top, he already saw the three American ships (minesweepers): one was northbound, the other southbound, and the one in the middle headed towards Dulag. As he climbed higher, more ships (7th Fleet) appeared

in the horizon until he could no longer count them all. They were moving slowly towards the tree directions. They descended immediately from the tree and informed their respective families of what they had seen. More and more civilians trooped to the shores until 11:00 a.m. when the Japanese started to fire their artillery towards the direction where the ships were seen. The ships retaliated, but the trajectory just landed before the shorelines, as if warning the civilians to disperse, go home, and find shelter, which they all did, scampering for safety. Shells landed in the town proper unceasingly until 4:30 p.m.

The civilians scattered in all directions for their safety. Some of them could not be with their families until after the landing of the American troops. The bombardment then was directed to the town proper and its outskirts until about 4:30 p.m. We hurriedly ate our supper and went back to our foxhole. Few minutes later during the lull, we heard the Municipal Mayor, Mr. Nicolas Bautista, shouting at the top of his voice, urging the Civilians to evacuate and stay away from the town.⁵⁰

The result of the bombardment was unimaginable and horrible. Dulag became a history. The once economically progressive town was reduced to shambles. Houses razed to the ground; people were maimed, battered, and buried alive. What remained of the municipal building was its stairs. Other buildings, including the old church, were destroyed. The civilians and animals trapped in the town center fell lifeless to the ground, their remains scattered. Those who survived were shaken up, traumatized, and shocked, not

expecting such sudden tragedy to happen.⁵¹ Borrinaga said that factors like lack of coordination with the guerilla forces led to this disaster.⁵² Others said that politics might have been the reason why it happened. A week before the bombing, the Americans directed the head of the Leyte guerillas, Col. Ruperto Kangleon, to let the civilians evacuate the coastal areas.⁵³ Unfortunately, such order did not reach the Dulag townsfolk.⁵⁴ Apparently, there was an existing political power play within the guerilla movement. The Dulagueno guerilla leader, Bonifacio Kempis, was not an ally nor in good terms with Kangleon⁵⁵ whether the failure of communication was deliberate or not, history can longer be changed. Apparently, the Japanese were better informed, because they knew that the Americans were coming and were the ones who told the townsfolk to build the bomb.⁵⁶

In the lull of the naval barrage, Mayor Bautista directed the survivors to leave the poblacion in haste while the navy guns were silent. In the evening, the American bomb shelling resumed: flares first, followed by live artillery shells. The bombardment continued the following day of October 19, 1944 until 5:30 in the afternoon. Lolo Jovito and his family finally evacuated their foxhole in the poblacion and proceeded to Brgy. Cabarasan where their relatives met them. Evening came; and just like what happened the previous night, flares were fired from the ships, and these were followed by artillery rounds. The intensity of the bombing was still the same as it was on the first day. The following morning of October 20, 1944, Friday, the bombardment commenced at around 6:00 a.m. The intensity of the bombardment was unrelentingly

heavier and more severe compared to the previous days⁵⁷
As Lolo Jovito narrates:

At about 6 o'clock in the morning of Friday, October 20, 1944, the naval bombardment began. After hearing the first salvo from the U.S. navy ships, all of us went inside our foxholes. Everybody was in a hurry to get into the foxholes, with no one noticing that our grandmother ran in the other direction and hid at the bank of a nearby swamp, staying there for two days. The bombardment was very heavy and severe that we children began to cry, but then my mother stopped us; instead, we were told to kneel down and pray to the Almighty to save us from death...the bombardment was so intense that we could not hear even our own prayers. We learned later on from the GI's that the U.S. navy resorted to carpet-bombing to soften the beaches of Dulag of enemy resistance.⁵⁸

