



**MODERN MILLENARIANISM IN THE
PHILIPPINES AND THE STATE:
FOCUS ON NEGROS, 1857-1927**

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This paper aims to show concrete manifestations of social and religious unrest in Negros Island, Visayas Philippines, covering a 70-year period marked by a movement now known as Babaylanism. The year 1857 witnessed the blood-drenched tragedy that was the Manyabog Affair while 1927 marked the occurrence of the farcical Entrencherado Uprising.

Spanish colonial rule in the Philippines was established in 1565 and formally ended in 1898 with Spain's cession of the Philippine Islands to the United States of America by the terms of the Treaty of Paris, concluded and signed by the two countries on 10 December 1898. The Treaty of Paris ended what erupted in early 1898, two years after the Filipinos initiated their struggle for national emancipation from Spanish political yoke. This presentation covers the final four decades of the Castilian regime in the Islands and nearly the whole initial generation of American colonial dominance.

INTRODUCTION

The causes and nature of the various expressions of social and religious unrest in Negros Island are the essential focus of this paper. Moreover, an attempt is made to find a common thread binding them to each other and to contextualize them within the larger framework of the history of social and religious movements in the Philippines.

A basic assertion of this work is that those who resisted Spanish and American colonial authority were not necessarily outlaws and *ladrones* (thieves or robbers) as the colonizers from both Spain and the United States always called them. Nor were they anarchistic as the Filipino elite consistently chorused. Rather, they resisted colonization because they desired to remain free from any form of colonial authority to enable them to be themselves, unrestricted by what colonization entailed, and to preserve whatever culture they inherited from their pre-Hispanic ancestors.

William Henry Scott, in his sparkling writings on the Igorots of the Mountain Provinces of Northern Luzon, noted that the Spaniards branded the highlanders of the Gran Cordillera as outlaws, savages, and most of all, non-Filipinos, because they (the Igorots) refused to be part of the colonial society the Spaniards imposed upon the lowlanders. The unfortunate result of Spanish stereotyping was "the creation of a distinction between lowland and highland Filipinos which contrasted submission, conversion, and civilization on the one hand with independence, paganism, and savagery on the other."¹ Thus, an upland-lowland dichotomy emerged, contributing to differing views regarding the cultural minorities and the cultural majority, thereby weakening or even endangering Filipino national unity.

THE FILIPINO RADICAL TRADITION

In the three and a half centuries of Spanish colonial rule in the Philippines, a hundred or more major revolts occurred. Mathematically, there was one every three years from 1565, the year the "Adelantado" Miguel Lopez de Legazpi arrived in the Philippines, to 1896, the year of the outbreak of the political earthquake called the Philippine Revolution. It may be said on this basis that the Castilian regime was engaged in one protracted campaign for the total and absolute subjugation of all the Filipinos that merely began in 1565. This campaign was never really completed and was in fact halted by the Revolution led by Andres Bonifacio in 1896.

The Spaniards faced challenges to the supremacy of their regime from the moment they set foot on Philippine shores. Foremost among those who offered strong and determined challenges were the Muslim Filipinos in the Southern island of Mindanao and in the Sulu Archipelago² and the Igorots in the Gran Cordillera in Northern Luzon. The Muslim Filipinos lived a world apart from the Spanish citadel of power in Manila and therefore had no shared identity with the Spaniards and their American and Christian Filipino successors. They therefore resisted colonization, preferring their own relative traditional independence. Meanwhile, the Igorots rejected the religion propagated by the Spanish Roman Catholic missionaries because, from their viewpoint, Christianity was synonymous with the payment of taxes symbolizing homage to alien superiors.

While the active resistance of the Muslims and the Igorots kept them free even as the rest of the country felt the effects of the rule of the Spaniards, it also proved costly because they were branded as pagans, savages, outlaws and worst of all, non-Filipinos. The Spaniards proceeded on the principle that only those within the framework of colonial society could be considered real Filipinos. Exemplifying their national idiosyncracies and traits of intolerance and

fanaticism -- developed largely as a result of their own centuries-old *reconquista* movement to liberate Iberia from Moorish occupation -- the Spaniards stereotyped all those who resisted Spanish colonial authority elsewhere in the Islands, leading to the creation of a real dichotomy between the so-called cultural majority (i.e., the Christian Filipinos) and the so-called cultural minorities (i.e., the Muslim Filipinos, Igorots, Manobos, Mangyans and others). American colonial policies after the transfer of sovereignty from Spain to the United States in 1898 reinforced this dichotomization of Filipino society.³ The Americans drew from their experience with the Indians during their continental Westward expansion during the 19th century. Thus, the lowland Christian population imbibed the stereotypes handed down by the Spaniards and the Americans. Consequently, many Christian Filipinos today discriminate against the Muslims and the highlanders or *lumadnons* as they are called in Mindanao.

While the Muslim Filipinos and the Igorots resisted outright Spanish colonial aggression, the majority of Filipinos fell to Spanish domination. They were organized into *encomiendas* for facility of tribute collection,⁴ and resettled in lowland and coastal areas in accordance with the population "reduction" and "congregation" plans of the colonial rulers. These plans involved the resettlement of people into compact housing patterns to have them live literally "under the church bells" for religious instruction and exposure to the fundamentals of Spanishness which was interchangeable with Roman Catholicism.

Accepting Spanish sovereignty proved costly. Aside from the *encomienda* tribute they were compelled to pay, those who accepted Spanish colonial designs were subjected to forced labor (*polo*) and the compulsory sale (*vandala*) of their agricultural produce to the colonial government at prices advantageous to the Spaniards. Some *alcaldes* (provincial governors) or *corregidores* (provincial governors vested with military powers), some Spanish landlords who cheated non-

literate Indios (a derogatory term for indigenous inhabitants) out of their lands who imposed onerous tenancy arrangements on them,⁵ and some conniving *gobernadorcillos* (petty governors or town executives), all contributed to the pitiful plight of the Filipinos under Spain. Filipinos were condescended upon and considered as innately subordinate in intellect and culture and were abused at nearly every turn.⁶ The missionaries spread, sometimes with a heavy hand, a foreign religion that brought social and cultural alienation to some Filipinos. A few religious personnel committed abuses in the collection of excessive sacramental fees, tithes and offerings, and "voluntary" donations. Some engaged in landgrabbing and charged high prices for goods like beeswax which they sold in violation of their vow of poverty.

