PASYON AND REVOLUTION

Popular Movements in the Philippines, 1840–1910

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CHAPTER 4

The Republic and the Spirit of 1896

The proclamation of Philippine independence in 1898 climaxed the popular struggle against Spain waged by the revolutionary army and the revived Katipunan. Ironically, however, independence brought less than fulfillment to the actual participants in the war. It signified a final break with the Katipunan definition of Inang Bayan, Mother Country, as a brotherhood of her sons who have experienced the passage from darkness to light by participating in her redemption. The ilustrados who quickly took over the affairs of the new nation succeeded in institutionalizing their definition, borrowed from the West, of “sovereign nation” as a bounded territory encompassing all of its inhabitants who pledge loyalty to the government and constitution. As interpreted by the principales and ilustrados who flocked to the capital at Malolos, separation from Mother Spain had brought forth a new entity—Inang Filipinas (Mother Philippines)—and it was the task of the “better classes” to solidify “national unity” so that the Philippines could take her proper place in the international community.

On President Emilio Aguinaldo fell the unenviable task of preserving the Filipino elite’s conservative definition of the state while, as a commander-in-chief of the army, channeling the people’s energies toward the war with the United States. Perhaps no other individual could have played that role. Aguinaldo was a veteran of the early national struggles. His successful military exploits, attributed no doubt by many to his powerful anting-anting, conferred an aura of power about him. He was considered by his followers “as possessed of magic powers; he could foresee the future, he was invulnerable; he had a magic sword by waving which he could turn bullets in their flight.”

In the eyes of many, he was no different from Apolinario de la Cruz, who liked to appear before his followers brandishing a luminous, magical saber. Furthermore, Aguinaldo was an effective orator, familiar with the traditional idiom of struggle. “His words,” says Taylor, “produced an effect upon his hearers, which men who have to read them in translation will not understand. There is a strong love for music and poetry among the Filipinos and Aguinaldo’s florid speeches moved them strongly.” Whatever he had to say in public had to reconcile the views and interests of all classes of society, no matter how grave the inherent contradictions were.

The republic’s ideas of nationalism and revolution can be gleaned from the following excerpt of a speech by Aguinaldo before local principales who were to form “revolutionary municipal councils.”

Pacitamton nating lahat na Filipinos na tayo'y anac na parapara nang isang lupa; nang isang Filipino: palibhasa'y pagcamat natin ay manda nito sa tayo sa caniyang candungan, pinusamyo ng bongo nang caniyang hangin, lin tung na nang caniyang arao at binuhay na parapara sa bunga nang caniyang lup. Gaya ang lahat na naturales, kahit nang mestizong castilla para nang mestizong Sangley sa Filipino ay paang isang anak na bata na lalo, isang laruan niya at isang kapit imong eat. At ano ang pagalitim nating mga kapitid nang mabilangay lugod ang marugpin nating isang Binay, cudigis ang magasaang loob sa caniyang icabubutin.

Sa pagcaca isang loob ang lahat nang provincia nitong Filipinas, cahit ano nang lalay noy ay mgaaplit at mabaa sa isang nais—nang nais ng pagcasa noo tayo sa uulang pagcasaillungungan.

Let all of us Filipinos understand that we are all children of a single Mother, of Mother Filipinas: since from the time we left our womb she has sheltered us under her care, let us breathe her fragrance, brought us the light of her sun and nourished us with the fruits of her soil. For this reason all her native inhabitants, all the Spanish mestizos as well as the Chinese mestizos in the Philippines are like a single child of God here, and in each one I see God’s image and a brother of mine. And what better offering can all of us brothers give to our loving Motherland happy, than to be one in loob for her sake?

In the effort of becoming one in loob of all the provinces of the Philippines, even those that are distant will be brought closer in a union of views and aspirations—namely, independence and freedom from foreign domination.

Reference in the speech to the protection and light of Mother Filipinas reflects consciousness of the new entity born out of the separation of Spain and Filipinas. It is also an image that invokes the spirit of the 1896 revolution. But the idea of unity that follows is ultimately based not on the experience of unity but on the fact that each inhabitant of the nation is an image of God. That is why many of the ilustrados, wealthy principals, and mestizos who had generally been unsympathetic or hostile to the 1896 struggle could, because of education, wealth and social status, be placed on an equal (or even higher) plane with veterans of the Katipunan. Either missing or entirely subdued in this and other speeches and manifestos emanating from the government is the Katipunan idea that unity is accomplished through the transformation and “direction” of each Filipino’s loob or, to put it differently, in the individual experience of the struggle. The absence of the notion of participation in the redemption of Mother Filipinas reflects the ilustrado and upper principia composition of the Malolos government and congress. Cabinet President Apolinario Mabini, born of very poor parents, was one of the few exceptions. This may well explain the harrassment he was subjected to in Malolos in 1899, and his later condemnation of Aguinaldo’s manner of governing. For Mabini was not convinced that the nation could come into being by definition and the mere possession of all the external trappings. In the introduction to his “Decalogue,” he echoes Bonifacio’s earlier complaint that self-interest, jealousy, and favoritism among self-proclaimed revolutionaries were destructive of the common good. “A veritable blood-letting is necessary,” writes Mabini, “in order to shed so much vitiated and corrupt blood, inoculated in your veins by your stepmother in order to bind you to eternal thankfulness. Therein lies the internal revolution which I proposed.”

Aguinaldo’s speech to the principales defines “nationalism” as “a union of views and aspirations” centered on independence, or “freedom from foreign domination.” Because the ilustrados reserved for themselves the right to define Filipino “aspirations” and had, in fact, defined independence as political autonomy or self-government by Filipinos, radical interpretations of independence from elements of the “poor and ignorant class” (to paraphrase the ilustrados) were branded as “antirevolutionary” by the leaders of the republic. The internal problems that Malolos had to contend with were largely caused by the ramification of the independence ideal among the populace. The revolutionary message of the 1896 Katipunan—that independence (kalayaan) would bring about a condition of brotherhood, equality, contentment (kaginhawaan) and material abundance (kasaganaan)—had been communicated so effectively to the people, that by the time separation from Spain was fully

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3. Taylor, Philippine Insurrection, p. 175.
4. “Talumpati na isinayaw ng Presidente M. Emilio Aguinaldo at Famy sa Cavitie Viejo ng 3 ng Agosio ng 1898” (P.IR-SD 457.3). Also printed in Spanish.
attained in 1898, broad economic and social changes were expected by many rank-and-file Katipuneros and peasant fighters.

The language of revolutionary literature and slogans urging the people to fight could often be interpreted in broader terms than originally intended. Take the following catotohanan (truth) that appeared in the newspaper Ang Kaibigan ng Bayan (The Friend of the People) on 2 February 1899:

Ang bunga ng pagbabasa ay itong sumusunod:
Nababawan ang capalalan nang marunong.
Nababawan ang calupitan nang malacas.
Dumudumong ang mangmang.
At nadadagdagan ang diquit nang mundo,
pabibisa'y nabubuesan ang isip nang karamihan.7

The fruits of struggle are the following:
The educated become less arrogant.
The powerful become less cruel.
The ignorant gain knowledge.
And the world grows more radiant and beautiful,
as the minds of the masses are opened.

Social levelling is implied in the above “truth.” How could readers of the newspaper not expect it after struggling so hard? In the following song of earlier vintage, social inversion is the fruit of victory:

Ang kastila kung lumaban
ayos sila ng tagan
ang gusto nila ang barilan
mi trinchera pang kantungan.

Wala na Tapis na ang Maynila;
sumuko ng labat pati kura;
ang konvenio nila at hacienda
ibingag sa aming labat na.

Ang kura sa Bulakan
nananalakay sa parang
sapagkat siya'y pinagutusan
ni Don Salgario del Pilar.

When the Spaniards fought
they avoided hand to hand combat
preferring the security of trenches
from which to fire their guns.

It is all over! Manila is taken,
friars and all have surrendered;
their conventos and estates
have all been given to us.

The parish priest of Bulacan
was furiously tilling the fields
having been ordered to do so
by Don Salgario del Pilar.

Sa Bulakan, ang kastila
doon silang laban mistulang allia:
tag pamili sa tiang ng iada
at taga gawa ng labat ng bagay.8

In Bulacan, the Spaniards
all were practically servants:
going to market to buy fish
doing practically all the chores.

“it is all over!” proclaims the song, and then follow the economic and social consequences of the event: redistribution of friar property, and erstwhile colonial rulers becoming tillers and household servants. The revolutionary elite was anxious to leave it at that, to limit the meaning of the song to the defeat and humiliation of Spain. But the hopeful among the oppressed and those who fought doggedly to achieve this victory expected more sweeping changes. To them the above song expressed the beginning rather than the end.

Challenges to Malolos

Toward the end of 1898, the Malolos-based government began to receive alarming reports from provincial officials in both central and southern Luzon concerning the spread of “anti-revolutionary” movements. These peasant bands ignored directives from government officials, even going to the extent of threatening the lives and properties of the wealthy. The complex background of such discontent has been described in an incisive study by Milagros Guerrero.9 She points to the ilustrados’ resistance to “internal revolution,” the localism and abusiveness of many municipal officials, and the exigencies of the guerrilla resistance. For one thing, the imposition of the cedula personal and other forms of revenue and labor service simply recalled the “dark age” of Spanish rule. Furthermore, the control of local government by the principals gave them an opportunity to assert ownership of vast tracts of land, some of which were claimed by less sophisticated and powerless tillers. The realities of national independence were far from the expectations, nurtured during the war, not only of a release from the burdens of Spanish rule but of a society “turned upside down.” Even from the earliest days of victory, Mabini was aware of the contradictions that would plague the republic:

While forming part of the Malolos Government, the complaint was made to the writer by certain alarmed individuals that this talk of liberties had caused to

7. PIR, Box 7, PN.
germinate in the minds of the masses certain socialistic or communistic ideas which forbode no good for the future of certain properties of doubtful origin.10

As it was perceived that the acts of the revolutionary center contradicted its language of struggle and redemption, many religiopolitical brotherhoods turned away from it. Their ranks swelled in the latter part of 1898 as disappointed peasants and other aggrieved parties sought alternative vehicles for the pursuit of their ideals.

One of the more “spectacular” cases of disorder that Malolos had to contend with was the so-called Pencacola affair in Zambales, northwest of Manila. The brothers Teodoro and Doroteo Pencacola were veterans of the war against Spain, having been responsible for liberating a town or two from Spanish rule. But when the towns of the province were reorganized according to the government decree of 18 June 1898, the Pencacola brothers encouraged the populace to disobey the local principales who controlled the municipal governments, and to refrain from paying the “personal contributions” required by the government. They began to form parties in the towns to oppose all orders from Malolos and were even successful in inducing some detachments of the revolutionary army to abandon their posts and form a rebel group. The Pencacola brothers harrassed “various wealthy and educated persons” of Botolan, Zambales, with the aim of forcing them to leave the town, their object being to secure their real property and distribute it among their followers, as according to their doctrine it was already time for the rich to be poor and for the poor to become rich, endeavoring to make the people believe that the ignorant should direct the towns and the intelligent be subordinated to them; with these extravagant theories, they have succeeded in deceiving the masses and securing their adhesion.11

This report, coming from a government administrator, does not quite give us the outlook of the Pencacola brothers themselves. But it is clear how the outcome of the war against Spain was easily perceived by the masses of Zambales as an inversion of traditional relationships in society.

In the previous chapter, we pointed out the ideological kinship of the Katipunan and the Colorum of southern Luzon, and how in 1897 Sebastian Cano led the latter against the Spaniards. But as the leadership of the revolution came to rest increasingly in ilustrado hands, resulting in government neglect of local problems, a change occurred in the Colorum’s posture vis-à-vis the revolutionary center. In late 1898, Cano’s group, now calling itself the “Katipunan ni San Cristobal,” was ordered suppressed by the Malolos government for having aims that were “almost diametrically antirevolutionary.”12 Branches of this katipunan were discovered in the provinces of Morong, Batangas, Laguna, and Tayabas. In the latter three provinces, the Magbubunyod (lit., “uncouth mountain dwellers”), as the Colorum were also called, had a following of over thirty thousand by September 1898. Manuel Arguelles, the provincial governor of Tayabas, in an urgent report to Aguinaldo bewailed that the “heretic” and “absurd” ideas of the Katipunan ni San Cristobal were encouraging the gente proletaria to abandon their fields, to the detriment of the landlords. Many servants were leaving the homes of their masters. In general, they were “a constant threat to public order” but it was fruitless, and dangerous, to pursue them because they were “prepared to die in defense of their cause.”13

The ilustrado Arguelles also noted that this katipunan’s leader, Sebastian Cano, was a man of no education at all and “a great impostor.” And yet by wandering around, preaching his message, he was able to undermine the traditional dominance of the principales and ilustrados. Arguelles himself offered an explanation for this: “Since the country today is passing through a critical period, it seems that the spread of this society is swift . . . and geometrically proportional.”14 What Arguelles meant was that the spread of the Katipunan ni San Cristobal directly followed upon the overall state of dislocation in the country in the wake of the war against Spain. This war was tantamount to a cataclysm leading to a total reordering of the universe. The Colorum were mobilized by Cano to support it wholeheartedly, inspired by the promise of a perfect society in which the faithful of the earth would be united in a community of brotherhood and equality. The style of Bonifacio’s Katipunan, its use of traditional imagery and its ethos of brotherhood, encouraged this fusion of popular “religious” aspirations and new, patriotic goals. Cano’s use of the Katipunan name in late 1898, at a time when the original secret society was proscribed by the government, suggests that the Katipunan ethos lived on and gave form to hopes that the revolution would still run its course.

Similar movements sprouted at about the same time all over Luzon. A little-known group calling itself “Cruz na Bituin” (Cross of Stars) and the Santa Iglesia, which will be described in a later chapter, flourished in the provinces of Pampanga, Bulacan, and Tarlac. Pangasinan and the southern Ilocano

13. Manuel Arguelles to Aguinaldo, Bacoor, 10 September 1898 (PIR-SD 242).
14. Ibid.
provinces saw the rapid growth of the Guardia de Honor.\(^{15}\) Flooded with reports of “disturbances” in the countryside, President Aguinaldo, in February 1899, appealed to “those various katipunans” to unite with the country as a whole. Announcing that the Americans had come to succeed the Spaniards, that they intended to make the Filipinos worship the friars again, and that they would hand back to the latter the properties that belonged rightfully to the people, Aguinaldo assured the nation that the congress, government and army were one in lōb with the people in the struggle. However, many brothers who, confused by certain teachings, refused to abolish their katipunans:

Dito sa Mundo’i hindi natin maaliks sa manga kahirapan, at yaon ay taga nang laman nitong lutang atin kinatahanan—datapuat’ kung sino man ang may agravio o kahirapan iniutang, huwag sanang bigla biglang hihalala sa Katipunan mabang mga Filipinos, at gawaan nang ibang partido, dahil sa ye’imakasisira totoo sa atin linlakad na independencia.\(^{16}\)

In this world, there will always be hardship, and that is inflicted by the conditions of the land we live in—however, if anyone bears grievances or hardship, let him not suddenly turn away from the katipunan of us Filipinos and form another party, for that damages our budding independence.

What frustrated Aguinaldo was the difficulty of reconciling the interests of the peasantry and the nation, as he and other leaders saw it:

Yuan na nang lahat ang mga partidos sa ita pang nakakagulo sa ating pagkakaisa, at tayong lahat ay mag-isang isa pang panagalan—Filipinos—sa ita pang lahat ang isang isa lamang tayong nacion, isa lamang tayong loób, at isa lamang tayong Katipunan.\(^{17}\)

Let us leave behind all these parties and other things that cripple our unity, and let us all be one in name—Filipinos—a sign that we are one nation, one loób, one katipunan.

Aguinaldo gave the parties concerned ten days to present themselves and air their grievances. Otherwise, those caught would be imprisoned for two years or, particularly for members of the Santa Iglesia, Guardia de Honor, and Cruz na Bituin, death would be meted out.\(^{18}\)

Another phenomenon that disturbed the Malolos government was the increasing frequency of labor strikes directed mainly at foreign-owned compa-

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17. Ibid.
18. Ibid.

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nie based in American-occupied Manila. Again, this was unheard of in pre-Katipunan days and must be attributed to the desire of workers to realize certain possibilities which had opened up to them with independence. In late 1898, some laborers in Manila instigated a strike against a Chinese-owned tobacco factory. Then followed a strike of domestic servants and local artisans of Manila. Teamsters, tram and railway operators, shopkeepers and employees of private firms followed suit.\(^{19}\) The strikes aimed at lowering or eliminating taxes as well as securing wage increases. They had, however, clearly also a political dimension. Among the most enthusiastic participants were members of the Katipunan being revived by Gen. Teodoro Sandiko in the occupied district. According to Taylor, the upper classes of Manila were already tacitly, if not openly, supporting the Americans at this time. Thus, Sandiko could only appeal to the “poor and ignorant.” Many of those who rallied to the revived Katipunan or sandalaban (army) were Katipuneros of 1896–97, imprisoned by the Spaniards but released by the Americans who found the Manila jails overflowing with political prisoners. Assuring the Americans that he was merely forming athletic clubs, Sandiko disguised his organizational activities until the general strike occurred. When interviewed about it, he called the strike a good thing because “it tends to better the situation of the laborers—that is, the poor class.”\(^{20}\)

These events, however, perturbed the Malolos government. The revolutionary provincial governor of Manila, Ambrosio Flores, in a proclamation, exhorted the inhabitants of Manila to follow their habitual occupations, to disregard the nationality of their employers, and to seek redress for grievances through “legal and prudent methods.” Continuing, he said:

In no case should you resort to violence or cause disorders which only serve to belie your naturally pacific, docile and honorable character. ... Furthermore, can you not understand ... that at this time when the future of our country is being decided, when the whole civilized world has its eyes fixed upon us to see if we possess the requisite ability and culture for self-government and if we sufficiently guarantee order to protect foreign interests in our country, can you not see, I repeat, that at this precise moment the disturbances you cause by these strikes, your reasons not being known to the outside world, may give rise to false impressions concerning the depth of our national character?\(^{21}\)

What we should especially note is the preoccupation with the outward form of the republic in order to merit recognition by the “whole civilized world.” This

Aguinaldo himself echoes Flores in a proclamation issued in the midst of a railroad strike in Pangasinan in September 1898. The laborers did not report for duty in order to pressure the foreign-owned company to increase wages. Aguinaldo's attitude toward them is clear even from the first sentence of the proclamation in which he says he finds it worthwhile to address the strikers because the workers, having a "submissive disposition," will listen to him. Later he insists that the idea to strike cannot come from the natives themselves and must have been "advised by our enemy in order that the foreigners may have occasion to criticize us." But Aguinaldo also points out that the strikers' attitude "shows our union which is the fountain and strength of our present struggle against the Spaniards." Somehow this hesitance to either condemn or praise reflects Aguinaldo's intermediate position between masses and ilustrados, and partly explains why he could hold the republic together for a time in spite of its leaders' essentially conservative outlook. Eventually, Aguinaldo tells the strikers that their action is mistaken, and explains why:

Our union does not lie in what you have done—refusing to go to work with the railroad company. There should be a union in hailing the sacred liberty of our native land and in defending the same from being again taken from us by the Spaniards or by any other foreign nation. Our union should not consist in small things, as what you have done, i.e., refusing to go to work, which discredits you and all of us in the eyes of other nations who are now observing us.21

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22. ibid., p. 379.
Reluctantly, the author and his friends carry out the orders. Throughout the forty-eight stanzas of the poem, there is no reference to the standard Katipunan themes of “love,” “brotherhood,” or “defense of Mother Country.” Instead we find a personal account of loneliness, of hardships caused by the harsh environment and American “guerillas,” of boredom and the desire to return to the heavenly barrio. In stanza 17, there is even mention of some companions who, unable to endure it all, have gone home. The author understands that suffering is a progressive dying to the world, death being the avenue for reward (in heaven), but he is not sure of his commitment to the hardship of the struggle. His cynicism and vacillation betray the absence of a social meaning for the event in which he participates:

Ang ika pang dusa’y dicona sabihin
at uulitin uuan tingin sa amin
sa aau ng langit ito’i natili din
cahit ang hirap ay nabata umin.

The other sorrows I won’t bother to mention
for no one is likely to render a compassionate glance
we endured it all through heaven’s mercy
patiently suffered through all hardships.

Ang buhay nga namin sa mundo’u ulana
catimbang ng hirap dimadadala
ngunit ang paralan capagdumating na
ang bula sa dusa ay ating labat na.

Our life in this world fades away
in proportion to the hardship we bear
but when the fateful day arrives
the reward for suffering will be ours.

Marahil pay cami ang siang mainas
yorcan ng paa ang pagmamasakti
at asputahin guinhauang sumedid
at sa kalong longcut cami’y ibubuli.

But perhaps we might become disgusted
trample underfoot, with disdain, our sacrifices
and blindly grope for a life of comfort
and fall into even greater sorrow.

Recovering the Past

It is during the same period (ca. 1899) that we begin to find essays and poems that suggest a groping for the social meaning of the revolution. With the breakdown of spirit and morale during the latter part of the republican period, individuals concerned about the turn of events interpreted their past, present, and future in terms of the experience of 1896. The narration of the Katipunan revolt assumed the form of epics like the pasyon, restored a dimension of meaning to the troubled present and pointed to the “way” that ought to be taken.

In September 1899, a small and poorly printed tabloid entitled Ang Bayang Kababasang Kababaihan (The Deeply Grieving Country) appeared in the town of San Francisco de Malabon, where Bonifacio and the Magdiwang wing of the Katipunan had had their headquarters. It was edited by Diego Mojica, a poet and former president of the Katipunan in San Francisco de Malabon. In the first issue, Mojica states that he has started the publication to announce humbly to his kapatid (brothers) certain matters and truths related to the “straight and holy path” (Santong Matauid), so that they will discover the “delightful things” that come with the right way of life prescribed in the Holy Scriptures (santong casulatan). When the lives of the kapatid are ordered and oriented in this manner, they will obtain freedom and peace; in their souls will shine “that pure beacon of light and brilliance” (yang dalisay na ilao ng puspos carikutan at calisanagan) rivalling the stars in the sky.

Although Diego Mojica seems to have been a devout person, having written several pieces of religious poetry including the Pasong Bagong Katha (New Pasyon Composition), his concern in the above passages was not merely for the devout and moral life in itself. His newspaper was conceived with the growing sad state of the country in mind. In another article in the same issue, Mojica writes about the light (ilaw) of Mother Filipinas which is flickering under the onslaught of the Americans. But, he continues, heaven is bound to help the Filipinos, and he ends with the saying: “King Nabcuadoranoser likened himself to a beast, but humility and lowliness saved the good Moses” (tumulad sa baybay ang Haring Nabcuadoranoser, ngunit ang kapusa ngayon sa mabat na Moses). Reflected in this saying is the connection between struggle and the state of one’s loób. It is not implied that the individual simply be passive and seek refuge from the turmoil of the world by turning inward. Nor does it mean that the masses must, in their lowliness, follow their leaders blindly. Heaven will help the Filipinos if they pattern their lives after the lowly but powerful and victorious Christ. Each inner transformation and perhaps death for the country will hasten the coming of kalayaan. The light of Mother Filipinas is flickering because men of the republic have turned away

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25. This tabloid seems to have been connected with Sandiko’s revival of the Katipunan. Only two issues (nos. 1 and 2) have been found and are in Box 7, PIR, PNLS.
26. His religious poetry includes the following titles: “Ang Anghel at ang Demonio sa Bawat Isang Tala” RENFIL 1 (28 January 1911): 34; “Gelosa Catolica,” RENFIL 1 (28 April 1911): 34; (7 May 1911): 33; and “Pasong Bagong Katha,” RENFIL 1 (21 March 1911): 33. These were all composed much earlier than their publication dates.
from the experience of the "straight and holy path," the resulting state of their loob is manifested in external events. The same ideas are developed in Mojica's view of the past. He devotes the whole front page of the newspaper's second issue to an article entitled "Ang Catapusan ng Araro ng Agosto 1896" (The Last Day of August 1896), which treats of the beginning of the war against Spain in Cavite, in which he participated. Mojica does not really relate what happened, or what he did; what he does is try to recapture the meaning of 1896. To perceive this meaning in his work is to regain a sense of the "straight and holy path."

Las once ng umaga ng araro ng lunes catapusan araro ng Agosto ng 1896 ng simulang sa bayang S. Francisco Malabon ang cahambal hambal at caapi aping panghuhulugan o revolution at sorongod namang ang lahat ng bayang sacop ng Hucomong Cavite, inaring langit ng mga matalasap ang halimin loob ang calunos-lunos natanging ng bayan, lua, buntong hinang na cumatayan, ipinag-ihi ng ilan na nahimlat na bukas sa mga gufo sa Cuartel ng Guardia Civil at Hacienda ng mga Frayle napapang sagana sa mga sandata at iba pang cailangan ucol sa paquequilamas, ang naaapari ng bayan ang halong humigat na sa pusian ang mga caasyu, ng mga arao at oras sa yaman naling na hibo ng ang cayangan sa cailasant, bumubucal ng alamat na iba sa libo libong puso, bailat cahabayar, isa ang loob at pagdaramdam pilipinas't isang lalui at mag cayangan sa patong pagong na nagsa caasahan at caalisan, hindi lumaplas ng labing limang arao at tumahimik ang boong Hucomong Cavite nasupit ang mga cuartel at Hacienda pinanging ng caaruhan ang mga caasyu hinantod ipinag-loob ang caaliran sa mga sandata at iba pang mga cahingalan, marami ang napayat sa canila at nangga sagatan.

It was eleven o'clock on the morning of the last day of August 1896, when San Francisco de Malabon began the sad and oppressive war or revolution, and all the rest of the towns in the jurisdiction of Cavite followed suit; the most pathetic weeping, the tears, sighs and dying of the country were taken to heart by the brave and heroic of loob; several rusty muskets, spears, and bamboo sticks were dared pitted against the cuartel of the civil guard and the hacienda of the friars, which were well-armed and provisioned, in spite of which the fury of the country spread ever more, overrunning and annihilating the enemy; during those days and those times, cowardice and inactivity reigned in the grave of the forgotten; in many thousands of hearts sprung forth bravery, goodness and heroism, loob and feelings were one, for they were one people, in each other's embrace they had suffered the grief of subjugation and enslavement; hardly five days had passed when the whole jurisdiction of Cavite quieted down, the cuartel and hacienda were overthrown; the enemy, overcome by cowardice, peacefully surrendered their weapons and supplies, many among them were killed or wounded.

The whole event is told in a single sentence. Mojica did not see fit to break up the account into smaller segments because the lengthy sentence is itself an image of a complete process—the beginning, the spread, and end of a popular uprising. Rather than being pure narrative, the account tries to capture through language the experience of 1896. The event, he says at the outset, is "sad" and "oppressive." The original word for "sad" is cahambalbambal, which connotes a dismal or doleful atmosphere that "infects" people in it; it is often used to describe the mood in a funeral. The original Tagalog word translated as "oppressive" is caaping-api, which literally refers to a pitiful situation that evokes compassion. Both cahambalbambal and caaping-api denote the pasyon framework in which the event and its narration are situated.

Mojica states that the revolt took place when people "took to heart" the "pathetic weeping, tears, sighs and dying of the country." The word "pathetic" is, in the original Tagalog, calunos-lunos, a word which evokes a sympathetic feeling of pity. Thus it not only "describes" the sad state of the country but, together with the words for "weeping, tears, sighs and dying," evokes the experience of pity in the reader. This is essential in view of Mojica's intention, in 1899, of reviving the spirit of 1896. The revolt of 1896 took place when men's loob carried damay and compassion.

Mojica uses the phrase inaring langit, which I have translated as "taken to heart," to describe the people's response to the country's suffering. But the literal translation of inaring langit is "to interpret as heaven-sent," and may also be translated as "to respond to something as a sign of heaven." The implication here is that the experience of pity for the suffering country also meant situating events in the context of divine time. This would explain the force that is suddenly released and which "overruns" and "annihilates" the enemy. The people can fight with "rusty muskets, spears and bamboo sticks" against a well-equipped enemy because they are acting out an event whose outcome is, in a way, part of a divine framework. The force or "fury" mentioned is, however, not heaven-sent but concomitant to men acting out the event. This involves a movement in the loob of each individual which releases the potentialities of "courage, goodness and heroism" while casting off "cowardice and indolence." In the common experience of suffering, compassion, struggle, and self-control is found the basis of unity, the "oneness of loob and feeling."

The whole first sentence is thus about the country's experience of her pasyon—a redemptive act, the completion of a divine plan, the painful death to a former state of being. That is another reason why the event is sad, even though the outcome, as we could expect, is rebirth, described in the next sentence of Mojica's account:

Nabuhay ngang panghuhulugan o revolution ng taong 1872 na minidan sa loob ng Hucomang ding ito, nabuhay ang binはじing pag caacsa at masakulan, nabuhay ang dati at mabibibik na pagtigroga nabuhay at halos lapat na sa boong Catagalogun, parang mga buhay rin ang mga bayani at guinoong Burgos, Zamora, Gomez, Rizal, at iba pang may tapang at dalasay na pag darasam, hinahat na lahat ng camatayan dahil sa pag big sa lupang tinubuan at sa dimabilang.
Then Mojica condemns Spain and the friars who caused the people's suffering and oppression:

O hangal na Ina! Sino ca ngaon? . . . Ay sa abo mo! Hubgay mo ang ilong mabait na didi at pag sisit. Si Dilumot mo ang mga balintangay ca ilong ca abo mo! Hubgay mo ang cahina hina'y na Filipinas na ilong ipisaganya. Ula ca gana pang higantahan cundi ca mga Fraylen lumastangan ca ilong Gobiero at ngagapangap na ilan ca cabili ca catedo ni Jesus. Si Jesus baga'i may mga pagbuhay . . . may bodega ng pilae, nagpapatay ng taon, nagpapanao, o deistero ca iba ca pang para punang ni bagay? Ula ca Jesus nito, cundi paunang santong capacumbahan, ca crus na cahinpan ca lahat ca bagay ang naguing buhay, Cordero, at Hari ca paghig at panghinayang ca lahat ca quinalap, siya ca ang nag pagsacbatuy, ca tayo ca mabuhay ca lahat, datupa ca ang Frayle, ca ibibay macuyom ca sang daaidigan, siya ca na ang hari ca macapangyaran ca lahat, ca ang mabuhay ca tayo ca ang mamay.

Oh stupid Mother! What have you become now! . . . How destitute you are! Let fall your bitter reflections and regrets. Through the eyes of your treachery, gaze at Filipinas whose misfortune you, now regretfully, caused; you can only seek vengeance from the friars who blasphemed your government and pretended that they were the soldiers and successors of Jesus. Did Jesus undertake tax collections . . . did he have storehouses of silver, did he have people killed or exiled and do other ugly things? Jesus did none of these; he was but holy lowliness, he bore the cross of hardship that all things may come alive, he was the lamb, a king in love and compassion for all of creation. He caused himself to die, so that all of us may live; the friars, however, wanted the world in their fist, they wanted to be king and exercise power over all, they wanted to live and use us to die.

Mojica's explicit reference to the figure of Christ as a model to be followed answers the question of how leading a life according to the "straight and holy path" will make the light of Filipinas shine brightly once more. Mojica emphasizes the need for humility, love, compassion, the willingness to die so that others may live, because the events in his time showed a departure from the "straight and holy path" that the Katipunan of 1896 had taken. Perhaps Mojica never forgave the Aguinaldo group for purging him from the revolution-
to nothing about), was the *Casuay nang Babay ng Ating manga Capitid* (Sequel to the Life Story of our Brothers). In terms of the events it narrates in 122 stanzas, it appears to say nothing new. It deals with the oppressive acts of the friars, the rise of the Katipunan, the unsuccessful attempts of the Spanish government to stamp out the revolution in 1896 and 1897, the truce of January 1898, and the final defeat of Spain in mid-1898.

An almost identical awit appears, in a highly abbreviated form, in the June 1911 issue of *Renacimiento Filipino.* Entitled *Ang Paghihimagsik Laban sa Espesyal* (The War against Spain), it is only fifty-two stanzas in length. Moreover, its first twenty-two stanzas are an altogether different composition, although we shall show later that its equivalent in the longer version has the same meaning. This version was transcribed by Carlos Ronquillo, Aguinaldo's personal secretary during the revolution and an eminent Tagalog man of letters in this century. His comments about the awit are particularly interesting. He makes no mention of the existence of a published version, which is curious, since he was an avid collector of Tagalog literary marks. He says that the awit was copied down from a beggar who used to sing it regularly. In fact, he calls it a "beggar song" because it is also the beggars who possess it and never forget it. Ronquillo's statement is borne out by the existence of still another transcription of the awit dated as late as 1921. Jose Estrella, then a young student at the University of the Philippines, copied down what he calls a *Kantahing Puhalde* (Beggar Song) from a "wandering minstrel who obtained his living by singing songs." Estrella says this of the "minstrel": "the one who wrote this or composed the verses... is excusable due to the fact that he is an illiterate man, who was born blind, as he told me. He can make rhyme readily." The Estrella version of the awit is even shorter—twenty-six in all—but it preserves the unifying theme of the original.

Ronquillo notes that, at least in the version he copied down, there are many mistakes of fact and omission. Many prominent revolutionaries, like Candido Tiron, Mariano Trias, Miguel Malvar and others are not mentioned; on the other hand, Antonio Montenegro, who never led soldiers in the war is glorified among the heroes. Furthermore, there is no mention, says Ronquillo, of the revolutionary government of Naik, the "departmental government" in central Luzon, the "republican government" at Biak-na-Bato and other developments all of which took place within the time span of the awit. The ilustrado view that the revolution evolved from Katipunan or secret society stage to a republican stage is simply ignored by the awit and, implicitly, in folk memories of the revolution. There indeed was an evolution in political organization but, as we shall see, that was not what the revolution meant to the masses.

As far as the "unmentioned" leaders are concerned, we might note that some of them are mentioned in the longer awit version, but the latter contains even more insignificant names, e.g., Leon Juanching, Isidoro Carmona, Juan Gutierrez. The personalities of these leaders and men are in fact irrelevant to the theme of the awit. Estrella comments that "the facts of the story are somewhat obscure. But the way the story progresses is somewhat convincing." Ronquillo himself admits that the awit is about the "spirit" of the war rather than about personalities and events per se:

Mabasaing boong diwa ng naging dahil ng Panghihimagsik ay naibabadh riyan. Iyang ang katas. Iyang ang sigaw ng bayang noo'y napiliin manghimagsik at humaan sa satiling lakas ng lupas na kailangan sa malubhang sakit na idiinat. P

It can be said that the whole spirit of what brought about the war has been traced in the awit. That is the essence [esp., katas]. That is the cry of the country that was forced to wage war and to find in its own strength the cure that was needed for the grave illness that made her moan in pain.

Ronquillo could make the statement because he was a participant in the revolution. But why is it that by 1910 or earlier, only beggars and the like remembered and sang the awit? We shall note in future chapters that the Katipunan ethos was, in fact, kept alive in this century among the so-called poor and ignorant people. The awit itself, from internal evidence in the longer version, seems to have been composed during the latter days of the republic and is a statement about the increasing loss of "Katipunan experience" since the war against Spain. A similarity exists between the awit and the writings of Diego Mojica we have looked into. They both speak about the experience of revolution, the force or energy that comes from the union of men. The three versions we have of the awit emphasize this energy and its overpowering effect on the Spaniards. Ultimately, personalities and events are subordinated to the images of union and energy that constitutes the "essence" of the awit. It must be noted that the awit's content analyzed below is in the form of regulated verse.
recited or sung. What Mojica tried to communicate through the careful use of verse would have been rendered more effectively by the singer of the awit. The awit begins with the image of a relentless storm:

Sa dahus ng unos na di magpatantán
na bumbagbag na nangangalacal
siyang di itigul sa puyat at pagsal
ng mungga bihaya sa pagpapatayán.

So violent and unrelenting is the storm
that disrupts the activities of traders
and rages on through the tireless efforts
of those who are hardened to slaughter.

The storm is said to disrupt the whole of Filipinas, “from the good clerics down to the people who are trampled upon.” Its relation to death is immediately established: the image of the ceaseless slaughter of men (pagpapatayán) is juxtaposed with that of a storm that destroys and uproots. The storm, which in other stanzas finds its equivalent in the word gulo (chaos, turmoil), begins at a certain point in the past and rages unceasing up to the time in which victory over Spain is complete. The storm is the temporal framework of the awit, the context in which events take place. The theme is stated repeatedly in the course of the poem, and is recognized by the stress patterns of the first two lines of the awit:

Sa dahus ng unos na di magpatantán
na bumbagbag sa nangangalacal

The phenomenon of disruption is said to have originated with the friars. Unlike other types of revolutionary literature, however, this awit does not portray the friars as the archetype of evil. It averts the direct flow of moral obloquy by inserting complimentary adjectives in what is otherwise an enumeration of their misdeeds. In the stanzas describing the activities of Father Gil (the discoverer of the Katipunan), he is said to be “all right” (magiging). It is out of his “goodness” (dominat) that many are shot or exiled. He is awarded “honors” for his services. He is “famous” (bantog); by his “beautiful handling of things” his name is acclaimed even in Spain. The awit, of course, does not approve of Gil’s acts, one of which was to open a campaign of terror against suspected members of the Katipunan. But the use of poetic irony, verging on the humorous, limits condemnation. Even the Spanish government which Gil served is merely described as “mute” (pi ñ o). The awit, as we shall see, is not a condemnation of Spain’s brutal acts, nor is it supposed to portray the triumph of good over evil.

Friar Gil’s discovery of the Katipunan is not mentioned explicitly. But he is is said to participate in the creation of chaos (3). His role in the awit is to illustrate that a condition of chaos has set upon the land. “As if at a certain appointed hour” (7), the “good” friars everywhere begin to persecute the “wealthy and educated” citizens of the towns. The simultaneity of the friars’ activities everywhere contributes to the impression that the event is almost fated rather than the result of an insidious plot.

The descriptions in stanzas 8-12 build up an image of a multitude of innocent individuals from disparate towns being compressed into a limited space, i.e., the “prison”:

Na cyn caya lumang parang lumulubad
sa siquip ang madla na nasasa-hirap,
cyn binahing na o cyn irapat
sa mga destierro ang cahabaghabab . . .

Only did relief come
from this crowded state
when they were killed
or exiled, these pitiful men . . .

Bagamat, sa caped nanay, nanay
na di narararay sa pinirusanahan,
di maglipid buan hubugso na nanay
macapal na taong taga ibang bayan.

Though the prison had a few left
of those who escaped punishment
hardly a month passed when it again overflowed
with masses of people from other towns.

A no pa, ang lagay carcel tan Bilibid
na grippong mistula ang nacaparis,
maguing arao labing arao ungkilb
hindi naguupalang ang nasabing tabig.

Bilibid prison in fact could be
likened to a faucet
which though used day and night
was never without water.

The description of the “pitiful” principales serves as the introduction to the rise of the Katipunan which, in a sense, is prefigured by the coming together of
individuals in prison; the image of the ceaseless flow of water is analogous to the common flow of blood (i.e., the blood compact) that symbolizes Katipunan unity. But the experience of the principales is still different in that they are forcibly compressed into one.

The transition to the episode of the Katipunan’s “coming to being” is made by reiterating the image of the storm:

Ang bilis nang duwa na di magpatatang
nang tanang pinunong na sa bayan-bayan
doon sa paharap ay hilong magkatang
ang ini nang loob nitong CATIPUNAN. (14)

The grief of all the principals in the towns
was sweeping and unrelenting,
in this mounting hardship the heat of the Katipunan’s loob
intensified, burst into flames.