When the “softening-up” operations or the shore bombardment finally ceased, the American foot soldiers came ashore. Soon civilians trapped in their foxholes finally were rescued, including Lolo Jovito. His parents, together with some American soldiers, went around their hiding area shouting, “*Pagkagawas kamo, Amerikano na!*” (Get out of your foxholes, the Americans are here!) The civilians went out of hiding jubilantly, thanking their American liberators by shaking their hands. The American soldiers handed out candies, food, and cigarettes. The wounded were given first aid, rushed to the shore where a makeshift hospital was located. Then the civilians were told to go to the American

line near the shore where they were served with lunch from U.S. military rations. They were very happy about the fact that they survived the three days of bombing.⁵⁹

The seat of the municipal government of Dulag was transferred temporarily to Brgy. Mayorga (now Municipality of Mayorga.) Meanwhile, the pre-war mayor of Dulag, Mr. Nicholas Bautista, assumed office after taking it over from Eleuterio Caing. The other pre-war officials were reinstated also, serving the town again along with the pre-war mayor. The Catholic Church of Dulag destroyed by the war became the U.S. field hospital and its patroness, Our Lady of Refuge, was temporarily transferred also to a chapel in Brgy. Mayorga

In the very early hours of 20 October, the Northern and Southern Attack Forces were ordered to move to their appointed beach areas and prepare their assault troops to disembark. The reinforced 21st Infantry Regiment went ashore at 0930 in the vicinity of Panaon Strait at the extreme southeast tip of Leyte and secured control of that entrance to Sogod Bay. To the north at 1000, the X Corps landed with two divisions abreast in the Marasbaras and Palo areas. About fifteen miles farther south, in the Dulag area, the XXIV Corps went ashore simultaneously with two Divisions abreast. The two corps were separated widely and their objectives so divergent that initially they seemed not mutually supporting each other. Even within the zones of action of these two corps, the missions assigned to the divisions limited their ability to support each other.⁶⁰

After the bomb smokes faded, people from different parts of the island went to where the liberating Americans had put up their temporary camp at Brgy. San Jose of Dulag, also located along the shores facing the pacific. Americans landed on its shores and camped there, making Dulag as one of the American campsites. People from different municipalities of Leyte went to this place to earn a living. They worked as civilian laborers, laundrymen and women, and did other meager jobs available. As a result of this, the population of Brgy. San Jose in Dulag increased enormously. A hospital was built with Dr. Fuentes as its chief-of-hospital. The townsfolk depended on the Americans until after the surrender of the Japanese in 1945.

The people began to rise from the rubble and started to live a normal life again. Former government employees were asked to return to work. The elementary and secondary schools were reopened after recalling the teachers who once taught at those schools. While the seat of government was still in Brgy. Mayorga, the Dulag Academy was founded with Mr. Eugenio Villegas as school director. Later it was transferred to the poblacion in 1946 at the farm of Mr. Gaudencio Tupaz when the seat of government was returned to the poblacion. Another private high school, the Leyte Colleges Memorial, was founded also in Dulag in 1946, but it lasted only for several years. In 1947, the Dulag High School was established through the efforts of the newly elected mayor, Simeon Kempis Sr. It offered two levels of classes upon its opening, with its temporary building constructed out of the onset huts of the U.S. Navy.⁶¹

After the war, the Dulagnons struggled to rise slowly from the aftermath of the war. But even when faced with several problems, they persisted to survive and started picking up the pieces of their ruined lives again.

CONCLUSION

Dulag, Leyte is located in the eastern shores of Leyte where beaches are considered the best landing areas. The Japanese Imperial Army and the Americans alike strategically picked this location because it was the logical entrance to important military installations on the island and roads in Leyte valley. The Japanese airfield was located in Dulag area and another in Burauen. During the American landing, a large number of naval vessels used these airfields to bring in assault troops and supplies as these military activities required a considerable room for landing, which the airfields sufficiently provided.

The local leaders of Dulag learned to cooperate both with the Japanese Imperial Army and the existing guerillas in the area. The said cooperation was dubbed as “dual cooperation,” the primary purpose of which was the protection of properties and lives. The people of Dulag built an extraordinary bond of friendship with the occupying force; thus, they enjoyed almost total freedom under the concept of the “Co-Prosperity Sphere.”