Little wonder then that numerous revolts and uprisings occurred among the Christianized lowland Filipinos throughout the existence of the Spanish colonial order. For example, in the mid-17th century, the people of Pampanga in Central Luzon revolted due to the harshness of the *polo* system and the hardships caused by the *vandala*.⁷ Also in the 17th century, the Francisco Sumoroy uprising in Palapag Island in Eastern Visayas took place when the Spaniards forced the drafted laborers from there to work in the Cavite shipyards in Southern Luzon.⁸ In Pangasinan province in Northeastern Luzon in the 1760s, a rebellion flared up because of the excessiveness of the taxation system and the abusive character of the *alcalde* and his functionaries.⁹ In the island province of Bohol in Central Philippines, a large scale and protracted rebellion faced the Spaniards when a friar refused to administer burial rites to a man who died in a duel, ironically, in the performance of official duty.¹⁰ The Tapar uprising in Panay in Western Visayas in the 18th century was of an agrarian nature while others elsewhere were religious. As resistance to the *encomienda* tribute payments and to protest his waning influence with the coming of the Spanish missionaries, the local priest of fundamental animism, Tablot, staged a rebellion in Bohol, Central Visayas. The mid-19th century revolt

headed by Apolinario de la Cruz which occurred in the Southern Tagalog provinces of Quezon and Laguna started the *colorum* movement. Apolinario de la Cruz founded a religious confraternity called "Cofradia de San Jose" which the Spanish friars of the Franciscan Order in particular refused to recognize. The term *colorum* is derived from the Latin incantation *Saecula Saecolorum*¹² which is in praise of God, and used thereafter to refer to "outlaws" and to anything illegal. Diego Silang was the first rebel leader who made efforts to expand his movement from the Ilocos region to include Pangasinan and other Northern Luzon provinces.¹⁴ These uprisings did not disappear when America took over from Spain in 1898. By then, the Filipinos were no longer seeking mere reforms within the framework of colonial sovereignty of the Spanish monarchy; they were for independence from colonization by any foreign power. Unfortunately, America embarrassed the anti-colonial struggle for national political liberation when she annexed the Philippines on 10 December 1898.

All the uprising that occurred during the Spanish period were caused by one or a combination of various factors, mainly economic, political, social and religious in nature. Almost always, the Spanish colonial authorities responded to them with a heavy hand, without any realization that those uprisings were manifestations of imbalances in the distribution of political and economic power in Filipino society which could only be corrected through economic, political, social and religious reforms carried out by an enlightened government.

THE MANYABOG AFFAIR: CRISTIANOS AND INFIELES UNITE

The dichotomization effect of colonization influenced Negros Island as it did the other parts of the Philippine Archipelago. *Negrillos* or *Negritos* sought the refuge of the mountains rather than accept colonial subjection.

They were joined the *cristianos remontados* or Christianized lowlanders who had withdrawn to the mountains either to settle the

slopes or to escape from extralegal Spanish taxation. The Spaniards referred to the un-Christianized *Negrillos* as *infieles moradores* or black infidels, and their refusal to acknowledge Spanish sovereignty was considered a major impediment to progress in Negros because of the loss of their tribute payments.¹⁵

Manyabog was the *datu* or chieftain of a large group of Negritos found in the mountains above the town of Kabankalan in a small valley called Carolan. It appears there were *cristianos remontados* among Manyabog's band of followers.¹⁶ Under his leadership, they resisted the efforts of the Spanish government to control them. In retaliation for injustices committed against them, they staged sudden attacks upon colonial installations in Isabela, Crespo, San Fernando and Kabankalan, just below their mountains retreat.¹⁷

On 15-30 July 1855, the Spanish government mounted an offensive against Manyabog and his men. The government troops of 200 faced the 700 strong fighters of Manyabog.¹⁸ The military encounters during this two-week period ended in an apparent stalemate with the numerical superiority of Manyabog's men cancelling out the superior firepower of the colonial government forces. In any case, the government did not succeed in subduing Manyabog who fought in terrain familiar to him although his men used only spears, lances and hidden traps against government rifles and artillery.

In October that same year, the governor of Negros found himself petitioning the central administration for more funds to undertake military operations against Manyabog. The governor argued that it was a compelling necessity to "persecute these people in order to have peace and order in the towns surrounding the mountains."¹⁹ In dealing with Manyabog, the colonial authorities opted only for a military solution, evident in the tone of the letter of the *governador politico militar* or the provincial political-military governor to the central governor-general. There was no thought to finding out why Manyabog was up in arms or to make

the Negritos lay down their arms peacefully. Nor was there an effort to remedy the ills that compelled the *cristianos remontados* to withdraw from the lowlands and join forces with the Negritos.

It was later established that Manyabog agreed to lay down his arms provided he and his followers be allowed a grace period to harvest their ripening agricultural produce.²⁰ This was an opportunity for the Spanish government to settle the conflict peacefully. Instead, they listened to "intriguers" who undermined Manyabog's intentions.²¹

Emilio Saravia, then the *governador politico militar*, dispatched in 1857 450 troopers and sixty policemen armed with rifles and field artillery on a military expedition against Manyabog, whose men were armed only with spears, lances and hidden traps. This time, Manyabog was overwhelmed. Many of this men perished in the encounter while only four troopers and four policemen from the government side were dead and wounded. At the time of this encounter, Manyabog's followers numbered approximately 15,000, among them many women, children and elderly folks. Manyabog himself died fighting. When the Spaniards appeared victorious, the survivors among Manyabog's followers -- men, women and children -- set themselves on fire. The Spaniards attempted to save them but to no avail.²²

In retrospect, the action of Manyabog's followers was needlessly suicidal. They could have escaped deep into the forested mountains to start afresh, beyond the reach of the Spaniards. One cannot help speculating that the tolerance of these people to increasing intrusions into their lives has reached a saturation point. Manyabog's people demonstrated that they were willing to pay the highest price possible to keep their cultural and political autonomy.

MALHECHORES: EVIL DOERS OR VICTIMS OF EVIL DEEDS?

By inference from the archival documents consulted for this study, the so-called *malhechores* (evil doers) were the same people

whom the Spaniards referred to as *cristianos remontados*, *monteses*, *infielos*, *contra costas* and *tulisanes*, all of whom retreated to the mountains to escape Spanish excesses such as prohibitive taxes, extralegal forced labor and dominance by some friars, and their simple desire to remain as free spirits culturally and politically. But by the 1880s, these elements became better organized under the leadership of charismatic persons claiming to possess divine or semi-divine powers.