The first two lines of the stanza recall the main theme introduced in stanza 1 by the identity of stress patterns and the presence of the word magpatatang. Dusa (grief) does not seem to be merely a private emotion but moves in a “rushing manner” and so has the quality of an uprooting force, the equivalent of unos (storm) in stanza 1. It is then implied that this “rushing” grief led to the rise of the Katipunan, expressed in terms of the “bursting into flames” of the “heat” of the Katipunan’s loob. But why should the Katipunan, composed largely of nonprincipalia elements be ignited by the experience of the principals? The answer lies in the image of “grief” and “hardship” of the principals, which is made an element of the overall chaos. Grief and hardship, irrespective of the personalities or class that experienced them, evoke and release in society such emotive forces as damay and compassion. In this context, we recall Mabini’s comment that in spite of the fact that the martyrs Burgos, Gomez, and Zamora “had striven for the right of a class and not of the people in general,” their execution brought about “deep pity and pain for the victims. This pain wrought up a miracle; it caused the Filipinos to think for the first time of themselves.”

In Mabini’s view, the experience of damay in 1972 involved all classes of society and signified a budding national consciousness. In stanza 14 of the awit, damay is a social experience, a Katipunan experience. Since damay is a manifestation of a whole and controlled loob, the Katipunan’s loob radiates heat and flame, just as Christ and other individuals of exemplary loob radiate liwanag.

The first “gathering of men” (ipon, root word of Katipunan) takes place at Balintawak. The awit does not say that Bonifacio organized this group. Many men simply “come together” and then follow their leader, the “intelligent” (matalino) Bonifacio. The second leader mentioned, Valentín de la Cruz, together with his many companions are the first to bring chaos (gumulo) to Santa Mesa. The key word here is gumulo, whose stem, gulo, is often used to refer to battles or to the general situation in which the Katipunan mobilizes. An alternative word used is paggapatay (killing of each other), which we shall translate as “holocaust.” In stanza 54 the battlefield is called campung patayen (field of death).

We mentioned previously that the image of the uprooting storm (unos) provides the temporal framework of the awit. Chaos (gulo) and holocaust (paggapatay) are like the storm in being manifestations of a fundamental disruption in the order of things. In order to understand how an entity such as the Katipunan can be conceived of as arising out of a disruption in the world order, we have to refer to the pasyon’s particular use of the “storm” and “chaos” images.

In the pasyon, the word gulo first appears in reference to the turmoil among most inhabitants of Jerusalem upon hearing various rumors concerning the Messiah’s birth. Later on Herod, the pharisees, and “leading men of the towns” regard Christ’s teaching as the cause of gulo among the common people. Anas, for example, confronts Jesus:

ano bagong manga saysay
ang iyong iniinat
nagugulot sa bayan? (107:4)

Or as Pilate says before sentencing Christ:

Anila ay iyong tuuo
palamasat uling teto
sa hari pa’i magulilo,
boong bayad’ ginugulo
ang ugal’i binahug. (136:5)

They say this man
is a traitor without friends
disloyal even to the king,
putting the whole land in gulo
changing attitudes and customs.

Christ’s presence among men brings about gulo because it changes attitudes toward the self and society. It may even be said that traditional relationships in society are disrupted; for example, the pharisees accuse Christ of causing men to disobey their king, Herod. This gulo, however, is still only a prelude to the gulo that comes about as soon as Christ has died on the cross. Suddenly there are “unceasing earthquakes” and other manifestations of chaos:

Ito na, i ang siyang mula
niyong csuluhang paua
ang paralih, talambay nga
pagcamaatay na mistula
ng Panginoong May-gua .

This was the beginning
of all that gulo
the sessions grieved
over the true death
of the Lord Creator .

Ang dilang bagay sa mundo
sampung apat na elemento

All things in the world
including the four elements.

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The pasyon explains at length that the chaos in the elements of the universe is really a sign that the material world, apart from man, has sorrow and pity for the dead Creator. This juxtaposition of chaos and compassion gives us another insight into the awit's similar juxtaposition of damay, storm/chaos, and the rise of the Katipunan. On the matter of the storm imagery, clearly the pasyon line lindol ay di magpatantán (the unceasing earthquake) parallels the awit's recurrent motif unos na di magpatantán (the unceasing storm). This is found in another line of the pasyon, quidlat ay di magpatantán (the unceasing lightning), in relation to the Apocalypse. Moreover, the resurrected Christ himself tells his mother: "The storm (unos) of suffering and pain / has ceased and passed" (181:8).

The final appearance of the storm/chaos theme is in the treatment of the Apocalypse. Gulo is a sign of the second coming of Christ. As the pasyon describes it, the earth and even the heavens will turn into gulo. The sun will darken, the sky turn bloodred. Stars will flicker and fall to the ground. Wild animals will swarm into the towns. Huge tidal waves will inundate the land, and terrible sounds like that of armies clashing will be heard.

Unbearable gulo shall people on earth suffer they shall turn pale their tongues paralyzed their senses lost.

No longer friends young and old shall be for gulo shall reign and fellow Christians too shall fight each other truly.

Other aspects of the gulo will be the appearance of traitors and anti-Christ. Those who oppose the anti-Christ will suffer martyrdom. But this gulo is also a sign of the coming of the Kingdom. Forty days will pass in which men will be given a chance to change their loób and share in the coming victory. Storm and chaos thus provide the context in which men come together in Christ.

Our discussion of the layers of meaning in the word gulo illustrates the relationship between the awit and the Indí's experience, and helps explain why beggars and the like continued to remember it. For through it they could hold on to what Rongquillo calls the "essence" of the revolution, which is not the armed revolt or the military battles per se, but rather the condition of chaos and uprootedness in which men come together in the Katipunan. It is the force—i.e. the flame and heat—of this apocalyptic event that actually confronts the superior military strength of the Spaniards. Thus when General Blanco, having learned about the "swift spread" of the Katipunan, sends the guarda civil to the front, the result is disastrous; the flame spreads even faster when the "good Spaniards" attempt to extinguish it:

Ula ng ring ngangyari tanang inacala nitong manga punong mabuting castila, hangang linlabas laong lumahala yaong Catipunan na lumilitpina. (183)

In vain their efforts were thought these good Spanish chiefs suppression only intensified the Catipunan's rapid spread.

Stanza 19 is about the rise of the Katipunan in Cavite province. At this point, the two versions of the awit become identical. The notable difference in the first 22 stanzas comprising the Rongquillo variation is that the stirrings of revolt are conceptualized in terms of the breaking of an utang na loób relationship between the Filipinos and Mother Spain.

The awit begins with an acknowledgment of a debt of "education" to Spain accompanied by profuse thanks. In return for what is regarded as Spain's love for her "youngest child," the Filipinos have "shed blood" to defend their mother against her enemies, particularly the Moros. But in time the Filipinos are treated like animals, especially at the instigation of the friars. This violates the Katipunan definition of human relationship. A Katipunan document states that love between mother and child is what distinguishes man from beast, "catipunan" being but an extension of this primordial love. In treating the natives like animals, says the awit, Spain even negates the possibility of love's existence. In stanza 8–16, the atrocities of the friars are vividly listed, but this description is made meaningful only as it reflects the breaking down of the bond between mother and daughter because there is no love:

Ito baga ina ang iyong pagklasi
na kami'y lunarin sa luhang marami,
sa maraming hampas ng mga prayle?
Diwa'y binigyan ka ng kuwaiatang marami! (6)

Is this, Mother, your kind of love
that you left us to drown in a blood of tears
from the friars' many blows?
Perhaps with lots of money you were bribed?

41. "Ang Catipunan ng Tao" (manuscript; FII, Box 9 PNL).
Is there a connection between this image and the “chaos” in the written version of the awit? In a sense, the breaking of an utang na loob relationship between Mother Spain and daughter Filipinas is equivalent to uprootedness and chaos. The Ronquillo version, in fact, makes this more specific:

At sumilat na nga sa Kasilangan
ang araw ng puot ng ating si Rizal,
tulog daong taong laging intingitan
sa dagat ng dusa at karitkan.

And in the East rose
the sun of our Rizal’s anger
for three hundred years submerged
in the sea of sorrow and suffering.

Mula nang isuhat kaming iyong anak
sa banyong masal sa dila’t brip,
lisa ang puso at ng Pilipinas
nang unaw ay dil na ina naming labat.

Ever since your children held fast
in the raging storm of suffering and hardship
Pilipinas was one of heart
in no longer calling you “mother.”

We have here a close copy of the opening stanzas of Andres Bonifacio’s poem Katapusan Hibik ng Pilipinas (The Final Lament of Pilipinas). That a wandering beggar used to chant it in the streets of Cavite testifies to Bonifacio’s influence among the “folk.” But we must also explain why these particular passages stuck in the folk memory, and how the beggar’s version differs from Bonifacio’s. If Agoncillo’s transcription is accurate, the second stanza of Bonifacio’s poem begins with the lines walang isinimbay kaming iyong anak/ sa banyong masal na dalit’a brip, which Agoncillo translates as “We, your children, had nothing to shore up/against the terrible storm of suffering.”

In the beggar’s version, clearly the “sun of Rizal’s anger” shores up the children during the storm of suffering. The “storm” is a metaphor for the revolution against Spain, while the “sun of anger” recalls the image of flame and heat that accompanies the Katipunan’s spread. These images are juxtaposed with the last two lines: the heart of Pilipinas becomes one as the bond between her and Mother Spain is broken. Taken as a whole, the stanza situates the breaking of the utang na loob relationship within the context of an “intense storm,” a time of utter disorder, during which a simultaneous horizontal “ordering” or “coming together” takes place in the Katipunan. This is the “essence” of the war as the beggar captured it.

The stanzas that follow, in both versions, deal with the spread of the Katipunan in Cavite. The event is presented in the image of spreading turmoil by virtue of the prosody of the verse. In the enumeration of place names in stanzas 19–20 and elsewhere, the lines become interrupted more frequently by commas and by the stringing together of place names. The following is an example:

Hocombong Cavite nama,i, nagsiquitos
Noveleta,i, Cuit, Binalayan, Imus,
Pasay at Palayag, Las Piñas umayos
Zapote at Silang at taga Bacood.

The province of Cavite began to stir
Noveleta, Cuit, Binalayan, Imus,
Pasay and Palayag, Las Piñas all got organized
those, too, from Zapote, Silang and Bacood.

Although the tempo of recitation never changes, the breaking up of the lines into elements that follow each other in quick succession does give the effect of speed.

The coming together of men which takes place in a condition of chaos is itself a process of ordering. In stanzas 19 to 21, the various places are said to have “put themselves in order” (umayos) as they joined the Holocaust or as they “moved into action” (cumilito) in the guloo. There cannot be unity without disruption. Even the “naughty” (maldiqueño), a probable reference to bandits and vagabonds, are caught up in the movement which centers on Imus, where the “illustrious” (bunying) Aguinaldo resides.

Then comes an enumeration of outstanding leaders who have “emerged” from the guloo:

Na sa gulong yaon lumitao ang ngalan
bayaning Jimenez taga Bagong-Bayanan,
saka si Licerio na taung Montalban
may sari-sarili silang marga kaual.

In that guloo, there emerged the names
of patriot Jimenez from Bagong-Bayan
and Licerio native of Montalban
each with his own soldiers.

Saka si Julian sa tapan ay bantog
taung Mariquina na magandang loob.
at yaong sargent na taga Sampaloc
may manga kaual din silang bucoh-bucoh.

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42. Teodoro A. Agoncillo, Writings and Trials of Andres Bonifacio (Manila: Bonifacio Centennial Commission, 1903) pp. 9, 75.
Also Juan renowned for valor
native of Mariguina with a beautiful loob,
and that sergeant from Sampaloc
they too had their own soldiers.

Lumitaan ang Luis saca si Eusebio
Antonio bayaning bunying Montenegro
na ang tulang ilong ngulang sinabi ci
may siru-siru na manga vasallo.

There appeared Luis and Eusebio
the illustrious patriot Antonio Montenegro
these three names I have mentioned
lead their own vassals.

Na sa gulong ito siyang pagcatanghal
mang taga Malihay na Pio del Pilar,
ito l, pinuno rin na maraming caual
na natatula sa cacastilaan. (23-26)

In this gulo became famous
that Pio del Pilar, native of Malihay
he was also a leader with many soldiers
all poised against the Spaniards.

Many prominent patriots are omitted from this list, while some like “Jimenez” and “Luis” cannot be identified and are probably local Katipunan chiefs. Ironically, Julian de la Cruz and Antonio Montenegro are placed practically side by side. De la Cruz was a brigadier general appointed by the Biak-na-bato government, while Montenegro never led men in battle and was, in fact, a prime suspect in the cold-blooded murder of De la Cruz in November 1897.43 The personalities mentioned are not significant in themselves. They are emptied of meaning in the awit. Being an extension of the previous enumeration of place names constitutes their “value” in the work. Each patriot is identified with a particular locality and a particular cluster of followers—a conventional picture of political leadership in the Philippines. But strung together in the awit, in the thematic context of chaos and spreading conflagration, these particularities merge into a whole, the Katipunan. Thus, the very form and recitation of the awit conveys the meaning of unity.

Soon thereafter, the storm motif is reiterated, with gulo being substituted for unos:


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Na ang gulong vaon na lumalaglab
matay mang pugawin di maapot-ampat. (29)

The gulo that was raging like wild fire
could not be controlled, despite all efforts.

Reiterating the theme at this point signals the beginning of the narrative of armed confrontations between Katipuneros and Spaniards (including their native allies). Events are clearly situated in a context of gulo, of a disruptive momentum seemingly fed by superhuman forces. In stanza 30, General Blanco in panic sends a letter to the Queen of Spain announcing merely that “in the present gulo a multitude of people cannot get along well.” Viewed from the Spanish side, the phenomenon is pure disruption, the breaking of “traditional” ties, a movement of the Tagalogs away from the previous center—Spain. From Blanco’s standpoint, people can’t seem to get along with each other. But from the Katipunan’s standpoint, the people “have organized themselves” (nagsiyos). Blanco, the “renowned general,” and the “honorable Queen” are not objects of hatred or disdain in the awit. Rather, they play necessary roles in the unfolding of the themes of chaos, separation, unity, and power.

The Queen of Spain responds by sending a contingent of around fifty thousand men to reinforce Blanco’s troops:

Isinabog nitong bantog na general
sa madiang hugumad, manga bayan-bayan,
rang sa Katipunan sila i matanaan
di na tinigulan ang pagpapatayanan.

These men were set loose by the famed general
throughout the provinces and towns,
when they were sighted by the Katipunan
a never-ending holocaust took place.

Maguing anao gabi, ualang bigong quillos
manga cazadores parang sinaasalot,
halo na, ang tausong manga taga Imus
castilang pinata ay catatot-tatot. (31-32)

Day or night, no action ever failed
a plague seemed to strike the Spanish troops
the people of Imus, in particular,
killed an awesome number of Spaniards.

Instead of voicing out triumph, the awit, referring to the number of Spaniards slaughtered by the people of Imus, finds the effects of the Katipunan’s power frightening. The image of the plague devastating the cazadores (lit., “hunters”) corresponds to the destructive aspect of the flame raging beyond the control of the human will.
News of the massacre is communicated to Blanco as the fact that “the gulo cannot be set in order” (33). He responds to the situation by ordering his troops to initiate a siege of Imus, the capital. In addition, the Spanish naval squadron in Manila Bay bombards the town. During several months of continuous bombardment, however, the cannon shells and bullets aimed at Imus “only bury themselves in the sand” (35). There does not seem to be a human explanation for this; a mysterious force seems to have guided the missiles to their harmless graves. The Spaniards neither wish to take Imus by deceit (dayaing maacupcup) nor overrun the town’s fortifications and trenches, because they are afraid (natatacot). In stanza 70, a tiny band of thirty-eight Katipuneros causes a hundred well-armed troops to flee by simply lighting firecrackers. The cazadores have not noticed that the Katipunan band has only six rifles; it is the sound of the firecrackers that portends disaster.

One of the charges filed against Bonifacio during the 1897 power struggle in Cavite was that he “was bribed by the friars in order to establish a Katipunan and launch the Filipinos in a war without arms against the well-armed Spanish government.”44 The first part of this accusation is, of course, preposterous, but the second part would have been the conclusion of more “sophisticated” leaders weighing the outcome of the war primarily in terms of military strengths and weaknesses. In fact, it has often been said that Bonifacio paled before Aguinaldo in military matters and would have completely bungled the war had not the latter stepped in. Fair enough; yet, what was the background of Bonifacio’s thinking, obsessed as he was by the Katipunan idea? The awit provides an insight into a mode of thought of the time by not portraying the war as a contest of armed might. The phenomenon is not comprehensible in terms of the norms of battle accepted in other countries.

Ato i, itong guerra ay pinagatachan
nang ingles at francese, ipon at aleman,
sa cañon at mauser ang initialaban
niong Katipunan ay iicac ra panggal.

This war, in fact, was viewed with astonishment
by the English and French, Japanese and Germans,
against cannon and mauser rifles
this Katipunan pitted nothing but dull blades.

Lahat nang pinuno nitong cazadores
sa labanang yito i, nagsisipagpangal,

duhitan sa capal armas nilang gamit
ang catagahogan ay hindi maghihi.
(36–37)

All the Spanish leaders
were furious in that battle
for in spite of their innumerable firearms
the Tagalog they could not overpower.

Clearly, the Katipunan strength is not in armed might but in the invincible power generated by the people’s unity, a power symbolized by the rays of the sun or a triangle in Katipunan flags and seals.

Realizing that armed might alone will not cause the Katipunan to budge, the Spaniards resort to deceit (daye), the particulars of which are not stated. They cannot win this way, however, because Emilio (Aguinaldo) has magandang isip, a phrase which literally means “a good (or beautiful) mind.” In stanza 15, Bonifacio is said to have “intelligence.” In stanza 47, the qualities that render Katipunan leaders immune from deceptive plots are tapang (valor) and diinong (knowledge). At the outset, the awit’s conception of true knowledge must be distinguished from the knowledge acquired through formal education, which is associated with being ilustrado. In the language of the Katipunan, a distinction is made between the perception of ningning or “glittering,” empty externals, and true knowledge that sees the reality of things because liwanag permeates the mind.45 In other words, true knowledge is associated with a state of being or lob or permeated by liwanag. This concept is fundamental in the pasyon: the pharisées and pinunong bayan disdainfully refer to Christ and his disciples as poor, humble, and uneducated, but there is not doubt as to who have “good minds.” In chapter 2, we pointed out that in Apolinario de la Cruz’s definition, a “good mind” is that which sees the relationship between “suffering” and the attainment of a “good union of men.” “Knowing” implies a lob that maintains its equilibrium in the face of threats or pressures to abandon its commitment to a cause. Apolinario de la Cruz thus provides the explanation for the awit’s conjoining of “valor” and “knowledge” as qualities that frustrate the enemy’s deceptive plots.

In stanza 42, the Spaniards are described as being in an “oppressive” situation. General Blanco’s “deep sadness” renders him practically ill. We have come to a point in the awit where the “enemy” is portrayed in practically the same terms as the principals who suffered under the friars. Blanco’s sorrow is intended to evoke compassion, pity for the innocent, although he is the commanding general of the Spanish forces. But in a sense he is innocent.

44. Agoncillo, Retold of the Masses, p. 238. The complaints received by Aguinaldo regarding Bonifacio’s behavior, says Agoncillo (ibid.), “were probably not true but nonetheless believed in by the majority.” It should be added that the rumor campaign waged by the anti-Bonifacio principals was responsible for this accusation.

The force of the Katipunan belongs to an order against which armed opposition from a foreign enemy is powerless. The foreigners can be pitied because they are not, and have never been, a real threat.

The real threat comes from within:

Na cun caya lamang na asuus-susan
dahil sa ilongong dito, i. nagsidatay,
at ang macabebong tauong salangapang
nagagang matibay sa bunyong general. (43)

[Blanco's sadness was alleviated
only by the timely arrival of Ilonggos
and Macabebes, roguish people
who made a firm pledge to the illustrious general.]

For the first time in the awit, an enemy of the Katipunan is morally condemned. The “roguish” traitors promise to overrun Imus and capture Aguinaldo alive. Blanco even orders an iron cage built. But the plot fails:

Hindi rin naganap binanta sa loób
nitong manilibilo na may asal hayop,
ang pinagnasa,i, niligtas nang Dios
at itong nagnasa buhay ang nanapos. (46)

The threats from the loób
of these traitors, beastly characters
were nevertheless frustrated,
the intended victim was saved by God
and the plotters’ lives cut short.

The Macabebes cannot be placed on the same plane as the cazadores or even friars. Moral condemnation and death are their due. If power comes from the coming together of men in the Katipunan, traitors weaken this power by subverting the whole. The Macabebes, and not the Ilonggos, are singled out because the Kapampangans in later stanzas are considered participants in the Katipunan phenomenon. The punishment of death accorded the traitors is even more significant when contrasted with the outcome of events in the preceding episode. There, “the Spanish leaders, soldiers and friar-curates are not killed, but taken captive” (41). This outcome, says the awit, is what makes the battle “astonishing” (catacataca). But why should traitors die, if Spanish lives can be spared? The answer lies in stanza 47:

Caya ang sinoma,i, di dapat mangahas
na sa catapangan at dunong na ingat,
mahaba,i, maicii chapin maf, chinesas
ay may manga paung naguiguin angasat.

That is why no one should dare weak violence
on those who have valor and knowledge;
long or short, clogs or slippers
each has a pair of feet that fits.

The last two lines of the stanza is a common folk saying that warns against envy. The acts of the Macabebes are motivated by envy; that of the cazadores by their loyalty to Spain. The moral condemnation of the Macabebes is reminiscent of the parson where envy, always associated with a distorted loób, is the reason given for the behavior of the serpent, Herod, the pharisees and Judas. Envy, which reflects the condition of the traitors’ loób, is the very antithesis of manly and love. By undermining the very conditions of Katipunan, the traitors threaten to destroy the whole. Thus, stanza 48 contains this warning to those with evil hearts (budbing magsasang ugañ):

ang camunting sina cundy laguing tagpi
pagacara-anan na malapting guiñ.

if a small tear is not repaired
a huge rent will run through.

Actually, this is not so much a warning to traitors as an admission of the fragility of that entity which has come into being.

The Ronquillo version of the awit ends right after the episode of the traitors and the sermon on envy. The final stanza simply reasserts the David-vs.-Goliath quality of the war: sticks and bladed weapons against muskets and cannon.

The main awit version continues after restating the central theme:

Sa binis bang bang na di nagitila
cun magatmaual ay nanggogabanga,
sa ano at gabi tagalog castila
patay ay nagañat magacabiñat. (50)

In the unmitigating gale of ferocity
day and night when Tagalog and Spanish
saw each other they collided
dead were scattered on all sides.

In spite of many reinforcements arriving from Spain, the Tagalogs continue to be invincible because they have tapang (valor). The Queen of Spain is cast in grief. She finally sends to Pilipinas the very “prop” of Spain—General Polavieja. The Spanish general appears at the head of a formidable Spanish contingent, known for their “hardened bodies,” expertise, courage, and daring. They are awaited in the “field of death” by Aguinaldo, who is also famous for tapang (53–54).
The awit thus states that both Polavieja’s men and the Tagalogs have tapang. Is this taken to mean that they are on equal terms in the field of battle? The awit resolves this problem by calling upon the distinction between ningning and liwanag. In stanza 55, the awit explains the order of being to which the tapang of the cazadores belongs:

Cun itabulita salamin saging labat
na sa camingningan ulang bahid lamat,
bagust sa pamahon cum anot, sumayad
ang linao sa labo na icabulasag.

While this was heralded as the mirror of all that glittered without stains or cracks, why, then, when the time came did the sparkle turn dull and the mirror break?

By associating the cazadores’ tapang with the “glitter” of a shiny mirror that turns foggy and shatters under stress, the argument is translated into the distinction between ningning and liwanag. Ningning is an appealing exterior that hides impoverished being, which eventually disintegrates. The converse is implied for Aguinaldo’s tapang: it belongs to the order of liwanag. His courage is a true reflection of his loób and is therefore real, just as liwanag is said to emanate from the very fullness of being.

The Polavieja offensive ends in tragedy for the Spaniards because of “fear.” Polavieja is described as matapang sa tacot—courageous in fear: if he is such a hero, asks the awit, why doesn’t he step down from his headquarters where he merely barks commands? Polavieja’s distance from the “field of death” is given as the cause of the death of his field commander, Colonel Zabala. Upon learning this, Polavieja and Lachambre “left the scene in great fear with General Blanco following behind.” Now this episode has little or no basis in actual events. Generals Lachambre and Polavieja were actually successful in their drive through southern Luzon, although their troops suffered immense casualties and Polavieja asked to be recalled home. However, as historians of the period have pointed out, the Spanish capture of several key towns by mid-1897 did not seriously affect the revolutionary ardor of the populace. The awit still interprets these events in terms of the idioms of chaos. In the first place, it is significant that the retreating Spanish generals are described as having tacot (fear) rather than being atuwag (cowardly). The word tacot appears in several places in the awit, and consistently implies the type of fear one has when confronted with an incomprehensible, destructive phenomenon. The image of “the brave” Polavieja keeping at a distance and finally making a hasty retreat together with Lachambre and Blanco points not to cowardice but to their encounter with an irresistible force in the Katipunan that compels them to act in a strange manner.

The sequence of events after the retreat of the Spanish generals practically repeats the events following Blanco’s earlier offensive. Having failed to destroy the Katipunan through direct assault, newly arrived Primo de Rivera alters the Spanish strategy:

Di mumunting tawo yaong nangaganyac
na manga bihasang masasikim sa pilac,
sa tanang casala sia ang mag-ulat
naguro ng madaling mabubuting landas.

Not a few among those accustomed
to fill their pockets with silver were enticed back,
those people told the Spaniards everything
even pointing out all the good approaches.

Ang binucong yao,i, hindi rin sinapit
na pagcanculo sa tanang capamid,
at di magaguung magbanta ngi lihih
pageat, si Emilio,i, may magandang isip
(60–61)

This attempt to betray and
suppress the brotherhood failed,
and they could not threaten wrongdoing
for Emilio had a good mind.

The historical event corresponding to the above episode is possibly Governor-General Primo de Rivera’s offer of amnesty to rebels from late April up to 17 May 1897. Among those responding to it were prominent officials of Aguinaldo’s government—Minister of War Daniel Tirona, Interior Minister Jose del Rosario, and General Juan Cailles. The awit could also be referring to such nameless individuals as the townspeople of Santa Cruz de Malabon, Cavite, who quickly shifted their allegiance to Spain when the going got rough, and probably aided the Spaniards logistically as well. The awit shapes these events in terms of the pasyon, the silver-filled pockets and attempted betrayals conjuring up images of Judas.

The awit continues:

Umali sa Imus tanang Katipunan
nagdaan sa madlang manga bayan-bayan,
pinarutinan nila ay ilang mainam
sa Biac-na-bato doo,i, nagtumahan. (62)

The whole Katipunan left Imus
passing through a lot of towns,
their destination was a better place
Biac-na Bato where they settled down.
The actual reason for the transfer to Biak-na-bato was Primo de Rivera's spirited campaign against the Katipunan, forcing Aguinaldo to transfer his headquarters to different vague locations until he established himself in the secure foothills of southern Bulacan province. Mabini views the retreat from Cavite as a result of Bonifacio’s execution, which had sapped the morale of the Magdiwang forces, aggravating the cleavage within the Katipunan until the Spaniards were able to harass Aguinaldo effectively. 46 Why does the awit refuse to grapple with these events? This can only be explained by the fact that the awit’s real concern is not the reconstruction of events but the articulation of meaning. The Katipunan is still seen as a whole, the events are shaped in order to highlight or bring into focus the meaningful aspects of this “whole.” For example, in the stanzas that follow, the awit describes the cazadores’ delight at having occupied Katipunan territory. But the point is continually emphasized that “the Spaniards came upon so much land / without encountering people.” In stanza 64, several places are enumerated, but the reason these were taken, was that “the foe had gone.” Stanza 66 describes the victory celebrations:

Ang viva España, i, magcabi-cabila
uulang tigil naman tugot ang campanya,
ibinsahandla nganalo sa digma
Pansalulang yato, i calaban sa lupa.

Viva España was heard on all sides
amidst the endless ringing of church bells
they were proclaiming they won the war
a victory gained from battling the land.

By elaborating upon the emptiness of the Spanish victory a statement is made about the nature of the Katipunan. It is the union of men rather than expanse of territory that counts; the Spanish capture of some towns has made no dent in the “whole.” There is also an implicit contrast between the boisterous and noisy Spanish celebrations, which signify “glitter,” and the images of chaos and wild fire which are the manifestations of real victory.

After mentioning a few skirmishes that took place in the localities adjoining Manila, including Antonio Montenegro’s incredible death in the battle of Barranca, the awit returns to the subject of the Katipunan in Biak-na-bato. Primo de Rivera is “in such great sorrow,”

Ang sarahlahan, i di na mamamucol
tanang Katipunan naga-ayon ayon,
baga ma’t, maraning umang na pakibong
di na masisili nila, macuculong. (75)

The reason being that the whole Katipunan
moving in unison could not be cornered,
all the traps and snares laid out
failed to catch it.

We are reminded, in this stanza, of Apolinario de la Cruz’s organic conception of unity: the cofrades are the leaves of a single tree; they should also move “as one body” (parang yuang catay-an). Similarly the Katipunan is so unified that it moves like an agile and wily creature, evading all traps and snares.

Having again failed militarily to stamp out the Katipunan, the Spaniards resort to deceit, or daya, once more. Primo de Rivera gives the leaders and men of the Katipunan “passes to enter the towns” (76). His objective is to attract the Katipunan away from the parang (countryside) into towns largely controlled by the Spaniards and their principia allies. Just as in the sequels to Blanco’s and Polavieja’s fruitless offensives, the awit probes into the nature of the Katipunan entity by narrating the Spanish efforts to subvert it from within. The “devious attempt” to attract Katipuneros by means of “passes” falls but Primo de Rivera has another plan: “to win over the leaders through words (ang tanang pinuno, i, cuvin sa salita). He sends his nephew and the ilustrado Pedro Paterno, “who in reality was like an envoy” of Spain, to talk to Aguinaldo:

Na anim na buan ang hiningaing taning
na may manga sacling natala sa papel,
sa pinag-usapang ucing magagaling
si guinoong Emilio naman ay umamin. (79)

A six-month truce was requested
in a treaty signed by witnesses,
to the fine language of the agreement
Don Emilio for his part acquiesced.

Immediately, the awit points to the motive of the Spaniards to deceive the Tagalogs by taking advantage of the respite to build trenches (80). It is implied that Aguinaldo has failed to see through the ruse. That is why, for the first time in the awit, the Katipunan itself is the party in grief. The image of wholeness breaks down as some leaders, obeying the terms of the truce, return home:

Nangg-alis dito ang pinunong iba
at ang nang-ianan nalagac sa dusa,
tu taw ngac castila, i lubos na umasa
na ang Katipuna, malincom nila. (81)

Some of the leaders left this place
and those who remained were cast in grief,
to the delight of the Spaniards who hoped
finally to dismantle the Katipunan.
Sa palad niya ay hilong nagdrop
yaong cagatian nang tanang tagalog,
madlang bayan-bayan pilat na pinasoc
at ang cazadores canilang linasob.
(82-83)

At this turn of events, the anger of the Tagalogs
all the more burst into flames,
all the towns were forcibly entered
and the Spanish positions were stormed.

in the awit’s view, the resurgence has nothing to do with Aguinaldo’s return
from Hongkong to direct the struggle. The reason why Aguinaldo is ignored
has been hinted at already. But the awit intends not necessarily to downgrade
the man. In terms of its logic, Aguinaldo breaks off from the whole when he
succumbs to the “fine language” of the truce negotiators. The leader of the
“revolution” is not necessarily a component of the “Katipunan” whose nature
the awit articulates. It is Primo de Rivera’s wrong move, not Aguinaldo’s return,
that “ignites” the Katipunan, and leads the awit to recall the prosodic theme:

Silacbo nang iniit mahiguit sa quidlat
yaong carahasang di mauat-awat (86)

Burst of heat more powerful than lightning
cannot be reduced by withdrawing fuel.

Primo de Rivera is “unable to stop the gloomy holocaust” (84). He parts
from the scene and is replaced by General Agustín, who “likewise failed to
turn the gulo into peace / or put a stop to the holocaust” (85). To add to the
misery of the Spaniards, the Americans “burst forth in abundance” in Manila
Bay (86):

Dito sa nangyari sa calulos-lunos
genral Agustín ay naghihimutoc,
ang cadahína-i, bagey sa tagalog
sa anyaya niya-i, ayao palinuhod. (87)

In the wake of these pitiful events
General Agustín cried in sorrow
for the Tagalogs
would not respond to his appeal.

The “appeal” corresponds to Spain’s actual attempt, as American warships
prepared to meet the inferior Spanish Fleet in Manila Bay, to induce the
Filipinos to fight on the side of “Mother Spain.” The attempt failed as
Aguinaldo, having arrived from Hongkong on an American warship, an-
nounced a resumption of the revolution. The awit chooses to focus upon the
tears of General Agustín for they reflect Mother Spain’s feelings of loss and

The Katipunan’s sadness is not really the consequence of Spanish action.
It follows Aguinaldo’s acceptance of the truce which can in turn be attributed
to a weakness of loob that enabled it to be influenced by “fine language”
(tuca ng magingmalig). The overpowering role of language, especially at the
hands of manipulators, continually crops up in documents related to popular
politics. To understand folk perceptions of politics, it is useful to dig into the
associations of common terms, like wika-wika (word play). In the pasyon,
wika has the power to entice individuals to commit wrongdoing. Eve, for
example, who is said to have a “weak mind” (mabintang isip), succumbs
immediately upon hearing the serpent’s wika (9-4). Later, she makes the
excuse before God that the serpent “tricked” her, “seded” her, and “played
around with words” (nag ucsa-ucsa) (9:16). The pharisees use the same
argument in condemning Jesus. Because the followers of Jesus are allegedly
“people of weak loob” (115:13), they have succumbed to his “deceitful"
teachings which are nothing but “a manipulation of language” (gaua uca-
ucsa) (99:7). The point is that succumbing to wika-wika, implying failure to
see the truth behind the appealing sounds of words, is a sign of a weak mind
or a weak loob—a state of darkness. The awit, then, implicitly chides
Aguinaldo in terms of a popular criterion of judgment. As if to stress the
importance of this turn of events, Aguinaldo is no longer mentioned in the awit
even though it continues for another forty-three stanzas.

Historically, Emilio Aguinaldo signed not merely a six-month truce but the
so-called Pact of Biak-na-bato which called for the surrender of rebel arms in
exchange for a huge sum of money to be divided among the leaders. The awit,
however, cannot possibly speak in terms of a “pact” and reconciliation with
Spain, from whom the separation of Filipinas is total. After the disruption of
the universe that bound Spain and Filipinas together, the various disjointed
elements within Filipinas came together to form a new condition of whole-
ness, in a process that produced heat and energy. Mentioning Aguinaldo’s
signing of a pact with Spain would contradict the awit’s basic conception.
Actually, Aguinaldo himself broke the terms of the pact when he returned
from exile in May 1898, six months after the pact’s signing, to resume
Katipunan activity. To take this into account, the awit asserts that a six-month
truce (not pact) was negotiated. Thus when the gulo breaks out again, it is
simply a continuation of the phenomenon of disruption after a temporary lull:

Hindi rin nangyari sa laba-i, madaig
ang tanang tagalog mahiguit sa ganid,
Primo de Rivera-i, naghago ng isip
na ipinasam-sam ang lahat nang paspas.

Even the truce did not help to subdue
the Tagalog people more ferocious than beasts,
Primo de Rivera changed his mind
and all the passes confiscated.
There is more to the awit than the listing down of those towns that joined the revolution or the glorification of heroes. More important, and consistent with what has been said so far, is what it says about the nature of “coming together” in the Katipunan. The latter part of the awit is an expression of a final burst of power. Katipunan activity had previously been limited to Manila, Cavite, and southern Bulacan. With the withdrawal of cazadores from the provinces, the final step in the process of total separation from Mother Spain, a final burst of energy takes place as the Katipunan breaks its previous boundaries.

The first line of stanza 104 states succinctly the nature of the events taking place: sa gulong to nang pagcacaisa (in this gulo of becoming one). In the enumeration of places and people, it is repeatedly stated that they have prepared for the holocaust and are ready to die. Unification takes place as each element in the whole delineated by the path of the storm participates in the common struggle. Individual towns do not confront the enemy alone; they are first joined together with others and ultimately with the whole. For example, in stanza 98, one Tagalog and nine Pampangan towns are nalancap, or “joined together into a whole.” Elements of two different ethnic groups are thus caught up in the speed of enumeration; the verse itself becomes a medium for “coming together.” In stanza 101, four Bulacan towns are nagcalatagip-laqui, “enclosed together.” As a result of their unification, which is said to take place “in the gulo,” they are able to isolate the Macabebe and their Spanish allies who are described as “trapped” and “compressed in a corner.” We recall that this is precisely what Primo de Rivera had tried and failed to do to the Katipunan because of the latter’s swift, unified movements.

The awit also illustrates, for the last time, the powerful and terrifying force that is generated by unity:

Lahat nang hocoma, ngacasanud-sunod
sa pagpapatayan handa, nasayos,
lalo, un ang hayan nila ang pinasoc
lating cazadores parang sinasalot. (117)

All the provinces, one after the other were readied and ordered as they faced the holocaust, whenever the Spanish-held towns were entered
the cazadores seemed to be hit by a plague.

In Batangas, the Katipunan that has “come to order" is said to be catalot-tacot, “most frightening.” In Laguna, the Spanish commander Alberti, who is previously credited with a "serene loot" (106), breaks down before the Katipunan onrush:

Nang lumaganap na ang gulong nanabog
nitong CATIPUNAN sa tapang ay hastog,
corond Alberti sa malaquing tacot
sumuco na siya sa tanang calamoc. (111)
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At the height of the gulo
sparkled by the Catipunan famed for valor
Colonel Alberti in great fear
to all his opponents surrendered.

As the lengthy enumeration concludes, focus shifts to the cazadores concentrated in Manila. The final episode of the war against Spain sees the Spaniards being dealt the final blow by the Americans:

Sa uulang magasang ang casticlazaan
sa americano nang paquiquilaban,
nalit na Augusting hayag na general
noui sa España, ang mando, intusan.

The Spaniards having failed repeatedly
to turn the tide of battle against the Americans,
the famed General Augustin
abandoned his command and returned to Spain.

General Jaúdenes ang siyang nagdulot
ng capangrasahan dahilan sa tacs,
anoman ang gawa ni macapamatlos
sa yaman at capal ng americanos.
(120-21)

General Jaúdenes, overcome by fear
unleashed all his power,
but whatever he did was useless
against the wealth and numbers of the Americans.

The narration of the war ends here. Spain is pushed out of the scene not by her former children but by the Americans, whose power rests upon “wealth” and “numbers.” Spain was a necessary presence in the process of “becoming one” as her children, the Filipinos, came into their own and defined their world in Katipunan terms. Now, Spain’s departure points to a new situation for the Katipunan. In the final stanza, the awit abruptly reveals its standpoint in time—we find the “I” of the awit talking about the “youngest child” who is in hardship:

Sucat hangang dito cayo na ang siyang
lumingap sa bunsong na sa cahirapan,
sila ang panganyay bilang mag-aatang
sa susunungin cong mga cahihiyan.
(122)

Enough to this point, now you be the ones
to bring care and compassion to the youngest child in trouble;
these are the first-born who will lift to my head
the shame I will bear.