During the occupation period, the Japanese Imperial Army took total grip and control of Dulag and its people. The municipality of Dulag was put under the full control of the Japanese as a measure to ensure food production

for the subsistence of the Imperial Army. Together with cooperative local officials, the Japanese programs like the “self-subsistence system” under the food procurement policy was implemented successfully.

The Japanese knew how to give back what was due to the cooperative people. In line with the concept of the “Greater East-Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere,” they let the locals practice their traditions, religion, and customs.

Capt. Isao Yamasoe (Capt. Yamasoy) is not a hero. A hero is somebody who can do ordinary things extraordinarily. Just like any ordinary soldier sent to a mission, he did what his superior told him to do. He was a professional soldier who diligently followed orders from his superiors. His primary mission when he went to Dulag was to implement the concept of the “Greater East-Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere.” As a good area administrator, he was able to win the respect of the townsfolk who in return loved and admired him.

All that the Japanese did in Dulag was part of the greater propaganda effort to entice the entire Filipino people to accept them and assimilate Japanese ideals and practices in their implementation of the “Greater East-Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere” program. The Dulagnons were willing sacrificial victims because they were a people who could be a friend to anyone. They readily adjusted to the demands of the Japanese as long as it helped the majority. They were ready to compromise for the sake of peace and prosperity. Most of all, as God-fearing and peace-loving

people, they set themselves as good examples for the entire nation.

The disadvantage of being too cooperative, however, backfired. Unknown to the people of Dulag, the town was turned clandestinely into a defensive position that guarded other important Japanese military installations on the island. As a defensive position against the enemies, the town faced the brunt of the American forces. Thus, Dulag was “bombed back to the stone age,” incurring an unimaginable number of casualties. Nevertheless, because of deep determination to survive, the Dulagnons, though wounded, maimed, and battered by the three-day bombardment, bounced back. They rebuilt their lives and lived to tell their story, like what was recounted by Lolo Jovito Bautista as his narrative of memories of the war.

NOTES

- ¹ Elmer Lear, *The Japanese occupation in the Philippines, Leyte: 1941-1945* (Ithaca, New York: Southeast Asia Program, Department of Far Eastern Studies, Cornell University); Satoshi Ara, “A Study of Japanese Occupation of Leyte, Philippines, 1942-1945,” in *Filipino Colonial History and Legacy*, ed. Ferdinand Dagmang (Manila: Central Books, 2011), 119-151.
- ² Charles Houston, *The Philippines in 1600 by Pedro Chirino, S.J. (in Spanish and English)*, trans. Ramon Echevarria (Manila: Bookmark Inc., 1969), xxxii.
- ³ William Henry Scott, *Looking for the Pre-hispanic Filipino and other Essays in the Philippine History* (Quezon City: New Day Publisher, 1992), 20-180.

- 4 Scott, *Looking for the Pre-hispanic Filipino*, n.p.; Patricio N. Abinales and Donna J. Amoroso, *State and Society in the Philippines* (Pasig City: Anvil Publishing, Inc., 2005), 681-683.
- 5 Gravoso Josefina, personal interview, September 8, 2019.
- 6 Alfred W. McCoy, "Politics by other means: World War II in the Western Visayas" in *Southeast Asia under Japanese Occupation* ed. Alfred W. McCoy (New Heaven: Yale University Southeast Asia Studies, 1980), 191-245.
- 7 Ikehata Setsuho and Ricardo Trota Jose, *The Philippines under Japan: Occupation Policy and Reaction* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1999), xiv.
- 8 Gravoso Josefina, personal interview, September 8, 2019.
- 9 Ibid.
- 10 Ibid.
- 11 Ibid.
- 12 Ibid.
- 13 Ibid.
- 14 Ara, "A study of Japanese Occupation of Leyte, Philippines, 1942-1945,"119-151.
- 15 Ibid.
- 16 Ibid.
- 17 Gravoso Josefina, personal interview, September 8, 2019.
- 18 Ibid.
- 19 Ibid.
- 20 Ara, "A Study of Japanese Occupation of Leyte, Philippines, 1942-1945,"119-151.