The American historian James A. LeRoy wrote early this century that

“in the settled communities and the chief islands of the Visayas, the tendency to remount and escape from the compelling restraints of a civilization in some respects decadent, to avoid the penalty of crime, or in many cases it has doubtless been, to flee from the abuses of authority, of maladministration of government, had been displayed not so much in a return to the primitive life of the forests as in the formation of bands of outlaws. The true connection of the inveterate ladronism of the Philippine Islands with the activities of the overly-paternal, sometimes tyrannical friar or military commander in the towns is a thing thoroughly well-established.”²³

This quotation is significant because while it portrays the *remontados* as outlaws, it acknowledges the connection between their outlawry and the tyranny and corruption of Spanish rule. Therefore, the acts of outlawry by the *remontados* or the *malhechores* and so on should be viewed within the context of an oppressive colonial system and their activities leading to *ladronism* seen as a protest against the wrongs they suffered at the hands of some friars, *gobernadorcillos*, *hacenderos* or big landowners, and other personages in the Spanish colonial setup. The activities of the *remontados* manifested deep social cleavages because their targets consisted the upper layer of Negrense colonial society. Indeed, the Spaniards, the *gobernadorcillos* and the *hacenderos* with vast *haciendas* or landed estates along with their *centrales* or refineries were suitable targets for the outlaws who sought satisfaction of their basic needs.

As we move closer to the 1880s and into the early 1890s, the documents used for this study tend to speak synonymously of *remontados*, *malhechores* and the emergent *Dios Buhawi* movement as forming a strand until a better-organized group called *Babaylanism* gave the various mountain escapees a cohesive leadership adhering to a vaguely-defined religious, social and political ideology which provided the movement its common vitality and guidance. The Negritos were relegated to the background after the tragic Manyabog Affair in 1857.

The earliest extant document consulted which referred to the *malhechores* is dated 20 January 1863. It simply notes the arrest, detention, trial and punishment of nineteen *malhechores* in Negros; one was acquitted for lack of evidence, with the remaining eighteen found guilty of committing "evil deeds."²⁴ Unfortunately, their crimes and their names were not mentioned. In 1864, an attack on the *alcalde mayor* or *gobernador politico militar* of Negros is revealed in a criminal case filed against some persons in Bacolod convicted for their participation in the attack and meted out corresponding punishments.²⁵ A more detailed document reveals an attack by 197 armed men identified as *malhechores* on the residence of the *gobernadorcillo* of Victorias town now under Negros Occidental, and the subsequent abduction of his wife who escaped physical harm or even death by jumping into the sea and swimming to shore.²⁶

Apparently, the appellation of "evil doer" was applied to anybody suspected of doing anything "evil" from the view of the Spanish colonial regime. An illustration of this is found in the *expediente* or action filed against Don Isidro Vasquez and his son Don Esteban Vasquez, *principales* or leading citizens in the town of Ginigaran, by the *español peninsular*, Don Ynocente Colmenares, also of Ginigaran. Father and son were accused of subversion and of being *malhechores*²⁷ because of Don Esteban's derogatory remark, "*los Españoles eran basura y se ensuciaba todos los meses*" or "the Spaniards go to the garbage dump and are hungry all the time!" Although the remark was

made while drunk, Don Esteban was found guilty and duly incarcerated; the governor-general eventually pardoned him.²⁸

The terms *malhechores*, *contra costa* and *Dios Buhawi* were used interchangeably from the 1880s and thereafter, making no distinction between rebels with just grievances and criminals, or even between highminded social bandits and ordinary bandits out for mercenary gain. This is seen in the *expediente* filed against two persons simply named Abud and Eugenio,²⁹ and in the newspaper account concerning the death of Don Valentin Tobeson alias Cachila, the number two man of the *malhechores* or *contra costas*, and the brother-in-law of Dios Buhawi.³⁰ Still another archival source tells us about the conviction in court of Matias Beragsang or Matias Peracson of Siaton municipality in Southern Negros for the crime of "remounting" to avoid tribute payments to the colonial government.

The cases cited above allow us to establish patterns about who they are and why they were *malhechores*. Based on the body of evidence available, they were people who lived in the mountains, driven there by the excesses of the colonial administration who attacked their oppressors who were the Spanish officials, the Filipino *gobnadorcillos* serving as tax collectors and the *hacenderos*. Admittedly, the acts of the *malhechores* were invidious. There is no effort here to make them look good. However, they robbed because the members of the upper layers of colonial society were robbable! One can interpret their acts as a form of protest by desperate and miserable human beings, convinced that this was the way to improve their impoverished and oppressed condition in colonial society.

Being Indios, they were inheritors of a centuries-old belief system in fundamental animism which survived even the most coercive missionary efforts of the Spaniards. They wore amulets to protect from harm and evil spirits. Because they could not find redress of their grievances in the colonial courts administered by magistrates who

avored the rich and the powerful, they became the *malhechores* resented by Spaniards who evidently divided reality into a "domain of order" in which they ruled and a "domain of chaos" where the *malhechores* were found. There was no congruency between the rhetoric of the colonial powers and what they practiced. Colonial rule was never established with the welfare of the colonized people in mind. Greater priority was given to upholding the interest of the metropolitan authorities. This is a indisputable fact.

DIOS BUHAWI: A LIVING GOD AND SAVIOR OF THE WORLD³¹

One of the major groups of *malhechores* was headed by Ponciano Elope who declared himself as Dios Buhawi, believing that he alone as god could save mankind from eternal perdition. In Filipino, *dios* means god and *buhawi* refers to a great whirling force such as a tornado, a cyclone or a vortex in water. In Negros, the word refers to the latter meaning. Dios Buhawi prophesied that the world would end in a deluge and nonbelievers would perish in a great boiling, swirling flood. That his prophesies did not involve a definite time frame, among other loopholes, did not stop a large flock of faithful followers from gathering around him.

By the 1880s, Dios Buhawi had thousands of followers, mainly impoverished and embittered by their life difficulties, who saw in their leader not only a savior in the religious sense but their savior from the Spaniards. The American anthropologist Donn V. Hart wrote: "Buhawi's unusual religious endeavors stemmed from his position as *cabeza de barangay* (village chief of Nahandig, Zamboanguita town). Some informants said he was unable to collect the taxes required of him as the *cabeza* and had to make up the difference. Others claimed that Buhawi urged his followers not to pay taxes. His grandson insisted that Buhawi only told the people to refuse to pay an increased tribute." Apparently, many of Buhawi's followers sought asylum from excessive taxes imposed by the Spaniards like Matias Beragsang, the Buhawi

loyalist from the neighboring town of Siaton who was captured and eventually deported to faraway Jolo in Southwestern Philippines on charges of remounting to escape tax obligations.³²

Although religious in character, the Dios Buhawi movement required its members to wear military-style apparel and assumed a hierarchical structure. Through this organization, Dios Buhawi protected his followers from the Spaniards and staged a number of successful retaliatory expeditions against them.