The published awit carries no date, but the statement “youngest child in trouble” indicates that the awit was first composed during the Filipino-American War. This war belongs to an order different from what the awit has narrated—no longer a separation from Mother Spain and a recovery of wholeness in the Katipunan, but a war in which the Katipunan’s sacred ideals and moving spirit are threatened with extinction. On 7 August 1898, a month after the proclamation of the republic at Malolos, not long after the proclamation of independence at Kuwait, President Aguinaldo declared that “there is no Katipunan today because the entire Philippines, our most dear mother country, is the true Katipunan in which all her sons are united and agreed in one desire and one wish, that is, to rescue the mother country which groans in terror.” Could the “nation,” however, be the Katipunan if it was merely an abstract entity then led by ilustrados who had either repudiated or never experienced “katipunan” (supreme union)? Moreover, the Americans are said to have “wealth” which, to paraphrase the pasyon, has the power to “seduce” the weak of loob. The “I” of the awit seems to be situated at the point in time when the ilustrados were succumbing to the “fine language” of the Americans. This historical context is important in bringing out the significance of the final stanza and its relationship to the rest of the awit. Reflecting historical circumstances, a break with the “I” of the awit’s past is signified by the sudden shift in tense (i.e., from past to present/future) and the distinction made between “youngest child” and “first born.” The “youngest child” represents the revolutionaries then engaged in a difficult struggle against the Americans, the “first born” are the patriots who emerged during the war against Spain (usually referred to in Tagalog sources as the “first war”). In talking about her offspring, the “I” of the awit suggests that she is Mother Country (Inang Bayan) herself. The “I” must surely be a feminine person since, in the last line, she says she will carry her burden on her head (rather than shoulder), following the custom of native women.

The main point of the final stanza is that the condition of unity that the awit has described no longer exists in the present. In the first place, Mother Country appeals for “care and compassion” for her youngest child, implying that there is at present a lack or absence of these essential aspects of the Katipunan mode of struggle. Secondly, Mother Country talks about the “shame” (kahihayan) that she will bear. Now biya, the stem of kahihayan, is a category of experience which among several things, denotes the individual’s sensitivity to his mode of relating to others. A person without biya is also one whose loob is hard as rock—a common Tagalog saying—and therefore has no damay or caring. A situation is kabiya-biya (shameful) when an individual falls to respond to or

deliberately ignores the "other" who shows him love, caring, or simply hospitality. A few passages from the pasyon episode of Peter's denial of Jesus illustrates this idea:

Tiniling na si Pedro 
mitong mamong Maestro 
cahih-iya teto, 
sintang hindi mamapano 
at hiniyang sa cato. 

Para nang uinica niya 
niyong pagtitig nang mata 
?ay aba Pedro ay aba, 
di mo aco naquiquala 
ay naquiquala quita? 
(104:5–6)

This gentle teacher 
fixed his gaze on Peter 
a truly shameful situation, 
he had such immeasurable love 
and regret for his close friend. 

As if he was saying 
by the look of his eyes, 
Alas, Peter, alas 
why do you not recognize me 
when I recognize you fully?

The appearance in the awit of the plural of *kabihyan*, meaning "shameful things or events," implies a preoccupation with the social rather than the purely political and military dimensions of the Filipino-American War. To be specific, the awit calls the attention of the audience to "shameful events" which can only mean certain people's acting with disregard for the social whole represented by Mother Country. Bonifacio once said that all he needed in the Katipunan were people with love for Mother Country and hiya, for "only a person with such virtues can devote his whole life and love so that Mother Country may be given secure foundation." This hiya, therefore, is one of the conditions of katipunan or unity; the final episode of the awit reveals that this has weakened or ceased to exist.

The awit ends in a spirit of hope. Just as, in the literature of the 1896 Katipunan, the "Lost Eden" of precollonial days will be regained when there is damay and the people interpret the struggle as a redemptive experience, so does Mother Country's gesture of bearing the kabhiyan on her head, which signifies her pasyon, herald a better future for her "youngest sons in trouble." Perhaps it is significant that her pasyon is initiated—i.e., the burden is raised to her head—by her "first-born." Since the latter represents the patriots of the "first war," it can be concluded that the awit's narration of their experiences is a way of pulling them back to the present so that the audience will understand why the struggle must go on. The awit itself, as it is recited or sung, will evoke the initial conditions for the pasyon to begin.

From the analysis of a Katipunan awit, we have shown how the struggle for independence was perceived in terms of the breaking of the relationship with Mother Spain, the chaos that ensued, and the release of tremendous power and energy from the masses, energy which was channeled by the Katipunan toward the reordering and unification of the masses under their true mother—Mother Filipinas. The awit reveals that during the later republican period and the war with the United States, the experience of unity through struggle was perceived, in some quarters, to be lost. The author of the awit attempted to relive it through the form and content of his work, so that anyone who heard the awit recited or sung could somehow experience that loss in himself through a juxtaposition of the poetic experience with the events of his time. Thus, there could be meaning and purpose in the continuing struggle.

During the republican period (1898–1900), katipunan continued to exist in some towns and rural areas; in most cases they simply pledged their allegiance to the republic. Generally, however, the ilustrados of the republic sensed in the continued existence of katipunan a potential threat to the atmosphere of stability and internal order that they wished to maintain. Only when the republican army had suffered defeat after defeat, and Aguinaldo himself was fleeing for his life in north-central Luzon, did the katipunan once more come to the forefront as the "approved" mode of organization for guerrilla warfare. According to Agoncillo, Aguinaldo himself, in his hideouts in the north, "came to realize that only the masses could be depended upon. It was a desperate hope, but even so he tried his best to repair the damage by recreating Bonifacio's Katipunan, the plebeian society which gave form and substance to the Filipino people's struggle for freedom and independence." But Aguinaldo did not "recreate" the Katipunan in 1900; he merely acknowledged that the Katipunan mode more effectively articulated mass aspirations. Reorganizing the republican forces in 1901, Miguel Malvar, as we shall see, returned to basic Katipunan appeals in reviving the spirit of 1896. Upon his surrender in 1902, the armed struggle for independence was waged almost solely by the Katipunan and similar peasant societies.

In a Katipunan initiation document of 1900, the following statement from the leader's speech not only expresses what the Katipunan of 1896 meant to those who would continue the struggle in the twentieth century, but in the image of the beacon guiding a ship through stormy seas, recalls what Apolinario de la Cruz once said to the disoriented cofrades in 1841:

It is indisputable that the Katipunan Society was the beacon which guided us to the shores of liberty after four centuries of navigation in the sea of slavery, and likewise was the light which illuminated the path traced out by Divine Providence, along which Filipinas, our dear country, took such gigantic steps placing her sons on the road to glory, and bringing with it that nectar of independence which we so ardently desire.

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48. Kasandugo (pseud.), "Ang Katipunan" (manuscript, n.d. PNL), p. 1. Such words of Bonifacio, says Kasandugo, are "up to now remembered by veterans of the Katipunan."


CHAPTER 5

The Path to Kalayaan, 1901-1910

Despite the valiant resistance of the revolutionary army in central Luzon, the defenses of the republic crumbled in the face of the superior strength of the United States Army. It was not only military weakness, however, that spelled the end of the republic. Within its ilustrado leadership, power struggles and opportunism caused deep demoralization that affected even the rank and file. Guerilla warfare could not be sustained except, as we shall see later, by peasant societies like the Santa Iglesia, because most of the weary Filipino elite desperately wanted peace in order to consolidate their tottering fortunes and prestige. It was the ultimate expression of their narrow conception of what the revolution was all about when they justified the new colonial order on the ground that America offered them everything they had demanded from Spain. As far as they were concerned, kalayaan could be attained without further bloodshed. But not everyone, particularly from the class of pobres y ignorantes, subscribed to this view of the path to kalayaan.

On 23 May 1901, Aguinaldo, already isolated in the mountains of Isabela, was captured by deceit and, a week later, took the oath of allegiance to the United States. On 19 April, a proclamation was issued in his name that appealed to all Filipinos to accept American sovereignty. It was on this very day that Gen. Miguel Malvar wrote to Aguinaldo inquiring about the truth of newspaper and other reports of his capture, which were received “with incredulity” by his comrades in southern Luzon. But should such reports be true, declared Malvar, not even then would they cease to continue insisting on their old ideals. Even though he continued to look up to Aguinaldo for direction and inspiration, he frankly stated that the resistance in the south would not be abandoned. In fact, when Lt. Gen. Mariano Trias, supreme commander in southern Luzon and Aguinaldo’s confidante, surrendered in early April, Malvar quickly took over to halt demoralization among the troops.
Malvar’s parting statement, if somewhat apologetic, reveals his unflinching commitment: “I should regret to refuse for the first time, and you would have to pardon the first proof of insubordination or lack of discipline, should you by chance order me to surrender my arms.”

What encouraged Malvar to continue the fight? At least part of the reason is revealed in an exchange of letters with Trias who, on 13 April, wrote informing Malvar of his decision to lay down his arms, hoping that his subordinates would follow suit. In this letter, he argued that his change of attitude was due not to the suggestion of other persons, such as the Federistas, but to his judgment of the true sentiments of the people. He considered the revolutionary goal simply out of reach because “the evil which has caused and still causes deep loss to our revolution is to be found within itself. We did not extinguish this in time, and it would be useless and ridiculous to attempt to do so now.” This “evil” was lack of unity. Leaders were fighting among themselves; leading citizens and guerrilla partisans could not work in harmony. The cry heard everywhere, said Trias, was not that of revolution but of “enough blood, for because the atmosphere of the war is asphyxiating and has destroyed not a few interests of persons and property.” It was necessary to submit to “the relentless force of opinion” that the Philippines was entering upon an “era of redemption” accompanied by beneficent reforms that were welcomed by all. Unlike under Spain, Filipinos now administered their own municipalities and provinces. Public opinion had been poisoned against America, so that much energy was wasted in opposing her.

Malvar remained unmoved by Trias’s arguments. He replied that in his zone of operations there was “unity and harmony of action” between citizens (principales) and soldiers. For, unlike perhaps in other regions, the struggle in Tayabas and Batangas did not involve “personalities,” and few leaders were involved in republican politics. Before the war of resistance, the guerilla leaders “had been nothing but modest landholders, who had never thought of their future as connected with the powers and honors of leadership, but in labor.” Malvar, in other words, suggested that in his region the majority of the elite were medium and small landowners whose strong personal ties with the masses made them effective leaders. But in the final analysis, the resistance should be continued because the rural masses themselves were committed to it. How could Trias judge the sentiments of the people, having consulted only with principales? Concluding, Malvar reminded his superior that “not only those within the towns constitute the people; the lowest laborers are included, and they are the ones who act with greater honesty of intentions and are more sincere in their aspirations.”

The southern Tagalog resistance to the United States was more than just an extension of the republic’s struggle for survival, and Malvar was more than just Aguinaldo’s last general to surrender. True, with Aguinaldo’s fall Malvar inherited the president’s mantle, and was in communication with other guerilla chiefs like Lucban, Diceno, and Fullon. But what he really led was a popular guerilla war in his home region, with local leaders at the head of his forces. Even with American soldiers holding the towns and other key points, guerilla warfare could be waged successfully, unlike in central Luzon, because the lines of supply and communication between town and countryside remained open. Only the creation and brutal enforcement of “zones of concentration” destroyed this harmony. Above all, Malvar recognized that the “lowest laborers” were “more sincere in their aspirations,” and he effectively harnessed this phenomenon. In Malolos, Aguinaldo’s preoccupation with the forms of nationhood had forced him to curtail the energies of striking laborers and restless peasants; in Malvar’s case all these energies had to be released to save the country, even if it meant the rise to prominence of precisely those societies which Aguinaldo had tried to suppress.

In order to understand why the people rallied under Malvar let us examine the proclamation Mga Kapantulutang sa Paaskuhan (To Our Brothers and Comrades in the Struggle), which Malvar himself drafted on 12 April 1901. Certain features of its language are reminiscent of Katipunan appeals, if not of Apolinario de la Cruz himself. In fact, it is Malvar speaking in the light of the masses’ perceptions of the qualities that a meaningful, popular struggle should have.

Humility and lowliness are qualities of a popular leader—this Malvar knew. Thus, in his opening lines he presents an image of himself as a humble person, a mere “soldier of the land” who does not deserve to succeed the respected Trias. But he must answer to the God of the martyrs who had love for the country. Spain and America had shown no pity for weak Filipinas; they had deceived her. Thus, she poured all her strength in order to wash with her blood the debasement of her honor. All this must not go in vain. The people must join with him; together they will take the road to kalayaan:

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4. PIR-SG 692.3 (PHL). It was published on 17 April 1901. An English translation of the Spanish version is in Taylor, Philippine Insurrection, vol. 5, pp. 334–36. Its later date (19 April) suggests that it was based on the Tagalog original of Malvar. A comparison of the Tagalog and Spanish/English versions reveals that the latter omits certain appeals that would have been meaningful only to a Tagalog-speaking audience.

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Banish the rumors that the uneducated will be weeded out afterwards, because any brother in the field who has learned to ignore personal dangers in defending the country; whose good conduct has proven itself in the respect of women and of the lives, honor and property of noncombatants, native or foreign; who has organized and trained a unit or company; and who cannot be disregarded in any way by his compatriots; such a man is a well-spring of knowledge.

The idea that there is knowledge (dimong) in a man of true valor and uprightness who takes on hardships for the good of the whole, harks back to Apolinario’s explanation of the meaning of a “good mind.” It is the folk wisdom of the barrio elder or sage that Malvar draws upon and puts in the context of the anti-American struggle.

Malvar’s implicit criticism of the republic does not, however, mean that he repudiates it and all that it has stood for. He manages to rationalize the absence of harmony by pointing to different ways of arriving at the common good of ginhawa for the country. The “illustrious men of education (bunyong marururong),” like Paterno, Mabini, and the members of the Hongkong Committee, as well as the pro-American Pardo de Tavera who favors a multiparty system—all these, according to Malvar have the good of the country at heart. However, their “illustriousness” does not make them superior to the common man in arms. What the common man should guard against, cautions Malvar, is the improper use of his strength; “blind revenge” should not be a motive for his killing Americans, who also have families who will weep at home. The common people can offer to the country just as much, if not more, as the illustrious, but only if their energies are properly directed toward obtaining independence.

The final paragraph of Malvar’s proclamation rallies the populace to participate in the pasyon of the country. An “unseen hand” has so far protected them from serious danger because of the people’s devotion to the patriarch St. Joseph. It is but fitting, declares Malvar, that St. Joseph be the patron of the guerilla columns,

at cañhnan na uti na sa canyiyang pagtatanquile ay dumating tayo sa catapusan ng pacay, pagcaudal nga manda nacahadlang sa guina nga limalacan. Huag ilingen ang masa ta ilicad, litig sa ating hinaharap, at patulmanuins anag atng pinatutugonhan at calagalahan, cañqui anag pag-as, catapangan at catagahan, mga parulman na nacapapatapataas sa taong na labay sa pagtatanquile ang isang bagay na susog sa cañhiran.

and may it happen that with his patronage we arrive at the end of our mission, tearing down the obstacles on the path we traverse. Do not look back, fix your gaze upon what lies ahead, and cast liwanag upon our present state and destination, with hope, courage and perseverance, source of inspiration to the man who keeps on the ‘straight path.’
That Malvar’s proclamation found resonance among the masses of Laguna, Batangas, and Tayabas provinces is amply demonstrated by the tenacity with which they resisted the superior forces of the United States. But this is not the place to go into details about the war. The relevant question here is whether Malvar’s belief that the poor or laboring classes had the deepest sincerity in resisting the enemy is actually borne out by the written evidence.

In late 1901, Gen. Adna Chafee, speaking before a large conference in the town of Batangas, predicted great suffering in the “reconcentrated” areas or zones if the principales did not want the total establishment of peace. To this Jose Villanueva, a pharmacist and a former town mayor replied that “the end of the war depended not upon the principales of the towns, who desired peace, but upon the limits of Malvar’s incomprehensible stubbornness. Furthermore, Malvar and his troops were not dependent upon the aid of the rich, as was believed, since what they procured in the barrios was enough for them.”

Another prominent Batangueño, Florencio Caedo, testified in February 1902 that in October of the previous year he and other principales, wishing to judge the sentiments of the people, interviewed poor laborers and concluded that the latter “were looking forward to the coming of independence, just as the Jews awaited the Messiah, and that they were mistaken with respect to the intentions of the American government.” In the neighboring province of Laguna, the situation was much the same. In March 1901, Lt. Col. Pedro Caballes, guerilla commander of Laguna’s eastern zone, proposed to Gen. Juan Cailles that the town of Pagsanjan be razed in order to punish its treacherous principales.

We can conclude that although recruitment into Malvar’s army may have taken place along patron-client lines or, to put it simply, may have been motivated by personal loyalties, it appears that the masses also had a vision of the future that they were fighting for. Cooptation of the principales was not enough to stamp out the resistance. Through the principales, the Americans tried to convince the masses that kalayaan could be attained in a peaceful way; this is the “seduction” that Caballes complains about. That is why Caedo, Villanueva, and other principales sent agents to cockpits and other public places in order to convince the townfolk of the “good and sincere intentions of America,” that she would grant them the kalayaan that the people had no hope of obtaining through armed struggle. But the evidence indicates that, increasingly, the web of personal allegiances dominated by the principales class was breaking down. Large segments of the “poor and ignorant” classes continued to hope for the fruits of struggle, often seeking new leaders or new groups to attach themselves to.

The suggestion was made in previous chapters that the stance of peasant societies toward the revolutionary “center” is a commentary on the direction that the revolution was taking. Not surprisingly, Malvar’s call to arms that emphasized the values of the original Katipunan and amply recognized the contribution of each guerilla, no matter how “poor and ignorant,” was heeded by the Colorum. Indeed, as early as 1898, Governor Arguelles admitted that the “antirevolutionary” Colorum enjoyed Malvar’s protection in return for being his “partisans.” We know that in 1899 the famed Maestro Sebastian Caneco had the authority to issue passes, in Malvar’s name, announcing that the bearer could pass through the lines because he was a true guerilla. By 1900, Caneco held the rank of major, controlled around sixty-five rifles, and took active part in skirmishes against the Americans in the vicinity of Dolores. He was promoted to lieutenant colonel in January 1901; the number of rifles he controlled rose to ninety-five. An American officer reported, in November 1901, that “hundreds of natives” were making the pilgrimage to Mount San Cristobal. There could be found a large cave which was a “rendezvous of recruits for Malvar’s forces and the place of worship of the adherents of a new sect or religion” led by one “Maestro Sebastian.”

The role of the Colorum in the resistance during the difficult years of 1901 and 1902 is certainly more than an interesting sidelight to the events of the revolution. Toward the end of 1901, when American pressure had forced most of the principales in the towns to abandon at least their open support for the

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7. Caballes to Cailles, March 1901 (PR, 712.2, my italics). Caballes accuses the principales, whose names are listed down, of not having biya, of being unable to emphasize (manghinayang) with those experiencing hardship, and of enticing (tikayan) soldiers with promises of silver coins.
8. Caedo, Testimony (op.cit).
9. Arguelles to Aguinaldo, Bacoor, 10 September 1898 (original in Spanish; PIR-SD 242).
11. Testimony of Sebastian Caneco, 30 April 1903 (RG 94/Enc 2 to AGO 42167 [Gardner Inqury], USNA).
12. CO (Commanding Officer) Sto. Tomas to CO, San Pablo, 2 November 1901 (RG 395/E5101, USNA).
Tinatagap ng aming Conciencia na mga taga 4o Columna ang mamatay sa gutom puyat at pagal callan pa man at hindi magarawan ng kasarinlan itong ating Ysungyan.

Ako bagang pagussapin sanap sa lubag naming mga taga 4o Columna ang mamatay sa Campo huag lamang sumuco, cayi hindi dapat paguahang sinon mang tagulog na umi-bibig sa ating lupain.

Our compatriots, do not be upset by what we members of the 4th Regiment have done, because this is the straight path that, in fact, guides the whole world, and because this was our original promise. We vowed, before the glittering sun of our Filipino flag, to do this, and so we ought to fulfill our oath till death.

In our conscience, we members of the 4th regiment accept even death from hunger, sleeplessness and fatigue, as long as our Mother Country has not gained her independence.

How sweet it would be in our lubag to die in the field, never to surrender, and any Tagalog who loves our land ought not to wonder at this.17

No one believed more in oaths and the idea of dying for Mother Country than Andres Bonifacio; these were among the ideals that shaped the Katipunan. The language of the Fourth Regiment has an added significance in that it implicitly repudiates the behavior of Cailles who, with Trias, belonged to the group that plotted Bonifacio’s downfall in 1897.

Soon, Cailles and Trias would be installed as civil governors of Laguna and Cavite provinces, respectively, while Caballes, whom Malvar promoted to full colonel and made chief of all the Laguna forces, would be hunted down as a “bandit.”18 According to the Pagsanjan principals, it was the Colorum Society that “seduced” Caballes into continuing the struggle. This is most likely an exaggeration. But there is no doubt that the Colorums rallied around Caballes and provided him with manpower and financial support. One fund-raising technique of the Pagsanjan Colorum was the use of two statues called “Mahal na Ama” (Holy Father) and “Mahal na Ina” (Holy Mother), stuffed with cotton pads to make them look authentic, inside which were ventriloquists directing listeners to participate in the war, at the very least through contributions of money and kind.19

Clearly, Malvar, Caballes, and other guerilla leaders of principalia background pursued the war against great odds because they could rely on the wholehearted support of the poorer classes. They knew that the peasantry had pinned their hopes for a better life on the attainment of kalayaan. Interpretations of what victory would bring undoubtedly differed among the various social classes and groups that participated in the war. The Colorum Society, for

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15. 19 December 1901 (RG 395/E4138, USNA).
17. August 1901 (PHR-SD 752/55, PNL).
18. Around February 1902, Cailles was authorized to organize a force of volunteers from Laguna to track down Caballes (Bell to Post CO’s, Laguna and Tayabas, 2 March 1902 [RG 395/E3877, USNA]).
example, was only one of the organizations through which peasants hoped to enjoy the fruits of kalayaan. But Malvar and other patriotic intellectuals did not hesitate to tap this popular groundswell. Nowhere in their correspondence do we find the fear of anarchy and disorder that some officials of the republic voiced in their condemnation of "fanatical" peasant societies. Malvar's formula was simple—to channel the energy of the masses toward defending Mother Country against the Americans, by stressing the Katipunan values of personal commitment to a life-and-death struggle in which each participant, especially the often-neglected peasant fighter, was assured of moral and material fulfillment. When Malvar surrendered on 16 April 1902, he did so in order to save his region and its people from total destruction. The principals in the towns either switched sides or were neutralized when General Bell's "reconcentration" and "search and destroy" policies completely disrupted economic life and freedom of movement. Famine, caused by the destruction of food supplies and the deaths of work animals from disease, and a major cholera epidemic that started around March, took a much greater toll of lives than actual warfare. Faced with the prospect of genocide, Malvar had no choice.20

Persistence of the Kalayaan Ideal

The surrender in 1902 of the main guerilla armies gave the populace a breathing spell during which the specters of famine and disease were tackled with United States aid. But the new colonial government found it extremely difficult to place the country, particularly the islands of Luzon, Samar and Leyte, in a condition of tranquility and order. For what the Americans had to contend with was really the mood of the populace. Notwithstanding the defeat of the revolutionary armies, the hundreds of thousands of lives lost and the desolation of the countryside, the image of kalayaan continued to pervade the consciousness particularly of the poorer and less-educated classes. American reports during the immediate postwar period constantly bemoan what they eventually term a "fanatical" attitude toward politics and independence on the part of, to the minds of the Americans, very unlikely types of people. Little children brought up the subject in conversation with American soldiers passing through the towns.21 Even those who had made their peace with the Americans occasionally revealed to their American friends their vivid memories and emotions of the struggle for self-rule. One had only to introduce the subject of the friars, or tell "tales of suffering and war," in order "to see eyes flash and cheeks burn."22 In general, however, "the better class of people," to quote the constabulary chief, were "extremely tired of the struggle" and were willing to aid the government in stamping out further acts of resistance.23 Doherty, in 1904, summarized the situation thus: "With the exception of a small percentage of property owners all Filipinos desire the independence of their country."24 As late as 1907, the constabulary in southern Luzon reported that "in Sorsogon, Romblon and Tayabas the whole population seems swept off its feet by the independence idea. Only a few men of prominence have been strong enough to stand in opposition."25

Given the prevailing mood of the populace, many of the ilustrados and large property owners who had participated in the Malolos government continued to work for independence. But they chose to do so within the framework of the colonial order, banking on American hints that total self-rule would eventually be granted after a period of "tutelage" in which power would be shared between the Americans and the native elite. Their approach was through the formation of political parties bearing various shades of the independence platform. Not until 1907, however, did their cautious efforts bear fruit with the election of a national (Philippine) assembly dominated by the Nacionalista Party.

From around 1901, many members of the Filipino elite who had just supported the Malolos republic found it to their advantage to collaborate in the American campaign of "pacification." As a recent study has pointed out, the Filipino elite "quickly found co-operation with the United States more advantageous than their original expectations. By preserving the peace and order, they were also preserving the traditional system which gave them support."26 This is a reference to the situation around 1907, but the study also shows that

20. See Malvar's "The Reason for my Change in Attitude" (original in Spanish), 16 April 1902 (Taylor, Philippine Insurrection, vol 5. pp. 358-59).
21. Andrew Haslam, Forty Truths and Other Truths (Manila: Philippine Publishing Co., 1900) pp. 178-79. Haslam was an American soldier who wrote about "the life and habits of the Tagalogs." After a little argument with a boy about independence, Haslam remarks: "You will see a ten-year-old boy arguing politics, what must be the feeling of the people towards the prospects of local government! They possess a strong desire for it."
22. Edith Moses, Unofficial Letters of an Official's Wife (New York: Appleton, 1908), pp. 349-50. Moses's husband was a member of the Philippine Commission. Her remarks were made in a letter of 15 December 1902.
24. David Doherty, "Conditions in the Philippines," U.S. Senate Document 170, 58th Congress, 2nd session, 1904 (typescript in BIA 3841-3, USNA). Doherty was a Chicago physician with an interest in the "new colony." His report challenges the official position that the threat to peace and order was caused by bandits. He travels to many unpatrolled areas in 1903 gave him substantial proof that the disturbances were political and geared toward independence.
25. ARPC (1907) 2, p. 801.
as early as 1901 members of the native elite were allowed to dominate the municipal and provincial levels of government in the "pacified" areas, thus somewhat whetting their appetite for "self-rule." This led to a situation in which prominent officers of Aguinaldo's army, as governors of their home provinces under the new order, willingly and quite ruthlessly persecuted the remaining units of guerrillas fighting for independence. Gen. Juan Cailles of Laguna, Col. Pablo Tecson of Bulacan, Col. Ceferino Joven of Pampanga, Gen. Martin Delgado of Panay—these were only a few of the revolutionarios from prominent families whose loyalty and efficiency as provincial governors the American governor-general could hardly praise enough.27 These individuals could pursue their tasks with hardly any feelings of guilt or pangs of conscience because of the myth, created by the declaration of the "Bandolerismo Act" in 1902, that all remaining "troublemakers" in the new colonial order were plain bandits, or ladrones. This myth, initially embraced and propagated by what the Americans called the "better classes" of Philippine society, eventually came to be accepted by ever greater segments of the population as a result of its propagation in the public school system. Even today, the period from 1902 to 1910 is very little understood, and in some respects, clouded in secrecy.28 In any case, this identification of any armed resistance with banditry provided the government and its Filipino allies with the needed justification to use harsh measures against recalcitrants. "We are getting rid of the bad men," wrote Governor Taft, "and we are not offering any terms of any sort. A number have been sentenced to be hanged, and most of the others have received long sentences. It is not quite so spectacular as to kill them in battle, but it has, I think, a better effect."29

It was easy for educated or propertyed Filipinos to accept the bandit myth because the Katipunans that rose after 1901 were composed of "ordinary" people and led by, as one source puts it, "officers of lesser grade, men lacking in social status and intelligence."30 Among the leaders were tailors, barbers, à cook, a blacksmith's helper, peasant farmers, and vagabonds. Some, formerly cooks and servants of prominent families, had become officers in the revolution.

27. William H. Taft to the U.S. Secretary of War, Baguio, 14 April 1903 (BIA 4865-15 (extracted, USNA).  
28. This has given rise to several magazine articles and books attempting to dispel the bandit myth of certain individuals who led movements with anti-American overtones. The books of Antonio Abad and Jose P. Santos are cited later in this chapter.  
29. Taft to the Secretary of War, 14 April 1903, Baguio (BIA 4865-15, USNA). In fairness, we must point out that some of those hanged were genuine robbers, rapists, etc., who took advantage of the general turmoil to commit crimes. Some of these may even have joined the Katipunan guerrillas. In general, however, the colonial government was more preoccupied with political or religiopolitical rebels.  

LeRoy asserts that although new leaders had come to the fore, the masses were as passive as ever, like sheep "herded hither or thither at the command of the boss." But how do we reconcile this image of passivity with the observation that the ideal of independence was present? Why did the masses persist in flocking to these "ignorant and mere adventurous" leaders in spite of the risks involved? Our key to understanding the continuing unrest of the first decade of American rule lies in the meaning of the word kalayaan, the rallying cry of the different groups that appeared at this time. The new leaders gained a following because they offered a way to kalayaan that the "men of property and education" had long forsaken.

Sakay's Katipunan

In August 1901, a Nacionalista Party (not to be confused with the illustroled Nacionalista Party of 1907) attempted to seek legal status, which was immediately denied by Taft because of the presence of "confirmed Katipuneros" among its leaders. Indeed, with Santiago Alvarez as one of its presidents, Andres Villanueva as vice-president and people like Macario Sakay, Aurelio Tolentino, Aguedo del Rosario, Francisco Carreon, Briocio Pantas, and Pantaleon Torres as secretaries, it seemed as if the Katipunan of Bonifacio had been resurrected. Could it be a mere coincidence that the men who believed in the sacred ideals of the Katipunan were the first to challenge the new regime constitutionally, even while many generals of the fallen republic were scrambling for office and status in it? The Nacionalista Party, together with the labor union of Dominador Gomez and Bishop Gregorio Aglipay's Philippine Independent Church, attempted to form a "triple coalition" advocated by veteran Katipuneros who claimed "that sentimental consci-

32. LeRoy Papers, folder 10 (MHC).
loration for the triangular arrangement would appeal to the secret brotherhood that they hoped to resuscitate.33

Taft and the Philippine Commission wasted no time in enacting, in November 1901, a “Sedition Law” which imposed grave punishment on anyone found guilty of advocating independence not only through open insurrection but also through “seditious” speeches, writings, dramas, and the display of Katipunan flags and insignias. The Nacionalista Party was thus prevented from operating legally. Despite threats and obstacles, however, the leaders of this movement who escaped imprisonment continued to wage the independence struggle through revivals of the Katipunan. The most imposing figure among them was Macario Sakay.

Sakay had been an apprentice in a calesa manufacturing shop, and also a tailor. He wrote and read Tagalog, and spoke a little Spanish, “but not enough to carry on a sustained conversation.”34 He knew Andres Bonifacio, both of them being residents in the Tondo district of Manila and actors in popular dramas called komedya or moro-moro. Sakay played the role of prince in the play Principe Balduino and in Rodrigo de Vilas. At other times he was Charlemagne in the comedy titled Doce Pares de Francia and in Amante de la Corona. In 1894, he joined the Katipunan and because of his good record was appointed president of the Dapitan, Manila, branch. Abad notes that, although Sakay was an active Katipunero, “the Spanish authorities failed to detect his whereabouts and activities because he participated in most komedyas held nightly in different districts in Manila. His conspicuous roles in the stage dramas disguised his real identity as a member of Andres Bonifacio’s Katipunan.”35 Sakay’s career as an actor in Tagalog dramas—he probably also played some parts in the sinulog—likely shaped his perceptions of what revolution was all about. As an actor he participated in the unfolding of a world that belonged to the masses of Tagalog folk—a world of chivalry, loyalty and love, in which acts of bravery and self-control, a willingness to face death, resulted in the attainment of difficult goals.36

As a Katipunero, Sakay helped run the Katipunan press.37 He also fought alongside Bonifacio in many encounters, particularly in the hills of Morong. After the downfall of Bonifacio and the Magdiwang wing of the Katipunan in 1897, Sakay’s military role seems to have been curtailed. Several former generals in the revolutionary government have noted Sakay’s political role, his continued commitment to the spread of Katipunan ideals among the populace. Sakay, says General Ricarte, “was one of those who went from town to town, winning the people over to the cause of the Katipunan.”38 Pio del Pilar comments that while military leaders like himself were busy conducting the war, Sakay concerned himself primarily with the formation of Katipunan chapters.39 This preoccupation with the Katipunan was construed innocently by the leaders of the revolutionary government. In spite of the fact that Aguinaldo’s ilustrado advisers were alarmed by the continued existence of Katipunan societies in many towns, they realized the importance of the Katipunan idiom in maintaining the revolutionary ardor of the populace. Men like Sakay were probably encouraged by the central government to propagate Katipunan ideals as a form of strengthening the loyalties of the rural areas to the center.

During the republican period, the term “Katipunan” was officially defined as the “nation.” But very little effort, if any, was made to build the Philippine nation along Katipunan lines. Egalitarianism and mass mobilization were concepts that threatened the leadership of the ilustrados and princeses. The concrete practice of Katipunan ideals thus remained confined to the local level. It is not surprising that, after the fall of the Philippine republic at the end of the century, resistance to American rule was initiated and led largely by individuals of low social status and minimal education, for it was largely this segment of society that regarded the Katipunan as a way of life constituting the essence of

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33. ARRC (1903), 1, pp. 40-41.
34. David Doherty to the New York Evening Post, 2 October 1906 (BA 4665-33, USNA).
35. Antonio Abad, General Macario L. Sakay: War He a Bandit or a Patriot? (Manila: J.B. Feliciano and Sons, 1950), p. 4. Abad, as a representative of the Tagalog daily Muling Pasigfang (Itebirth), was able to meet Sakay who eventually turned over some personal documents to him. This book is thus a compilation of translated documents of Sakay and other leaders of the Katipunan Republic. Abad published it in 1955 in order to dispel the bandit image of Sakay. “History,” he says in the introduction, “is the hands of sinister frauds and precious mediocrity, had lent its assistance to the perpetuation of a crime injustice.” In the end, however, Abad merely notes a difference of personality between Sakay and the ilustrados who worked toward independence “through the ballot.” Sakay was a romantic idealist while the Quezons, Laurels, and Osmeñas were practical enough to work within the system. Thus, Abad himself perpetuates a myth—that independence meant the same thing to all nationalists.
36. Cf. Teodoro M. Kalaw, Cinco Reglas (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1947), pp. 10-11, on the influence of the komedya in the making of a man of valor, the latter being “a chimera solely realized through serenity, education (knowledge) and sacrifice.”
37. Gregorio de Jesus, Ako Tula ng Aking Buhay, in Julio Nakpil and the Philippine Revolution, ed. E. Alzona (Manila: Carmelo and Baurmann, 1964), p. 162. In her autobiography Gregoria, Bonifacio’s widow who later married an officer in the revolutionary army, makes an impassioned plea to her countrymen to abandon the notion that Sakay was a bandit.
39. Statement of Gen. Pio del Pilar, in J.P. Santos, Ang Tataliik Nga Basahang Halik sa Pilipinas (Genora, Tarlac, 1936), p. 31. Santos has termed the respect of Philippine historians by collecting and publishing original Tagalog records relating to Sakay’s movement. His work is all the more valuable in that he made no attempt to translate it into English, for a comparison of the Tagalog originals with Abad’s translations reveals the inadequacy of common English words in capturing the nuances of certain Tagalog word-concepts.
being a true “son of Mother Country.” In Sakay’s case, it is clear from the records of the New Katipunan (which shall henceforth be called simply “Katipunan”) that he recognized capitulation to the Americans as a deviation from the path to kalayaan. Sakay so “loved” the Katipunan, says Pío del Pilar, that he persisted in the struggle against great odds. He remained active in the hills of Morong until his capture in 1901. Amnestied shortly afterwards, he promptly went underground to work for a revival of the Katipunan.

Although Sakay was one of the secretaries of the short-lived Nacionalista Party of 1901, by 1902 he seems to have abandoned the “legal” approach to the independence question. In any case, the American government preferred to deal with the more malleable illusarios in the transfer of some measure of authority to natives. Thus, to the dedicated adherents of the Katipunan, the only road to kalayaan was that traversed by Bonifacio in 1896. In 1902, we find Sakay at the head of a “Republic of Katagalugan,” in the hills of southern Luzon. The ideology of his republic was in essence that of the early Katipunan. The ideas of self and society found in Jacinto’s “Kartilya” of 1896 became part of the very definition of the state. Its constitution, promulgated in November 1901, expressly states that “the congress shall in no way act counter to the mode of behavior (kaungailaan) that characterized the Katipunan ever since it was founded by the honored G. A. Bonifacio in the year 1892.”

The implications of this apparent revival of Bonifacio’s Katipunan are manifold. It is not, as some historians imply, simply a continuation of the struggle for independence by an overly idealistic—and perhaps unrealistic—individual. Far from being a minor reflection of the republic at Malolos, Sakay’s republic was an implicit negation of the Malolos model. As we shall see, Sakay and the group of Katipuneros around him felt that something was terribly wrong with the way the revolution had been conducted in the recent past.

One of the earliest available documents of the Republic of Katagalugan—a “War Order” of 6 May 1902—begins with an outright criticism of people’s motivation during the recent war years:

Sa pagbihinsagis ng guwawa dito sa Pilipinas ay na pagmalas sa kalayaan ng Katahunan ang di paglakasang lalag, gawa ng paglingap sa pitak, sa yaman at karunungan, ay una ang pagtatanggol sa kalayaan, at itinang ang saling katawan. Sa pagyon ay minarapat nitong K. Pagasawan itong Kautusan sa kapanahunan ng patikidigma.

40. Ibid.
41. ARPC (1903), I, p. 40.
42. Ibid.
44. “Kautusan” nitong Kapuluang Katagalugan, 1, “Pamahusay” (Proclamation), 6 May 1902, in Santos, Tatlong Tulaan, pp. 51-53.

The War Order is addressed quite specifically to “those Tagalogs who are inducing the officers and men defending our Mother Country to lay down their arms and accept the jurisdiction of the United States government,” and also to those actually engaged in capturing or causing the arrest of those continuing the struggle. The reference, of course, is to what American officials termed the “better classes” of society, many of them former officers of the revolutionary army, who formed a native component of the campaign against “banditry.” The notion of a “better class” or “intelligent, well-to-do class” of natives is, however, part of the American colonial vocabulary. The War Order does not consider the oppressive acts of fellow Filipinos as an aspect of class conflict. Theoretically, the rich and wealthy Filipinos are not grouped into one oppressor or traitor class, as the following article from the Republic of Katagalugan’s Constitution shows:

Sino mang tagalog tungkol anak dito sa Kapuluang Katagalugan, ay walang aktong sinu man tungkol sa dugo gayon din sa kalayaan nang halatang nang isn’ta; maputi, matin, mayaman, dukha, marunong at mangmang halat ay magkakapantay na walang bigat at kulat, dapat maglakasang lalag, masaring sumungong sa dunong, sa yaman, sa ganda, dawon’t hindi maahusgian si pagkatao ng sino man, at sa paglilingkod nang kalat ang.