- 21 Mariano Javier, "Japanese cultural propaganda in the Philippines" *Asian Studies* 13, no. 3 (December 1975): 47-62.
- 22 William L. Swan, "Japan's Intentions for its Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere as Indicated in its Policy Plans for Thailand" *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 27, no. 1, (1996): 139-49.
- 23 Ara, "A study of Japanese Occupation of Leyte, Philippines, 1942-1945," 119-151.
- 24 George Emmanuel R. Borrinaga, "Human Bitingka: Leytenos under Japanese Rule (1942-1944)" *The Journal of History* LVI (January-December 2010): 214-241.
- 25 Ikehata and Jose, *The Philippines under Japan*, 228-242.
- 26 Victor Gosiengfiao, "The Japanese Occupation: The Cultural Campaign" *Philippine Studies: Historical and Ethnographic Viewpoints* 14, no.2 (1966): 228-242.
- 27 Ara, "A study of Japanese Occupation of Leyte, Philippines, 1942-1945," 119-151; Javier, "Japanese Cultural Propaganda in the Philippines," 47-62.
- 28 Ara, "A study of Japanese Occupation of Leyte, Philippines, 1942-1945, 119-151; Gravoso Josefina, personal interview, September 8, 2019.
- 29 Gravoso Josefina, personal interview, September 8, 2019.
- 30 Satoshi Ara, "Food Supply Problem in Leyte, Philippines during the Japanese Occupation (1942-1944)" *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 39, no.1: (February, 2008): 59-82.
- 31 Gravoso Josefina, personal interview, September 8, 2019.
- 32 Javier, "Japanese cultural propaganda in the Philippines," 47-62.
- 33 Constancio Tupa, personal interview, September 9, 2019.
- 34 Ara, "Food Supply Problem in Leyte, Philippines during the Japanese Occupation (1942-1944), 59-82.

- 35 Ara, "A study of Japanese Occupation of Leyte, Philippines, 1942-1945," 119-151.
- 36 Jovito Estosane Bautista, personal interview, September 11, 2019.
- 37 Gosiengfiao, "The Japanese Occupation: The Cultural Campaign," 228-242.
- 38 Ibid.
- 39 Jovito Estosane Bautista, personal interview, September 11, 2019.
- 40 Ibid.
- 41 Gravoso Josefina, personal interview, September 8, 2019.
- 42 Jovito Estosane Bautista, personal interview, September 11, 2019.
- 43 Constancio Tupa, personal interview, September 9, 2019.
- 44 Jovito Estosane Bautista, personal interview, September 11, 2019.
- 45 Ibid.
- 46 Ibid.
- 47 Ibid.
- 48 Constancio Tupa, personal interview, September 9, 2019.
- 49 M. Hamlin Cannon, *Leyte: The Return to the Philippines* (Washington D.C.: Center of Military History, United States Army, 1993), 108.
- 50 Jovito Estosane Bautista, personal interview, September 11, 2019.
- 51 Emil Justimbaste, *Heroes, Brigands, Spies: The Untold Story of the Guerilla Movement* Ebook (<http://issuu.com/emiljust/docs/guerrillas>). 2010.
- 52 Borrinaga, "Human Bibingka: Leytenos under Japanese Rule (1942-1944)," 214-241.

- 53 Ibid.
- 54 Carlos Quirino, *Chick Parsons, America's Master Spy in the Philippines* (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1984), 163-164.
- 55 Jovito Estosane Bautista, personal interview, September 11, 2019.
- 56 Ibid.
- 57 Jovito EstosaneBautista, personal interview, September 11, 2019; Gravoso Josefina, personal interview, September 8, 2019.
- 58 Jovito Estosane Bautista, personal interview, September 11, 2019.
- 59 Ibid.
- 60 Cannon, *Leyte: The Return to the Philippines*, 146.
- 61 J.E. Bautista, personal interview, September 11, 2019.