In 1887, the unrest in Negros attributed to Buhawi was such that it alarmed Governor-General Valeriano Weyler into dispatching 500 combat-ready soldiers aboard a battleship. Thus began a bloody stalemate situation until 18 December 1888 when an encounter with a detachment of the colonial Civil Guard resulted in the death of Valentin Tobeson, alias Cachila, Buhawi's second-in-command and brother-in-law. The year after, the Spanish colonial forces tracked Buhawi to his mountain redoubt in Siaton and before he could escape, the trackers mercilessly peppered his amulet-clad person with bullets.

From our vantage point today, it is easy for us to dismiss the desperate followers of Buhawi as superstitions, fanatical and so backward as to have trusted a megalomaniac. However, these people lived in conditions of severe oppression such that joining Buhawi was their only hope of deliverance from their miserable condition. That they had to resort to invidious criminal acts to acquire social justice and an improved life does not absolve them of guilt nor could they be wholly forgiven for their deeds of sheer lawlessness and wanton banditry but these acquires a different interpretation when viewed from the position of the *malhechores*.

A PAPAL LIBERATOR IN THE MOUNTAINS

The Babaylanes constituted another group of *malhechores* which resisted the Spaniards at about the same time as the Dios Buhawi

group. The Filipino historian Ma. Fe Hernaez Romero wrote that she has seen Civil Guard reports concerning the Babaylanes as an organized force in the 1880s,³³ while Hart identified the Dios Buhawi organization as beginning at about the same time.³⁴ In point of fact, there is a strong likelihood that both existed as organized groups even before 1880 to justify the institution of the Civil Guard in Negros by the Manila based colonial authorities.

The Dios Buhawi movement apparently survived Buhawi's death in 1889 when its surviving followers merged with the Babaylanes. A document in the *Philippine Insurrection Records* mentions a clash in Negros between American soldiers and Filipino fighters composed of Babaylanes and Dios Buhawi loyalists sometime in April 1899.³⁵ Another document records a similar encounter on 1 November 1901.³⁶ That the Dios Buhawi group is of the Babaylan³⁷ mold is not surprising. Both groups and many similar others found elsewhere in the Visayan Islands -- such as the *Pulahanes* from whose ranks would come the founder of the *Tres Personas Solo Dios* (Three Persons One God) based in the mystical mountains of Banahaw in Quezon province, Southern Luzon -- were carryovers from the pre-Hispanic religious tradition adhering to fundamental animism. The priests/priestesses called Babaylanes³⁸ were the people's religious leaders; as such, they occupied a high and influential position in indigenous society. While their influence and power may have decreased somewhat with the coming of the Spanish missionaries, they never lost their power as centuries of evangelical effort to convert the Philippines to the Roman Catholic faith never eradicated Babaylanism. While the Spaniards zealously attempted to overthrow all existing indigenous customs and institutions they deemed paganistic, the Filipinos responded by merely Filipinizing or adapting what was introduced by the Spaniards into forms more acceptable to the locals. The *remontados* were even less Hispanized than their lowland cousins and it was they who carried on Babaylan beliefs or observances from generation to generation and from century to century.

The most famous Babaylan leader, Dionisio Papa or Papa Isio, had his beginnings in Panay Island although his fame grew beyond Negros. Evelyn T. Cullamar, in her thesis on the Babaylanes, quotes a report by the American Captain George Bowers.³⁹

"In about 1880 he [Dionisio Papa, the noted head of Babaylanism] went to Isabela [a central Negros town] where he became a herder for the Montilla family. He lived in the vicinity of Magallon [a village of Isabela] and herded cattle on the large cogon plains near that place. Soon after this he became involved in a quarrel with a Spaniard near La Castellana [another Negros town] which resulted in the wounding of the Spaniard and Isio's flight to the mountains. *Sometime previous to this a celebrated chief Barawa Dios had been killed. Isio announced himself as Pope. He was accepted by the people in the mountains as their leader.* He erected crude churches, baptized, performed marriages, blessed his followers, and deceived by selling them charms or *anting-anting*. In this way he came to have great prestige with the people of the mountains and the laboring class in the lowlands."⁴⁰

Although sources differ as to the exact year Dionisio Papa took leadership of the Babaylanes, it is remain that he did so in the late 1880s and that he styled himself in pontifical character, with his devotees calling him Papa Isio or Pope Isio.

Papa Isio's popularity may be credited to three factors. First, to a people long used for the selfish ends of the colonizers, it is natural to rally toward a self-styled liberator with a supernatural aura. In fact, Papa Isio successfully led his followers to believe that he was chosen by Jesus Christ to liberate them from foreign rule.⁴¹ Second, Babaylanism stood for a return to the people's simple existence, to pre-Hispanic religious beliefs, which was, in effect, a rejection of Western Christianity in both its Roman Catholic and Protestant forms. And third, the people rejected the *hacienda* system and its attendant sugar cane cultivation, preferring a revival of the old system of landownership which was communal in nature. In the words of Jose Luzuriaga, a

Negros *hacendero* who served as a member of the Philippine Commission early in the 20th century, the Negrense "people who have nothing, attracted by the idea that they will share in the division of spoils, are in favor of them [the Babaylanes]."⁴² The spoils referred to by Luzuriaga were the landed surgar estates or *haciendas*, many hundreds and even thousands of hectares in size, although admittedly miniscule in comparison with the *latifundia* owned by the Sanchez Navarro and Anchorena families in Mexico and Argentina respectively. Running into the millions of acres, the *latifundia* in Spanish America were worlds unto themselves.

The Babaylanes undoubtedly wanted their own land for economic survival. From this perspective, it is hard to agree with Luzuriaga's remark that their "motive principally is anarchy."⁴³ To say that Babaylanism's motive was largely anarchistic is to deny the legitimacy of their agrarian grievances against a number of selfish *hacenderos*, their resistance to despotic and discriminatory acts by some Spanish friars and their servile Filipino *gobernadorcillo* tribute collectors. From a legalistic point of view, the Babaylanes violated colonial laws but what is legally correct is not always morally right.

From his mountain redoubt, Papa Isio would lead his Babaylan followers in attacking *haciendas* and residences of *gobernadorcillos*, ambushing Civil Guard patrols and robbing wealthy people in Robin Hood fashion. He engaged mainly in guerrilla-type operations until 1896, when the war for national political emancipation from Spain broke out. Until May 1897, Papa Isio and his men engaged the Spanish Civil Guard in minor and major armed encounters that produced no clear victors despite manpower losses on the Babaylanes side.