No Tagalog, born in this Tagalog archipelago, shall exalt any person above the rest because of his race or the color of his skin; fair, dark, rich, poor, educated and ignorant—all are completely equal, and should be one in loob. There may be differences in education, wealth or appearance, but never in essential nature (pagkatao) and ability to serve a cause.

In effect, there can be unity among those of different levels of wealth and education. The Katipunan viewed itself and its supporters not as a class but as the representative of the whole society confronting those who, by their conduct, subvert the very conditions for “society” to exist. The ideal of unity of loob was frustrated by individuals whose actions were motivated by love for wealth, knowledge, and herself over the whole; yet, these very same people demanded the respect of the “poor and ignorant,” and reaped most of the

44. Amendmen by the Junta Suprema, IV, 3 (Katonglaling Gaganapan ng Lahi...), in Santos, Tatlong Tulaan, p. 45.
benefits of the revolution. From an external viewpoint, however, the notion of “class” can be applied to the situation in which the Katipunan found itself, for the latter’s enemies were no other than the “better class” that the Americans spoke proudly of. Thus, although ideas of interiority underlie the Katipunan analysis of and statements about Filipino society, there seems to be a correlation between interior state and membership in a class. This will become clearer as we delve further into the sources for the period.

The Katipunan’s use of the idiom of loob is evident as we quote further from the 1902 War Order:

Ang utos na to ny nag buhat doon sa masamang gauit at buhat hal na nasa, negumahat din nama sa nanganasa ng Kalayaan ng sariling katawan, at gayon din sa pag iba at na ng ang at kayamana, na di niliingup ang kapuriang ng Bayan.

Kaya nga ipinutalah sa mga kababayan tapat na loob, manalig dito sa kauutusan at tumulong sa ipagcagaisan loob ng lahat upang tumanhin sa madaling panahon ang hinahangad na Kalayaan.46

The necessity for this order is due to those men of bad behavior and disorderly minds and habits. It is also due to those who seek kalayaan of their bodies, who hunger for honor and wealth, without showing compassionate care for the honor of the country.

That is why we appeal to compatriots with upright loob have faith in this and to help toward the becoming-one-in-loob of all, so that we may attain kalayaan as soon as possible.

As a way of expressing what has gone wrong, Sakay plays upon the alienation of words from their true meanings. In the introduction of his War Order, quoted earlier, he says that in the last war there was paglingap (compassionate care), not for the country as would have been proper, but for silver. Instead of paglingap for the country’s honor, there was love for the self. Instead of kalayaan of the whole people, it was “kalayaan of their bodies” that many sought. The corruption of sacred Katipunan ideals along with “bad behavior and disorderly minds,” manifest weakness and lack of control in the loob. The Katipunan must set things straight by mobilizing those of “upright loob” to continue the struggle for kalayaan.

For Sakay and others with him, nothing was more infuriating than the abuse of the term kalayaan. The word was alienated from its original, full meaning by collaborators and plain politicians who sought to justify their behavior to a populace with fresh memories of the revolution. One often finds, in documents of the period, illusorios and principles mouthing revolutionary rhetoric in which America is magically transformed from “enemy” into liberator. A

good illustration of this is the following excerpt from an address given by Sehorita Felicia San Agustin at the festivities honoring a regiment of the United States Army that had just “liberated” her town:

When the Filipino people aspired to free themselves from the yoke of Spain, in our weakness and impotence we raised our eyes to Heaven for help; desperate in moments of dismay we thought Japan, growing in power, might perhaps help us. At times we even thought of strong England, but we feared English pride, and we again beseeched Japan, who sympathized with us, to come to our rescue.

Never once did we dream that free America would be the nation to come to help free us from Spanish domination.

Thus it was before 1899 when these islands were ceded by Spain to the United States. Thoughtful people said, it is God’s will that America be the chosen one to redeem us and guide us in other paths, to instruct and educate us. We feel that we should not have fought against her, but human passions led us into a disastrous war.

Lucena is a town which is noted for its peaceful character, for its love of labor and for law and order.

From the time when you first set your feet on its soil, public order has not been disturbed, and we have tried to second you in your difficult work of clearing the country surrounding of people with evil intent, who under the false plea of patriotism imposed upon the ignorant population of the sementaries for their own profit.47

This statement, given on behalf of the “genuine representatives of Lucena, proprietors, agriculturists, merchants, all industrious people,” shows something of the capacity of vast segments of the Filipino elite to adapt to changing conditions. America is the savior who would lead the country along the path to kalayaan; the revolutionaries in the countryside are false patriots deceiving the people. One can imagine the surprise and disbelief of the revolutionaries at such cooptation of their language by collaborators in the towns.

Who was genuine and who was false? The Americans and their local allies certainly tried to propagate the notion that the remaining insurgents were “false patriots,” nothing more than bandits. The Katipunan, on the other hand, insisted that it was the bearer of authenticity. In an undated letter to a foreign consul, the Katipunan maintains that it is fighting the United States government “in an effort to defend the genuine (tunay) kalayaan of the country and in an effort to pursue the genuine katuwiran.” Furthermore, it refutes allegations of banditry by insisting that its partisans are “genuine revolutionaries in deed and in adherence to the genuine katuwiran (tunay na Revolucionario sa gawa at pambunuton sa tunay na katuwiran).” All in all, the word tunay (genuine)

46. Santos, Tatlong Tulisan, p. 53.

47. Document attached to the official report of Col. Cornelius Gardner to the Adjutant General, Manila, 8 February 1901. Also appended to the report is a translation of a declaration of gratitude to the officers and men of the Thirtieth Regiment, U.S.V., by 256 leading citizens of the town of Lucena, Tayabas, and Luchan (BIA 2760-65, USNA, my italics).
appears seven times in this short letter.48 Authenticity is also the emphasis in the final lines of Sakay’s Constitution:

Kaming nanumpa sa ibaba nito, ay pawang tunay na Katipunan buhat sa unang paggihimagsik dito sa K. Katagalunan, na naguunanggol ng Katirwan magpalahanggan ngayon nitong lupang tinubdan.49

The undersigned who have made the oath are genuine Katipunan, having been so since the first war in Katagalunan, committed to defending the katirian of our native land, even to this day.

All this emphasis on the “genuine” harks back to Jacinto’s distinction between “genuine” light—liwanag—and the deceptive appearance of light—ningning, or glitter. Those who thrive on appearances not only manifest a loob that lacks sincerity and transparency, but also exploit the vacillating loob of others. The War Order is addressed to such individuals, warning them of the consequences, such as confiscation of property and even death, of their treacherous acts. Moreover, in claiming that they are the genuine patriots, the Katipunan gives evidence of its commitment: it is “experiencing hardship” (nagusumakit) in order to obtain independence; it has been in existence since the first war (1896). Commitment, as our analysis of the 1841 Cofradía has shown, implies a loob that has endured many trials during which it has been continually purified and strengthened. At the conclusion of the War Order, the Katipunan appeals precisely to individuals capable of genuine commitment—whose loob are “sincere”—to trust in the Katipunan and work for the attainment of “complete unity of loob,” for only then will kalayaan become a reality.

Another important aspect of the idiom of loob that we discussed in previous chapters is the connection between state of loob and ability to show compassion or have damay for others. This dominant feature of the pasyon and the 1896 Katipunan ideology again appears in the interpretation of the 1902 situation. The War Order condemns the hardness (batagasan) of loob of collaborators who, rather than have compassion (lilingap) for the country, induce (bikayat) guerillas to surrender.50 A connection is posited between the state of people’s loob and their relationship to the redemptive struggle being waged by the Katipunan. In familiar pasyon terms, the allusion is to serpent and Judas-like figures whose loob are harder than the hardest rock. For Katipunan fighters in difficult straits owing to American military might, receiving little or no sympathy from “leading citizens,” the pasyon tradition at least provided a context of meaning in which to situate themselves.

When there is hardiness of loob everywhere, as the Katipunan perceived in 1902, there can be no unity and no genuine kalayaan. That is why there is an emphasis, in their documents, on the need for “purity,” “sincerity,” and “uprightness” of loob that results in damay, compassion and, ultimately, unity. The Constitution of the Republic of Katagalunan prescribes the ideal mode of behavior of citizens, thus:

Ang sino mang tagalog, ay magagamit ang magandang kaugalian, at mahunog katipunan, huwag lalayo sa puso ang gawang pag damay sa kapwa, at pagbibig na dali sa kadugo, gawang din sa tinuubang lupa, lalung lalo na sa ikasanay at ikapalaging sa kalalahan dito sa Kapuluhan; kailangan ang lahat ay magagamit ang kabiyayan at puri sa kaniyang saring katawon, upang huwag mawala ang pagmamalakaskit (ngang ina’t isa). 51

Every Tagalog should cultivate a good manner of behavior and a good mind; he should not estrange his heart from acts of damay for his fellow men and from genuine love for his countrymen and his native land, especially for the benefit of all in this archipelago. It is necessary for all to have bitya and purity of self, so that mutual caring shall not be lost.

In order for Mother Country to be honored, continues the constitution, there should be no deviation from true katirwan, and “disorderliness of mind and habit” (bitahalin na asal) must be purged. Evidently, kalayaan, as the Katipunan sees it, is not merely the attainment of political sovereignty; it is a condition in which the loob of Mother Country’s sons are joined together because the society’s ideals of behavior have been met in the experience of the struggle.

The above ideas, found in formal Katipunan documents, also appear in a song that was popular among the rural folk who harbored and sustained the Katipunan “bandits”:

Halina, halina nga kababayan ating salubungin itong bagong datus mga Filipino nga panguloy si Sakay si ngayon nitong ating bayan

Come, come our countrymen let us welcome these new arrivals Filipinos led by Sakay who set our country along the straight path.

Sa bayang Kabite doon tinawid doon minithi ang mga matulud si Kanes a ang Presidente si Sakay ang komandante si Montana ang Jefe si Natividad ang Kapitan, ang sabi.

48. Apparently, this letter was submitted to a Manila newspaper but never saw print owing to the newspaper’s fear of prosecution under the Sedition Law (in Santos, Talong Tulisan, pp. 48-49).

49. Santos, Talong Tulisan, p. 45.

50. Ibid., p. 52.

51. Ibid., pp. 44-45.
To the town of Kabite they transferred
there they aspired to set things straight
Kareon was made president
Sakay was the major
Montalan was the chief
and Natividad the capitana, they say.

Ang binibangan nila'y malagat na lupa.
Ang kinukumet nila'y damong mahahaba.
Mabagsik na lamak hindi maapalat
ayao magpatalog—mga kaawa-awa.
Kaya tayo'y lahat mag kaisa
su pagmamalasakit ng patria.52

The cold earth was the mat they slept on.
The tall grass served as blanket.
The fierce mosquitos could not be driven off,
and would not let them sleep—how pitiful they are.
So let us all be one
with the suffering motherland.

The “folk” character of this song shows in the confusion of details in the second stanza. Sakay, not Kareon, was the president, while reference should have been to Kabite province, rather than town (bayan). But “facts” are less what the song is about than the notion of karwihan in the first two stanzas and that of damay in the third. The Katipunan led by Sakay is said to have set the country on the straight path again, implying that previously there was disorientation, lack of firm direction. It is worthwhile to recall the image of the ship that lost its bearings in a storm, as Apolinario once described the Philippine unguided by the light of his teachings. Is there not, perhaps, a connection between the notion of the restoration of “straightness” and the unique design on Sakay’s flag—a blazing sun with the letter “K” (Kalayaan/Katipunan) in its center, its manifold rays reaching out to the very border.53 In no other insurrection of the revolutionary era do we find such an intensification of the image of light; but then, never had Mother Country been in a more critical condition, having suffered not only military defeat but the acceptance, by her alleged leading men, of the path of collaboration with the new rulers. Collaboration was regarded by the Katipunan as a particularly acute manifestation of the country’s deviation from the “straight path.” The magnified sun in Sakay’s flag can thus be regarded as a redemptive sign in a troubled era. It was the light—

53. Sketch in PHR-SD 1311 (PNL).
captors reveal a distinction between the terms “revolucionario,” or member of what he calls “Aguinaldo’s revolution,” and “Katipunero.” According to him, the difference between the present Katipunan and the old revolution is this: the present Katipunan men don’t want to kill anybody; they want to abide by the law; they don’t want to get drunk; they want to be virtuous. Unfortunately, Nicdao’s statements are available to us only in the interpreter’s English translation. What, for example, was Nicdao’s word for “law”? Could it have been “katipunan,” or something akin to the notion of the “straight path”? Surely, Nicdao is not referring to the laws of the American colonial government. In contrasting “revolucionario” and “Katipunero,” the state of loób—which morality is one indicator—is his main focus. We know that Aguinaldo’s “revolucionarios” could, indeed, be accused of “immoral” behavior. Says Julio Nakpil, another of Bonifacio’s former associates:

On account of the abuses and immoralities of his soldiers, such as robberies and rape of married women as well as single, many complaints were brought to E. Aguinaldo; but, instead of punishing the culprits, he would reply invariably, “Please be patient because we do not pay our soldiers.”

The word “virtuous” in Nicdao’s last sentence is almost certainly the Tagalog banal. It is “virtue,” or kabanal, that the new Katipunan upholds. A song written in 1896 by Nakpil, who intended it to be the Philippine national anthem if Bonifacio had lived to be president, illustrates the juxtaposition of virtue and struggle:

Mabuhay, mabuhay, yong Kalayaan, Kalayaan.
At pasulubang ang pumíl kabanalan, ang pumíl kabanalan.
Kastilla’y maring ng Katipunan.
at ngayo’t ipagwagi ang kahusayan.

Long live, long live kalayaan, kalayaan.
Let honor and virtue go forward, honor and virtue.
Let the Spaniards be mocked and disdained.
For now excellence shall triumph.

Revolutions can be judged from within as well as without. From the latter perspective it is all too easy to glorify the obvious manifestations of the continuous struggle for Philippine nationhood. But Sakay, Nicdao, and their fellow Katipunaneros perceived a discontinuity. To them, “Aguinaldo’s revolution” had strayed from the path that the movement of 1896 had chosen.

Revolucionario leaders, on their part, hardly recognized the post-1901 Katipunan as the legitimate continuation of their movement, joining in the American chorus of bandit accusations against Sakay and his group was simply another way of disclaiming continuity. Most of the “revolucionario” leaders acquiesced to and collaborated with the new colonial order as part of the game of flexibility and expediency which the Filipino elite has been known to play exceedingly well. Unfortunately, it has been thought much too often that the rest of society simply swayed and bent together with their elite patrons, and that those who did not were really outside society, i.e., bandits or religious fanatics. It has never been pointed out how deep the Katipunan experience was, how very much alive it was after 1900, and how many from the peasantry turned to Katipunan and religio-political leaders not necessarily as a blind reaction to the turmoil and insecurity arising from the war years, but as a consequence of their view of what the revolution was all about.

From around April to August 1903, Sakay made his headquarters atop Mount San Cristobal, the site where the Cofradia de San Jose made its stand against the Spaniards in 1841. There he proclaimed himself president of the Philippine republic. Captain Grove of the constabulary and ex-revolutionario, now Laguna Governor, Juan Cailles, led various expeditions to the mountain in attempts to dislodge him. Finally, in August 1903, they forced him to transfer his base of operations to the hills of Morong. Generally, Sakay’s Katipunan had no trouble in securing support from the inhabitants of the hilly and mountainous areas of southern Luzon. Where the power of the town-based principlaies was weak, the Katipunan government provided an alternative to existing structures.

In 1906, Doherty stated with surprise that thousands of remontados were supporters of Sakay. Remontado, from the Spanish meaning “to mount again” or “to take to the woods,” refers not only to a group of individuals who had fled from the bells to live an unrestricted life, but to a whole spectrum of individual and social activities unsanctioned and often condemned by the Spanish and principalaies, overseers of the pueblo way of life. At an earlier stage of Spanish rule, “remontado” usually meant one who refused to accept Christianity and resettle within the orbit of a town church; eventually it could mean one who had fled to the hills to avoid the payment of tribute and forced labor, to escape from the clutch of the law, or to live as a hermit and ascetic. Some nineteenth-century observers, such as Sawyer, Jagor and even Rizal,

54. Record of Examination of Cenon Nicdao,” 5 January 1902 (BIA 4857-3, USNA).
seem to associate the remontado phenomenon with an innate tendency among natives in the pueblos to return to a life of freedom and "omeness with nature" in the hills. In the Katipunan uprising of 1896, there is evidence of remontado support for Bonifacio's activities. One of the supremo's close associates in the Balintawak uprising was an old remontado named Laong, who wore a salacot hat ornamented with silver, with a knob of the same metal. Laong is said to have "attracted, catechised and initiated out-of-hand" many peasants in the fields surrounding Balintawak. He was one of those privileged to carry a revolver, of which the Katipunan had a precious few, and was the "chief of operations" of the group of remontados and peasants that attacked the Chinese and their stores in Caloocan and other places in the vicinity of Balintawak. Perhaps it was the example of Laong that inspired Bonifacio, having escaped to the hills of San Mateo after his defeat in Manila's suburbs, to confess that in case the Katipunan failed, he would remain an "outlaw."61 For him, there was no thought of returning to the fold of the colonial government. Some seven years later, Sakay carried the same attitude and commitment. And the remontados were there to support him.

Sakay should turn up there in 1903, to proclaim himself president of the republic.

In trying to explain the above phenomenon, Bandholtz stressed the severe economic dislocation experienced by Tayabas province. Over ninety percent of work animals had either been killed during the war or carried off by rinderpest and surra, nearly ruining agriculture and seriously crippling transportation. Poor harvests compounded Tayabas' problems, leading to the importation of rice into the province. The great hardship inflicted upon the poor people, argued Bandholtz, brought about the state of unrest.62 This is only part of the explanation. Economic dislocation does not automatically lead to unrest; why were many equally poor and ravaged provinces easily "pacified" by the Americans? And why did religiopolitical movements flourish just as well in relatively prosperous regions?

In 1904, David H. Doherty, an acute observer, insisted that to call the unrest in Tayabas simply "agrarian" was to ignore its Katipunan characteristics and its independence goal.63 Peasants in the region were not reacting blindly to economic dislocation. It is a commentary on the intellectual bias of the period that peasant-based reactions to American rule were ascribed to some sort of fanaticism or irrationalism. A careful examination of the available data shows that these "messianic" or "millenarian" movements either called themselves katipunans or sided other katipunans like Sakay in the continuing struggle for kalayaan. What ultimately bound them together was their belief that kalayaan was not mere political autonomy, but the attainment of certain possibilities of existence. Politics could not be divorced from all other aspects of life, like morality and economics. The Philippine Commission Report for 1903 notes that, at least for the Colorum, "Independence is a new religion opposed to the present established church, which they know is without power to punish them as of old."64 In previous chapters, we emphasized that "religion" to the Colorum and, we might add, to the average Indio in those days, was the main organizing principle in life, inseparable from "tradition." That kalayaan became a "religion" to many Filipinos is just another way of saying that "politics" was inseparable from their daily lives.

In 1902 and 1903, the provinces of Laguna and Tayabas continued in a state of unrest largely because of the activities of Ruperto Rios y Satarain, who very much reminded the American scholar, James LeRoy, of Apolinario de la Cruz.65 Rios or Reos as he himself spelled his name, led a movement contemporaneous with Sakay's katipunan, yet less recognized today owing to its markedly religious character. A closer look at the admittedly meager data

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on this movement, however, reveals features of the common language that intersects through all of the popular anticolonial movements of the period.

In terms of social background, Ruperto Rios appears to have had some things in common with Sakay. Both were "town dwellers" at least partly aware of developments in the world beyond. Sakay was a barber from Tondo, while Rios was a bellowman to the blacksmith at Atimonan. Both were, naturally, veterans of the revolution. Rios had the rank of major under the command of Lt. Col. Emilio Zurbano of the revolutionary army in Tayabas. When Zurbano, responding to General Gaitan's orders, surrendered to the United States in July 1901, Rios went along and even took the oath of allegiance. But soon after Malvar and Caballes had reorganized the guerilla movement, Rios was back in the field with the rank of lieutenant colonel bestowed on him by Malvar. Just as the mantle of leadership in 1901 had passed from Tria to Malvar, and Caballes to Caballes, so did Rios inherit Zurbano's position, at least in southeastern Tayabas. In September 1901, he styled himself "political and military chief, province of Tayabas." Apart from this, it is difficult to know precisely what the man was like and what his aims were, for we have to rely upon American reports which are totally unsympathetic toward this "bandit." Bandholz's description, for example, was gathered in 1903 from captured followers of Rios and are interspersed with sarcastic remarks as to how Rios fooled and manipulated the gullible and ignorant countryfolk. In interpreting his behavior, we have to keep in mind that Sakay's Tondo and Rios's Atimonan were, and still are, worlds apart in terms of urbanity and sophistication. Rios's followers were mostly poor peasants and indebted woodcutters, including some professional bandits. Rather than castigate Rios for manipulating the countryfolk, we can regard his actions as a sort of mirror of popular perceptions of the revolution.

According to Bandholz, Rios attracted a substantial following by "posing" as an inspired prophet. He managed to control "a town or two" and harassed others. Continuing a practice started under Malvar's leadership, Rios organized "exterior municipal governments" with a full complement of officials. An elaborate military command headed by a lieutenant general and a captain general was set up. Rios himself had the rank of generalissimo. He proposed to enter the town of Atimonan on 8 August 1902, to be crowned "king," but swift action by Governor Bandholz resulted in the arrest of eighty members of Rios's group before that date. They were successful, though, in entering Unisan. As the report states, 150 of them, "nearly all barefoot and conspicuously unshorn in shirt tails," entered Unisan, whipped the municipal officials and walked off with five policemen all of whom were recaptured later, unharmed.

Rios was also called "pope." He distributed aning-aning to all his followers. He heard confessions and granted absolution, claiming that these were more efficacious than when done by a Catholic priest. He also had the power to ascend to heaven by means of a rope. At night he would conceal himself, and then appear in the morning with announcements such as, for example, that he had talked with the emperors of Russia, Germany and France, and that these potentates would send over large fleets that would distribute 10,000 arms with the necessary ammunition on the shores of Tayabas province. Rios's state aim was to secure the independence of the country. For some time, he carried with him a chest on the cover of which was painted "Independence" and which was guarded by three "picked virgins." Quoting from Bandholz's report:

[Rios] stated to the ignorant barrio people that the Filipinos had for a long time been struggling for independence which he now had in his possession, and that as soon as he was convinced that his followers deserved it, he would remove the lid from the box, 'Independence' would jump out, they would catch her, and be ever afterwards happy.

Independence would bring a life of ease, property would be shared, no taxes collected and jails no longer needed. When the chest was opened, it was found to contain only some old Spanish gazettes and a few hieroglyphics among which appeared the names and ranks of the officials of the organization.

American officials found the whole affair ridiculous particularly because of the "fantastic," magical notion of independence. But they also considered it dangerously subversive because this "fantastic" idea of independence seemed to imply, as Bandholz puts it, "that each man could help himself to whatever he desired—his neighbor's pony, carabaos, or property." This is, of course, an exaggeration, for Rios's movement had specific "enemies"—the collaborators, who happened to be the well-to-do. What really made the movement "subversive" is that Rios's followers had an image of the future that shaped their activities. This is quite evident in the following description of a wounded guerilla captured in March 1903 near Infanta: "The fanatic rolled his glistening eyes as he drank in the thought of the approach of the millennium. When independencia flies from the box, there will be no labor, Señor, and no jails and no taxes."

The belief that independence, or kalayaan, would jump out of a box is consistent with Katipunan images of kalayaan as a personified condition:

67. PIR-SD 719.4 (reel 40, fr. 696; PNL).
69. Statement of ex-Governor Gardener, 1902 (RG 54, Enc. 2 to 421607, p. 36, USNA).
71. Ibid.
The Path to Kalayaan

Mother Filipinas or Bernardo Carpio lying in a state of limbo or sleep, awaiting the day of final liberation that would bring about prosperity, comfort, and knowledge. The popular belief in resurrection, based on traditions of ancestor worship as well as Christianity, was evidently the chord that Rios struck through his box, a symbolic coffin. There is nothing incredible about this. At around the same time in Manila, Aurelio Tolentino was staging his Katipunan-inspired drama, Katabon, Ngayon, at Bulas (Past, Present, and Future), which drew upon similar images. Mother Country is ordered buried alive by Ferocious Beast (the friars), but as soon as the revolution led by Tagalog triumphs, Mother Country’s grave opens and she comes forth, radiant as ever, a sign of the unity of her sons. The play incited the audience so much that it was promptly suppressed. The fervor inspired by Rios's magical box can be understood in this light.

As a prophet, Rios could point to certain signs that a condition of kalayaan was approaching. In a sense, independence was already there in the box, just as for Apolinario de la Cruz the king was “behind the curtain,” but men had to change their loöb by participating in rituals and in the struggle itself, before kalayaan could be enjoyed. This is the significance of an American officer’s assertion that “the followers of Rios believed that when they had proven worthy, the prophet would open the box and this mysterious thing, independence, would come forth to bless them.” The parallel with the interred Christ in the pasyon is too striking to be ignored: Independence, guarded by three women—the Tatlóng María (Three Marys) of the pasyon—will come forth, become a social reality, only when the people, led by their “King” Rios, have fulfilled their own pasyon. Perhaps the hieroglyphics inside the chest were anting-antings, inscribed objects with the power of giving life when their prescribed rituals are accomplished with perfect control. When independence has emerged, society will not be the same as before because man will have died to his former state. No taxes, no jails, sharing of property, brotherhood—these possibilities will have been realized in the same way that paradise is regained.

The principality of Tayabas and Laguna feared the Rios movement not only because of the implication that their property would be threatened with independence but also because many of these “leading citizens,” having participated in the revolution of 1898 and then acquiesced to the new order, were now considered by Rios traitors to a sacred cause. This explains why Rios attacked municipal officials as well as constabulary soldiers. Sizing up the situation, Governor Bandholtz came to the conclusion that “the only way to combat such an organization was through the more intelligent natives themselves.” All over the province of Tayabas, Bandholtz organized compa-

nies of volunteers “composed of the higher class of natives,” and armed them with guns. No doubt, a certain amount of arm-twisting was involved in getting the cooperation of all the principalia; Bandholtz, for example, made town officials responsible for “bandil” activity in their jurisdiction. But, by and large, the principalia were found to be more zealous than expected in combating “bandilt.” Infected barrios were sometimes transferred by municipal governments to locations where the constabulary or local police could watch them. The constabulary itself, it should be noted, was led by men of the “higher class.” “Too often,” remarks LeBoy, “the so-called Filipino officials of the corps are men of so large a share of Spanish blood ... that they are decidedly hostile to the Filipinos and are hated by the people, being identified with the Spanish side of internal strife in the past.” What is worse,

many of the soldiers of the Constabulary rank and file are of the same class of informers, spies, and other former servants of the American military government who have frequently their private vengances to pay, and do not scruple to do so under the cover of the terror which their uniform inspires.

It was the combination of constabulary soldiers and principalia volunteers that broke the backs of the poorly armed and trained groups led by Rios, Destaca, Vesta, Saka, and other veterans of the revolution.

Rios himself was captured by deceit in San Antonio, Laguna. He and his band were invited to enter the town and “make themselves at home.” After “coaxing them in under the guise of friendship,” the “people of San Antonio and Poorte” captured the whole outfit, the constabulary reported. Later, Governor Cañizares claimed he designed the capture scheme himself, and that credit should also be given to the municipal president, police, and volunteers of San Antonio—certainly not the “people,” as the constabulary alleged. In a telegram of 29 May 1903, the colonial government authorized the payment of $2,000 as a reward to the individuals who had performed “an important service.” “King” Rios, betrayed by principals he mistakenly trusted, was eventually hanged in Atimonan.

The end of Rios did not mean an end to disturbances of the same nature in Laguna and Tayabas. In April 1904, a society called Solo Dios (One God), led by a certain “Francisco,” was discovered on the borders of Laguna, Tayabas, and Batangas. It had a governmental structure in the town of San Pablo, Laguna, and in several barrios. Authorities eventually traced its headquarters to the barrio of San Cristóbal. In 1905, it was reported that the Cavite branch

75. Bandholtz to the Executive Secretary at Manila, Lucena, 15 January 1903 (Bandholtz Papers, MHG), ARPC (1903), 1, “Report of the Provincial Governor, Tayabas,” p. 926.
of the Colorum Society was protecting Julian Montalan and other officials of Sakay’s Katipunan being hunted down by the constabulary and native volunteers.79 Constant surveillance by the constabulary of Colorum activities, particularly in and around Mount San Cristobal, put an end to its overtly political activities. But this did not prevent the society from undergoing rapid expansion during the first decade of the century. Its principal following outside of Tayabas came from “the ignorant people of Rizal, Laguna, Bulacan, Batangas and Cavite provinces, being strongest in towns where outlawry abounds.”80 “Outlawry,” of course, in those days meant primarily Katipunan and other proindependence movements.

Betrayal and Sakay’s Death

The years of 1904 and 1905 saw a resurgence of Sakay’s Katipunan. Except for certain highlights, the minute details of confrontations between the constabulary and the Katipunan need not be mentioned here. The overall director of military operations was Julian Montalan, who in 1904 was designated by Sakay as “lieutenant general, first chief politico-militar of southern Luzon.” Described by Aguinaldo as “a valuable soldier to the revolutionary government of 1898,” Montalan issued, on 10 April 1904, the so-called Montalan Law specifying the various degrees of punishment for treacherous acts against the revolutionary government.81 Beneath Montalan in the guerrilla hierarchy were Maj. Gen. Cornelio Felizardo, who operated mainly in Cavite, and Brig. Gen. Aniceto Oruga who controlled the lake towns of Batangas. On 12 November, the Philippine Scout headquarters at San Pedro Tunasan, Laguna, was attacked by Felizardo’s unit. This was followed by a raid on the constabulary detachment at Parañaque on 8 December. About sunset of 15 January 1905, Montalan led a large contingent that “marched up the main street of Taal [Batangas]” and “disarmed the municipal police who made but a semblance of resistance.” The municipal treasury and armory were raided while many townspeople watched approvingly.82 On 24 January, Montalan and Felizardo teamed up in a massive attack on the old Magdiwang Katipunan stronghold of San Francisco de Malabon, Cavite. Municipal funds, arms, and ammunition were carted away and the family of Governor Trias kidnapped. Trias himself, an open enemy of the Katipunan, managed to evade capture.83

The boldness of the Katipunan, the sympathy and material support it enjoyed from the rural populace, and the inability of landlords to cultivate their lands because of the unrest, forced the colonial government, on 31 January 1905, to suspend the writ of habeas corpus in Cavite and Batangas provinces. In March, “reconcentration” or the relocation of villagers was resorted to all over Batangas and Cavite and in some parts of Laguna and Rizal.84 This all-out colonial effort led Aguinaldo, who “in conversation with friends frequently declared against bandolism as ‘an evil,’” to complain nevertheless that there was “more fear of military and police than of ladrones among his farmers, which was apparently the case with most of the people in that region.”85 The policy worked, however. Through systematic arrests and interrogations, the guerilla units were whittled down in size and forced to seek cover elsewhere. By mid-1905 Oruga had surrendered to Governor Caillas and Felizardo had been treacherously murdered. Montalan survived the pressure only through the help of the ever-reliable Colorum Society. But suppression alone did not stamp out Sakay’s Katipunan. The “supremo” himself remained entrenched in Rizal (formerly Morong) province, east of Manila. In November 1905, Constabulary Chief Bandholz confessed that Sakay had “too many warm sympathizers in Rizal” for the government to attempt to capture him.86 What ultimately brought about the Katipunan’s surrender was the tactic of, as Bandholz put it, “playing upon the emotional and sentimental part of the Filipino character.”87 Let us examine what he meant by this.

According to the Philippine bill (Cooper Act) which President Roosevelt signed into law on 2 July 1902, one of the conditions for the establishment of an indigenous Philippine Assembly was the complete restoration of peace and order throughout the archipelago. By 1906, it looked like this condition would not be met in time for the creation of the assembly in 1907. At least that is what Bandholz and other American officials impressed upon aspiring Filipino politicians. “We laid great stress,” says Bandholz, “upon the fact that unless bandolism was extinct in Cavite and Batangas, those provinces would undoubtedly be cut off from representation in the assembly and the assembly jeopardized.”88 One aspiring ilustrado politician, Dominador Gomez, responded by appealing to Sakay, on grounds of “common cause,” to surrender peacefully. He produced a letter, signed by the American governor, guaranteeing that Sakay and his men would not be punished or molested upon turning themselves in.

On the morning of 4 July 1906, the Katipunan, in full uniform, marched into Manila on a safe-conduct pass. An eyewitness reports that a brass band

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81. Montalan document (Leroy 1905 Travel Log, folder 13, MHC); transcript of interrogation of Emilio Aguinaldo, 29 July 1905 (Leroy 1905 Travel Log, folder 12, MHC).
83. Ibid., pp. 9–10. Trias’s wife and two children were eventually rescued by the constabulary.
84. Ibid., pp. 10, 12–13.
85. Transcript of interrogation of Emilio Aguinaldo, 29 July 1905 (Leroy 1905 Travel Log, folder 12, MHC).
87. Bandholz to Col. J. Harbord, Manila, 8 July 1906 (Bandholz Papers, MHC).
88. Ibid.
followed them wherever they went. "They were on foot, accompanied by hundred of townspeople. So great was their popularity that their countrymen shouted, 'Mabuhay si Sakay! Mabuhay ang mga bayani!" [Long live Sakay! Long live the patriots!]

The Katipuneros attended banquets, dances, and other festive gatherings. At night, they joined bands of serenaders vying for the attention of pretty ladies. Apparently the Katipuneros, for reasons to be discussed later, perceived their surrender as an occasion to celebrate. Behind the scenes, however, a plot to apprehend the leaders had been devised. On 17 July, Sakay and his staff composed of Montalan, Leon Villafuerte, Lucio de Vega, and Benito Natividad were invited by an American officer to a dance in Cavite hosted by Acting Governor van Shick. Just before midnight, as they were dancing in the town hall shielded from the gaze of sympathetic townsfolk, the Katipuneros were disarmed and arrested by the American officers in the crowd. Gomez, who continued to insist that he desired independence just as much, advised Sakay not to resist arrest.

"What kind of government is this!" exclaimed General Villafuerte to his Katipunan brother in their prison cell. "They invited us to celebrate our surrender, and then treacherously arrested us." Aboard a boat on the way to Manila, where he was to be tried, Villafuerte asked a Filipino officer near him: "Why are you Tagalog soldiers treating us like this? You are fighting your own kin (kadugo)?" These statements, which echo Bonifacio's last words to his executioner on Mount Buntis, reflect a certain naïveté in Sakay's group concerning the independence struggle. Perhaps the ghost of Malolos still haunted them, dangling before them the illusion that wealthy and poor, illiterate and gente proletario, could be truly united and enjoy kalayaan by virtue of the "common blood" in their veins.

In persuading Sakay to surrender, Dominador Gomez had stated categorically that the Philippine Assembly was the "gate of kalayaan" (Pinto ng Kalayaan). Now Sakay, as we have seen, was only too aware of the disjunction of words and meanings that wreaked havoc on the spirit of the revolution. For him to have accepted the notion that the assembly was the gate of kalayaan, as the Katipunan of Bonifacio had earlier claimed itself to be, is a tribute to Gomez's powers of speech and persuasion, his ability to play upon "the emotional and sentimental part of the Filipino character." Gomez was the quintessence of ilustrado politicians, a pure demagogue who in 1905 was found guilty by a Manila court of extortion and misappropriation of the funds of the Union Obrero (Labor Union), and yet continued to pose as "a martyr of the poor obreros." Bandholtz's description of him minces no words:

Working with Dominador Gomez is like playing with a two-edged tool or with fire. You have to be most careful or he will get you implicated someway or other. . . I am inclined to believe that, if he really so desired, he could at any time start a serious uprising or, if one were started, that he himself could put an end to it. Of course, he is a deep-eyed villain and absolutely unscrupulous, especially if money is concerned. Within limits, it would pay to keep him in our employ.

Bandholtz claims that he bagged "Sakay and Co." through "our friend Dominador Gomez," who seems to have convinced Sakay that the Katipunan's road to kalayaan was no longer the right one. In a document signed by the Katipuneros on the night of 17 July 1906, we find the following statement:

Na sila ay cuya humarap ay dahil sa ipinalastas sa canila ng mga taong namatay sa canilang pagharap na ang canilang paninirsa sa gubat ay maaasamta sa nasapahamak sa canilang bayang tinubuan, at gayon din sa aming sa ang canilang pagharap ay macagaling sa hindi humac sa lupang tinubuan.

The undersigned declare that the reason they presented themselves is because they were informed by the intermediaries in the surrender that their holding out in the field was causing harm to and sabotaging their own country, and that their surrender would greatly benefit their native land.

No wonder the Katipuneros rejoiced upon entering Manila; they viewed themselves not as capitulating, but as helping the country gain kalayaan. Sakay is also quoted to have said: "I surrendered because fighting is an uphill game and the Filipinos will never succeed in gaining independence until they show themselves worthy of it. There is nothing to be gained by opposing the Americans." Here, Sakay seems to accept the ilustrado position that cooperation with, not opposition to, America is the correct path to kalayaan. But there is more to this statement, something that brings us right back to Rizos and Caneo—the idea that "worthiness," the proper state of isobô, is a prerequisite to kalayaan.

During the trial of Sakay and his men, Defense Counsel Felipe Buencamino delivered a lengthy speech that attempted to illuminate the Katipuneros' actions. Buencamino argued, in poetic Tagalog, that the accused were

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90. Ibid., p. 114. Villafuerte was one of the more educated officers of Sakay's Katipunan. Like the famed Gen. Gregorio del Pilar, Villafuerte was very young, 24, when Sakay made him a general.
91. Gomez to Sakay, 6 July 1906, Manila (in Santos, Tatlong Tausan, p. 60).
Abad notes that Sakay and De Vega, the two Katipunan leaders meted the death penalty, accepted their fate "with courage." Sakay's parting words are reminiscent of the form of paalam (farewell) used in the poetry of the revolution to signify the beginning of a journey unto death. But every martyr's death has its expected sequel—rebirth. The juxtaposition in Sakay's last words of "farewell" and the future birth of independence explains his serenity at the scaffold; his death would take mother Filipinas a step further toward kalayaan.

In Bilibid prison, from 1906 to 1913, hundreds of prisoners most of whom were members of the Katipunan were executed without public knowledge. Certain ilustrado leaders were aware of this but did not raise their voices in protest. For the ilustrados, except for a handful who sympathized with Sakay, had gotten what they wanted upon the capture of the katipunan leadership. On 30 July 1907, a month before Sakay's execution, elections for the Philippine Assembly were held peacefully. The new Nacionalista Party, running on a platform of "immediate independence," won fifty-nine seats, or seventy-two percent of the assembly's membership. Assemblyman Dominador Gomez was ecstatic. Famous Filipinos like Manuel Quezon and Sergio Osmeña would begin their long and prolific careers that would take them through the complex paths of colonial politics. The standard works on modern Philippine history are filled with this aspect of what has so often been seen as the struggle for nationhood and independence. And yet these nationalists of the 1907 assembly were chosen by an electorate comprising only three percent of the population, the same three percent who, in the waning days of Spanish rule, had comprised the native elite. A recent study reveals that the assembly delegates "were, on the whole, young, aristocratic and well-educated. Many had been to Europe for schooling." Twenty-six percent had held office under the Spanish government while nearly seventy-five percent had served under the Malolos republic. It may be said that the assembly was a rebirth of the 1898 Malolos Congress.