REFERENCES

- Abinales, Patricio N. and Amoroso, Donna J. 2005. *State and Society in the Philippines*. Pasig City: Anvil Publishing, Inc., 2005.
- Ara, Satoshi. "Food Supply Problem in Leyte, Philippines During the Japanese Occupation (1942-1944)," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 39, no.1: (February, 2008): 59-82.
- Ara, Satoshi. "A Study of Japanese Occupation of Leyte, Philippines, 1942-1945." In *Filipino Colonial History and Legacy*, ed. Ferdinand Dagmang (Manila: Central Books, 2011), 119-151.
- Bautista, Jovito Estosane interview by the author, Dulag, Leyte, September 11, 2019.
- Borrinaga, George Emmanuel R. "Seven Churches: The Pulahan Movement in Leyte, 1902-1907." *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society* 43, no. 1/2 (2015): 1-139. Accessed May 18, 2021. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26476471>.

- . “Human Bibingka: Leyteños under Japanese Rule (1942-1944).” *The Journal of History* 56, no. 1 (2010): 214-241. <http://ejournals.ph/form/cite.php?id=5382> (accessed December 29, 2015).
- Cannon, M. Hanlin. *Leyte: The Return to the Philippines* (Washington D.C.: Center of Military History, United States Army, 1993).
- Gosiengfiao, Victor. “The Japanese Occupation: The Cultural Campaign,” *Philippine Studies* 14 no.2: (1966): 228-242.
- Gravoso, Josefina interview by the author, Dulag, Leyte, September 8, 2019.
- Houston, Charles. *The Philippines in 1600* by Pedro Chirino, S.J. (in Spanish and English). Translated by Ramon Echevarria. Manila: Bookmark Inc., 1969.
- Ikehata, S. and Ricardo, Trota Jose. *The Philippines under Japan: Occupation Policy and Reaction*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1999.
- Javier, Mariano. “Japanese cultural propaganda in the Philippines.” *Asian Studies*, 13, no.3 (December 1975): 47-62.
- Jurado, Manuel Ruiz. “Fr. Pedro Chirino, S.J. and Philippine Historiography.” *Philippine Studies* 29, no. 3/4 (1981): 345-60. Accessed May 18, 2021. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/42635194>.
- Justimbaste, Emil. *Heroes, Brigands, Spies: The Untold Story of the Guerilla Movement* Ebook (<http://issuu.com/emiljust/docs/guerrillas>). 2010.
- Lear, Elmer. “Collaboration, Resistance, and Liberation: A Study of Society and Education in Leyte, Philippines, under Japanese Occupation.” PhD diss., New York: Columbia University, 1951.
- . *The Japanese occupation in the Philippines, Leyte: 1941-1945*. Ithaca, New York: Southeast Asia Program, Department of Far Eastern Studies, Cornell University, 1961.

- McCoy, Alfred W. 1980. "Politics by other means: World War II in the Western Visayas." In *Southeast Asia under Japanese occupation*, ed. Alfred W. McCoy. (New Heaven: Yale University Southeast Asia Studies, 1980).
- Quirino, Carlos. *Chick Parsons, America's Master Spy in the Philippines*. Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1984.
- Scott, William Henry. *Looking for the Pre-hispanic Filipino and other Essays in the Philippine History*. Quezon City: New Day Publisher, 1992.
- Swan, William L. "Japan's Intentions for Its Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere as Indicated in Its Policy Plans for Thailand." *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 27, no. 1 (1996): 139-49. Accessed May 18, 2021. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20071764>.
- Tupa, Constancio interview by the author, Dulag, Leyte, September 9, 2019.