Meanwhile, events elsewhere in Negros were building up toward the *levantamiento* or uprising against Spain by the *hacendero-ilustrado* or illustrious class.⁴⁴ By November 1898, this class installed itself as rulers of Negros following the capitulation of the Spanish authorities

and soldiers in the island. Patterned after the Swiss cantons, the government which the *ilustrados* federated was known as the Negros Cantonal Republic. The American scholar David R. Sturtevant calls the Negros revolution led by the *hacendero-ilustrado* class a "sham" and a "charade" because:

"Within twenty-four hours [following the convening of 45 delegates in Bacolod after the Spaniards surrendered in November 1898], they [the delegates] wrote a constitution, elected a president and established a provisional government. The sham revolution took three days. The Negros Republic -- affiliated with, but did not become part of [Emilio] Aguinaldo's regime -- lived for less than three months."⁴⁵

The brief existence of the Negros Cantonal Republic was due to its immediate acceptance of American colonial sovereignty to avoid the irreparable destruction of property that resistance to the new ruling power would surely have entailed.⁴⁶

During the Philippine Revolution against Spain, the *hacendero-ilustrado* forces were allied to the Babaylanes who had by this time assumed a kind of legitimacy as revolutionary and anti-colonial fighters. But when the former actively collaborated with the Americans, the Babaylanes broke away from the alliance with the *hacendero-ilustrado* class and maintained contacts directly with the Filipino revolutionaries in the Tagalog provinces of Luzon. On 14 May 1901, Papa Isio received a colonel's commission from the revolutionary General Miguel Malvar⁴⁷ who continued the Filipino-American War despite General Emilio Aguinaldo's capture on 23 March 1901.

When war erupted between the *de facto* Philippine Republic -- with independence declared from the balcony of Aguinaldo's home on 12 June 1898 -- and the United States, the Babaylan fighters under Papa Isio withdrew to the mountains where they launched guerrilla operations against superior American weaponry.

True to his anti-colonial sentiments, Papa Isio carried on his campaigns by shifting his attention to the Americans who took over from the Spaniards, even as the Americans fortified their men and aimed their weapons against the Babaylanes.⁴⁸ He maintained his image as a liberator as he continued his attacks upon *haciendas* to protest the *hacienda* system and its consequent detrimental effects on the sugar cane laborers. It was his revolutionary activities that led the Aguinaldo government to recognize Papa Isio as the only legitimate leader of the anti-American forces in Negros. Evidently, Papa Isio:

“assumed [also] the title of political and military governor of Western Negros and sometimes claimed that his authority covered the whole island. He collected taxes, and in orders which were stamped as issued by the authority of the Katipunan,⁴⁹ prohibited natives from working in the mountains for themselves or others without payment of tribute to him. He claimed allegiance to the Philippine Republic and Emilio Aguinaldo and declared himself an enemy of the United States and its government in the archipelago.”⁵⁰

Between 27 March 1899 and 15 July 1900, Papa Isio and his Babaylan diehards had nearly thirty encounters with the Americans. His hostile anti-colonialist sentiments extended to collaboration with the Americans among members of the *hacendero-ilustrado* class whom he ordered beheaded and their properties confiscated, such as Juan Caballo who was executed on 7 September 1899 as an example to the others.⁵¹

Despite the frequency and ferocity with which Papa Isio executed his attacks, he eluded capture by the Americans because of his secure hideouts in the forest. Eventually, however, the Americans located his headquarters. In late May 1902, a detachment of American soldiers commanded by Captain John R. White, accompanied by a former Babaylan, paid a surprise visit to Papa Isio's headquarters at Mansalanao atop Canlaon mountain. The Babaylanes never recovered from this major setback. There is some difference of opinion as to how

Papa Isio finally fell into the hands of the Americans. Sturtevant asserts that the "wornout brigand surrendered to his chief nemesis Captain John R. White."⁵²

Romero on the other hand states that on 6 August 1907, "Papa Isio and some of his followers were captured by a Filipino-American group under the leadership of Captain George B. Bowers, the Senior Inspector of the province, in the mountains of Isabela, according to Gov. Mariano Yulo's report to the Governor-General on 28 July 1908."⁵³ Cullamar maintains that after several mediation efforts, Papa Isio was persuaded to surrender after an alleged offer of a government job⁵⁴ which never materialized. Whichever the case, Papa Isio was tried and convicted to die, although his sentence was commuted to life imprisonment since he was considered "unbalanced." He died while serving out his sentence in the Bilibid Prison in Manila. From all indications, the Babaylan religious and social movement did not survive Papa Isio's capture, imprisonment and death, ending Babaylanism's dream of a return to fundamental animism rooted in Filipino society prior to the advent of Western colonialism, a revival of the communal system of landownership and an order of things untouched by Spanish and American influences. In fact, from oral history in Negros Occidental today, many Babaylan followers in towns like Kabancalan and Ilog embraced the fundamental Baptist faith brought by American Protestant missionaries who established two of the finest private institutions of higher learning in country, namely Silliman University in Dumaguete City and Central Philippine University in Iloilo City, both in Visayan Philippines.

BEYOND BABAYLANISM: A SOCIAL VOLCANO IN THE MAKING

Under the American colonial government, the Negros sugar industry expanded significantly especially after 1909, facilitated by import-export legislation by the United States Congress such as the Payne-Aldrich Tariff Act of 1909, the Underwood-Simmons Act of

1912 and the Tydings-Mcduffie Act of 1934. These legislative measures would have meant a period of prosperity for everyone involved in the sugar industry as sugar was one of the major imports of the United States from the Philippines. However, only big sugar planters or *hacenderos* and millers reaped huge profits.

A fact-finding report released in 1936-1937 by an investigating team of the Department of Labor of the Philippine Commonwealth government exposed the deplorable conditions of sugar cane workers in Negros Occidental.⁵⁶ One finds extremely rich sugar *hacenderos* here though the report reveals that the daily wage of workers was 0.30 centavos and only slightly higher for workers in Negros Oriental at 0.40 centavos.⁵⁷

Sugar cane workers found themselves in virtual bondage since their wages, small as they were, did not come on time, if at all,⁵⁸ forcing them to turn to usurers or to borrow from the *cantina* or *hacienda* store usually controlled and managed by the *hacendero's* wife with general merchandise at exorbitant prices.⁵⁹ The workers would then have to stay put in the *hacienda* to pay their debts.

More than thirty years after the fact-finding report, the appalling conditions of the sugar cane workers remained the same. They continue to suffer starvation level wages, abuses committed by the labor contractor, the callousness and indifference of the *hacenderos*, usurious moneylending rates and to live in pigsties.⁶⁰

It is not surprising therefore that even while Babaylanism waned with the capture and subsequent death of Papa Isio, the aspirations for a better life that compelled the Babaylanes to believe in Papa Isio continued for a long time thereafter. Those aspirations and sentiments gave life to another social movement in the 1920s called the Entrencherado organization headed by Florencio Natividad⁶¹ alias Flor de Entrencherado.