Idiom of Protest in the "New Era"

Despite their moderate aspirations, Nacionalista party leaders were well aware that the kalayaan ideal was very much alive among the masses, and every effort was made to harness this to win popular support for the party. In the party's organ La Independencia, first published in 1906, there is, besides

98. Abad, Narcario Sakay, p. 104. This information was given to Abad by Villafuerte upon his pardon in 1913. Villafuerte had no personal cause to grud against the Ilustrados because the most prominent of them, Manuel Quezon, was the one who secured his pardon. The secret executions and other atrocities were later denounced by the Tagalog newspaper Maling Pagsalub. 
material in Spanish, a plethora of Tagalog articles and supplements calculated to invoke nostalgia for the revolutions of 1896 and 1898. There are few hints that ilustrado party leaders were actually little concerned with the Katipunan spirit or experience, and were merely riding on the prevailing mood of the times to establish their political careers. Occasionally, however, one finds among the Tagalog writings in La Independencia indirect expressions that somehow the ilustrado handling of the country’s plight has run counter to the “straight path” revealed by the Katipunan. A story that appears in the 21 December 1906 issue of the newspaper illustrates this point. It deals with an event that happened sometime just after the revolution, but seems to address itself to the present as its title indicates: Hindi lalat ang natutulog (Not Everyone Is Asleep). The title is a quotation from one of Rizal’s writings, but in place of the dark night of Spanish rule we find a metaphor for the colonial politics of the present.

The narrator is a woman who, one night, finds herself unable to sleep, filled with restlessness and sadness as she thinks about the hardships and enslavement of her country and her loved ones. Lying fully awake for the better part of the night, she finally rouses her husband and asks him to “entertain” her with stories of his past experiences. Her husband is most obliging, but cautions her not to repeat his story to anyone. “My obliging and beloved husband paused for a few seconds . . . he wiped the tears that were starting to form in his eyes, as if he remembered something bitter in the past:

Isang gabi, anya, ng buwan ng Mayo, na aco’y nasasa Tayabas, sa pooc ng San Diego, ang langit ay nababalutan ng sapat niyang dilim, ang hangin ay umumong casaliw na mapanglaw na tahulan ng mga aso at sa malungcot na tunog ng isang batingaw (campana) ng calapit na simahan na nagbabala ng isang panalangin at ala-ala patungkol sa mga kamag-anat na magulang na nasa sa cabilang bahay.

One night, he said, during the month of May, when I was in Tayabas, in the vicinity of San Diego, the sky was wrapped in a death-shroud of darkness, the wind was moaning in harmony with the distant barking of dogs and the melancholy ringing of church bells nearby, announcing a memorial prayer to one’s parents and relatives who have passed away.

The young man has just left the house of an elder for whom he works. As he walks home in pitch darkness, the puzzling advice of his old master, who is poor and uneducated but nevertheless regarded as a sage, keeps on ringing in his head:

Quilanin mo muna and iyong sarili. Huwag mong papasyahan ng padumalig mga gawa ng tao, huwag pupulsa ni papurihin, arunik mo muna ang kanyang puso bago mo pasiyahan ang kanyang gawa.

Hindi mabuting panggagamot ang kusin ng maysikat, cundi ang pagihiwatin ang maysikat.

Igalang mo ang panuca, pagcat iyan ang hininga ng calolowa, at ang paghina ng calolowa, dapat ay mahaya.

Punanul sa ala-ala na mahalal aranquin, sa di catalusan ng mga bagay na ito, o tano lang man caya ay di isinagawa ng mga tao, canya di mapawi sa sangeinuco ang matandang sakit na timawag na pagcacaalit-alit.

Know yourself first.
Do not judge the works of another hastily. Neither criticize nor praise them, sound first the depths of his heart before you judge judgment upon his works.
It is not good medicinal practice to poison the sick. Rather, bring relief and comfort (ginhawa), for they are the breath of soul, and the breathing of the soul should be free.

Hammer into your mind that the reason the old illnes of the world called discord has not been cured is because men do not know or fail to accomplish what I have just said.

Suddenly the young man notices, toward the east, a “soft light,” malamnam na ilaw, heading toward him. As the light nears, it turns out to be an old man dressed in tattered clothes, struggling with a heavy load on his shoulder. The old man asks for help in carrying his load and his request is heeded by the youth who, however, cannot get over his curiosity about the contents of the coffinlike box.

“Where are we taking this? In which feast are we going to use this?” asks the youth, guessing that it is a machine for extracting coconut juice.
“This won’t be used anywhere. This contains the dregs (tira-tirahan).”
“And where are we taking it?”
“To the graveyard.”

The youth becomes extremely frightened and confused. Can his companion be a wicked murderer, he muses. Most likely he is a poor beggar who cannot pay for a funeral. Again the youth asks, “Who is in this heavy coffin that we are carrying to the grave in a time like this?”

The stranger finally gives in: “These are the false kings who lead our projects (nagbabari-harian sa mga panuca) and treat the country’s illness with poison.” At this point, the youth realizes the meaning of his sage master’s advice.

The young and the stranger together enter the graveyard in pitch darkness, the only mourners being crickets underneath the weeds and fireflies weaving about the branches of a dense balite tree. Having buried the coffin, the old man makes a strange request: “Let us transfer that hill over this grave, so that the ashes of those buried will never henceforth mix with the soil we tread upon and till.”

100. To my knowledge, the only available copy of this issue is in the newspaper collection of the U.S. Library of Congress.
The youth laughs. "Please, let us leave that matter aside. How can the two of us lift that mountain?"

"Why do you laugh? Do you not recognize me? I am the country that suffers quietly the scorns and insults heaped upon it."

"Since that is the case, sir, I humbly offer myself to you."

"Thank you, and so it is, as I have always believed fervently, that not everyone is asleep in the night of our ancestors."

At this point, says the narrator, her husband's story is cut short. And the lamp that illuminates their room suddenly flickers and dies out.

The anonymous author of the La Independencia article obviously intended to comment upon the events of his time (1906). But to do so effectively, he needed to use an idiom of protest that was meaningful to his Tagalog audience. That the narrative takes place while the couple's room is illuminated by a flickering light that dies out in the end would have reminded the reader with fresh memories of the revolution, of Jacinto's Manifesto of 1896, which is similarly framed. But even without the experience of the Katipunan behind him, the reader would have known that the story contained a revelation, that it was a moment of liwanag in a time of darkness.

Like Jacinto's Manifesto, the subject of the story is a youth's passage from darkness to light. He walks along a road in pitch darkness, which signifies a condition of ignorance and death. The "death-shrouded" sky, the meaning of the wind, barking of dogs and ringing of church bells are all signs of death. He himself manifests a loob in darkness. He cannot comprehend the teachings of his old master; he pines for a loved one who has rejected him; he talks of being lonely on the road. But most of all, he fails to recognize and is even frightened by the stranger, who is first glimpsed as a light coming from the east. Bearing a heavy load on his shoulder, the lonely stranger is no less than a figure of Christ.

It is the youth's willingness to share the stranger's burden, a willingness motivated by his own loneliness, that sets him on the road to enlightenment. His persistent questions lead the stranger to reveal the contents of the coffin they bear—the false kings who lead our projects, and who treat the country's illness with poison. This revelation enables the youth to connect the teachings of his "poor" (dubbe) and "uneducated" (bindi nag-aral) master with the condition of darkness in which the country is cast. Basically, these teachings "from below" state that a continuity ought to exist between the state of a man's loob and his external appearance and acts. The problem with the world is that disjunctions between "external" and "internal" are becoming widespread, making it necessary to sound the depths of a man's loob before judging his acts. The sage's statement, "it is not good medical practice to poison the sick," harks back to the pasyon image. The sage's doctor to the sick (48:7), the problem being that people often fail to recognize the true intentions of a "doctor" who merely pretends at his task. The world will forever be in turmoil as long as people either fail to distinguish between reality and appearance or continue to behave outwardly in a mode that runs counter to what their loob is.

The sage states that panucala, i.e., human projects or programs, must be "respected" because they are the "breath of the soul which should be free" (malaya). Connecting the words of sage and stranger, the youth realizes that panucala should be oriented towards the country's kalayaan, only thus will her illness be cured. In this respect, the country's leaders have been playing "false kings" (naglabari-barian). Hari-harian is a popular children's game involving pretenders or pseudo kings. To play around with panucala, to treat politics as a game, is to manifest a lack of fit between loob and appearance; it is the same thing as treating the country's illness with poison. That is why these false kings and false doctors should be carried to the grave.

If the objects of criticism were the country's leading politicians, why did the author not attack them directly; why the coffin, burial and all that? It has to do less with fear of reprisal, than with situating the 1906 events in the context of popular ideas of change. The stranger in the story is several things: liwanag, Christ and, as he himself admits, the country. Unmistakably, he is undergoing a pasyon or labaran, which the youth participate in, bearing the "sins" of the country on his shoulder. The box is not a coffin in the sense that we saw in Rios's case; it does not signify hope. Its contents—the remains of the "false kings"—are not to mingle with the soil tilled by man; the mountain is moved over the grave to signify its location at the bottom of the axis of the universe, i.e., hell. The box's contents are dregs, the tira-tirahan, that will be cast off like the blood and sweat of a penitent. We are reminded of the kahihian (shame) that Mother Country, in the awe we examined in the previous chapter, carries on her head as she, too, experiences a pasyon.

The reader of the La Independencia story would have found in it a way of focusing or organizing his perceptions of the politics of his time. In late 1906, with Sakay and his men safely in jail, the go-signal was given for the ambitious Filipino elite to compete for the glory and spoils of high office. The formula for success was simple: tap the masses' desire for kalayaan. Writing in October 1906, Bandholtz says this of the new game:

Outside of Manila itself there are hardly any Federalistas, and they would probably be knocked out of business if the opposition would unite instead of splitting up into the Inmediatistas, Urgentistas, Expulsivos and N-plus-1 other kinds of ________istas. The Federals are now called the 'Poco Tiempo Independistas.'

The Federalistas had always been pro-American; they had been instrumental in weaning the Filipino elite away from their support of the revolution. Now their platform was "Independence as soon as possible!" Bandholtz concluded in December that "the only thing that really distinguishes any of the parties or groups is the name, as many Federals are more radical than even the Urgen-

101. Bandholtz to Harbord, 7 October 1906 (Bandholtz Papers, MHC).
tistas and many of the latter are as conservative as any Federal.” It was a
game that exploited the kalayaan ideal. For example, according again to
Bandholtz, Ex-General Teodoro Sandiko became governor of Bulacan “under
the impression that he would do away entirely with taxes and give the people
a sort of socialist independence. Of course, he has been unable to do so and
the result is that he has lost much of the prestige that he formerly had.” These
are some of the things that made it meaningful to talk about false kings, false
doctors and the shedding of “dregs.”

This form of protest would continue, often unnoticed, through the 1930s
and perhaps beyond. We find the same ideas, for example, in a book titled
Pasion ng Bayan sa Kabapot ‘Ngayon (Passion of the Country in the Past and
the Present), published in 1934, the eve of the Philippine Commonwealth. The
author, Joaquin Manibo, draws a connection between the revolution and
colonial politics in pasyon terms:

Ang unang “Pasion ng Bayan”
ay ang mangaring digmaan
at ang pangalawang kunay
ang lumikha’y ang halalan
hangang ngayon’y umiral. 106

The first “Passion of the Country”
was the revolution in the past
and truly the second was
created by the elections
and still goes on today.

Interestingly enough, Manibo extends the time of the revolution or “war”
up to the first seven years of the Philippine Commission, that is, up to around
the end of 1906, when the land finally “became quiet and peaceful.” But then
came another war that the country had to endure: “the unceasing war in the
realm of elections (Himagsikang walang humpay sa larangan ng balal-
alan).” Why this triggered another pasyon is pretty clear:

Nang unang binabangon pa
ang lupian na dalawa
Nacionalista’t Democrat
ang binandedila nila
kalaya ng Independencia.

Kahit ang Baya’y lumuh
sa nagtagdag pagdidigma
naglag na at nauwa
sa discursong malabya
ang politicong malata . . .

Sila ang isang Tawo
dalawa lamang ang bautismo

When the two political parties
Nacionalista and Democrat
were first set up
what they were waging
was the flag of independence

Even though the Country wept
from the wars of the past
it now is thrilled and overjoyed
by the uplifting speeches
of the politician-poets . . .

The two are but one person
there were just two baptisms

102. Bandholtz to Taft, Manila, 5 December 1906 (Bandholtz Papers, MHC).
103. Bandholtz to Carson, 18 April 1907 (Bandholtz Papers, MHC).
104. Pasion ng Bayan sa Kabapot ‘Ngayon (Banaan, Batangas, 1934).
105. Ibid.
106. Ibid., p. 21.

The three most prominent politicians of the time, Quezon, Roxas, and
Osmeña are called “the three false kings” (ang tatlong bari-bari). They
have seduced the masses with talk of independence while actually violating
the teachings of Rizal and Bonifacio, enriching their personal coffers and
being the whip (suplina) with which “Tio Sam” slashes the back of the bound
and helpless country.108 But why have they been in power so long? One
of the reasons, says Manibo, is because the masses believed that they would
lead the country to kalayaan:

Sinong makatutulya
ng madlang potulhe nila
hangang bago’y maliwaga
saka natin nala-basa
kapag kinakain na.

Kahit lason o mapait
makakillinkag ng dib-dib
linokilon nating pilit
dahil sa aking malas
makalaya ang matuwid. 109

How can we really judge
the food they offer to us
full of mystery at first
which we only get to taste
when it is already in our mouths.

It may be poisonous or bitter
an evil cancer in our breast
yet we force it down our throats
because of our desire
for katuraman to triumph.

Once again we find the familiar theme of “feeding poison instead of medi-
cine.”

The cross that the country has to bear is not only that of graft and corruption,
but also burdensome taxes, pitiful wages, and the general enslavement of
the people. But worst of all is the senate’s deceptive posture concerning kalayaan:

Itong kalayaang asal
ang unang bipat ng bayan
Cruz na pinapanan
ng ama namit si Juan
butot batang katawan. 109

This disguised behavior
is the country’s prime burden
the cross that is borne
by our father Juan
whose body is skin and bones.

Manibo’s Pasion is replete with condemnations of both the political and
religious leaders of his time. Freely appropriating the form and language of
the popular Pasyon Pilapil, Manibo’s message is simply that the “politics of in-

107. Ibid., p. 13.
108. Ibid., p. 16.
109. Ibid., p. 17.
110. Ibid., p. 19.
dependence” engaged in by the ilustrados is all deceptive glitter. The true liwanag of kalayaan had shone in the past through the selfless dedication of true sons of the country, and only those who continue the struggle of these patriots will sit beside Christ on the Day of Judgment. Evil friars, thieves, murderers, deceitful leaders, cruel soldiers, and all other oppressors will not see heaven. Furthermore,

In heaven won’t be found that treacherous leader who became general of the army and ordered the beheading of General Bonifacio.

There the cherubim are the heroic patriots all there the seraphim are the upright leaders who fulfilled their duties.

There the angels are the poor toilers who endured in this world pain, hardship, and suffering because of love for country.

It might be argued by some that the Pasion above reflects the perception and imagination of only one man—Joaquín Mañíbo. But the author himself says that it is the “tall and leafy tree of fanaticism that protectively shelters (huwabaung) the noble aspiration for independence of this country Philippines.” While a lot of Filipinos play the game of colonial politics, the masses preserve the sacred ideals of the Katipunan in practices and traditions usually associated with folk religion. Mañíbo simply brings the folk perception of colonial politics up to date, or rather organizes such perceptions within a familiar pasyon framework. He also prescribes the “way” to be taken: if the people have dismay for the suffering country, if they want true kalayaan, they must help carry the cross and join Ricarte’s movement. Ricarte, the only living general of the revolution who refused to take the oath of allegiance to the United States, continued, up to the 1930s, to incite the people to rise up in arms against the United States. In 1935, shortly after Mañíbo’s Pasion was publi-

lished, a Ricarte-inspired peasant rebellion called “Sakdal” swept central and southern Luzon. It is not surprising that one particular Sakdal doctrine had “great appeal to the masses,” and “found a very fertile field in the barrio people’s minds.” The doctrine, as quoted from the organ Sakdal, was the following:

The leader of a subject country should be the first in making the sacrifice and suffer the pangs of hardship. No liberty was ever obtained happily; no success was ever attained through enriching one’s self; nobody ever triumphed without passing over Golgotha and being nailed at the cross of Calvary. The leader who amasses wealth should be abhorred, should be downed, for he is not a leader but a despoiler.

The Sakdal uprising of 1935 was directed as much against the Filipino elite as it was anti-American. But even in the first decade of this century there were already rumblings against the elite appropriation of the struggle for independence. Labor leaders, for one thing, knew what language to use in inspiring or manipulating the workers. During the May Day celebration in 1909, Director of Labor Ernesto del Rosario skilfully declared that “when the redemption of the working man was accomplished, the noble knights of labor would have another Calvary to ascend, the Calvary of a more noble, more glorious and more holy redemption, the redemption of our beloved Philippines.” But Bandeholtz adds another insight into the significance of the same event. True, he says, ilustrado demagogues “inspire some ordinary itos to emulate the conduct of Bonifacio, Sakay & Co.;” but they themselves remain aloof. Laborers “are longing to have another Bonifacio, but most of the present day patriots are more busily engaged seeking government jobs than they are executioner’s bullets.” It was only a matter of time before the workers found genuine leaders in their ascent of Calvary.

In the rural areas, various katipunans continued to offer an alternative to the ilustrado “way” to kalayaan. In 1905 Simeón Basa, a draftsman who had come under the influence of Ricarte, attempted to organize a katipunan in Zambales. In the same year Atolío Tolentino, a cook in a Manila boarding house, mobilized a short-lived “army of independence” in Tarlac. In 1907, it was reported that the katipunans of Ilocos province were expecting aid from the Japanese in the establishment of independence, for Japan’s defeat of Russia had triggered hopes of a Japanese armed coming to the aid of Filipino

113. “Extract from Los Ofiarios, 3 May 1939 (in Bandeholtz Papers, Box 2, MHAC).
114. Bandeholtz to Mother, 4 May 1939. Bandeholtz to Allen, 6 May 1939 (both in Bandeholtz Papers, MHAC).
The Path to Kalayaan

rebels. In the same year, there was a revival of part of Ríos’s group in Atimonan, Tayabas, led by “Vice King” Marcelo P. Parraño and Maj. Gen. Esteban Deseo, both veterans of the revolution. Captured documents showed that this movement had had a “desultory existence” in the hills of eastern Tayabas since the destruction of Ríos’s group in 1903. The 1907 revolt took the form of an organization called “Ejército Libertador Nacional” (National Liberation Army). All the individual titles were military. According to American reports, “the organization was religious, but with the stated intention of rising for independence when Japan should land arms on the beach at Atimonan.” This liberation army was dismantled through the “active and energetic” efforts of Nacionalista Governor Manuel Quezon, who had then just been elected majority floor leader of the Philippine Assembly.

The Colorem Society was also reported on the upsurge in 1907. Although its main concern was supposed to be religion, the constabulary found its possession documents addressed to Batbala (Deity) in which Colorem brothers pledged “to expel all usurpers from the Filipino soil, including in this category both Americans and Spaniards, especially friars.” Also in 1907, Governor-General Wood reported an “extensive revival” of katipunans in Laguna province. The “magical center” of the Laguna katipunans was Mount Makiling, an extinct volcano in the vicinity of Calamba, Rizal’s hometown. Mount Makiling, like Mount Banahaw to the east, is considered a sacred mountain by the inhabitants of the region. Sometime in the first decade of this century Rizal, a Tagalog Christ, came to be associated with the land of paradise which is supposed to exist inside Makiling. There is a story told by the leader of a prominent Rizalist sect that Rizal once brought three peasants to Makiling’s peak on a flying vessel. When they alighted, at once their attention was drawn to the beautiful woodlands and the animals so varied and attractive around them, and Dr. Rizal took them around leisurely as if guiding them through a biological garden, until they entered a bower that led them to a descending stairway, which was bright as daylight but no lamps were visible. Gradually a garden of flowers and fruit trees unfolded before them, and there were birds on the branches and luminous insects on the blossoms. “That is why Mount Makiling is so beautiful on the outside, even when far away,” Dr. Rizal told them, and they believed him. “Anything that is really beautiful in the inside should be beautiful on the outside also,” he emphasized.

The last sentence of this story reiterates a theme that is familiar to us by now: true beauty is a reflection of beauty in the “inside,” or loób. What Rizal tells the three peasants is that paradise is to some extent in every man whose heart is pure. But the attainment of paradise is possible only when one has taken the path traversed by Rizal. The latter’s power, his mastery over a land “which was bright as daylight but no lamps were visible,” is concomitant to his attainment of pure livanag by dying a martyr’s death. His revelation of paradise’s beauty to the peasants is essentially what is done by persons in whom Rizal’s “personality” is incarnated. As inspired prophets, they reveal an image of certain possibilities of existence which can only be attained by taking Rizal’s path of dying to one’s previous state.

In 1909 Arsenio de Guzman, a new Rizal, appeared in Santa Rosa claiming that he had the power to lead the peasants to the land of promise. His closest disciple, Catalino Lachica, then established a katipunan society among the “ignorant farm hands and tenants” of a hacienda in Santa Rosa owned by Dr. Zaballa, “a man of considerable wealth.” At first the movement was ignored as “merely an agrarian” affair. But when it resulted in the death of Zaballa and the arrest and trial of the perpetrators, it was discovered that there was an extensive plot in the whole province to start a revolution that would establish independence from foreign rule and eliminate “oppressors” whose property would be distributed among the people. The rebels believed that arms for the revolution would come from Europe in flying machines. Arsenio de Guzman was arrested on a charge of sedition. However, the case against him was dropped when his disciple and principal witness in the trial, Catalino Lachica, refused to testify against the Rizalist leader and expressed rather his willingness to accept his fate, which was death, without implicating others. De Guzman’s katipunan survived, and flourishes today under the name “Watawat ng Lahit” (Flag of the Race).

There were many similar movements in other parts of the archipelago which are beyond the scope of the present study. We have attempted to show thus far that independence was regarded by many people from the lower classes of Tagalog society as an imminent event to which their loób must be directed. Having experienced the turmoil and dislocation of five years of war, they expected such chaos to lead its inevitable conclusion—when society would be turned on its head, when all men would be brothers, leaders would be Christ-like, all form of oppression would end and property would be shared; in other words, when their image of kalayaan would turn into lived experience. This idea of independence differed from that of the “better classes” of Tagalog society who yearned for autonomy in the context of the stable society of the past in which they were the “natural” leaders.

119. Wood to Taft, Manila, 13 April 1907 (BIA 4865, USNA).
121. Ibid. Quezon was a native of Tayabas, which has since been renamed Quezon province.
122. Bandelotz (acting director of the constabulary) to Caruso, 18 April 1907 (Bandelotz Papers, NHC).
123. Wood to Taft, Manila, 13 April 1907 (BIA 4865-45, USNA). Doherty believed, quite erroneously, that the Katipunan in Laguna was merely a scare rumor perpetuated by the party (Doherty to Gen. Edwards, Manila, 20 April 1907; BIA 3841-20, USNA).
125. Arsenio de Guzman, new Rizal, appeared in Santa Rosa claiming that he had the power to lead the peasants to the land of promise. His closest disciple, Catalino Lachica, then established a katipunan society among the “ignorant farm hands and tenants” of a hacienda in Santa Rosa owned by Dr. Zaballa, “a man of considerable wealth.” At first the movement was ignored as “merely an agrarian” affair. But when it resulted in the death of Zaballa and the arrest and trial of the perpetrators, it was discovered that there was an extensive plot in the whole province to start a revolution that would establish independence from foreign rule and eliminate “oppressors” whose property would be distributed among the people. The rebels believed that arms for the revolution would come from Europe in flying machines. Arsenio de Guzman was arrested on a charge of sedition. However, the case against him was dropped when his disciple and principal witness in the trial, Catalino Lachica, refused to testify against the Rizalist leader and expressed rather his willingness to accept his fate, which was death, without implicating others. De Guzman’s katipunan survived, and flourishes today under the name “Watawat ng Lahit” (Flag of the Race).
CHAPTER 6

The Pasyon of Felipe Salvador

From around 1894 to 1910, a religiopolitical movement called the Santa Iglesia flourished in the central Luzon provinces of Bulacan, Nueva Ecija, Tarlac, and Pampanga. These provinces are situated in the “rice bowl” of the Philippines, an immense expanse of flat land devoted to the cultivation of rice and some sugar. In the center of this region, a volcano named Mount Arayat, or Sinukuan, juts out abruptly, and is visible for many miles around. This mountain, and the swamp of Candaba which partly surrounds it, was the base area of the Santa Iglesia.

The peasants of the region believe that Arayat (derived from Ararat) is the highest mountain on earth. No one can ever climb to its top because of the “power” of certain relics of Noah's Ark that have remained there since the Deluge. Others believe that the cloud perpetually covering its peak during the monsoon season is a ghost of Noah's Ark sent there by the god Lakanpati as a “sign” to the faithful should the world be flooded again by the supreme god Bathala. The Ark remains there until the rainbow—the road that the soul travels on its way to heaven—appears.¹

Mount Arayat is also known by the name of “Sinukuan,” which means “to whom one has surrendered.” The name is connected with the story of a beautiful and rich maiden, Marya, who lords over the peak that people describe as a kind of paradise. She lives in a large house of gold, accompanied by twelve beautiful maidens and twenty-five female Aetas who look after her needs and her gardens. In these gardens, with plentiful fruit trees and gentle animals, even the animals, birds, fishes, and snakes are adorned with jewelry of gold. When Marya goes down to the church in Candaba for the Sunday Mass, her dress of

gold and her jewels are truly dazzling. Once, a tikbalang, who is king of the San Mateo mountains and a brother of Marya of Mount Makiling, falls in love with Marya of Arayat. As a test, Marya tells the tikbalang to build a stone bridge that would link the peaks of Arayat and Makiling. The tikbalang works feverishly to build the bridge in one night, but the bridge does not even reach the shores of Bae lake in Laguna when dawn comes, and the sound of church bells frightens the tikbalang away. The unfinished structure collapses; the tikbalang fails to prove his love. Thus Arayat is also known as Sinilkuan, "to whom one has surrendered."

In a way the story of the tikbalang shows how, in people's minds, a connection exists between the various sacred mountains in central and southern Luzon. There is, in fact, a present-day belief that a tunnel connects the mountains of Banahaw, Makiling, and Arayat. All of these mountains were centers of pilgrimages, the haunts of religious sects and Katipunan-type societies. Associated with them are different personalities, among whom took place events that are usually unrelated in time and specific circumstances. But, like the legend and tunnel that connect these mountains, something links together these varied men and events. We can talk about Arayat and the region north of Manila in relation to what has been examined in previous chapters because the meaning of certain events in this region points to a common mode of perceiving the world.

The pope of the Santa Iglesia—Felipe Salvador—was a deeply religious man who often walked alone in the forest of Arayat to communicate with God. He claimed that his spirit took flight from Arayat's peak to visit the heavenly powers. From at least 1902 to the time of his capture in 1910, his prophetic vision brought forth an image of independence inextricably linked with the millenium—there would be a great flood or fire that would wipe out unbelievers, and after the purge there would be a reign of gold and jewels for the faithful. Land and other property would be redistributed. Universal brotherhood among men would reign. From the slopes of Arayat, Salvador called upon the people to join the Santa Iglesia, which he also called a "katipunan," in order to prepare for the approaching cataclysm. Somehow the people who heard him seem to have known who he was and what he stood for. According to an American observer, nearly fifty thousand people, "all of the poor and densely ignorant class" responded to his call, and many more expressed sympathy for him.

Salvador's Early Career

Felipe Salvador was born in Baliwag, Bulacan province, on 26 May 1870. According to an American correspondent, Felipe's father, Prudencio, was a "minor official" in the Spanish government. Santos, however, claims that Prudencio held a high position in the government, and that Felipe himself once was cabeza de barangay. It is certain, according to recent interviews of his surviving kin, that the Salvador family in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was relatively well-to-do. Evidence of this is the fact that the Salvador ancestral house, which used to be built of stone, stands just a block away from the old parish church of Baliwag. It also appears that the family had the means to send Felipe to Manila for some education. But we must not take this to mean that, like Mabini, he joined the ranks of the ilustrados. His education must have been minimal, judging from the almost phonetic style of his autobiography and the absence of Hispanisms in it.

As a young man, Salvador struck his relatives as being of a rebellious as well as religious nature. He insisted on going barefoot, for one thing. He also got into trouble with a lieutenant of the guardia civil and with the parish priest of Baliwag. He apparently had been able to persuade the vendors at the church to discontinue paying revenue to Padre Prada. This act of defiance almost caused his exile to Mindanao.
In 1894, Salvador became the head of a cofradia-type society called "Gabinista," named after its founder, Gabino Cortes. Cortes himself hailed from Apalit, Pampanga, and may have been a relative to Salvador. He is described as a man "of very small fortune" who in 1887 started preaching a doctrine "based on the idea that the people must seek divine protection through prayer, and thus arrive at the enjoyment of the wealth of the land and other worldly pleasures." Among the stories that circulated about Cortes is that he possessed a magic ball, given to him by an old man on a mountain top, with which he could cause money, food, and male attendants to appear. He also had the power to assume many forms before his followers; he could convert wooden toothpicks into soldiers and cause other wonderful miracles to happen.

Undoubtedly, the Gabinistas regarded their leader as a man of power derived from his encounter with the old man on a mountain top which, being the axis of the universe, is a channel for divine energy. Like Apolinario de la Cruz and Januario Labios before him, Gabino Cortes became the focus of peasant aspirations in the region surrounding his hometown.

The Gabinistas came mainly from the towns of Apalit, San Simon, San Luis, Santo Tomas, Santa Ana, Candaba, Macabebe, Pulilan and other nearby places, but not a few came from Manila itself. They boasted of "considerable numbers" of adherents, "all of whom belonged to the poorest classes and thus were hoping with much anxiety for their turn to possess those riches which their present condition denies them." But, although their aspirations were tantamount to an overturning of the social order, their means of obtaining their ends mirrored the style of the early Cofradia de San Jose. The Gabinistas held nightly reunions in the house of a member. They recited Christian prayers, afterwards partaking of a fraternal meal. Even Spanish investigators admitted that "according to their doctrines one must not resort to violent methods to achieve their goals." However, Spanish authorities and native principals feared a disruption of public order, and when "the principle of authority was brought into disrepute" with the crowning of Gabino as King in 1888, the guardia civil of Bulacan, Nueva Ecija, and Pampanga were summoned to disperse the organization. As Gabino was about to be shipped off to exile in Jolo, "a great number" of people were on hand at the docks to see him off. A rumor circulated later on that the boat would not move and that Gabino disappeared.

When Felipe Salvador reorganized the Gabinistas in 1894, he changed the society's name to Santa Iglesia. Significantly, the Katipunan uprising in 1896 led him to "modify the mode of action needed to realize the aspirations of the sect." Strikingly reminiscent of Apolinario de la Cruz's call for armed struggle after reading the "signs of the times," Salvador declared that "with divine protection, they would be immune to the weapons of the Spanish army and would therefore be able to take possession of the weapons in the camps with which they could assure themselves of the triumph of their cause by armed means." In a battle in San Luis, Pampanga, Salvador—styling himself "captain"—pitted a force of 300 men against 3,000 well-armed cazadores. Having sustained a wound in his left arm, he was forced to retreat to Biak-na-bato, where his forces linked up with Aguinaldo's.

The transfer, sometime in late 1897, of Gabino Cortes to Bilibid prison in Manila occasioned another "flurry of excitement" in the Santa Iglesia which was quickly tapped by Salvador together with Guillermo Gonzales, an ex-soldier of the colonial army whose loyalty to Spain in 1896 merited from the parish priest of Apalit a recommendation for the post of "lieutenant of local volunteers," partly owing to the loss of his wealth through gambling. Gonzales joined the Santa Iglesia in June 1897, putting his military expertise to use. During the week-long Apalit fiesta in February 1898, peasants gathered secretly to prepare for an attack on the town garrison. Success was guaranteed by Salvador not only through immunity from bullets but also because the prisoner Gabino would, at the moment of attack, appear with seven archangels. On the nineteenth, as scheduled, some 700 rebels armed with bladed weapons and just eight firearms stormed the garrison amidst shouts of "Viva Jesus Salvador!"

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14. According to Ricardo Salvador, their family had relatives in adjoining Pampanga province.

15. Manuel Garcia Morales and Euprasio Munariz, "Information sobre los sucesos de Apalit . . . el 19 de Febrero de 1898" (Madrid: Archivo Histórico Nacional, Sección de Ultramar, Legajo 3556).


17. Morales and Munariz, "Informacion.

18. De los Reyes also notes that they slept on one floor without separation of sexes. This implication of sexual license practiced by such groups (including the Cofradia of 1840) may have been a rumor spread by the principals and parish priest. Sexual fertility may have been regarded as a sign of the power of certain leaders, as evidenced by reports of women surrounding these figures. (For an illuminating discussion of sex and power in traditional Java, see Anderson, The Idea of Power in Indonesian Culture," in Culture and Politics in Indonesia, ed. Claire Holt, Benedict Anderson, and James Siegel (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1972), pp. 27-39).

However, these leaders also preached a doctrine of morality and control of self. In present-day societies of the same type, I have observed a strict separation of sexes during formal church services. I also note that rumors of sexual license were not corroborated by observers familiar with groups in Laguna, at least.

19. De los Reyes, Folk-lore Filipino, Morales and Munariz, "Informacion." There is a well-known "King Gavino," hero of Tagalog and Kapampangan corridos. We know for certain that this character was awed by peasants of some regions as one who would turn the tide in the revolution against Spain (Declaration, Letter and Proclamation of Isabela Arosto, trans. from Spanish, 1899, PIR-DS 838). Perhaps the association with a corrido figure helped in spreading Gabino Cortes's fame.

But, like the Colorums who attacked the Tayabas garrison, the Santa Iglesia was swiftly cut down by superior Spanish firepower. A similar attack by a separate contingent on the Macabebe garrison met the same fate. Rebel casualties exceeded 100 dead or wounded. The Spanish report, to be echoed by American reports in the following decade, emphasized that the only motive of the attackers was to secure firearms. "No impositions were made upon peaceful inhabitants"; not even the stores of the Chinese were touched. 21

To dampen the spirits of the movement, Gabino Cortes was executed shortly after. But this did not prevent the Santa Iglesia from rising again when the revolution against Spain was formally resumed with Aguinaldo's return. Felipe Salvador and his forces overran the Spanish garrison at Dagupan, capturing 100 rifles. Sometime in 1898, when Pampanga had been completely liberated by the revolutionaries, Salvador led the Santa Iglesia company in a triumphant march through the streets of Candaba. 22 He must have participated in other successful operations, for by the end of 1898 Aguinaldo had promoted him to the rank of major. Soon after this, however, Salvador was branded as "antirevolutionary" by certain prominent generals of the republic. One explanation given for this unexpected turn of events is that Salvador, having attracted so many "poor and ignorant" people into the Santa Iglesia, conspired to overthrow the government. 23

A 1906 constabulary report says that Salvador deserted his post at Marilao on the approach of the Americans and was thus branded a deserter by revolutionary officers who took this as an excuse to order his assassination. A clarification of this incident, which occurred in late 1898 or the beginning of January 1899, would not only put the aims and activities of the Santa Iglesia in proper perspective but would help explain why other similar groups, notably the Katipunan of San Cristobal and the Guadalupe Honor, were, at around the same time, condemned as "antirevolutionary" by the Malolos government.

Social Conflict in the Republic

Documents connected with the military trial of Salvador and the officers of the Santa Iglesia in January 1899 verify that Salvador's company indeed withdrew without authorization from its position in Bulacan province. Salvador himself, however, argued that the Santa Iglesia, far from being disloyal to the revolution and to the Aguinaldo government, simply reacted to the oppressive acts perpetrated against it by certain "prominent" persons. Repeatedly blocked from seeing Aguinaldo in person to air grievances of his group, Salvador decided to pull back and allow his men to return to their homes. Salvador presented his side in a ten-page affidavit entitled "Narrative of the Feelings and Supplications of the Accused Major Felipe Salvador." 24 In twelve points, he enumerated his grievances as well as explained the nature of the Santa Iglesia.

The first seven points alone shatter the conventional image of unity within the army and the republic. To start with, five members of the Santa Iglesia company, including a captain and a lieutenant, had been ordered killed by then Major Maximino Hizon without proper trial and without informing their commander, Salvador. After the incident, Salvador journeyed to Cavite in order to present a written appeal. Not only was the appeal ignored, but Hizon himself, who came from a prominent Kapampangan family, was promoted to colonel. Obviously still embittered, Salvador noted in his narrative that the wives and children of the deceased were still suffering from their loss.

The next complaint brought forth was agrarian in nature. In Florida Blanca, some of Salvador's followers were shown "documents"—presumably land titles—and then forcibly ejected from their ancestral lands without compensation. Ironically, the perpetrators of these crimes belonged to prominent families, some of which had supported the Santa Iglesia in the war against Spain. 25 Furthermore, these same people were detaining and punishing peasants who joined the brotherhood.

Abuses against the Santa Iglesia were particularly rampant in the town of Apalit, where the principalis feared a resurgence of the Gabinista Party. Two soldiers of Salvador's company were charged with committing certain "abuses" by municipal officials, who took the law into their own hands, bound the two soldiers, threw them in the river, and pumped their floating bodies with bullets. Two other Santa Iglesia members were kidnapped in the middle of the night and murdered. What further angered Salvador was that the perpetrator of this

21. Morales and Munoz, "Reformacion," It must be mentioned that the authors of the Spanish report consistently speak of a "Fray" not Felipe Salvador. A Pedro Salvador is nowhere mentioned in other sources for the Santa Iglesia. Almost certainly they are one and the same person, although the possibility remains that Felipe Salvador had a brother, Pedro, with the same rank of captain during the revolution against Spain, who was captured and executed after the Apalit uprising of 1898.


23. Reilly, "Filipino Bandit Terror.


25. As Majal, "The Events of the Revolution showed that the desire to own land was consonant with the desire to get rid of the oppressive friar landlords" (Majal and the Philippine Revolution [Quezon City, 1960], p. 49). Very often, however, the land titling system was manipulated by revolutionary officers and caciques in disregard of the rights of the original, though untitled, cultivators (ibid., chapter 2). See also Milagros Guerrero's doctoral dissertation, "Luzon at War: Contradictions in Philippine Society, 1898-1902" (University of Michigan, 1977), which probably constitutes the last word on the subject.
crime was a "blacksmith and drunkard" named Isidro Lugui who used to be a spy for the Spanish government but was given a municipal post in the revolutionary government. Lugui himself and others who harassed the Santa Iglesia in Apalit, however, were merely under the pay of certain prominent men who apparently never forgot the past Gabinista "disturbances" in their town. Any man found to have joined the Santa Iglesia was arrested, flogged, and even imprisoned. Wives and female relatives of Santa Iglesia soldiers passing through Apalit to visit the men on the front were apprehended and afterwards forced to walk through the center of town shouting, "Don't be like us!" There were also attempts to persuade or coerce peasants to keep distance from Salvador; the reason given was that he was "beautiful on the outside, but evil inside." At the conclusion to his seventh supplication, Salvador protested: "Why are they doing these things when they know that I am stationed at Malolos and am bound and loyal to our government?"