The Entrencherados, who constituted part of the crescendo of agrarian unrest and millenarianism in the Philippines during the 1910s and the 1920s, sought reduction in taxes, control by the Filipinos of the local economy, political independence of the Philippines and the removal of the traditional Filipino elite from their position of power in indigenous society.⁶² Compared with Babaylanism, the Entrencherado movement did not engage in forays into *haciendas* and towns and did not appear to adhere to Babaylan-type religious beliefs and practices as a group, although some individuals could have had such beliefs privately. However, like the Babaylanes, the Entrencherados stood against excessive taxes and manifested nativism by speaking out against aliens, although in this case, it was directed against the Chinese and the Japanese, with the latter group of immigrants increasing their presence in the abaca industry in Davao, Southern Philippines. Unlike the Babaylanes, the Entrencherados were not overtly anti-American, even while they desired political independence from the United States. Finally, the Entrencherados too manifested a Messianic tendency because of a deliverer personified by Emperor Florencio I, as Florencio Natividad declared himself.

The Entrencherado uprising of 1927 was not violent. Sturtevant remarks that the movement "began with dire propensities of Greek tragedy" but it soon degenerated into comic opera.⁶³ The farcical atmosphere was created by the emperor's public appearance with all the paraphernalia of royalty. Entrencherado was later declared "insane" by a court of law and committed to the Insular Psychiatric Hospital in Manila where he died in 1935.

CONCLUSION

We decided to focus on local millenarian groups because they have not been adequately studied despite their being a stable phenomenon in historical and contemporary settings. Our purpose is to draw attention to them so that we as scholars, and as socially

responsible citizens, can understand and deal with them better, and recommend to the government proper policy inputs and measures on how to treat and relate to them so as to avoid the tragedies of the past decade.

In this paper, we highlighted the socio-religious movements of Ponciano Elope or Dios Buhawi who claimed to be god the savior of the world; and Dionisio Papa or Papa Isio -- whose real name was Dionisio Sigobela -- who presented himself as a pope tasked to liberate the Filipinos from foreign oppression. Both socio-religious movements begun in Negros Island in Visayan Philippines. We intertwined in the text how the theocratic state of the Spaniards and the secular state of the Americans related to them.

If one looks closely at modern Philippine history, the cases of Dios Buhawi and Papa Isio are not the only ones needing deeper study. In Luzon, there is the *Guardia de Honor de la Virgen Maria* or Honor Guard of the Virgin Mary which existed in Pangasinan from the latter part of the 19th to the early part of the 20th century. The *Guardia de Honor* was led by a formidable triumvirate called the Holly Trinity and established a utopian community in central Pangasinan called *Cabaruan* which means "a new beginning" in the Ilocano language.

Another case that has not been looked into sufficiently is the *Santa Iglesia* or Holy Church led by Felipe Salvador who, like Dionisio Papa in Negros, styled himself as pope.⁶³ The *Santa Iglesia* flourished in Central Luzon in the early 20th century, drawing malcontents from among the region's impoverished rural dwellers.

In Mindanao in the 1920s, there was the *Colorum* movement in the island of Bucas Grande in Surigao del Norte province. The *Colorums* of Surigao were led by Felix Bernales who claimed to be a resurrected Jose Rizal, the Filipino national hero executed by the Spaniards on 30 December 1896. Surigao's *Colorum* movement was characterized by supernaturalism and apocalyptic prophecies. The

American colonial authorities failed to understand them and dispatched the *USS Sacramento* to bombard their coastal settlements in Bucas Grande after the *Colorums* were provoked into defending themselves when the American-directed Philippine Constabulary descended on the island and destroyed the sacred bathing tanks where the *Colorums* bathed, believing that their physical afflictions would be magically cured.

During this tragic onesided affair in early February 1924, the *Colorums* wore amulets and stood still on the seashore as the bombardment by the *USS Sacramento* took place because they believed that should they die, they would come back into life after three days. The US naval commander, Colonel Clarence Bowers, thus ordered that the dead *Colorums* be left lying where they fell under the hot tropical sun for three days to show the surviving *Colorums* that those who died would not resurrect in three day's time or ever.⁶⁴

It is interesting to note that in Surigao del Norte today, there is a group called the Philippine Benevolent Missionaries Association or PBMA which claims to have anywhere from two to five million members nationwide. The PBMA was founded and legally incorporated in 1956 by a psychic and divine healer named Ruben E. Ecleo, who successfully persuaded the people of Mindanao and elsewhere to believe in his curative powers. Ecleo came to be regarded by the PMBA members as their Divine Master. He died of a heart attack in early 1989 while campaigning for the governorship of Surigao del Norte and the title of Divine Master is inscribed on his marble mausoleum. This stately and magnificent tomb is inside a massive shrine on top of a mountain in San Jose, Dinagat Island regarded by the PBMA members as their Holy Land. Indeed, the words "HOLY LAND" can be seen in big concrete letters on this mountaintop.

PMBA members believe that the world will end at precisely 3:00 p.m. on 18 May 2000, although interviews with PBMA leaders in San

Jose in July and August 1994 disclosed the postponement of doomsday by the Divine Master to the same time and date in the year 2015. On the Last Judgement, all the faithful of the PBMA would be fetched by a flying passenger jeepney wherever they are and brought to San Jose where only they would be saved. Majority of the PBMA members come from the lower layers of Filipino society. Many were dislocated by the Muslim-Christian strife in Mindanao during the 1960s and the 1970s and the lawlessness of "Lost Commands" or armed bands of military deserters, of private armies maintained by political warlords and vigilante groups operating along ethnic lines such as the "Ilagas" identified with the Ilonggo migrants and the "Barracudas", said to be Maranaos. Those displaced by these groups found a haven in San Jose, where they were welcomed by Ecleo. Other people flocked to San Jose to be divinely healed by Ecleo. Consequently, San Jose was transformed from a hamlet with only six households in the early 1950s to a municipality with over 50,000 inhabitants, with the Divine Master's son, Ruben E. Ecleo, Jr. as the incumbent municipal mayor. Further field work is needed to fully understand the history, leadership, membership, beliefs and structure of the PBMA.⁶⁵

The millenarian cases cited above are solid manifestations and expressions of the existence of a collective peasant mentality in defiance of the state, theocratic or secular, and other structures of society perceived by the lowly as oppressive. Millenarianism in the Philippines as a response to modern exploitation as in Negros is a major theme underlying such groups in the country.