From what has been said so far, it is clear that Salvador's loyalty to the revolution has not come in question. Although we are presented with a series of incidents in which members of the Santa Iglesia are punished for purported "crimes," we are left in the dark as to what these crimes were, other than the mere fact of joining Salvador's movement. It seems that certain powerful Kapampangans were intent upon subverting Salvador's following. By asserting that Salvador was "beautiful on the outside, but evil inside," they were, curiously enough, applying a norm that, in the pasyon, is applicable to wealthy, influential pharisees and town leaders, and to traitors. Such disjunction between "external" and "internal" was precisely what leaders like Salvador and Sakay found wrong in ilustrado-dominated society.

On the surface, at least, the problem was one of rivalry for the control of manpower. General Ramon Mascardo, who commanded the revolutionary forces in Pampanga province, had fallen under the influence of wealthy and educated Kapampangans who had joined the revolution only in 1898. Mascardo used to have compassion (tingap) for Salvador, but frequent association with these officers from prominent families caused "the eyes of his reason (katwitran) to be covered" and his trust in Salvador to dissolve. To Salvador, however, Mascardo was not to blame for having been "overcome" by these men, since as he reasoned out, "theirs is the advantage of education and wealth, as against my ignorance and poverty" (palibhasa’y na sa kanila ang dunong at yaman, sa akin ang kamangmangan at karaitaan). In other words, to Salvador the actions of Mascardo were not the products of evil intentions but the predictable effects of having been seduced by the "glitter" of wealth and education. Mascardo’s loob was too weak to sustain compassion and trust in Salvador when confronted by such glitter that blinded "the eyes of his reason."

Mascardo’s subsequent action was to ask Salvador to list down the names of all Santa Iglesia members on the pretext that arms would be issued out to them. As soon as the list was made, Mascardo ordered the men arrested on the charge of forming another "party." This attempt to break up the Santa Iglesia, according to Salvador, arose from the desire of the propertied and educated officers of Mascardo to "become officials" (mag oficial). They probably felt that their status and wealth gave them that right. However, they could make no headway among the thousands who had already joined the Santa Iglesia. Salvador suggested that if these notables insisted on leading men, they ought to "look for followers among the uncommitted." Since they were wealthy, perhaps they should concentrate on raising money to support the government. There were other ways in which they could further the revolution, but "they should not endanger the poor who lived peacefully."

Compounding the problem was the regionalism of the elite Kapampangan officers who demanded the right to command Kapampangan troops of the army. Salvador was prejudiced not only by his identification with the poor and uneducated class but also by his being Tagalog. In his affidavits he claimed he was being persecuted because, as he puts it, "even though I am Tagalog, I was the first person to gather together many Kapampangans who helped fight in the first war (1896)." In that war, the leading citizens of Pampanga largely remained loyal to Spain, even supplying the Spanish army with money, troops, laborers, horses, and medical aid. Only when it was clear that Spanish rule was on the wane did the Kapampangan elite join the revolution in mid-1898 expecting, by "natural right," to lead Kapampangan troops as well as represent them in Congress. Salvador perceived things differently. With a slight tone of bitterness at those Kapampangan "revolutionaries" who forbade him to enter their towns, he asked: "Are Tagalog, Ilokano, Pangasinanes, and Visayans different from Kapampangans in being Filipino?" Even the Kapampangan elite, of course, would have accepted this literal definition of nationalism. After all, the Malolos republic had been defined in these terms. But the elite thought of nationalism in terms of the unity of the "better class" which represented the "inarticulate" masses. For Salvador, nationalism brought people together regardless of their previous attachments to elites or patrons.

Because Salvador and the Santa Iglesia operated within a different framework of social relationships, the Kapampangan elite could not compete with it in their own terms. That is why the Santa Iglesia was relegated to the phenomenon of "banditry." Any disorder or bandit attack in Pampanga was,

27. Ibid., pp. 6-7.
28. Ibid., p. 4.
29. Ibid., p. 9.
30. For a comprehensive discussion of Kapampangan involvement in the various phases of the revolution, see Larkin, The Pampangans, pp. 111-19.
according to Salvador, ascribed without evidence at all to the Santa Iglesia. By sowing this rumor, it was probably hoped that the virtuous image of Salvador would be tarnished. By being associated with banditry, the Santa Iglesia’s goals of brotherhood, religious devotion, and equitable landownership could be thoroughly distorted, imbued with sinister aspects distasteful even to peasants themselves. Like their Caviteño counterparts who had sown black rumors about Bonifacio and his Katipunan among their constituents, some Kapampangan principalities were using a familiar strategy to halt the growth of the Santa Iglesia. Fortunately, Aguinaldo was sympathetic to Salvador’s denials of banditry, as follows:

Even though we endured great hardship, it never occurred to us to rob the belongings of others. We survived through the begging of brothers poor like myself. In truth, even up to now I have not been able to buy a single piece of clothing, whatever I am wearing has been received through begging and I can even tell you who the persons are that gave alms. Ask the soldiers if, whenever I chanced to receive a little money, I ever failed to divide it among us, and if what I say is not true, I will gladly face the firing squad. Just do not let me hear my group being called a bandit gang.

As we said previously, the impression that the root of the conflict was competition for the control of the Kapampangan peasantry, is only superficial. Salvador was not just another politician cultivating a personal following. The basis of his popularity was something else: lowliness, humility, and apparent disinterest in the material rewards and favors normally offered by a political leader. When he was stationed in Malolos, men and women came to him with tales of hardships and injustices they were forced to endure. His response was merely to “empathize” with them:

My heart was torn with anguish, but I could do nothing except participate (damay) in their affliction even till death. For, in the past, my Kapitã also participated in all of my sufferings, even though my only puhunan (investment) was a beautiful (maganda) companionship and sweet words of conversation.

Damay, however, as we have noted time and again, is not a passive experience. Its presence in a group is a condition for true brotherhood. It is precisely what drew Salvador and the peasantry together.

In the above quotation, the use of the term puhunan (investment) is highly significant. In the idiom of utang na loob, “puhunan” is the set of favors or gratuitous acts that initiates a debt relationship. The hard work and depriva-

ations of a mother who rears her children to the best of her ability is a form of puhunan which is reciprocated later on in life in the form of caring for the aged mother. Salvador emphasized the fact that his puhunan in the Santa Iglesia consisted only of compassion, companionship, and dialogue. He implied that he could have used other kinds of puhunan; was he, perhaps, pointing to the accumulation of wealth and attainment of education which the elite traditionally regarded puhunan to be rewarded with social standing and loyal followers? Whether he implied this or not, Salvador unequivocally stated that his followers were bound to him, not through economic indebtedness or other vertical forms of attachment, but through mutual damay and caring. This mode of social relationships certainly contributed to the Santa Iglesia’s attractiveness to the peasantry. It was an alternative to the principiãa-dominated status quo which became increasingly oppressive as the elites sought to profit from the revolution or recover their losses afterwards. It was also an alternative which the peasantry was culturally prepared to accept through their experience of the pasyon. For in his lowliness and humility Salvador could have been no other than a figure of Christ. In the pasyon, it is damay that binds people to Christ, whose words bring knowledge and ginbawa (contentment), and the brotherhood of the “meek” that will triumph.

According to Salvador, many officers in the army accused the Santa Iglesia of devoting too much time to prayer and not enough to fighting. He vigorously denied this in this appeal, insisting upon the inseparability of prayer and warfare:

Kun ang tawo kayây mawalan nang pananampalataya, paano ang pagkasulog niya sa anumang magaling na linalayon? Kun ang tawo ko’y walang guinaa kundi ang mag dasal lamang at hindi tumatayo sa labanan, ay hindi ko ngâ daramdamin ang sila’y makainipan.

If a man is devoid of worship, how can he pursue a worthy cause? If my men do nothing but pray, if they do not also stand firm in battle, then I would not feel badly if some lose patience with them.

The same class of people that harassed the Santa Iglesia in ways previously described also attempted, he said, “to destroy our worship, forbidding prayers and other kinds of devotion.” Was it simply because the Santa Iglesia was anathema to the established church? In fact, the Roman Catholic Church encouraged the suppression of this rival church with its own pope and clergy. At no point the Catholic hierarchy, alarmed by the growing popularity of the Santa Iglesia, excommunicated all its members. It would not be unreason-

32. Ibid., p. 7.
33. Ibid., pp. 7-8.
34. Ibid., p. 6.
35. Larkin, Pampangans, p. 236. Salvador even considered taking up the matter of religious persecution to the American authorities.
able to suppose that the Kapampangan principales exploited the religious issue to justify their suppression of the Santa Iglesia. But from Salvador’s viewpoint, religious legitimacy was not at issue. As we shall see in his autobiography, his concern was with the religious experience itself. Doctrinally, his was not a radically different religion; in fact he used approved Christian forms of worship and prayer. But prayer, he insisted, was not to be a “compartmentalized” activity. It was also to give direction to everyday existence, maintaining the lobb in a state of full control and serenity so that in battle the Santa Iglesia soldier would make up for in courage what he lacked in arms.

As he concluded his 1899 “Supplication,” Salvador explained that his life was constantly in danger from those “many and big people” from Pampanga who wished to “drown” (libog) him. The image of the morally upright common to being thrust underwater by those in power recalls Apolinario de la Cruz’s message to the cofrades in 1841:

Caya ang aming molting bilin ay ang maling pananalig sa yang Dios na totok, at cia ang tuulong sa Atin, macalibong ilibog nita ang magaling ay ililitu, datapat ang isang masama, ay madaling napatam.

So let me repeat my advice that we must have great trust in the one true God, for he will help us; they may try to drown a thousand good men, but each one will rise to the surface; a single bad person quickly disappears.

In both cases, forty-eight years apart, the peasant leaders were convinced that the essential righteousness of their cause and “trust” in God would help them withstand persecution by the “big people.” In Salvador’s case there was the added context of the revolution. The Spaniards had been driven away, but persecution of the Santa Iglesia was as serious as ever. The irony of it all, complained Salvador, was that despite their many sacrifices for the country during the war against Spain, they were being treated like criminals by officers of the republic “who were spies for the Spaniards.” He appealed to Aguinaldo, as “a youngest son to his father,” to allow the Santa Iglesia to live in peace. He would always be ready to heed Aguinaldo’s call to arms in order to free Mother Filipinas. If he ever disobeyed an order or acted with half-heartedness, he was willing to be shot as a traitor in the public plaza of Malolos.

Attached to Salvador’s “Supplication” was the verdict of the military court dropping all charges of disloyalty and desertion of which Salvador and his men were accused. The government acknowledged that the Santa Iglesia Company fled from its post because of the injustices inflicted upon its soldiers and the impossibility of appealing directly to President Aguinaldo. Further-

more, the Santa Iglesia was not found to be “antirevolutionary” at all; in fact, its commitment to the defense of the nation was unshuffled. Satisfied with Salvador’s protestations of loyalty, Aguinaldo agreed to protect the Santa Iglesia and, in fact, gave Salvador a sedentary job in Malolos. But among the ilustrados, a fear of distrust of Salvador seemed to linger. Mabini even denounced him publicly as one “sharp enough to show an apparent interest in a solicitude for the poor fools and amuse them with stories of wonderful miracles and prophecies... so as not to give him his victims time to think of their injured pocket books.”

Santa Iglesia Struggle, 1899–1906

Given the ilustrado attitude toward Salvador, it may seem odd that he was promoted to colonel sometime in 1899. But this was the year of the American military thrust against the republic in central Luzon. Salvador had the commitment and following—lacking in many generals of the regular army—to sustain a guerrilla war against the Americans. To tap this source of support, the least Aguinaldo could do was recognize Salvador in rank. When Malolos fell in March, Salvador returned to Balibog and began to expand his own armed force and network of support. Eventually he chose the barrio of Camias, near Apalit, as his “capital.” Refusing to surrender along with the bulk of the revolutionary army in November 1899, he engaged in guerrilla warfare until his capture early in 1900. He spent some months in prison before taking the oath of allegiance to the United States in August 1900. Upon his release, he rejoined his men in the field and thus qualified as an “outlaw” to the Americans.

The Santa Iglesia differed in many ways from the other guerilla forces in the region. Camias, for one thing, was also a “holy diocese” run by Salvador as “highest pontiff,” who advised his soldiers to pray constantly and conduct elaborate rituals especially just before going to battle. There is also evidence that Santa Iglesia leaders went about their usual practice of seeking alms (limos)—in the form of rice, clothing and cigarettes—from the heads of barrios they passed through. In some instances, Santa Iglesia detachments,

37. Apolinario de la Cruz to Octaviano San Jorge, Manila, 15 March 1841 (PNA).
38. Aguinaldo’s commissioner, Gregorio Ramos, promised to bring to his superior’s attention the oppressions suffered by the Santa Iglesia (verdict in Salvador, “Kasaysayan,” p. 13). See also Robles, “Mga Kilusang Menyaniko,” p. 69.
39. El Comercio, 1 February 1900 (DIA 2291-96).
40. This reconstruction of Salvador’s activities in 1900 is the best that can be made from the fragmentary data in Reilly, “Filipino Bandit Terror”; ARPC(1906), 2, p. 236; “Christmas Eve Fiasco,” p. 204; and Robles, “Mga Kilusang Menyaniko,” pp. 68-69, which makes use of the Manila Times.
41. See also Guerrero, “Luzon at War,” pp. 185-89.
45. Valerio de Guzman to Juan Eusebio, cabeza de Barrio San Agustin, Paombong, 7 August and 19 September 1900 (in Tagalog; PII-SD 516.3). De Guzman was captured by the constabulary in August 1906 (see detailed account in Muling Pag-isipnilib, 10 August 1906).
owing to lack of firearms, joined up with larger brigades in the guerilla zones. But the fact that they maintained a separate identity was a source of friction within guerilla ranks. For example, barrio officials in the Hagonoy-Paombong area of Bulacan complained that Severo Rodriguez and Manuel Garcia (alias Comandante Tui or Capitan Tui)—Santa Iglesia leaders attached to the Third Zone Brigade—were recruiting right and left among the barrio folk, to the extent that some disruption of barrio life was being felt by the cabezas. The military hierarchy was also somehow upset. While trying to mobilize his forces in August 1900, the military commander at Hagonoy found out to his dismay that many soldiers “belonged” to a motley of other officials, among them Comandante Tui of the Santa Iglesia.43

By the end of 1901, only the Santa Iglesia and similar organizations like the Guardia de Honor were left to harass the Americans and their local allies in central Luzon. The other guerilla units had heeded Aguinaldo’s proclamation in April calling for the acceptance of American sovereignty. As the conquering army shifted its attention to Malvar’s resistance in the South, the constabulary inherited the task of tracking down Salvador, the main threat to the “peace and order” of the region. In 1902, the police finally caught up with him in the province of Nueva Ecija.

Salvador’s career, however, merely entered its second phase in 1902. Convicted of sedition, the Santa Iglesia leader was being brought to Bilibid prison in Manila when he managed to elude his guards and flee to his old base on Mount Arayat. Claiming that from the mountain’s peak his spirit had travelled to heaven and conversed with God, Salvador announced the coming of independence. Before this new era would begin, the world would be ravaged by a great flood and conflagration, for which the people must prepare themselves by joining his katipunan. They must raid the various constabulary camps in order to secure weapons for the great battle to come. But even without weapons, he said, the people could join the struggle armed with bolos and clubs, which would turn to rifles “if they fought bravely. What mattered most was their commitment to the Santa Iglesia katipunan and its goals, their adherence to its rules of constant prayer and religious exercises to purify the loob and render it serene in the face of certain danger. The reward for their faith and willingness to die was quite explicit: a rain of gold and jewels, and a redistribution of land and other property as soon as Salvador’s sovereign government was installed.”44

The central Luzon peasantry responded enthusiastically to Salvador’s call. Constabulary reports from 1903 to 1906 make no secret of the Santa Iglesia’s firm hold over the rural population. In 1904, for example, the district inspector at Nueva Ecija admitted that in his province “all the population are in sympathy and the majority in some way connected with the movement.” Furthermore, he said, in a single group of raiders were men not only from Nueva Ecija but from Pampanga, Pangasinan, Bulacan, and Tarlac—provinces comprising at least three different linguistic groups.45 Obviously, provincial and linguistic boundaries were no impediment to the movement’s rapid expansion from 1903 to 1905. Even in Manila and the southern Tagalog provinces of Cavite and Laguna, the Santa Iglesia could count on numerous members.46 In fact, the Pangasinan-based Guardia de Honor movement recognized the supreme authority of Salvador and experienced an upsurge in 1905.47 In the “crisis” of 1910, which will be treated in detail later, the Colorum and Sagrada Familia brotherhoods, as well as veterans of the Katipunan, put their secular interests aside and heeded Salvador’s call for a renewed independence struggle. With a broad peasant base that shared the Santa Iglesia’s sentiment, Salvador and his core of about two hundred armed men were able to move about central Luzon freely. They were like fish in water, despite the “hundreds of thousands of pesos” and the horse of secret service agents poured in by the government to secure their capture.

The Santa Iglesia drive to capture firearms and ammunition in preparation for a “great war” reached a peak in 1906. The constabulary camps at Malolos and San Rafael, Bulacan province, and smaller camps elsewhere, were attacked “with fanatical determination” by predominantly bolo-armed men. In the Easter Sunday attack on Malolos, the provincial capital, Salvador stayed at a distance to direct movements while offering prayers for the operation’s success. Leading the Santa Iglesia into Malolos was General Manuel Garcia—“Capitan Tui” to his men—who strode fearlessly with chest bared and a bronze medal of the Holy Trinity prominently affixed to his forehead.48 Caught by surprise, the constabulary detachment was overwhelmed long enough for Capitan Tui and his men to run off with its arms and ammunition. Meanwhile, panic broke loose throughout the center of the town. Governor Teodoro Sandiko, himself a former revolutionary general, was allegedly forced to flee the capital.49

43. A. Angeles, Comandante Militar of Hagonoy, to the Politico-Military Governor of Bulacan, 6 September 1900 (in Spanish, FIRSD 546.3).
45. ARPC (1904), 3, p. 72.
46. Reilly, “Filipino Bandit Terror.” In 1906, Camp Hayson, midway between Manila and Cavite province, was attacked presumably by southern Tagalog followers of Salvador since there were simultaneous operations north of Manila (George Coats, “The Philippine Constabulary, 1901-1917” Ph.D. dissertation, Ohio State University, 1968, pp. 209-10). Coats’s data on the Santa Iglesia is culled mainly from the Manila Times.
47. Coats, “Philippine Constabulary,” p. 207.
48. Ibid., pp. 201, 208. The original account is in Ignacio Villanmor, Criminality in the Philippine Islands: 1903-1908 (Manila, 1909), pp. 51-52.
49. Santos, Talong Tulisan, p. 37.
The Pasyon of Felipe Salvador

Now Sandiko himself was no conservative. History has given him due credit for his contribution to the patriotic cause. As a revolutionary general, he had proven himself by organizing a resistance movement and sympathy labor strikes in American-occupied Manila in 1898. When he assumed office as Nacionalista governor of Bulacan, he promised to do away with taxes and implement a "socialistic" administration. But he was committed to the independence struggle as the ilustrados basically conceived it, working within the rules set down by the Americans. Sandiko must have found himself in the same predicament as other politicians who regarded Sakay's new Katipunan as a major obstacle to the formation of the 1907 national assembly. Sandiko could not have failed to note the Santa Iglesia's vision of independence. But because this vision entailed a period of armed struggle and a possible disruption of the existing social order, he had no choice but to suppress the organization.

After the 15 April debacle at Malolos, Governor Sandiko "made a desperate effort to gain the native support of the people in order to destroy Salvador's force." One of his first moves was to call a meeting, in early May, of all the town mayors specifically to thresh out the Santa Iglesia issue. After much discussion and debate regarding the activities and aims of the movement, the local officials concluded that Salvador and his followers deserved to be called tilodanes (bandits) because they were "against katulungan (righteousness)" and mokeb, "moreover were feared by the people." They also resolved to petition the Philippine Commission to publicly declare the Santa Iglesia an "enemy of katulungan" and that its members, after a certain grace period, be hunted down as bandits.  

Although we have evidence only of the Pampanga and Bulacan principalia closing ranks against the Santa Iglesia, it is likely that this occurred also in Pangasinan, Nueva Ecija, and other provinces where Salvador's influence was felt. The relative success of the constabulary's counteroffensive in mid-1906 must be seen in this light. Sandiko, for example, threatened to re-concentrate the rural populace (a tactic also used against Sakay's mass base) in case they refused to aid the constabulary. The local gentry had their own sources of information, plus the traditional ability to influence public opinion. The Santa Iglesia's failure to establish a foothold in the Tagalog province of Batangas must be attributed to this. Having sailed across Manila Bay in small boats, a contingent led by Capitan Tui could not obtain assistance from the Batangueño populace, who had apparently been "prepared" by the principalia and secret-service agents to repel an invasion of "bandits." Chased up and down the coast by the constabulary, Capitan Tui and his men had no choice but to sail back to Bulacan in early July. A few days later, they engaged the constabulary in a fierce battle near Hagonoy which left twenty of them, including Capitan Tui, dead.

The loss of General Manuel Garcia, alias Capitan Tui, somewhat diminished further armed action on the part of the Santa Iglesia. Apparently, a near-successful attempt was made to negotiate Salvador's surrender. No doubt the government approach was similar to that used successfully with Sakay. Salvador, however, wisely decided to await the outcome of Sakay's trial. From that time on, successive efforts to track down his whereabouts failed dismally owing to the pertinacity of the rural folk who protected him. The near absence of any mention of the Santa Iglesia in constabulary sources from 1907 to 1909 had led scholars to regard 1906 as a turning point for the movement. Despite an upsurge in 1910, of which little is said, the Santa Iglesia is seen in progressive decline until Salvador is finally captured in July 1910. The notion of a "turning point" in 1906, and the gap or discontinuity between 1906 and 1910, is due to our reliance on constabulary sources for much of the Santa Iglesia's story. As we shall see, Salvador himself never perceived a gap.

Meaning and Autobiography

In 1936 Jose P. Santos, a relative of the fiscal who prosecuted Salvador, published "without any corrections" Salvador's account of his escape from detention and his activities up to his recapture in 1910. In this narrative of his experiences up to 2 August 1910, only three events can be verified against other sources: the escape of 1902 and return to Mount Arayat, the celebrated entry into Arayat town in 1910, and his capture that same year. There is a remarkable absence of any mention of raids and skirmishes which fill the constabulary reports. Except perhaps for the three events mentioned above, there is hardly anything in the account that matches the drama and narrative progression usually found in autobiographies of political leaders. What we find is a rather repetitious and "unexciting" story of Salvador's day-to-day activities as a wanderer in the swamps and forests about Mount Arayat (Sinukuan).

The absence of new "facts" about Salvador and the Santa Iglesia is most likely the reason why scholars have not made use of Salvador's autobiography. But as explained in the first chapter, documents "from below" are useful not because they are repositories of "solid facts," but because they point to

55. ARFC (1906), 1, p. 32.
56. In Jose P. Santos, Tatlong Tulaan, p. 11–21. All quotations from Salvador's first-person account are from Santos's book. English translations are mine.

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50. See chapter 5 above, pp. 250.
52. Maling Pagdilao, 8 May 1906.
He next goes to a place called "buntoc babi," which is by the side of the river, where he meets a friend named Juan who makes a living by gathering buri-palm shoots (tulog ng bulo) which are sold in the towns. Salvador is taken in Juan's banca to some kind of a rest camp.

When we reached there we cooked rice and after cooking we ate and after eating we talked. I told him about my experiences while fleeing from Cabiao. It was because the man had aua for me that he replied that only God was responsible for my being unhurt; yes, I said, and we talked about many other things concerning life. (p. 12)

They agree that Salvador is to help cut buri-palm shoots. Their harvests will be combined and the income from the sale will go toward purchasing the necessities of life: rice, salt, and other foodstuffs or cigarettes. Salvador spends some time with Juan, because of “their good relationship.” When Juan is away for two weeks or more, Salvador approaches houses at night and asks for rice. He writes, “I was given some little by little, as much as they wished to give. This was the kind of life I led for many days.”

In the narrative above, there are very few facts that can be verified in other sources. Salvador and other prisoners from Nueva Ecija indeed escaped as they were being transferred to Manila in 1902. And “Vicente,” the first of several names mentioned by Salvador, is most likely a certain Vicente Francia identified by the constabulary in 1910 as a constant companion of Salvador in the environs of San Luis, Pampanga. But the other names and events cannot be identified, confirmed, or located in time. Not that this is crucial in making use of the narrative. The fact that Salvador’s narrative is reduced to a series of encounters with strangers points to certain ideas shaping the account. Note that Salvador does not talk about feelings of loneliness or pain as he wanders about the foothills and forests of Sinukuan. He encounters strangers, asks for food, and is given some. In the first instance, he asks for cooked rice. In the second instance he asks, in addition, for extra provisions like milled rice. In the third instance, he asks Vicente to care for him; the same is true with Juan. In all cases, there is never a possibility of refusal, no tension involved. Contrary to insinuations in constabulary reports, Salvador is not a fugitive living off the till of others. In his view of society, it is perfectly natural to ask (or to beg), to give and to receive among perfect strangers.

One pattern that emerges is that the sharing and partaking of food paves the way for brotherly relationships. “Conversation” (isuap-isuap) always follows a meal. Salvador talks about his experience of the escape, and then his

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58. Only one American observer seems to have noted this. In a letter to the New York Evening Post (2 October 1906), David Doherty insisted that Salvador and his followers could not be bandits because they only asked for alms and usually received some, practiced brotherhood among men, fasted and prayed (clipping in BBA 4865-55).
companions are said to have awa. Concomitant with awa is the realization that God has preserved Salvador from harm. Both Vicente and Juan have exactly the same reaction: "It was because the man had awa for me that he replied that only God was responsible for my being unhurt." We can take this statement to mean that Vicente and Juan attributed Salvador’s experience to God’s will. In fact, while Salvador was in jail, he told his followers that his confinement was a voluntary expiation of his sins on earth. He was merely heeding God’s wish, he said, and at any time he should decide to leave jail he would merely walk out of the place. And so when he did manage to escape, his followers believed that it was a fulfillment of a prophecy.

But Salvador, in his narrative, seems to be saying more than this. The recognition of God’s intervention is always preceded by the experience of awa. As we saw in previous chapters, awa is not just “pity” in the sense of an individual emotional outpouring. In Salvador’s idiom, awa has a social meaning similar to damay in pasyon and Katipunan rituals. When there is awa, people can attune themselves to Salvador’s experience. They can situate it in a framework of meaning with which they are familiar. Only then can they really grasp why Salvador has been preserved from harm.

Let us continue with the narrative. Salvador encounters another person, named Damaso. They become friends while cutting buri-palm shoots together. “Since our companionship was good,” says Salvador “he would regularly bring me the necessities of life: rice, tuyo, salt, bagoong and cigarettes.” Each time Salvador learns that soldiers are conducting one of their rare operations in the area, he leaves his hut and hides in the nearby forest.

Eventually he transfers to another forest bordering the town of Zaragoza, spending quite a bit of time there because of a friendship he has struck with one Epifanio de la Cruz. Like him, Epifanio lacks a cedula personal (a tax receipt also serving as an identity card) and thus cannot enter the town. He takes care of Salvador in the swampy forest of Zaragoza. After several years, Salvador decides to return to the riverbank, where he stays for another extended period because it is “such a good place.” Then he decides to “go home” to Camias. Damaso takes him there and, for two weeks, takes care of Salvador.

Apparently, Epifanio has rejoined Salvador and Damaso. Together they board Damaso’s banca and head for a place called Santa Cruz in the territory of Concepcion. As they are walking they meet a man who is Damaso’s acquaintance. He takes the group to his shelter in the forest and offers them food. After the meal they engage in conversation. Salvador asks if soldiers frequent the area. Receiving an affirmative reply, Salvador induces the group to leave immediately. Their host shows them the road to Camanse.

In Camanse they proceed to a place called Quilem, where they remain for about a week. In order to survive they have to ask for food from passing boatmen. There is never a refusal to share food with them. Only when bancas fail to appear in the river or do not carry provisions do they have to endure “a little hunger.” Finally, they leave the place in a banca laden with palm shoots, disembarking before a place called Santol.

In the forest of Santol they meet two men who, Salvador observes, seem to recognize him. During the customary greetings the two men ask where the travelers have come from; from Quilem, they reply. Upon learning that the group has not yet eaten, the two men suddenly disappear, returning later with some rice. After eating they engage in conversation:

We talked about the kind of life I led in the recent past. They asked me what the aim of the Santa Iglesia was. I answered: to pray, to ask the Lord God for awa, and I said that the Santa Iglesia trusts in the Lord God and engages in firm (muting) acts of worship, repentance, and obedience to the commands of the Lord God. (p. 14)

They talk about “many other related matters.” After the conversation the two men leave to procure more rice.

As we noted earlier, Salvador’s narrative is structured as a series of encounters with people. That is why he does not talk about his activities during his long stay at “buntoc bari” with Juan, except to note that they had a good relationship, and that when Juan was away for long periods he approached strange houses to beg for food. Neither does he tell us what he did during his long stay in the forest near Zaragoza, except to note that Epifanio cared for him there. His two-week stay at Camias, which he calls his “home,” is not described. We know from other sources that there was a church at Camias where Salvador performed religious services. But all he says is that Damaso cared for him there. Obviously, the time spent in fixed locations is compressed; it has little “value” in the scheme of the narrative. It may be argued that this was the only way Salvador could summarize some eight years of his life. But what are the criteria by which he states some facts and omits others?

The manner in which events are strung together in the narrative gives the reader the impression that Salvador is constantly on the move. In each place he meets new people who invariably offer him food, care, and awa. In these episodes there is a recurring pattern. Movement stops as the meeting or encounter is described in some detail. For example, we find variations of the following passage: "When we reached Juan’s camp we cooked rice and after cooking we ate and after eating we talked." When people bring gifts and provisions, these are enumerated one by one: cooked rice, milled rice, salt, bagoong, cigarettes, and so forth. The sense of movement punctuated by human encounters perfectly describes the lakaran, the term in the pasyon for Christ’s basic activity among men, and the term Apolinario de la Cruz used for the proselytizing journeys of the cofrades.

Many persons become attached to Salvador in the course of his wanderings. Damaso and Epifanio, for example, henceforth accompany him from place to place. In the course of the narrative the number of his "followers" increases. What is it that binds them to Salvador? What is the basis of the man's "attractiveness"? Obviously it cannot be wealth or status. They all belong to the same social category. They gather buri-palm shoots together. Some, like Epifanio, are also fugitives. Moreover, Salvador is fed, sheltered, and otherwise "cared for" by the people he meets. They give him provisions and gifts (regalo) and yet never receive anything material in return. The traditional "patron-client" type of relationship surely cannot be the basis of the bonds between Salvador and his "followers" because it is the "leader" who is indebted. But the absence of "patron-client" ties does not mean that Salvador's society lacks a traditional basis. This becomes clear when we look into the meaning of utang na loob, or "debt of loob."

The current sociological definition of utang na loob implies that the imbalance inherent in a debt relationship must always tend toward equilibrium; that is, the debtor must forever be bound to the giver while the debt is being repayed. This definition of human relationships is often used to explain political behavior. The utang na loob relationship, says Appaio, "is an asymmetrical and hierarchical one between two entities—the superordinate and the subordinate. The superordinate is the creditor, the person who gives a favor; the subordinate is the debtor who receives a favor." Political leaders, therefore, tend to come from the propertied class because they are able to "give" and thus bind the common tao to them through utang na loob.60 But if this is always the case, why not simply use the term utang (debt)? The presence of the word loob points to something other than the simple economic relationship between lender and debtor, giver and receiver. In Salvador's idiom, the gift is a mode of strengthening the bonds among the loob of men. Begging and the acceptance of food, shelter and protective care create, not a subordinate-superordinate relationship, but a horizontal one akin to love. Consistent with his 1899 appeal to Aguinaldo, Salvador presents in his 1910 account an image of society without the pervasive influence of an elite; where things are, in fact, turned upside down—the debtor is the man of power.

According to news reports, Salvador claimed to be a "great disciple of Christ" and able to speak with him whenever he wished. He and his followers wore long hair and robes of coarse cloth in imitation of figures in the pasyon.61 In Salvador's narrative, however, there are no such direct allusions to the pasyon. We are not told what he looked like; there is not a single mention of Christ or other pasyon characters. Salvador does not step outside the flow of events to make reference to an external form. The pasyon idiom is imbedded in the narrative itself.

One of the important aspects of the pasyon is the imagery of the suffering Christ which evokes the experience of awa in the reader or listener. But no amount of awa can alter the course of the pasyon because Christ is merely enacting what has been foretold and what the Father has designed for the world. The experience of awa induced by the language and music of the pasyon can only put the audience in a state of receptivity for meanings that are usually hidden, such as the connections between the pasyon and life. Now in the case of Salvador, the telling of his story to the people he meets likewise evokes awa and at that point they see the connection between person and figure. In the first two instances of this, narration of his past life evokes awa and the realization that God has saved him from harm. In the third instance the two fishermen who hear his story, instead of replying that God has saved Salvador from harm, inquire about the Santa Iglesia. This increased awareness is possible because the experience of awa makes them see connections. Salvador's story becomes a sign of Christ's presence in the world. That is why, having heard him speak, the two fishermen rush off to spread the word and Salvador's "following" multiplies quickly.

The spontaneous growth of the Santa Iglesia is described in the continuation of the narrative. When the fisherman return they bring cooked and uncooked rice, a kettle, salt, fish, and other kinds of food. They are also accompanied by ten people who all decide to remain with the group. As Salvador puts it, "they joined us in their desire to participate in devotions to the Lord God." They then break camp and walk in the direction of Candaba.

Along the way they meet a fisherman who inquires where they are going. In the direction of Pinac, they reply. The fisherman follows them until they stop to set up camp and rest:

We started talking about things pertaining to the Lord God. My companions cooked rice; after cooking the rice we ate, and the man I was talking to shared our meal. (p. 15)

After the meal the fisherman departs. Two days later, he returns with other men and women. They bring "gifts, rice, viands, and cigarettes." They ask how Salvador is and he replies, "I am fine, thanks to the mercy of God." After the exchange of greetings, they engage in conversation:

We talked about the things in life (bubay-bubay) that each and every man must lead in relation to seeking God's awa; I told them to pray the Rosary morning, noon, and before retiring at night, and that in the context of good acts of worship we should trust in God that we may be placed in even greater tranquillity (catabiminian). (p. 15)


They talk about "other matters related to the Lord God." Later, they partake of a fraternal meal. After eating and resting, the guests bid farewell saying they will return to their homes.

After about a week in the same location, they see five men carrying big baskets who claim they are fish-trappers from San Miguel. After discussing matters concerning "life" and things related to the Lord God, the fish-trappers bid goodbye. Several days later they return accompanied by more people. Salvador asks them where they are going; they reply that they have come to visit, bringing "gifts, rice, viands and cigarettes."

We talked about life and some of the things we discussed concerned the Lord God and the good things that man can do in his daily life; I told them that man while still alive has to endure all kinds of hardship that come from the intensity of faith (fidelidad personal) and that he has to pray the Most Holy Rosary morning, noon and before retiring; and I also said that man has to inflict penitence (penitente) upon himself; they asked me what sort of penitence should be made and I said: first, prayer; and second, abstinence (pescado caro), the endurance of hardship and the forceful effort not to commit wrongdoing against the Lord God; we talked about many other things of the same nature. (p. 16)

When the time comes to eat, they all together partake of a meal. Having rested, the visitors bid farewell, saying they will return to their homes.

Several days later, "all of a sudden" the same people return (pabit: to turn or twist around), bringing bundles of clothing. What are all those clothes for, asks Salvador. They reply that "it was decided in their loob ever since they left their homes" that they would join him. Salvador, remarking that they did well (mantibye) asks them the precise reason for their joining him. They reply that "they wish to know the things related to the Lord God that each and every man should do while still living." The new arrivals total thirty persons. They transfer to a new location not far away. There, says Salvador, they "did nothing but pray the Most Holy Rosary in the morning, at noon before eating, and in the afternoon."

Again, several days later, more men and women arrive bringing "gifts, rice, and other kinds of food." Salvador thinks that they are relatives of his companions. They engage in conversation "about things pertaining to the Lord God that should well be done by each and every person in his household:

I told them that they should pray the Most Holy Rosary morning, noon and in the afternoon so that the Lord God may grant us His holy grace, because to my belief the Lord God's anger at us is already great, that is why men today have shorter lives, and perhaps death is just around the corner.

After the conversation they eat; after resting, the visitors depart for home. Other groups of men and women visit them in the succeeding days. They bring "gifts which we accept because they are offered to us." With them Salvador discusses matters "pertaining to the Lord God." The guests are always offered food and rest before they return to their homes.

Since the time Salvador spoke to two fishermen about the aims of the Santa Iglesia, the group around him has grown from two to around forty-five people. Moreover, they are visited regularly by men and women who participate in discussions and meals but eventually have to return home. To pursue a question asked earlier, what was it that made people flock to Salvador?

In March 1905, the Manila Times described the pattern in which Salvador obtained money and recruits for his movement: claiming to be a pope, he would enter a town with some of his followers, all dressed like pasyon characters. A bamboo cross was planted in the center of the plaza. Exhortations and speeches "quickly worked the population into a frenzy to the point where the people willingly turned over money and many joined his force." The reader of this account quickly gets the impression that propaganda and the manipulation of gullible minds were key weapons of the Santa Iglesia leadership. The problem with such a news report as this is that it stops short of describing the language of the propaganda and the effect it had on the loob of the audience. In Salvador's narrative it is clear that the leader, far from being manipulative, remains a poor and humble figure who evoke awe and damay from the people he encounters. We are reminded of the Kutipusan leader who, during initiation rites, utters the lament of old, suffering Kolayos in order to evoke damay and patriotism.

The remarkable thing about Salvador's account is that it shows him in a state of being unaware of the effect or "power" of his words and presence. When a group of men and women return with bundles of clothing, intending to stay with him, he is quite surprised and questions them about their intent and motive. Their answer is revealing: when they first met Salvador, they decided in their loob that they should remain with him. They have returned in order "to know" how to orient their beings to the Lord God. In the pasyon, we recall, awa and damay are manifestations of a "turning" in one's loob. It is the state of loob that makes people follow Christ or the "way" that must be lived. When peasants left their homes to live with Salvador in the swamps and forests, they were experiencing, consciously or unconsciously, the ideal form of behavior suggested by the pasyon. Salvador was their teacher, the one who showed them the "way."

Salvador's account repeatedly mentions prayer as an essential activity in everyday life. At first glance, it appears that prayer is merely an outpouring of emotions and requests. For example, the Santa Iglesia version of the "Our Father" (Ang Ana Nanini) practically pleads for divine compassion as well as the nourishment of body and soul:

Our Father
thou art in heaven
thy creatures are on earth
look with compassion
on our weeping.

Thou art the object
of our faith and worship
and Thou art also our hope
the source of nourishment
for our bodies and souls.

Amen Jesus.65

But it is significant that the “Our Father” and the “Hail Mary”—of which the Santa Iglesia also had a version—are recited in the context of the Holy Rosary. The latter, as pointed out earlier, encapsulates in its fifteen mysteries the basic themes of the pasyon. Salvador’s teaching that the Rosary be prayed thrice daily—morning, noon, and evening—can be interpreted as a mode of situating everyday life in the context of the pasyon. Prayer, far from being just an emotional outpouring, becomes a positive act of giving meaning to the totality of existence.

Ultimately, prayer is inseparable from the other activities—endurance of hardships, penitence, abstinence, and so forth—that serve to purify, control, and give direction to the loob. Intense prayer, says Salvador, leads to hardships which must be endured. This does not mean a resignation to things as they are (e.g., a life of hardship) because the world is static and unchanging. If this were so then it would be impossible for the Santa Iglesia to have fought in the revolution and engaged the constabulary in armed battle. The world is changing, in the sense that God’s plan for mankind is unfolding itself. Through the proper interpretation of signs, man anticipates change and prepares for it in the loob as well as externally through the gathering of men and weapons.

The preoccupation with the state of the loob stands out clearly in the notion of penitence. Penitenta, according to Salvador, is first of all prayer, and secondly abstinence, endurance of hardship and the “forceful effort” not to commit wrongdoing. Notice how little penitence has to do with just being sorry for one’s sins. It involves self-disciplining through the proper performance of prayers. It involves a choice not to partake of certain kinds of foods or comforts. The very mention of “forceful effort” implies not merely a passive avoidance of sin but a disciplined effort to live in accordance with certain rules and precepts. The ultimate form of penitence, as we have seen, is when one traverses the “Way of the Cross” during Holy Week. At the end of the road, the penitent is usually half-dead of exhaustion, pain and loss of blood, but he emerges a “new man” whose loob has been renewed, ready to face squarely the challenges of this world.

Prayer and other forms of penitence are ways of purifying and steadying the loob. But this transformation of loob also means an accumulation of power. As pointed out in previous chapters, folk religious ideas and practices must also be seen in the context of “animistic” belief in a divine substance or power permeating the universe. This power can be concentrated in certain objects and persons, and is imaged as a sun, lamp, or other source of liwanag. This idea of power renders intelligible several details about Salvador’s career. To understand his emphasis on prayer, for example, is much like seeing the connection between Holy Week rituals and anting-anting.

According to a Manila Times article of July 1906, Salvador was constantly accompanied by some twenty disciples, who also seemed to function as bodyguards. When not on the move, he was surrounded by an inner group of six who knelt in a circle, face outward, eyes closed, and continuously praying. The remainder formed another circle several meters from the inner one and also prayed, but with their eyes open. On one hand, it can be said that concentric circles meant maximum security; those in the outer ring kept their eyes open in order to spot any danger that might befall their leader.64 On the other hand, the same formation can be interpreted as an image of liwanag radiating outward from their source in Salvador, who was in a state of intense prayer. The men in the outer circle stared outward much as statues and portraits of the saints do—in order to reach others through their glance, to diffuse the concentrated power of the center.

In the pasyon, Christ’s disciples are armed with special powers to better enable them to spread the message to all men. It makes sense, then, that such powers should be ascribed to a man like Salvador who not only claimed to be Christ’s disciple but actually attempted to live out the pasyon. The following account is typical:

His adorers, among whom are not a few men of apparent culture and some of them of high position, assert that no one can deny Salvador’s mysterious power. He has been able to go everywhere freely without being seen, move rapidly from one place to another, with the desired velocity, and has the property of being able to be in several places at the time.65

63. This prayer was found, together with a version of the “Hail Mary” (Ala Ginoong Maria) and various scapulars and anting-anting, in the possession of captured Santa Iglesia members (Muling Pagdaling, 10 August 1906).
64. This is how Coats (“Philippine Constabulary,” pp. 201-2) interprets it.
65. PCP, 29 July 1910 (vol. 2, p. 577; MHC).
When Salvador was captured in 1910, people believed that escape was only a matter of time. “When they think him safest,” the belief was, “he will disappear from the presence of his enemies. He will go through walls, and will appear glorious and full of divine grace, confronting his pursuers.”

The striking fact about Salvador’s powers described above is that they are attributes of a possessor of anting-anting. The pasyon not so much explains as legitimizes or confirms indigenous notions of power. The image of Salvador “full of divine grace,” going through walls and “confronting his pursuers” with his radiance, is reminiscent of the pasyon resurrection scene. But a Javanese prince or rebel could be described in roughly the same terms.

To pursue the analogy, in traditional Javanese thought there is “the idea that the human seed, and specially the seed of a man of Power, is itself a concentration of Power and a means of its transmission.” To the ordinary Javanese, sexual potency in a leader is a sign of political strength. This is made possible in the first place by intermittent periods of sexual abstinence and asceticism during which power is accumulated. Perhaps this is the context in which we should interpret the report that every month Salvador “had a virgin presented to him in the hope that from this union there would be born a Redeemer, a Saviour of the Philippine Islands.” It is significant that women are presented to Salvador rather than sought by him. The motives of people have less to do with sex in itself than with recognition of Salvador’s power and hopes of liberation.

We began this discussion by asking how, in the narrative, Salvador’s group could have grown so quickly from two to around forty-five people. The answers are to be found basically within the narrative itself—the way events are strung together, the idiom of awa, and Salvador’s own teachings about prayer, penitence, and the expectation of change because of “God’s anger.” We can conclude that people flocked to him because they recognized him as a man of exemplary loób, a man of extraordinary power, and a figure of Christ the Redeemer. He more or less conformed to popular conceptions of a leader in a time of imminent change. For those who believed that independence was just around the corner, Salvador was the focus of their hopes. In 1910 a peddler from Pampanga was overheard saying:

I have confidence in Apong Ipo. He will save us as he has saved himself with his miracles. He is a good man; he does not hurt good Filipinos. But let the bad ones look out; when we win we shall not leave one alive. The Americans are afraid of him and do not dare to catch him because the whole Philippines will rise to defend our only true Saviour.

We can also conclude from the narrative that people were attracted to Salvador, not merely because of his individual traits, but because through their association with him certain possibilities of existence were realized. In 1904 Salvador in passing referred to the Santa Iglesia as a katipunan. In the narrative, Salvador talks about what “katipunan,” or brotherhood, is all about. The minute descriptions of the bringing of gifts and food, the cooking and sharing of meals, and the conversations; the sharing of work and earnings; the prevailing atmosphere of damay—all these point to how the katipunan ideal is being realized. In each of Salvador’s encounters with people, “katipunan” is experienced. Many stay on with him or, having left, return to stay on because they wish to make this experience permanent. What makes this possible, in Salvador’s view, is constant prayer, an activity which keeps the loób of the brothers pure, controlled, and steadfast in the commitment to the katipunan’s goal.

The People’s Rising of 1910

Returning to Salvador’s narrative of his past, we arrive upon an event that is described in constabulary records—the Santa Iglesia entry into the town of Arayat in April 1910. Here is Salvador’s version of the event: after several days of devotions, Salvador decides to subject his companions to a test. He wants to know, he says, “if what we were doing was authentic (tunay) or if their association (pakikisama) with me was authentic.” He suggests that they enter the town and pray publicly there. His companions are enthusiastic. That is good, they say, so that people will know that the aims of the Santa Iglesia are not bad. In Salvador’s mind, it is good that the entry into the town be publicized so that people will not be “mistaken” regarding the many “crimes” he has been accused of.

At four in the afternoon they begin their trek to the town of Arayat. They carry no weapons, just wooden poles and bamboo sticks. Travelling along the road they pass through the barrios of Candating, Santa Cruz, Gemasan, and Batasan. Presumably having walked through hilly terrain they “descend,” cross a river, and head toward the town. They come upon the road that leads to the town church. Upon reaching the church they all kneel before it. “We all prayed,” narratives Salvador, “and we managed to complete three parts of the Rosary before we stood up and when we had stood up I suggested to my companions that we leave.” They travel along the same route out of town and

66. Ibid.
68. Ibid., p. 27.
70. PCR, 17 June 1910 (vol. 2, p. 492; MHC).
across the river. Finally they stop to rest in Sapang Batasan, where an encounter with the constabulary—the only one ever mentioned by Salvador—takes place:

We were there the whole afternoon; it was there that we cooked rice and after cooking we ate; no one came to visit us there because... people had such great fear of approaching us; when night fell came we were praying; the soldiers arrived shooting at us; my companions became afraid; I do not know where they fled; in that shooting there still remained fifteen who had not run away, but when we had regrouped some of them bade leave saying they would go home first; and so remaining with me were my two original companions, Epifanio de la Cruz and Damaso Clarin. (p. 18)

The story of the entry into Arayat followed by the encounter with the soldiers is in many respects central to Salvador’s account. But before we explain its significance in the context of the narrative, let us situate the story in a wider historical context. What Salvador narrates is merely an episode in a countrywide outburst of pro-independence sentiments that reached a peak in 1910. The causes of this phenomenon are varied and complex, and need not be discussed here fully. Peter Stanley has recently described in detail the circumstances leading to the break-up in 1910 of the alliance between the Philippine Commission and the Nacionalista majority in the Assembly. The Payne bill of 1909 that sought reciprocal free trade was opposed by the Nacionalistas on the grounds that this would cause dislocations in parts of the Philippine economy and allow American trusts and monopolies to invade the country. With some modifications, the bill became law in August as part of the Payne-Aldrich Tariff. During the next few years, says Stanley, “relations between Filipinos and the American government were worse than any other time between the official end of the insurrection in 1902 and the outbreak of the cabinet crisis under Leonard Wood in 1923.” The problem was not that the Filipino politicians opposed the entry of American capital, but that they wanted a parallel assurance of their political control of the country. The independence issue was thus brought to the forefront of politics in the latter part of 1909.71

The Nacionalista victory in the Assembly elections of November 1909 was an indication of the people’s pro-independence sentiments. Other parties could not but veer to the left, even exceeding the Nacionalistas in their radical stance. In actual fact, few Filipino politicians ever supposed that independence could be gained immediately; what they wanted was immediate definition of American intentions before “tyrannical development” were furthered.72 However, in their desire to obtain popular support, perhaps to serve as leverage in bargaining with the Commission, Filipino politicians helped create an atmosphere of imminent independence in 1910. In any political meeting, reports an informer, “it is sufficient for the orator to speak of independence, of the spilling of blood, of violent acts against the present state of things, no matter if his language is uncultured, and they applaud him with delirious enthusiasm.”73 Scattered news from the outside world—the petition for Philippine independence by American Democrats, the censure by an American congressman of the sale of friar estates to large syndicates, and the growing tension between the United States and emergent Japan over dominance in the Pacific—became topics not only of speeches but of daily conversation. It was reported in mid-1910 that rumors of such events had “spread to the populace in an exaggerated form.” The barrage of speeches and news articles pertaining to the country’s future had the effect of making “all or nearly all believe that national independence was only a step distant from them, and there was no reason capable of convincing them of the contrary.”74

Contributing significantly to the state of excitement and expectation among the masses in 1910 was the rumor that the appearance of Halley’s comet meant war, and that this war might possibly be the prelude to independence. The “general belief of the ignorant popular masses,” adds the constabulary report, was that “it was this Halley comet which announced the birth of the Son of God to the Wise Men, and that today it announces to the Filipino people the proximity of the day of their independence.”75 The comet was a clear sign (tanda) which various politicians and peasant leaders pointed to in order to further convince the people that 1910 was the year to rise in arms. In fact, the other events previously mentioned—particularly the rise of Japan—were regarded as so many other signs pointing to war and a change of panahon (era).

The first evidence of heightened unrest in 1910 is a constabulary report of 29 January that the Colorum, Sagrada Familia, and Santa Iglesia organizations in central and southern Luzon were making unusually heavy contributions toward the support of Salvador’s men in the field. Salvador had recently prophesied that war would break out between Japan and America, and that arms would soon arrive from Japan. The three distinct organizations all recognized the supreme leadership of Salvador whom they addressed, significantly, as “King of the Philippines.”76

By March, the constabulary realized that a general uprising was in the making. One agent reported that even in the smallest barrios of Pampanga, “inquietude and agitation” were caused by rumors of approaching war. The presence of Salvador “wandering through some towns in Pampanga, Tarlac,

72. Ibid., p. 154.
73. PCR, 23 May 1910 (vol. 2, p. 440; MHC).
74. Ibid.
75. PCR, 12 May 1910 (vol. 2, pp. 423-24; MHC).
76. PCR, 29 January 1910 (vol. 2, p. 211; MHC).
and Nueva Ecija" made the situation there critical "since among those people they talk only of war and the approaching revolution which will be begun by Felipe and his partisans." Another report indicated that such rumors were widespread "from Polo, Bulacan, to Malabon, Rizal, and from San Mateo to Pasig, Rizal." Mount Arayat seemed to be the focus of a perceptible movement of people in fact, eight men from Laguna, Cavite, and Batangas en route to Arayat had already been arrested. From Cabiao, Nueva Ecija, came a report that two Santa Iglesia leaders had gathered several hundred people to pray on the nearby slopes of Arayat because, through some Japanese agents, "they had received word that Salvador was daily expected to arrive, bringing arms and the independence of the Philippines." Pangasinan and Zambales provinces also had Santa Iglesia chapters which appeared to be "greatly excited." In the southern Luzon provinces of Batangas, Cavite, Laguna and Tayabas, Colorum chapters were no less agitated. Their preparations for Holy Week seemed to be more fervent and active than usual. Perhaps it is not entirely coincidental that Holy Thursday and Good Friday, 24 and 25 March, were the days chosen for a large meeting of all Colorum members from Manila, Rizal, and Cavite. They assembled in a barrio of Pasay, a suburb of Manila, "to wait for instructions or orders from Felipe Salvador."

In the previous chapter we noted that as the principalia-led resistance to the United States began to disintegrate in 1901, the Colorum and other religio-political groups gained correspondingly in adherents. Peasants who never lost hope in the arrival of independence were able to join organizations whose language, form, and goals sustained the Katipunan spirit throughout what Agoncillo has called "the period of suppressed nationalism." At times, like in 1910, when independence seemed imminent and armed forces were at least promised, such organizations quickly moved into action. But, as one observer pointed out, the people gathered on Mount Arayat were not all members of "fanatical sects." Many were simply ex-Katipuneros, veterans of the revolution. For example, 300 armed men who passed through a barrio of Cabiao on the way to Mount Arayat said they were soldiers of ex-General Mariano Llanera. In a sense, what they were doing was familiar to them; the revolution had come alive. These veterans were about to relive the past as they trekked to Camanse, one of the foothills of Arayat celebrated as a Katipunan strong

hold in 1896. The agent—a veteran himself—who spied on the group notes in his report: "It cost the Spanish army many lives to take [Camanse], for which reason the enemies of America wish to do the same as was done to Spain." The revolution sparked by the Katipunan uprising, we recall, eventually came under the direct control of the principales and ilustrados. The republic then had to cope with internal problems, particularly the opposition of so-called fanatical groups. These groups felt that the ilustrados had fallen short of fulfilling the promises of kalayaan; in turn, they were branded as "antirevolutionary." By 1910, however, it was obvious to everybody that only a figure like Felipe Salvador was capable of leading a mass uprising or revolution. In the first place, socially prominent Filipinos had discovered a patriotic role for themselves as members of the Assembly and the various independista parties. When an armed uprising became a distinct possibility in 1910, radical ilustrados like Artemio Ricarte, Mariano Ponce, and some Nacionalista politicians discovered that Salvador was "the only man available to lead the movement." Thus they designated him general-in-chief of the revolutionary forces from Nueva Ecija to Bulacan. At least, one experienced observer noted wryly, "the revolutionists need not fear the attacks which the fanatics might make on them as occurred during the past revolution." The overall assessment of the constabulary was simply that Salvador had great influence over the masses. A summary report of August 1910 states:

It is corroborated by recent facts that at present he is the only man with sufficient power over the masses to call to the mountains at any given moment the number of men he might desire for any contingency, men who would respond without discussion or hesitation and who would do all he might order them.

Another ironic twist of events is that one of Salvador's subordinate lieutenants—Anselmo Alejandro—was a scion of a landed Pampanga clan. Alejandro had been a major during the revolution. His brothers, ex-General Jose and ex-Colonel Joaquin Alejandro, had transferred residence to Batangas, leaving him in Pampanga as a councillor of the town of Arayat and owner of a large plantation with many tenants. Whether it was because all of the tenants happened to be Santa Iglesia members or because of the family's deep involvement in the revolution, Salvador was allowed to roam freely through the Alejandro estates. The constabulary eventually found this out and,

77. PCR, 22 March 1910 (vol. 2, p. 349; MHC).
78. PCR, 9 March 1910 (vol. 2, p. 329; MHC).
79. PCR, 17 March 1910 (vol. 2, p. 351; MHC). Most people, including the constabulary, were convinced that Salvador had gone to Japan and was returning with a Japanese fleet. Careful investigation after Salvador's capture proved this rumor false (PCR, 31 August 1910 (vol. 2, p. 586); MHC). There is a remarkable consistency in Filipino beliefs about a returning liberator. Aguinaldo, Rizal, Salvador, Ricarte, and MacArthur are prominent examples.
80. PCR, 15 March 1910 and 29 March 1910 (vol. 2, pp. 310, 359; MHC).
81. PCR, 22 March 1910 (vol. 2, p. 349; MHC). The author of this report seems to have been a high-ranking officer in Aguinaldo's army. He wrote in Spanish, periodically alluding to events in the revolution with which he was intimately familiar.
82. PCR, 24 March 1910 (vol. 2, p. 386; MHC).
83. Memorandum for the Director, Information Division, PCR, 25 August 1910 (vol. 2, pp. 616-18; MHC).
during the start of the “panic” in March, arrested the “agitator” Anselmo for the illegal possession of two rifles. As he was being brought to the justice of the peace at Arayat, he managed to escape, taking with him the revolver of his guard. The story of this thin and “very feeble” man’s escape from his burly American guard “served as a stimulus” for others—his tenants included—to follow him to the mountain, where he had offered his services to Salvador. This must have been a triumph of sorts for the Santa Iglesia leader who had been hounded throughout his career by the gentry of Pampanga. The story goes that “the same day Alejandro arrived, Salvador said: ‘Just as soon as the comet shines in all its splendor, the era of the happy emancipation of the Philippines will be born.’”

The celebrated entry into Arayat took place on 17 April. According to the constabulary, some eighty “Salvadoristas” simply walked through the center of the town, making purchases of food and other provisions, until about noon when “they were pleased to depart.” The local officials, police, and all the residents knew from the first moment what was occurring, but nothing was done about it. In fact, some townspeople were friendly toward the visitors, who were able to collect money and other donations. It was only the following day that the constabulary and the governor were notified of the event by the town mayor, who had remained silent the previous day in order to avoid shots being fired in his town. Without further delay, a detachment from neighboring Santa Ana left in pursuit of the “Salvadoristas,” finding some three hundred of them with sixty rifles camped in a place called El Pinac. After some resistance, the “Salvadoristas” fled, some in the direction of Cabiao, others toward Mount Arayat.

Returning to Salvador’s account, the obvious question comes to mind: why does he drastically reduce the events of 1910 to the entry into Arayat and a few other episodes? If we look at the autobiography as an articulation of meaning, the answer is pretty clear. All along, Salvador has been talking about the rise of a katipunan—the Santa Iglesia. The entry into Arayat, as Salvador himself says, is a test of this katipunan’s authenticity or “genuineness.” True brotherhood, according to Apolinario de la Cruz, exists only when the loób of the individual members have been “converted,” and this can only be revealed when the loób is confronted with the imminence of death. Now Salvador and his group have always avoided places reconnized by government soldiers. For they know that, if captured, they will be punished severely or even executed. To walk right into the center of town, where the power of the government is most strongly felt, is thus tantamount to risking death itself.

Salvador has a motive for his suggestion—to prove to the townspeople that they are mistaken in associating his figure with banditry. Why do the townspeople think this way, in the first place? One striking fact about Salvador’s account of the Santa Iglesia is that everything takes place in the countryside. Salvador draws people away from their homes and settled social life and they join him in his wanderings about the swamps and forests around Mount Arayat. Towns, he says, are to be avoided because he lacks a cedula personal. But more than that, towns represent a mode of social relationships quite alien to the Santa Iglesia. They are held together by extensive kinship networks and dominated by a hierarchy determined largely by wealth. The top principia families live precisely in the town centers. We know from constabulary sources that these families often allied with the colonial government in attempting to suppress the Santa Iglesia. They spread ugly rumors of bandit activity, attempting to instill a false image of Salvador in the minds of townspeople. “Our rich people,” commented a sympathizer of Salvador in 1910, “are the ones who denounce us to the authorities and the courts, making themselves feared in that way, and making us serve them almost for nothing.” The Alejandro family must have been an exception.

The meaning of the entry into Arayat becomes clearer when this episode is juxtaposed with its analogue in the pasyon. Even before Jesus is born, certain events already point to a distinction between town and countryside.

It is clearly stated that the town proper of Bethlehem ignored Mary and Joseph as they looked for a place to stay:

Sa pagca taonang mahrap
ang marasuan sing liyag,
ng manuluya, tumataug.
ula isa mang tumanag,
hinlog man o camag-anac

Ng uga ngayon matulugan
uulang marasuan sino man,
sa camang pugcaugay,
deo na sala tumahan,
sa uscas lousal ng bayan.

And because the loving couple were such poor people, whenever they knocked and called, not one person received them, not even kinsmen and relatives...

Since no one took them in since no one had aua for the state they were in, they finally settled down, in the outskirts of town. (20:8, 21:3)

The distinction becomes even sharper during the lifetime of Jesus. Those who follow him are either plain country people or town dwellers who reject
the dominance of the town elite. “Town,” in fact, is associated with the pharisees and pinunong bayan (town authorities), to whom wealth, education, and social status are ascribed. One manifestation of their influence is the confusion that reigns among townspeople regarding the real identity of Jesus. At one point Jesus asks his disciples: “What is the talk about town . . . who do the townspeople think I really am?”

Ay ang sugot sa caniya
ting ting na po, dili iba
yang si Juan Bautista,
anung iba, i, Elías ca,
Jeremias na profeta.
(5:4-10)

And they answered him they say you are no other than John the Baptist, others claim you are Elías or Jeremias the Prophet.

What is worse, the town notables are spreading rumors that Jesus is a bad man, a traitor, a troublemaker. The continued ignorance of the townspeople can be attributed to the machinations of their envious and threatened leaders. The parallel here with Salvador’s account is not accidental. Of all the available facts about the Santa Iglesia in 1910, Salvador chose certain details of the entry into Arayat to illustrate the identity of pasyon and experience.

Salvador says that he and his men knelt in front of the town church and prayed. This is not mentioned in the constabulary records. Did Salvador fabricate the story in order to divert attention from the more “political” acts of the Santa Iglesia? Possibly. But the more crucial question is whether in fact a distinction was perceived between “political” and “religious” acts. One of the root causes of the Santa Iglesia “schism” was the fact that the Roman Catholic clergy had become entangled in the web of allegiances of the towns. The clergy as well as the principalia perceived the Santa Iglesia as a threat, and often took concerted action against it. As Guerrero has pointed out, many churches in Pampanga prohibited the entrance of those who attended Santa Iglesia functions. The church at Betis, for example, authorized any parishioner to bodily expel any “Salvadorista” who attempted to enter the church.87 The Santa Iglesia’s gesture of kneeling and praying the Holy Rosary before the church was to reveal to the watching townsfolk (and perhaps to the parish priest) the nature of their association. They wanted their misinformed audience to understand that, far from being bandits, they were a brotherhood that attempted to transform into lived experience certain ideals which the church and town notables preferred to confine to the realm of prescribed rituals and private devotions.

Perhaps it is not entirely coincidental that when Jesus entered Jerusalem, he headed for the church or synagogue. The people greeted him with great rejoicing, for by that time many had come to know him. The pharisees, however, were burning with hatred for the man.

Saca yang manga lilo
maingtinguin fariseu
pinagkaaalaan ang tuo
ang magpatuloy cay Cristo
para saang tugot.

Maghapon ang Poong Ana,
nanggaling sa lahat na,
oon ipispikalina,
ang kumapuntad at ang isa
nang matalik niyang Doctrina.

Nang tulubog nai, ang arong
manga tuo,i, magsipanao
nui sa canilang bahay,
at ang Poong nanggaling
na sa loob ng Simbahan.

Uala isa mang puniguin
cay Jesus na Poong natin
maghapon hindi cumain,
binata ang pagigaliplin
ito,i, an din sa atin.

Lumafais na sa Simbahan
long Dios na maam
samponong discipulong abay,
at naguloy capagcuan
doon sa Betaniang bayan.
(69:16, 70:1-4)

And so those traitors
under threat of punishment
prevented the people
from inviting Christ in.

All day long the Lord Father,
was teaching the multitude,
introducing to them,
the taste and deliciousness
of his holy doctrine.

As the sun was about to set
the people disappeared
returning to their homes,
and the Lord Teacher
was inside the church.

Not one offered a meal
to Jesus our Lord who
did not eat the whole day,
enduring such servility
as another lesson for us.

And so this learned God
emerged from the church
exorted by his disciples,
and then proceeded
toward the town of Betania.

The passages above show that no one offered Jesus and his disciples a meal; in the end, there was no awa. It is clear, however, that such behavior of the townspeople was the result of intimidation on the part of the ecclesiastical and civil authorities.

Since the pasyon is a matrix of meaning in Salvador’s account, it is understandable that certain details present in constabulary records are ignored. These records insinuate that Salvador had sympathizers among the town elite. And there is little doubt that the “Salvadoristas” spent a lot of time in Arayat procuring food and supplies. But Salvador does not mention this. In other episodes, he carefully enumerates the kinds of food and provisions people bring to him in the countryside. Conspicuously absent in the town episode is a meal or a conversation. The group simply prays in front of the

church, managing to complete three parts of the Rosary before they stand and leave abruptly. Why, we are not told. But, significantly, no one visits them as they are camped in the outskirts of town, because people have “such great fear” of approaching them. Since the Santa Iglesia has revealed to the townspeople its true nature, such great fear can only be the result of the propaganda or threats of the authorities.

The only people who “visit” the Santa Iglesia camp are government soldiers. They arrive shooting at the brethren who are in the midst of a prayer session. Physical violence, a manifestation of the power of the government and the town leaders, manages to overcome the self-control of many who flee into the night. Those who manage to stand fast eventually ask to be allowed to return home. At the episode’s end, Salvador is left with his two original companions.

There is a certain matter-of-factness about the way Salvador narrates these developments. Perhaps it is because there is something in the experience of “katipunan” that makes such an outcome natural. Perhaps it is related to Apolinario de la Cruz’s acceptance of the turning away of the cofradies because union can only be evoked, not forged. Salvador’s men, in a way, have failed the test. But in the parasyon, we recall, even the closest disciples of Jesus lose control of their loob at the critical hour. While walking in the Mount of Olives, Jesus tells them that their companionship will fall apart when the soldiers arrive that evening:

Oh manga Apostoles co
pili cong manga cuto,
yay ngayon ding galit ng iko,
ualing pagsalibing dodoo
aco, papanaaan ninyo.

Cayo rin nga,i, iilag
magpapabaya,i, dorouag
loob ninyo,i, malaapay,
maliimitan ng hamac
liyoung ating paghaharap.
(91:6, 92:1)

Oh my apostles
my chosen companions
on this very night
truly without fail
you will abandon me.

You yourselves will retreat
turn cowardly, neglecting me
your loob will waver
forgetting completely
our present dialogue.

Three months intervened between the Arayat incident and Salvador’s capture. According to constabulary records, in mid-May Salvador led a large group of men across the zamboanga mountains in expectation of a landing of arms on the western coast. Some two weeks later, they returned to central Luzon empty-handed. The failure to provide firearms may have led to a dispersion of some of the groups on Mount Arayat. However, it is clear that popular expectations of an imminent upheaval did not diminish. For some, it was a question of waiting for the comet to pass through. Salvador, while abandoning his haunts near Arayat town because of government surveillance, continued to be the focal point of the movement while hiding out in the vicinity of Floridablanca and San Luis.

In Salvador’s autobiography, we get a different picture of developments after the Arayat episode. Salvador, together with Damaso Clarin and Epifanio de la Cruz, have resumed the labaran. They come upon a hut by the roadside. They ask for rice; they eat, and rest in a “peaceful place.” They walk on until they reach their former camp by the river Munte. They lie down and sleep. After awakening, they sit by the riverbank and ask for some rice from a passing boatman. After eating, they continue on to Zaragoza. Having reached that place, Epifanio goes off to ask for rice and other food from former benefactors. After three days rest, they resume the cutting of buri-palm shoots in order to have money to buy the necessities of life.

One day, Salvador, accompanied by Damaso, heads for his “home” in Camias. Epifanio decides to stay behind in Munte. On the way to Camias they pass through many familiar barrios, avoiding towns like Candaba and San Luis. The names of these places are enumerated as if Salvador is making a former journey in reverse. Indeed, if in previous episodes the movement through various localities resulted in the augmentation of his following, the present return to Camias leaves him, in the end, alone. One day, while in Camias, Damaso says that he would like to visit his family in San Nicolas. He departs, taking with him the remaining unspent income from the sale of palm shoots. But Damaso never returns. Salvador later receives the news of Damaso’s death from cholera. “From the time Damaso died,” he says, “there was no one to care for or watch over me.”

At this point, Salvador is back where he started—an escaped convict alone in the forest. Without any break in the narrative, however, events begin to repeat themselves. Because he lacks provisions, Salvador approaches a house one night and asks for food, which is given to him. He bids leave from his kind benefactors and returns to his “place of hiding.” As the afternoon is passing, “all at a sudden” he sees a man who has wandered nearby. This man runs off to inform others of Salvador’s presence. According to the account, “When the news had spread around, a number of people began to arrive; as soon as they arrived we got to talking about matters related to the Lord God.” After the conversation the visitors bid leave to return to their homes. But “all of a sudden,” more people arrive. “How are you?” they ask, and Salvador replies “Fine, thanks to the will and awa of the Lord God.” In turn, Salvador asks how they are, to which they reply that they are “fine,” and have not been ill, thanks to the awa of God. The visitors then suggest that he build himself a hut where he can rest, for, having discovered him sheltered beneath a

bamboo grove, they have awa. After talking about these desultory matters, he
tells them "what each and every man must do while he is alive in this world":

First I told them that they must ask awa from the Lord God, engage in proper
devotion and prayer, follow the commands of the Lord God, love God above all
things and love their fellowsmen as they love themselves, not to think about
anything dishonorable (di macaranangal) to the Lord God. (p. 20)

When he has finished speaking, they bid goodbye and return to their homes.
Salvador, meanwhile, starts to construct a hut.

Passion, Death, and . . .

Salvador gives the precise date of his capture—Sunday, 24 July 1910. He
has just completed the hut, when "all of a sudden" someone comes along. It
is the man who later will lead the authorities to him. Having foretold his end,
Salvador narrates the events of the day: a woman arrives, followed not much
later by Salvador's son and a woman companion. Then comes an old woman
accompanied by a niece, a nephew, and two children. Three more people
arrive. They all start to pray as nightfall approaches. After prayers, "all of a
sudden" the police, led by the informer, arrive. Salvador is bound and brought
to the governor's house. There his ropes are cut; he is handcuffed and fed.
Having rested a bit, he is put on a train bound for Manila. At this point, the
narrative ends.

Most likely, the man who led the soldiers to Salvador was Eusebio Clarin,
a relative or possibly brother of Damaso, Salvador's closest companion. We
know for certain that Governor Arnedo of Pampanga twice persuaded Clarin
to declare that he was his personal agent. That a traitor, or former disciple
even, should be the immediate cause of Salvador's capture, was not predetermined.
Yet how well it fits the scenario of his life.

While the Americans and most local politicians heaved a sigh of relief over
Salvador's capture, grief and shock swept the areas of Santa Iglesia influence.
A memo to the constabulary director reads: "Everywhere one hears lamentations
because of Salvador's capture and hopes for his escape." Some nationalist politicians were "saddened" because "they hoped to use him in the
struggle for independence." Salvador's peasant followers, overcoming their
initial shock, believed that he allowed himself to be caught to demonstrate his
power, for he could escape anytime he wanted to. Even as far as south as
Cavite, the talk was that Salvador would soon escape and take command of the
"redeeming forces" which would drive out the Americans and proclaim
independence. Fearing that such an escape might trigger another wave of
mass unrest, the government watched Salvador carefully. Even his guards
were screened lest there be sympathizers among them.21

Salvador was convicted of sedition and sentenced to be hanged on 15 April
1912. On the eve of the execution, a reporter from the Tagalog daily Taliwa
was in Bilibid prison and witnessed the final meeting between Salvador and
his family. This is how he described the scene: all of the visitors were choked
with anguish, eyes filled with tears, feeling nothing but pain and sorrow. The
wife and children were "bursting inside with grief . . . as if they saw their
beloved Felipe gasping for breath and presently laboring in the final throes of
death." Actually, he was very much alive and in good spirits:

Felipe Salvador did not reveal the slightest fear or loss of fervor. He was as he had
always been: smiling, gentle, speaking with a clear voice. Not a tear fell from his
eyes; he was not sad; in fact, he was as animated (masigla) as one nearing the
fulfillment of his hopes.22

It was "with a perfectly calm loób" that Salvador said these parting words to
his family:

Huwag kayong umiyanik. At sa pagka't lo'y huling oras na, ipagdasal ninyo ako.
Ako nang butlang galing umiyanik sa akin sa loób.

Do not weep. And because this is my final hour, say some prayers for me. Take
care of yourselves. Take care of the mother and her children. I am about to
embrace death which is sweet to my loób.

Having bade their last farewells, "the visitors went home with tightness in their
loób, and Felipe Salvador was left in high spirits, strong and without a frown
on his forehead."

Nothing reveals as dramatically as the parting scene above—reported by an
outsider—that Salvador lived and died in damay for the hero of the pasyon.
Faced with the certainty of death, Salvador and countless other patriots before
him could live out their final moments in joyful expectation because they had
been culturally prepared for it. They could be completely serene in loób while
around them reigned the anguish and emotional outpourings of those who

89. PCR, 2 August 1910 (vol. 2, p. 589; MHC).
90. PCR, 25 August 1910 (vol. 2, pp. 616–18; MHC). Buencamino, in particular, is mentioned.
91. PCR, 29 July 1910, 14 September 1910 (vol. 2, pp. 577, 647; MHC).
92. The Taliwa accounts of Salvador's execution, wake, and funeral are published in Santos,
Tulang Tulisan, pp. 21–27.
failed to see beyond the loss of a human life. The contrast between Salvador and his family recalls that between Jesus and his mother Mary. On the day of the Pasch, as Jesus is about to leave home, he tells his tearful mother to endure the pain because he is doing God's will. Like Salvador's final request to his relatives, Jesus tells his cousin John (the Evangelist) to take good care of his mother. Several stanzas describe the sorrowful parting, in which Mary's emotional outpouring contrasts with the calmness of her son. In another scene, after Jesus has fallen under the weight of the cross, he calls out to his mother to show him away, to turn her loving gaze on him. "As if by a miracle," Mary hears her son's request and rushes to him with tears in her eyes and her heart rent with anguish. In some ten stanzas of the pasyon Mary pours out her feelings and begs that she be allowed to carry the cross. But Jesus replies that there is no other "way"; she must wipe her tears and God will take care of her:

Ang sagot ni Cristong mahal
oh lnga cong salumbay
suc nat, iyong kaban,
pagdaing, pamanambian
sa Anac mong mamamatay.

Aco, hindi masisasay
nitong asing cagasan
ang loob cong ininggan,
sa dibidi ni napaparam
pagsacup co nga sa tanan.
(14:49, 13)

The holy Christ replied
oh my sorrowful Mother
it is time you ceased
the cries and supplications
for your Son who will die . . .

I am undaunted
by this act of mine
my loób was prepared for it,
the task of redeeming mankind
does not vanish in emotions.

Like Apolinario de la Cruz, Jose Rizal, Macario Sakay, and many other Filipinos who were executed by the colonial authorities, Felipe Salvador met his fate with serenity and joy. We know that death, for Rizal, was the culmination of his pasyon. For Salvador, we can only guess at the meaning he saw in his final moments. Here is the Tatiba reporter's description of the event:

Outside the room where [Salvador] was confined, waited some twenty to thirty people who would be witnesses to a very sad death. Meanwhile, two American officials entered his room...

Several seconds elapsed, and the condemned man was brought out by two officials.

Following behind were two priests, one American and the other Filipino.

The condemned man showed not a trace of weakness, paleness or fear. In fact, he looked as he was before—his face radiant with joy, his manner of walking firm even as he ascended the scaffold. Even as he stood in the middle of the platform, not the slightest weakening was noticed. He stood very erect and straight, adjusting his bodily position to ease the strain of the leather strips that bound his hands and feet.

From the time his face was covered with a black shroud similar to his garments and his neck tied, to the time he was swept off the platform and the renowned Felipe

Salvador bade farewell to this life, some half an hour elapsed.

All the two priests included, were filled with deep sadness as they gazed at the body of the man who for a long time led the Santa Iglesia.

And everyone, even only in his heart, prayed with total sorrow.

There was twenty minutes of silence . . . heads bare . . . bowed before the lifeless body.

We are reminded of Rizal's Christ-like death in Bagumbayan in 1896, when the friars and officials who wanted Rizal dead could not immediately shout "Viva España!" and a solemn silence reigned for some minutes as they gazed at the victim lying face up, a rosary wound about his wrist. A similar condition must have gripped the crowd that saw the way in which the "bandit" Salvador met his death. Did they, perhaps, for a brief moment perceive the connection between Salvador and the pasyon?

When the Tatiba reporter visited the wake in Tondo, he noticed that Salvador's face had changed little in appearance since the previous morning, when he was still alive. In fact, the reporter heard many remark that Salvador "seemed only to be asleep, happy, his complexion not darkening as is usually expected of someone like him who has died of unnatural causes." One would almost expect people to say this of a man like Salvador. In the pasyon, when Mary dies, the comment is made that she is "as if only asleep" and her face seems to radiate light. In fact, she had assured the apostles that she would remain with them:

Aniya aco, i patay man
matao rin acong bulay
suyo, di maliimutan,
luto, tutulungan
sa pangambang ano pa man.
(195:4)

I may be dead, she said
but I will also be alive
I will never forget you
and will always help you
in any kind of danger.

To be sure, then, Salvador's physical features in death were perceived as signs that he was truly alive and would always be with them. During the funeral on 16 April, Tatiba reported, a large crowd turned out to pay their last respects. Among them was an association, the Lingap Kapatid (Brotherly Compassion), whose banner led the cortège to the cemetery of Paang Bundok (Foot of this Mountain.)
In October 1906, an American investigator suggested that "if Salvador himself could be disposed of, it would be the beginning of the end." The active followers—perhaps three or four hundred—would scatter and the members of the Santa Iglesia would be left subject to the influence of the pulpit, school, press, and railroad. It may be true that, after 1912, the Santa Iglesia seems to have "quickly disappeared." However, the ethos which it represented continued to live on, manifesting itself in such uprisings as the Colorum and Sakdal and in the continued popularity of katipunan-type brotherhoods among the common masses. Felipe Salvador did not really die in 1912. Many of his followers, according to Sturtevant, refused to accept his death. In 1966, an old Colorum leader named Pedro Calosa, who as a youth had heard all about Salvador, told Sturtevant during an interview:

Salvador tried to destroy the sources of hate. He tried to show people the beauty of love. More than 5,000 people followed him. It is true, he was captured by the Constabulary and he was hanged. But he did not die. His personality lived on and took different forms. I knew him in Honolulu. In Hawaii he was called Felipe Santiago. When I was in prison he was a crazy man in the next cell. I talked with him and he told me many things. He was Felipe Salvador. You understand."