From these historical cases, one can conclude that the Filipino village folks possess a different world view, a different way of perceiving things and reality. This village world view clashes with the world view of the state.

The real tragedy is that the state, for all its sophistication, seems unable to understand the humbler people's views, sentiments and

aspirations. It is so self preoccupied that it forgets there are those existing on its margins. Consequently, the state's response in Philippine history was often characterized by violent military repression, without understanding why the lower classes joined Manyabog, Dios Buhawi, Papa Isio, *Guardia de Honor*, *Santa Iglesia*, Entrencherado and the *Colorums* and why they were compelled to act on the basis of their beliefs. We submit that the mere fact of hoping for a better life by adhering to the apocalyptic prophesies of their gods, popes, emperors and redeemers is in itself a clear manifestation of disaffection with the state, its rulers and policies. If the millenarians took up arms, it was only to defend themselves from a military-minded state that did not understand them.

Being parochial, the state did not bother to ask why the village folk were flocking to holy lands, New Jerusalems and utopian communities. It did not make an effort to understand the root causes of these movements and why their members grew disillusioned with existing conditions in society. Instead, the state responded with brutal force toward them. That is the tragedy of it all, because the millenarians were not really revolutionaries who believed in taking direct human and political action to change social order but people preparing themselves for the awaited divine or providential intervention to deliver them from their misery. The use of force by the state was disproportionate and even unnecessary since many of the millenarians were leading a life of piety and prayerfulness as a way of awaiting the day of the Last Judgement.

In dealing with contemporary movements like the PBMA, it is incumbent upon the state to make a serious effort toward bridging the gap between its own world view, thought system and perceptions, and those of the humble village folk. This is the best way to avoid repeating the tragedies that characterized the relations between these movements and the state in the past. Moreover, the mainstream churches like the

Roman Catholic Church must also be understanding and tolerant towards the PBMA and similar organizations. Such belief systems are expressions of the creativity of the humble classes.

A valuable insight we can derive from the Philippine experience with these movements and groups is that impoverishment will remain and continue to spread in the country. Ultimately, this would lead to more social and civil disorder in the country. Only an unselfish state and a responsive power structure could reverse this grim bequest from the past, if there is political will and principled determination to ensure an equitable development that maximizes the proper use of resources to benefit the greatest number of people so there will be no more Dios Buhawis, Papa Isios, Holy Trinities, *Colorums* and so on, but only a people enjoying social equality, progress, prosperity, democracy and happiness.

There is a need to sensitize the policy makers and to conscientize other sectors of our society to the basic and wide-ranging problems that continue to beset us. In fact, there is a need to open problems such as millenarianism, sectarianism and the secular state to more studies, showing not only their political, sociological and anthropological dimensions, but also their historical dimensions, providing the empirical basis and principles for intervention toward the solution of social dilemmas confronting our peoples.

Scholars in particular can help in clarifying the developmental and originating causes of millenarianism and sectarianism and how they relate to the secular state. Working together, we can make our interdisciplinary expertise come to bear upon the prevalent problems faced by the lower layers of the population and exert greater efforts towards seeking solutions for them through studies which may serve as the basis for the formulation of policies more attuned toward making life better for our peoples.

ENDNOTES

- ¹ William Henry Scott, *The discovery of the Igorots: Spanish contacts with the pagans of Northern Luzon* (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1974), p.7.
- ² See Cesar Adib Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1973).
- ³ This is clearly demonstrated by Peter G. Gowing in his work, *Mandate in Moroland: The American Government of Muslim Filipinos, 1899-1920* (Quezon City: Philippine Center for Advanced Studies, University of the Philippines, 1976), in relation to the Muslims. As for the minoritization of the Mangyans of Mindoro, see Violeta Lopez, *The Mangyans of Mindoro: An Ethnohistory* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1976).
- ⁴ Leslie E. Bauzon, *The Encomienda system as a colonial in the Philippines, 1571-1604*, *Silliman Journal* XIV (Second Quarter, 1967) pp.197-241.
- ⁵ _____, *Philippine Agrarian Reform, 1880-1965: The revolution that never was* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1975).
- ⁶ The best discussion of conditions during the Castilian regime is found in two books, both by American historians. One is John Leddy Phelan, *Hispanization of the Philippines: Spanish aims and Filipino responses, 1565-1700* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969). The other is Nicholas P Cushner, S.J., *Spain in the Philippines* (Quezon City: Institute of Philippine Culture, Ateneo de Manila University, 1971).
- ⁷ Phelan, *The hispanization*, pp. 99-102.
- ⁸ Cushner, *Spain in the Philippines*, 9-10.
- ⁹ See the chapter of this uprising in Rosario M. Cortez, *Pangasinan, 1571-1800* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1974). Actually, another revolt occurred in the province of Pangasinan a century earlier led by Andres Malong.
- ¹⁰ Phelan, *Hispanization*, pp. 148-149.
- ¹¹ David R. Sturtevant, *Popular Uprisings in the Philippines, 1840-1940* (Ithaca: New York: Cornell University Press, 1974)
- ¹² Milagros C. Guerrero, *The Colorum Uprising, 1924-1931*, *Asian Studies* 5 (1967), pp. 65-78.
- ¹³ The term *colorum* today is used to refer to illegal operations of legitimate enterprises such as *colorum* taxis or those which operate without

licenses.

- ¹⁴ David R. Routhledge, *The Diego Silang rebellion* (Quezon City: Philippine Center for Advanced Studies, University of the Philippines, 1970).
- ¹⁵ *Letter of the Politico-Military Governor of Negros, Luis Villasis, to the Governor and Captain-General of Manila, 29 July 1842, Erreccion de Pueblo, Isla Negros*. Legajo No. 109, No. 40 Philippine National Archives. (PNA).
- ¹⁶ *Letter of Ramon Montero of the Estado Mayor, Capitanía General de Filipinas, to the Governor-General of the Islands, Erreccion de Pueblo, Isla de Negros, 1854-1855*. Legajo de 109, No. 10 PNA.
- ¹⁷ Ibid.
- ¹⁸ Ibid.
- ¹⁹ *Letter of the Politic-Military Governor of Negros to the Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands, Bacolod, 6 October 1855, Erreccion de Pueblo, Isla de Negros, 1855-1856*. Legajo No. 109, No. 87 PNA.
- ²⁰ Ma. Fe Hernaez Romero, *Negros Occidental Between two foreign powers* (Bacolod City: Negros Occidental Historical Commission, 1974), p. 24.
- ²¹ Ibid.
- ²² Robustiano Exhauz, *Apuntes dela Isla de Negros* (Manila, 1894), pp. 99-101.
- ²³ James A. Leroy, *The Philippines Circa 1900: Philippine Life in the town and in the country* (Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, 1968), p. 16. Underscoring supplied.
- ²⁴ *Seizure and Prosecution of the Malhecroes in Negros, Cebu, 30 January 1863, Varias Provincias, Isla de Negros*, Legajo No. 49, No. 3 (1863) PNA.
- ²⁵ *Criminal Case No. 469, June 1864, Sediciones y Rebelliones, Isla de Negros, 1895-1897*, PNA.
- ²⁶ *Guardia Civil, Isla de Negros, 1876-1877. Expediente No. 52, Bacolod, 12 July 1896*, pp. 568-570. PNA.
- ²⁷ *Expedientes Gobernativo, Isla de Negros, 1874-1879*, PNA.
- ²⁸ *Sedicciones y Gobernativos, Isla de Negros, 1874-1879*. PNA.
- ²⁹ *Expedientes Gobernativo, Isla de Negros, 1887-1890*. September 1887. PNA.