To paraphrase Calosa, Salvador did not die because his "personality" lived on in others. It makes little difference whether we speak of a De la Cruz or a Sakay,

3. David R. Sturtevant, "Philippine Social Structure and Its Relation to Agrarian Unrest" (Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1958), p. 120.
a Rios or a Caneo, a Bonifacio or a De Guzman, a Labios or a Salvador. All of
these leaders and their movements are, to use Callosi’s phrase, “part of the same
tree.” We can include among them the marines Gomez, Burgos, Zamora and
Rizal—all educated men whose mode of dying was nevertheless perceived as
signs of the pasyon’s reenactment in the Philippine landscape.

The continuity in form between the Cofradia in 1841, the Katipunan revolt
of 1896, the Santa Iglesia and other movements we have examined can be traced
to the persistence of the pasyon in shaping the perceptions of particular-
ly the poor and uneducated segments of the populace. Through the text and
associated rituals, people were made aware of a pattern of universal history.
They also became aware of ideal forms of behavior and social relationships,
and a way to attain these through suffering, death, and rebirth. And so in times
of crisis—economic, political, real or imagined—there was available a set of
ideas and images with which even the rural masses could make sense out of
their condition. Popular movements and revolts were far from being blind
reactions to oppression. They became popular precisely because leaders were
able to tap existing notions of change; the pasyon was freed from its officially
sanctioned moorings in Holy Week and allowed to give form and meaning to
the people’s struggles for liberation.

Felipe Salvador’s mode of death was identical to that of Apolinario de la Cruz
in 1841, and this is not surprising. We began this study with the Cofradia de San
Jose because it is perhaps the earliest, documented example of a movement
which attempted to make the pasyon and everyday world coincides in a
distinctly Filipino manner. The brotherhood’s prayers and hymns and the
leader’s correspondence reveal a world outlook dominated by ideas of
liwanag, transformation, and control of loob, commitment in the face of
suffering, and paradise. Significantly, paradise was not confined to an other-
worldly condition; it included freedom from taxes and forced labor, and the
birth of a native church (Iglesia). Under the leadership of De la Cruz, who was
a figure of Christ, a man of anting-anting, and eventually king of the Tagalog,
the Cofradia expanded swiftly, making confrontation with the Spaniards inevit-
able. Even with the dismantling of the Cofradia, its ethos lived on after 1841
and other charismatic leaders followed De la Cruz’s footsteps.

In 1897, the Colorum Society interpreted the Katipunan revolt as a sign of an
approaching cataclysm. We examined their participation not as a curious
sidelight to the revolution but as a revelation of folk perceptions of events.
In fact, the Katipunan itself attained such a massive following because ideas of
nationalism and independence were expressed in the idiom of the pasyon. The
history of the Filipino people was seen in terms of a lost Eden, the recovery of
which demanded the people’s participation in the pasyon of Mother Country.
Initiation rituals involved a transformation of loob, a rebirth in the brotherhood,
a passage from darkness to light. And paradise became kalayaan—not only
independence from Spain but enlightenment, prosperity, and true brother-
hood. The split within the leadership of the Katipunan manifested, among
other things, a tension between the “sacred” ideals of the Katipunan upheld
by Bonifacio and a limited notion of kalayaan to which Aguinaldo and most
of the principality were attracted.

Ilikadistas and principales ultimately had their way with the founding of the
republic in 1898. If the revolution was experienced by some as a rebirth, a
fulfillment of hopes, this quickly faded away as the leaders’ efforts were
directed toward stabilizing the infant nation-state. Attempts by some groups
to effect social and economic changes in the name of the revolution were
termed subversive and promptly suppressed. The republican phase of the
revolution was perceived to be quite different from the “first war” of 1896,
particularly as American armed might proved to be too formidable. In the face
of increasing disunity, people longed for the spirit of 1896. The breaking off
from Spain was recalled as an apocalyptic event, when the loob of all the sons
of Mother Country became one in the Katipunan and an invincible force arose
which no one could resist. Military defeats and the capitulation of republican
leaders in 1899 were signs of the decline of the Katipunan ethos in the
revolution.

Could the pasyon of Mother Country be halted; could there be a turning back
on the path to kalayaan? This question apparently did not bother the lot of
republican politicians and generals who found a niche for themselves in the
American “New Order.” But there were some like Sakay who insisted that
genuine kalayaan was possible only through the Katipunan mode of struggle.
In the meantime large numbers of peasants flocked to religiopolitical brother-
hoods for whom kalayaan had become a sacred goal; Malvar’s continued
resistance owed much to it. It was the pasyon outlook which enabled these
groups to organize their experience of the New Order and continue the
struggle meaningfully. Ilikadistas who ostensibly fought for independence
through legal means were regarded as inauthentic because of their preoccupation
with personal wealth and status rather than the Christ-like suffering and the
transformation of loob.

Although such movements continue to exist, there is a reason for culminat-
ing this study with the Santa Iglesia. It began very much as a Cofradia in the
1880s, actively participated in both phases of the revolution, and ended up in
1910 at the helm of the popular anticolonial struggle. With Felipe Salvador
talking about Katipunan and independence, as well as awa, demay, prayer,
anting-anting and control of loob, it becomes difficult to adhere to the
distinctions other scholars have made between religious and secular, agrarian
and nationalist, little-tradition and great-tradition movements. The Santa
Iglesia was all of these. Religion to the “Salvadoristas” was not just devotion to
God and concern with the supernatural, but a way of organizing their daily
lives. Appropriated from the friars, religion gave form to peasant hopes for
brotherhood and more equitable economic relationships. And by the first
decade of this century, it had merged with the nationalist and revolutionary
ideologies originating from the urban elite to become the driving force of the
peasant-based anticolonial movement. At that time, given the masses' experience of the "long dark night" of Spanish rule, there was no other way in which the revolt of the masses could have taken shape.

There is a well-known saying that "men make their history upon the basis of prior conditions." But what determines human behavior must include not only real and present factors but also a certain object, a certain future, that is to be actualized. We have seen that even the poor and unlettered masses in the nineteenth century had the ability to go beyond their situation, to determine what its meaning would be instead of merely being determined by it. Not that the aspirations of the masses always were of a revolutionary nature or went beyond limited, private demands. Nonetheless, only those movements were successful that built upon the masses' conceptions of the future as well as social and economic conditions. The subjects of this book have at one time or another been called bandits, ignoramuses, heretics, lunatics, fanatics, and, in particular, failures. Not only has this been a way in which the "better classes" keep these people in oblivion; worse, this signifies a failure or a refusal to view them in the light of their world. Oddly enough, such epithets are found in the pasyon; popular culture itself anticipates such attitudes on the part of the elite. But as we move forward on the path to kalayaan, we can hardly ignore the voices from below.

Appendix 1

Dalit sa Galiwalhatian sa Langit na Carara'tan ng mga Banal

1. Araw nakaapita
   lahat ng langit
   at ang mabigyang puso
   matutulungan sa isto nga
   mata ng ngono nga

2. Cebu an tunas, an tunas
   mamud, sa ngalang
   at ang Dios ang magpatag" alang ng rasam
   sa naglibing ng Balad.

3. Saka sa bulawan
   ang bata, sa ngalang
   at ang Dios ang magpatag" alang ng rasam
   sa naglibing ng Balad.

4. Dili dili magsip
   ang galing namasa
   ang mabigyang puso
   sa isto nga galing nga.

5. Dili dili ang bata
   para nga Dios naka-
   sa ngalang mabigyang
   sa isto nga galing nga.

6. Con baya sa kalulu
   ngalang isto nga
   sa ngalang mabigyang
   sa isto nga galing nga.

7. Mgaan naka-
   sa ngalang isto nga
   sa ngalang mabigyang
   sa isto nga galing nga.

8. Ang liwulan
   sa ngalang isto nga
   sa ngalang mabigyang
   sa isto nga galing nga.

9. Ang capusman
   sa ngalang isto nga
   sa ngalang mabigyang
   sa isto nga galing nga.

10. Limu sa isto nga
    sa ngalang isto nga
    sa ngalang mabigyang
    sa isto nga galing nga.
Appendix 2

Ang Pagbibigmagisik Laban sa Espanya
The Ronquillo Transcription

1. Oktubrasyong pinaguwartahan ng mag-unang dula sa España laban sa Espanya.
2. Disulat na nag-aalok sa mga mga kababaihan sa España.
4. Pag-unlad na ang mga kababaihan sa España.
5. Panalunan na ang mga kababaihan sa España.
7. Panun-fit na ang mga kababaihan sa España.
21. Gapusing mahigpit ang mga tagalog lumigis sa sliced, kulata at dagok, tagaing magalas na kamit ay hayop ito hupa ist ang iyong pag-irog?

22. Masdan mo ini nga masalubungan mahalay na pakpak nga Katagalugan ay lumang tag-iisip sa silya lumahan si inang Espanyol waslang pagmalamalal.


25. Sampung taga Bara, at tuga Alfonso pawang naglayan sa mabuhay gulo, Tana at Salinas, mara late ring tao ang nagpasabat sa labay dumalo.

26. Si Imus na bayan deon naglapisan ang mga bayani, malakas, matapang pinagkapanguloan sinusunod bilang bining baying Ayunandoshon sa tapang ay sakedl.

27. Na sa gulong ito ay siyang pagliaaw na bining Jimenez taga Bugahubayara(?) saka si Licario na taong Montalban, ito’y pinuno rin na maruming kawal.

28. Lunitah ang Luis, saka Eusebio, Antonio nga banwa bining Montenegro, at ang tulong inong naglalang sinabi ko ay iparang may kawal na parepareho.

29. Lunitah ang Julungan sa tapang ay banta tao Marikina?(?) na nagandang loob at ayang sarbento(?) na tuga Sampalok, silya may kawal din nga bukod bukod.

30. Na sa gulong iti’yi siya ring pagliaaw nga tuga Malabuy na si Pio del Pilar, iti’yi pinuno rin na maruming kawal na natalega sa pagpapatay.

31. Sila buwagin laban ngalang sinabi ko may kanikanila na mga sundalo, at siyang lumahan sining magalagulo buhat namang magpuano si General Blanco.

32. Sa pagpapahinga na sa taong madla matanay sa taong iibay ibong lupang matala na noon hind na tumala ang pagpapatay tagalog kasila.

33. At ang gulong ito na lambakabilad matalay na nagpapagtawad dii kayang magpatay sa kawal ang General Blanco’s ipinalatlas.

34. Sa dikilang Reyna nga naglayang gulo na sa paglayangan sa mga parastata sa which ang General Blanco’s ipinalatlas.

35. Sa dikilang Reyna nga naglayang gulo na sa paglayangan sa mga parastata sa which ang General Blanco’s ipinalatlas.

36. At ang labanang ito ay katabataka sa tanang labanan sa mga provincia pinuno, sundalo at saka ang kura ay di pinapatay, hinabilig nila.

37. Sa naglayangan nga ang bining general malahit ang lumahay na dii ano lamang at kung kaya lamang nasaaw-awasan dala sa ilongan dito yng nagsidato.

38. At ang mukalchung taong salanggapan nangalagong matibay sa bining General sila ang wawal sa kawang mabang bago sa Emilio’s pampuposing buhat.

39. Ang laban ng kanyen ay walang magalago dahil sa trincherang matibay na kata, di namman mangyaring lumahay sa kawal na pag-asa sila’y magsapala.

40. 6. Sabag sa gayon ang beningy General kaya nagpatay isang hibla but na timaksa sa paglayan dito kay Emilio na kalambuhalan.

41. Hindi rin nangyari ang tangka sa loob niyang mangalagup sa may asal hayop, ang pinagulasay niligis nga Dios at itong nagpasa’y buhay sa natapos.

42. Kaya ang wika ko sa sino mat allin huwag mangalakon sa tapang ta ngang kaya’s maikl, tisnitas ma’t supey ay maa parang nakausakul din.

43. Balita man lamang magsagatatakas may kanyen’s murer sa kasiling alimas taglay sa tugad na ibinahagi ang sibat na kuwan a pai ngal na itak.

44. Hanggang dito na pa’t akin nag i-pilipan yaring sinabi long pinag-augay-ugay ngung saka’t kapos sa letra ay kulong husto ninyong laot siyang karagulan.

Appendix 3

Kantabing Pulitbo: The Estrella Transcription

1. Ang paglaban sa Espanyol nga bining Jimenez taga Bagumbayan saka si Licario na taong Montalban, ito’y pinuno rin ng maruming kawal.

2. Lowinang ang Luis, saka Eusebio, Antonio nga banwa bining Montenegro, at ang tulong inong ngalang sinabi ko ay iparang may kawal na parepareho.

3. Lowinang ang Julungan sa tapang ay banta tao Marikina(?) na nagandang loob at ayang sarbento(?) na tuga Sampalok, silya’y may kawal din nga bukod bukod.

4. Siyang lumahan ngalang sinabi ko may kanikanila na mga sundalo, at siyang lamahan sining magalagulo buhat namang magpuano si General Blanco.

5. Sila bagang labat ngalang sinabi ko may kanikanila na mga sundalo, at siyang lumahan sining magalagulo buhat namang magpuano si General Blanco.


7. At ang gulong ito na labuhan dii kayang magpatay sa which ang General Blanco’s ipinalatlas.

8. Sa dikilang Reyna nga naglayang gulo na sa paglayangan sa mga parastata sa which ang General Blanco’s ipinalatlas.
Isinahol na nga ng bunting General sa mga hukumot's mga bayan-bayan, nang sa katunayan ito ay mahalang hindii na humantong ng palosoob manan.

10 Halos away-gabi walang bigong kilos mga czadezers, parang simulaan hino na ang mga sa sapote'y isand ay hindi mabilang kasalang insinos.

11 Nang mahatid na General Blanco Labhang mahirap nang mahusay ang gulo agad nagpadala ng malaking hubo para patawan ka-ay at mo'ng tinungo.

12 Bukod pa sa rito ay may mga barker, May "Caballeria" pang abay sa escadron, Ang utos ni Blanco sa labah ng kampon Ang ilom na bay'on lauwigan sa kanyon.

13 Nang itang buwan nang hindii rin magigil ang putok ng kanyon at mga maser, ang bula na ilom doon kung dumoting ay nanging baboon lamang sa buhang.

14 Ano pa't ang guerres ay pinagtaalahan Ng mga ilom, kapat na alaman, Sa kanyo't masuer ang isalatuban Ay ang sa tagalog na inak na pangatuban.

15 Lahat ng pinuno niyong "czadezers" Sa labhag ito'y nagpirangtingting Dituluan sa kapat na alam na gamit Ang kayang gubat ay hindii magbahay.

16 So di pagtugil niyong paghaharap Ng mga kustila sa panoomo di na naman manging ang nauugnay Ang gaya na ilom sila'y tiyakat.

17 Ang labah ng kanyon ay walang magawang Dahil sa trencherang maysab sa kuta Di naman manging ang bumbaba sa lupa Pagka't pag umahan sila'y mampu'tita.

18 Lahat ng pinuno ay nagpanganggigih Dahi sa kalabon nilang mabilang di naman maging ang maging mabilang Pagka't si Emilio'y may magandang isip.

19 Ang labangan ito ay kasaktak Sa tanan labanan sa mga provincia Pinuno, sumulat sa alta ng mga kuta Ay hindi pinapatan, binibihag nila.

20 Sa mag kagayon niyo'y ang bunting General Mabali ang salubro na di ino lamang At kung kay launang naawasan-awasan Dahil sa ilong gatong dito'y nagadil.

21 At ang makabeeng triong salanggapan Nangakong matibay sa bunting General Sila ang wawalat sa kuting matibay Bago'y si Emilio'y gulogan sa buhay.

22 Narilag sa gayon ang bunting General Kaya nagpagawa siyang holang bakal, Na itinakda na paglulunas Dito kay Emilio na kahambalbambal.

23 Hindi rin nangyari ang taala sa loob Niyo ng manggaling na may asal hagap Ang pinagmamaraan nila't ang Dios At ilong gatong naylakan ay nataus.

24 Kaya ang wika ko sa sino ma't alin Huwag magmalalat sa tapang na angkin Mahaha't maiksi, tiinelas, ma't tapin Ay may mga tiyak na kakausa at.    

25 Bulita man lamang mapagtatalastas May kanyo't masuer sa kasing na almas taglay ng tagalog na tinatagak Ang sibat sa kawayan at pangal na itak.

26 Hanggang dito na po skin nang tigilan Yani'ng simula'ng isang pinasugogmagsay Kang sakali't kapos sa lera ay kalag Hustot niyong barit siyong karalingan.

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Casunod nang bultay na Pinagdaananan ng Ating mga Tapatan

1 Sa dahas ng unos na sa magnagamit sa mga buntagbag sa mga kahangin, siyag na digiti sa puyat at palar gayong niha sa pagsapayatan.

2 Bultay sa ezerong mga mahabat at sa mga tuwing bingiuguan pasuqit, boong Filipinos di na nasa'ayin maga'ayunhan ngayon palaging digiujit.

3 Di lihim at bayag ang guling nangyari dito sa provincia nagbakas sa frilo at sa'a sa curung ni G.A ni maigil na alimunon ng gobernong pipe.

4 Na ang frailein ito nagcur sa Tundo pagguijuing cura ni'l, natanyag sa tawo na sa kabahian maraming totoo ang ipina-barili, ipina-destierno.

5 Sa napangyariyay bultay na nauulit niyong mayong tuwing bingiuguan diya, ang gobernong naman sa maling na bingiuguan ng dinal lang curung daquila.

6 Tusong caballeria, ipinagcabanong ng gobernong dito sa curung na hango sa sa pararan niya, maya'yan do'yan ayos hanggan sa Espa'ta ngalan niya', nasabat.

7 Nang ponhong yon ang lahat nang curang panong nipa'yanan sa tanang provincia, mayuman ni mang'yan bingiuguan na a'yan magpasa at dito ang hangga.

8 Caya d'ata, walang dapat paglulunas nitong salang sa na buntagbagang Castillo', bilibid nagigagum na matapal na tuwing hindi na malalang.

9 Na cawa launang parang humulag sa siklup ang media na nasasa't-hap, cun binasabir na o cawa 'yan ngayon sa manga desisterno ang habagtabunct.

10 Ipagpalagay cong may dalawang libo ang nasasa-carcel at na sa castillo, cun baril ng baril saan patungo mababasaan din ang bilang ng tuvo.

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Appendix 4

11 Bagama't, sa carcel naman, si natunas pa'aya sa napatay na, maigilpad buan babugso na naman mhyal sa tuwing taga ibang bayan.

12 Ano pa't, ang bany ber carcel nang Bilibid na gisong mista sa nasacarpars, maigilpad abo gabi ang basang umigii hindi nagaculang ang nasabing tribut.

13 Nagsanap na ang lahat ng bultay ibiguan sa aming tagalog lunurit, barilin, saan man ituring nilat, itumulan tumعلم al hindii tawo, papaturin.

14 Ang biliit napaes duma sa dlah na magnatapat nang tanan pinungong na sa bayan-bayan, doon sa paharip ay lalong nagtasag ang ini't lang loob niyong CATIPULAN.

15 Na sa Balintawak mahiligay bario doli, nagatipod ang maraming tuvo, ang punong sinonuno pinacapag-unlo ay ang matulomos Andres Bonifacio.

16 Valentir de la Cruz siyag na'tala sa Santo Tomas maraming casuna, at tawo ang turay at ulla nang ibu gumulo nang una na sa Santo Men.

17 Cay D. Razon Blanco sa mahalat na kiwii na paghuhulog na mga Caticunan, manga guasia civil Daghang inusus na pinaparoon labas na pahang.

18 Ula ring nangyari tanang inacalita nitong mga punong mabutay castilla, hanggah inalabas lalong lamalala yang Caticunan na lamalala.

19 Hocomang Cavite naman, nagpugil Naueleta, Comit, Binacayan, Limas, Pasay at Palangay, Las Piñas unayos Zapote si Siatang at tawo Bacooc.

20 Bayang Dasmariñas sampung tawo Indang sa Malabon Grande nga lalak nemen, Naic, Marigondon, ay dili mahtang ang sumamang tuvo sa pagpapatayan.
32. Magugub hara gabii, ulang bigong quitos, mango zañandares parang sinases, lalo na, ang tuwang mango nga imus casibang pintay ay catacash-taco.

33. Sa mahalanan nga general Blanco na di nagcasasangay ung nagyarin gulo, agoz pinacac an nagbabing bocho na paung casila, imus ang tinungo.

34. Bucod pa sa noon ay may mang a vapor may estallerong achay sa escudron, ang ura ni Blanco sa lahat nang campan ang imus na laya, nasiguan sa cañon.

35. Nang may ilang kun na di nagtitigil sito nga cañon at ipon ngan masust, ang bala sa imus dulo, cun dumating ang nagbabahin samang sa buhangin.

36. Anot, iotong guerra ay pinagtachan nga ingles at frances, Japan at aleman, sa cañon at masuer ang inilalan nga aton Casapunon ay itac na pang.

37. Lahat nang pinuno nga cañadores ay italaw nga taos, magisispagtingting, dahilan sa capul armo nang gamit ang itacahong ay hindu negus.

38. Sa di nagtitigil ninyong pohabahan nga kasirangan ang matanong castila sa manga tagalog, di umaoy sa aton camatang sumampanya nga nagtungo sa imus, nasacapo.

39. Ang lahat nang cañon udlang nagpapau ki dii sa trinerong mañara ni cañon, di umaoy sa matanong sumampanya nga nagtungo sa imus, nasacapo.

40. Sa udlang magsan nga cañadores nga sa manga casibang paung mahilango, di umaoy sa matanong sumampanya nga nagtungo sa imus, nasacapo.

41. Ang ibahang ito ay catacatak niyong Critical na sa tanang provinsya, pinuno, sundalo at ang manga cuna hindu ipinapay kasibahang nina.

42. Dito sa nagyarin manga pagca-amis nga rani nga, castila, bala, sumapi sa general Blanco, naletapi ang hapas sa lahat nang yao, halos mgausapit.

43. Na cun caya lawang na autos-anan dahil sa ito dito, nagisidal, sa atong mañara nga tuwing sibukang nagpala nga matibay sa buying general.

44. Sana nga laladac na doon, lahalay sa imus na bayan bahing soslay, ipa-maasin nga cutan nga matibay sa imus ni Emilio, gappasap kay buyas.

45. Nunlig sa guyon ang buying general sa gusgus, sa napagpasa isip nga cutan nga matibay sa imus ni Emilio, gappasap kay buyas.

46. Hinid rin nagapnon banta sa loob niyong mulibo ni may asal bipay, ang pinagnastray, niligas nga Dios at itong naganunin buyas an matap.

47. Caya ang sinonima, dii ak patubangin na sa catapangin ait ipang sa inip, mahata, maleni, chapin malams, ahinans ay may mana nung magsingi na caya.

48. Ang sinhalan cai, dii ak makapagingsip nga nga buying mahusay, ang daming cina cewok laglag nga tagtaw pagastra-anan nga mahusay nga gusgus.

49. Balita man lamang napagpanalaksan nga may masuer ait na cuyon sa cagisilang armas tagay nga napasok sa ibahay, cuya sa nakatang sa pangal nga itac.

50. Sa lalas nga banig na di na neguisita con makapatawan ay nagtugbhang, sa ato di gali tagay nga cula ait ay neguisita mgauscabila.

51. Di na magipit buon dito, dumating dumating aton cañadores sa Espata, galing unang nagayagya ait ayapapasi ait cagisilang sa pangal nga itac.

52. Caya ngata, sa guyon ait daguiling rani sa lahap nga lawang ait boon nanira, siya nga pagdлага nga itong Polavieja na pinaeciuchong nga heong Espata.

53. Paglaglag sa ito balita, cuya sumabat sa nasasagipan itong Filipino, na dii umano cayon, may curat sa guyun, bilaha, magsa marahal

54. Ito pala naman ait insubhang niyong si Emiliong hayag din sa tapang, rang maapagdita ang ayo nga laban incayt sa cayon pagduman.

55. Cun ihitbaha sahalo nga lahit sa cayon, sa cayon nga buying nalaya sa aton, mugpasap kay buyas sa kaipaan nga baha.

56. Sa bayan Palanyu ait dono nga sabuk ait Polivieja naapung ait sa buon, cun ito, buyani naapung ait sa lahit nga buyas nga cayon nga laboh.

57. Sa panuncia nga ay napalatnam nga puno nga turo nga coinor nga cahal, tuday nga Zapatita dono nga huni nga ingrai nga buyas sa turo nga buyas.

58. Ima sa buying mang ait nga itong Polavieja caya na cahal, sa aton nga cuyon nga neguisita nga ay general Blanco sumandol sa hula.

59. Dito ang pagtulog Primo de Biru nga cuyo nga itong matibay sa sa buying rani, ang nagyarin gulo sa si Filipino sa pagcagayon ang habusyang siya.

60. Di na mamiyot nga buying nungapun nga buying mahusay, magsa na cuyon sa pula, sa tanang cañador sa buying nagulat nga madsa mabubuting landas.

61. Ang biniuso nga siya, hindu rin naapun sa pinaeciuchong sa tanang capitad, at sa ngayang maiyago nga buying ihiga pagtaw, sa Emilio, may magdanda ait.

62. Umalis sa lamos nga taxon Catipunan ngaadong sa madsa magsa buying hayang-hayang, pinarusan nga ahul nga banauc, sa Locs-bato dono nga, naugumuhin.

63. Doon sa mayap ait mayap nga cañadores madsa nga buying ait nga taas, at naapuni nga ay marating uha owa namang nga buyang mayang bata.
63 Dito sa nangyaring manga cabagan
nang sila, naroon sa masabing bayan,
magpipahanggit dito balita,
damatang tangay ciradores nagpasaipdupluang.

64 Ang Viva Espana, magab-a-cabila
sulong tigil namam tugtok ng tayo,
cumandihing natala sa digma
Panangalang yuhi, calabas sa luha.

65 Pagcaitul nila na sa banyan-bayan
din rin napasya sa calyayaahan,
dahil sa maling detail, pataran
nigong nalalahan maniting Ciripunan.

66 Siyang pagcatingtagay nang general Luis
nang pararan nila hayang Novicrices,
talong puhat, pike caual na caulisip
na ang nakabali, daming ciradores.

67 Talong puhat, ualo nila maigcasa
aanin ang basdi nilang chita-dita,
panuanvarg sa vec ang tagay nang iba
na iniibali, may reventador pa.

68 Manga tonod doon sayangtuah malihgaguit
na tama pag-ingat hayang Novichices,
na puto at umong nang reventadores
nagpasapayatban tanang ciradores.

69 Yaong Montecenengo Antonio ngasi
napalahan nan na lupang Barranca,
inpinural na tangang kabata
ang banyaning ito ay napatay nila.

70 Jimenez, Liciero at Pio del Pillar
tito, parapan na manga general,
din munting hingap ang pinagdaman
sa manga caulis na pagpasayat.

71 Ang general Pana naman ay natagnyag
sa lupang Clauscan siya ang naga-ta,
na ang tanang caual na umalad
manga parapan nang genihlata.

72 Listin co yuon sali, ipinta
cay gingoong Emilio ay tanang casama,
as Bicu-huto nigon pagcating malaqui
ang lamby Primo de Rivera.

73 Ang caudalhiana, di na maingaal
tanang Ciripunan nagay ayon yon,
bagu mo, maranje uming na pabong
di na masialo nila, macuculon.

74 Sa uhang mugua natisp-isipan
Primo de Rivera nag-iba nang labang,
pinungo, sundalo tungkol Ciripunan
binubisng paves pamucos nang bayan.

75 Hindi rin manguyay tagay intaca
na manga pahacad nila, gunag daya,
yang ang nigaip sa tinamugaling nga
tagay pinunoo, cunin sa salita.

76 At pinapases na Bicu-na-bato
ang pamagquin niya saca si Paterno,
aang catururi, parang suyo iho
namaqi mug-usap cay guinong Emilio.

77 Na ani m na buan ang hinigaling tanang
na may mang saingat natala sa tepo,
as pinug-usapang tucang magagaling
si guinong Emilio naman ay umanim.

78 Cuya palaya ang dayang hinagdang
ang makaplagman siya nang balangkang,
tinherangan mahihayuban nga labang
inyong ciradores nga di maphasaco.

79 Naga-alisa dito ang pinungo nga
at ang nanga-una paglala sa dusa,
tuna nga caulis, lubos na umasa
na ang Ciripunan, malicem na nila.

80 Hindi rin nangyari sa labi, madag
sig tagay taglalag malihgag si gand,
Primo de Rivera, nagbago nga isip
si ipinasamsang ang labang nga nasa.

81 Sa palad cauli ay labong nagkocp
yang cagaibanan nga tagay taglalag,
madalang bayan-bayan pilt na pinasog
na ciradores cantang nilusob.

82 Sa di mazala una ang caudal-arang
na pagpaspatayan at di nagi-tilgu,
Primo de Rivera, umalis na tumbling
na ang nahalalib, general Augustin.

83 Anoman ang guin nga bagong general
di na mapasya tagay kanglaguhan,
at di naggitlug ang pagpaspatayan
dito, sa iba pa na manga hucunan.

84 Silaoh nga iniit malihgag sa quidlat
yang carohass nga maustu-awit,
at sa guingol lilo, siyang pagcatingtagay
nang americrnon dumagco sa dagat.

85 Dito sa nangyari sa cilones-lunos
generl Augustin ay nagpahinimatuc,
ang caudalhiana, bagay sa tagalo,
as anyaya niya, usa pahinihoid.

86 Sa uhang mugua nga isip-isip nga
nagong Augustin nga generl
iniutos nga intay dito, nagkaclar nga
tanang ciradores na sa bayan-bayan.

87 Sa boong Manusila, isinabog niya
at may manga puno nga nataala,
Finca, Concepcion, Malate, Ermita
Singalong at Paco hangang Santa Ana.

88 Nacalatang lahat nga ciradores
bayan, manga nanya nga diito, cantag
S. Juan, Santa Mesa, at labas nga bukid
linisin rang tonod ang linhidlikhid.

89 Lahat nga dama, manga suloc-suloc
ay nga ciradores, natalaon nga
ang chalang Malalim hangang Psug-Bundoc
nataayo roon ay cataray-taco.

90 At ang cemeterieng bayag na libingin
nang taga Binucleo ay marma nga malina
heong Gagalangin ngala paglakita nga
intay ciradores nga punong matagap.

91 At sa Caloocang nasabing convento
marmay nga tanong hangang campinaro,
doon sa Mayapao at sa bayag Tenudo
di mo maibliang pinuno, sundalo.

92 Baybay nga Maynila magpahanggit loob
pang ciradores nga nagpiulay tonod,
na iniibalnana ang tanang taglalag
na di maanyaring lumaban paminucos.

93 Sa palad cauli, gumaalo nga lahat,
Malabo, Ondando bayang ahiul.
Pulo, Mecauayan, Mariano at Angat,
as pagpaspatayan taya, maugayaw.

94 Bucaraet, Bigna, Guiguinto, Pulilan,
Paombong, Hagonoy at iba pang bayan,
Factoral, Samol at Caluaguan,
Cebu, Pescador, Bungabong at Gapan.

95 Ang namuno dito sa bayag lahat nga
capitana Mariana bantog sa Llanera,
malihgag sangidbo ang tungo eximana
sa cacailian maipigay baca.

96 Calumpit, Aparlit at ang Santo Tomas,
sampon S. Fernando naman ay nalaoncag,
Mexico, Santa Ana saca ang Arawat,
San Luis, S. Simon at Candaba hangay.

97 Santa Rita, Coloy nangahaa nga saa
saca ang Bacolod balitang hucunan,
Beili at ang Ua, saa saca ang Snesmon
at ang taga Lbush umaoyon sa labin.

98 Bulakan at Quiiguia nanu, nangakilekile
Baliag at Busto, nga-ayoos-ayoos,
tiito, paraparang sa guernia,
limahoc at ang mangaio taon na taga Mabulos.

99 Na sa gulag lilo, nagcaaliquip-siquip
S. Miguel, S. Rafael, Gory at S. Josef,
siyang paguso sa labi, guinipit
laosnon ciradores sa aang ciradores.

100 Taqhi ang Buloog doro, mo sumbol
Mariano Yoyongcong hugit sa panahan,
marmay ang amsu maser ang nulcore
na sa ciradores sa labi, guinohol.

101 Cun caya racula hocomang Bulacan
dahil cay Gerorgiong bayag na del Pigar
at saca cay Frigong balita sa tagong
silang nga ramungo cumbucobo sa bayan.

102 At sa gulag iho nga pascaatsa
sa Puloi, nagbaryo nang amsa nga tingkera,
Tambobong, Caloocan nga mausha nga
siya pagpugques nga Santa Maria.

103 Taga Lalaguna nanui, narisunond
Luciano Tuleon ang punong nag-utos,
at sa ciripunan sa estocon-
siyang lumatarap magpahanggit bundoc.

104 Manga ciradores nga dumating doon
sa bayang Santa Cruz masaya-ayon,
punong simishion nang soldadon campion
coronel Alburing loob na himiun.

105 Nang naronon na silang caluhaton
ula nga tigaing nagasayayahan,
dapud, hindi rin namay nagtuming
hahinil sa capal niogon Ciripunan.

106 Tanag bayan-bayan ay nanggasiquillos
Pagsanghan at Lumbag, S. Antonio
lanuay.
Paite at Paquip nga-ayoos
Sinilano, Pengil at ang bayang Lungos.
Glossary

Anting-anting Amulet or potion that gives special powers, such as protection from injury and ability to pass through walls
Awa Mercy, pity
Awit Native song or metrical romance
Cabezillas Spanish term for local leader or headman
Cazadores Spanish troops (lit. "hunters")
Colorum Derived from the Latin per annia sexagesima; popular term for "fanatical" members of cofradías, especially in southern Luzon
Dama Empathy, participation in another's experience
Daya Decree, trickery
Dumong Knowledge, sometimes with reference to secret lore
Ginhawa Prosperity; ease of life; relief from pain
Gobernadorcillo Filipino petty governor of a municipality
Guila Chaos; turmoil
Guinda civil Civil guard organized in the Philippines in 1868
Hipta Sensitivity to reciprocal obligations (lit. "shame")
Ilustrado The "enlightened"; the educated segment of the native population
Indio Spanish term for native Filipino, with a derogatory connotation in nineteenth-century usage
Irang Bayan Mother Country; personification of the Philippine motherland
Kapinahawan See ginhawa
Kalahayan Liberty; freedom (see layaw)
Kapatid Sibling, member of a brotherhood
Kawaganan See sagasan
Kawit War (Lit. "a journey on foot")
Kutipunan Revolutionary secret society founded by Bonifacio in 1892
Komedya Popular Tagalog drama, also called moro-moro because of the preponderance of the Muslim-vs.-Christian theme
Lakaran Traditionally referred to a pilgrimage with biblical connotations; (lit. "a journey on foot")
Layaw Pampering treatment by parents; satisfaction of wants; freedom from parental control
Linggip Compassionate care
Liwang Light, illumination
Lobis The "inside" of something; the inner being
Magdalo The Tagalog equivalent of dama; a gentleman of rank in the nineteenth century
Ningning Glitter; the appearance of light; empty exteriority
Panahon Time; season; era
Pinunong bayan The ruling elite in the towns
Principalita Class composed of pinuno ng bayan, leading citizens, and in general, people of means
Puhuray “Poor and ignorant”; phrase commonly used by Spaniards and upper-class Filipinos to refer to the native masses
Puhunan Investment (in social terms, related to utang na loob)
Sagana Abundance (of food, crops, etc.)
Sisitui Passion play in Tagalog
Talatangga Metaphor; mystery to be reflected upon
Tanda Sign; omen
Utang na loob Debt of gratitude (lit. "inner debt")
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Beyer Collection of Tagalog Etnography. The core of this collection are the bound and unbound volumes of ethnographic materials, mostly research papers by Professor H. Osey Beyer's students at the University of the Philippines. The below papers in the Tagalog ethnography series were particularly useful for the present study:


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H.H. Bandholz Papers. Harry Hill Bandholz served as governor of Tayabas province in 1902 and 1903. He then became assistant chief of the Philippine Constabulary. From 1907 to 1913, he was brigadier general and chief of the constabulary. Owing to his key position, his letters contain information and assessments not found elsewhere. Included in Bandholz's papers are two bound volumes of carbon copies of Philippine Constabulary Reports spanning the period from 1909 to 1913.

LeRoy Papers. James Alfred LeRoy accompanied Tut in 1901 as assistant secretary of the Philippine Commission. In 1905, he was back in the Philippines as private secretary to Secretary of War Talt. The accounts of both trips, plus related news clippings and articles, were consulted for this study.

Philippine National Archives, Manila.

Apolinario de la Cruz Papers. Lodged in the director's office is a bundle of uncatalogued documents relating to the Cofradia of 1840-41 and Laban's revival of the Cofradia in 1870. Among the documents are captured correspondence between Apolinario and the Cofradia, miscellaneous letters by the parish priests of Lucban, Majayjay, and Tayabas, Governor-General Orow's report to the home government, and interrogation records of captured cofrades in 1870. Of interest also are an oath of submission to the Cofradia's Patron, St. Joseph, and a forty-three stanza hymn titled "Dalit sa Calasandalan sa Langit na Carratraman ng mga Banal" (19 Feb., 1840).

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Historical Data Papers, 1952-53. This compilation by schoolteachers of the "History and cultural life" of all the towns of the Philippines was useful to the extent that it contained old songs and stories about Anting-Anting and other unusual occurrences associated with the revolution period.

Philippine Insurgent Records (Revolutionary Records). These captured papers of the revolutionary government were transferred from the U.S. to the Philippine National Library in 1958 and are presently being rearranged. While working in this collection, I found the following boxes of documents particularly interesting and useful: Box I-19 (Public Instruction), I-25 (Religion), VII (Newspapers), IX (Katipunan), P-9 (Poems and Hymnas).

Before the documents were transferred to the Philippines, a complete microfilm copy was made and lodged in the U.S. National Archives as Microcopy no. 254. Microfilm copies of this 643 reel set have been obtained by the National Libraries of Australia and the Philippines, among others. I was able to examine completely only the 80 or so reels comprising the "Selected Documents" (SD). Reel 4 lists the contents of 1306 folders in the "Selected Documents" but this guide is unreliable.

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No image provided to convert into plain text.
PASYON AND REVOLUTION, unlike earlier Philippine historical writings that use largely the Filipino educated elite's categories of meaning, seeks to interpret Philippine popular movements in terms of the perceptions of the masses themselves. Ito submits to varied kinds of analyses standard documents as well as such previously ignored sources as folk songs, poems, and religious traditions, in order to articulate hidden or suppressed features of the thinking of the masses. Paramount among the conclusions of the book is that the pasyon, or native account of Christ's life, death, and resurrection, provided the cultural framework of movements for change. The book places the Philippine revolution in the context of native traditions, and explains the persistence of radical peasant brotherhoods in this century. Seen as continuous attempts by the masses to transform the world in their terms are the various movements that the book analyzes—Apolinar de la Cruz's Cofradia de San Jose, Andres Bonifacio's Katipunan, Macario Sakay's Katipunan, Felipe Salvador's Santa Iglesia, the Colorem Society, and other popular movements during the Spanish, revolutionary, and American colonial periods.