- ³⁰ *El Porvenir de Visayas*, 28 October 1888. Philippine National Library (PNL).
- ³¹ The discussion on Dios Buhawi is based on the pioneering study of this late 19th century social movement by Donn V. Hart entitled *Buhawi of the Visayas: The revitalization process and legend in the Philippines*, in Mario D. Zamora (ed.) *Studies in Philippine Anthropology* (Quezon City: Alemars-Phoenix Publishers, 1967) pp. 366-396).
- ³² *Expediente Gobernativo, Isla de Negros, 1886-1892*. Bacolod, 20 March 1890. PNA
- ³³ Romero, *Negros Occidental*, p. 169.
- ³⁴ Hart, *Buhawi of the Bisayas*, in Zamora, *Studies in Philippine Anthropology*, pp. 368-375.
- ³⁵ *Philippine Insurrection Records* (PIR), SD Box 32, Folder 970, *Presidencia de Negros Oriental, Dumagute*, 12 April 1899, No. 264. Filipiniana Division, PNL (FD-PNL).
- ³⁶ PIR Sd 32, Doc..970-5. FD-PNL.
- ³⁷ This writer is indebted to Evelyn T. Cullamar, *Babaylanism in Negros, 1896-1907* (MA Thesis, Ateneo de Manila University, 1975) for her study on Papa Isio's movement. Cullamar's exhaustive inquiry into Babaylanism is based on archival research in Manila and field work in Negros Island.
- ³⁸ A succinct discussion of Filipino pre-Hispanic religion can be found in Phelan, *The hispanization*, pp. 22-25.
- ³⁹ George Bowers was in the American colonial services as the senior inspector of the Philippine Constabulary in Negros Island after its inception early this century. See Cullamar, *Babaylanism*, p. 33.
- ⁴⁰ Quoted in Cullamar, *Babaylanism*, pp. 33-34, Underscoring supplied.
- ⁴¹ Hart, *Buhawi of the Bisayas*, in Zamora, *Studies in Philippine Anthropology*, p. 371; Romero, *Negros Occidental*, p. 170.
- ⁴² *Testimony of Senior Luzuriaga*, in *Report of the Philippine Commission to the President* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1900), pp. 416-417)
- ⁴³ Ibid.
- ⁴⁴ Romero, *Negros Occidental*, pp. 69-133.
- ⁴⁵ Sturtevant, *Popular Uprising*, p. 122.

- ⁴⁶ Romero, *Negros Occidental*, pp. 134-162: Cullamar, *Babaylanism*, pp. 65-73.
- ⁴⁷ John R.P. Taylor (comp) *The Philippine Insurrection Against the United States: A compilation of Documents with Notes and Introduction* 5 vols (Pasay City: Eugenio Lopez Foundation, 1971), II p.415.
- ⁴⁸ Taylor, *The Philippine Insurrection*, II, p. 397.
- ⁴⁹ The Filipino revolutionary group founded by Andres Bonifacio which initiated the armed struggle for political emancipation from Spain in 1896.
- ⁵⁰ Taylor, *The Philippine Insurrection*, II, p. 416.
- ⁵¹ Sturtevant, *Popular Uprisings*, p. 125.
- ⁵² Romero, *Negros Occidental*, p. 186.
- ⁵³ Cullamar, *Babaylanism*, p. 107. If it is true the Americans promised Papa Isio a position and then reneged on this promise after his surrender, then this ploy compares with that employed in connection with the surrender of General Macario Sakay two years before Papa Isio's surrender.
- ⁵⁴ Sturtevant, *Popular Uprisings*, p. 125.
- ⁵⁵ Department of Labor, *Report of the Fact-Finding Survey of Rural Problems in the Philippines Submitted to the Secretary of Labor and to the President of the Philippines* (Manila, 1937).
- ⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.
- ⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 33-34.
- ⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 33-34.
- ⁵⁹ Arsenio C. Jesena, S.J. *The Sacadas of Sugarland, Solidarity VI No. 5* (May 1971), pp. 19-26. For an empirical analysis, see Frank X. Lynch, S.J., *A Bittersweet Taste of Sugar* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1970).
- ⁶⁰ Sturtevant, *Popular Uprisings*, p. 163.
- ⁶¹ Interpretation of Entrencherado issues reported by Sturtevant, *Popular Uprising*, p. 163.
- ⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 158.
- ⁶³ The best analysis of the *Cofradia* is by Setsuho Ikehata, *Popular Catholicism in the Nineteenth Century Philippines: The Case of the Cofradia de San Jose*, in *Reading Southeast Asia* (Ithaca, New York:

- Southeast Asian Program, Cornell University, n.d). The *cofradia*, together with the Santa Iglesia, is also treated in Ikegata's *Uprisings of Hesukristos in the Philippines*, in Yoneo Ishii (ed) *Millenarianism in Asian History* (Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, 1993), pp. 143-174.
- ⁶⁴ Fernando A. Almeda, Jr. *The power that failed: The 1924 Colorum in Surigao*, *The Journal of History* XXVIII Nos. 1 and 2 (January-December, 1982), p. 88. See also Almeda's *Story of a Province: Surigao Across the Years* (Quezon City: Philippine National Historical Society and Heritage Publishing House, 1933), p. 235.
- ⁶⁵ A pioneering work clearing some myths about the PBMA in Luz Sison Almeda, *Spiritual Associations in Surigao del Norte: Their Socio-Economic, Political, Educational and Religious Implications* (Surigao City: Ph.D. dissertation, San Nicolas College, 1992). In this study, Luz S. Almeda presents a comprehensive view of the PBMA and the other so-called fanatical groups prevalent in Surigao del Norte.