

ous and subtle to describe.

Dr. Christian K. Schales deserves special appreciation for his continuing support of *SILLIMAN JOURNAL* through the generous loan of his equipment to make the manuscripts camera-ready for the press and for his gentle and not-so gentle proddings when other duties interfered with my work on the journal.

Mrs. Naty T. Sojor, the journal's Circulation Manager, coordinated the seemingly endless production process and the onerous task of managing our meager budget with speed, patience, and attention to detail.

The fine illustration that decks the cover and provides the visual expression for the lead article in this issue is the artistic impulse of Prof. Enrique G. Oracion who, besides being a competent researcher, is also a fine artist.

I am also grateful to my colleagues in the Editorial Board who shared my vision of an internationally-acknowledged journal and enthusiastically supported my creative agitations to introduce changes to both the form and content of the journal.

The rest that I cannot mention here know as well how much they have contributed and how much I appreciate their insights.

It is a humbling experience to edit a journal, to put in several months of diligent, often painful, labor, and then to look back over the completed work and realize how little of it, finally is one's own, how little one can claim credit for. It seem to me a journal editor is like a merchandiser, whose only credit lies in delivering the wares of others, complete, intact, and decently packaged. I hope I have done so here.

Ceres E. Pioquinto, Ph.D.

REVISITING THE TRAIL OF THE DIOS BUHAWI MOVEMENT: ITS IMPACT ON THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE IN SOUTHERN NEGROS ORIENTAL (1888-1898)

Earl Jude Paul L. Cleope

ABSTRACT

This paper deviates from the traditional and common practice of Cognitive History towards the call of modern historians to view history from the perspective of New Historicism. From this vantage point, this paper briefly presents the rebellion in southern Negros Oriental spearheaded by Dios Buhawi. Specifically, this paper will examine the popularly-held notions that the so-called insignificant rebellions were led by remontados, bandidos, and tulisanes and thus were plain banditry. Hence their activities were considered unimportant to the revolutionary struggle.

This paper maintains that the movement spearheaded by Buhawi a decade prior to the liberation of Negros initiated, influenced, and contributed significantly to the dynamic processes that culminated in the liberation of the island from Spain. Its greatest impact was manifested in the subsequent revolutionary activities of Leon Kilat in Cebu, Felipe Tayko in southern Negros Oriental, and Papa Isio in Negros Occidental, not to mention the numerous other personages who continued his cause but did not live to see the liberation.

A recent school of scholarship, called New Historicism, insists that there is no "history" in the sense of a narrative of indisputable past events. In this view, each age projects its own preconceptions on the past and historians do not reveal the past but only their own historical situation and their personal preferences. Given these new possibilities for interpretation provided by New Historicism, revisiting the Revolution and examining the multiple discourses and texts surrounding it, including class distinctions and their regional, provincial and local variations, provide not just a challenging project but an oppor-

tunity to view history from a different light.

Using New Historicism as an analytical framework, this study will attempt to reinterpret what has been traditionally offered as historical facts about the Revolution in Negros. Specifically, it will examine the little known facts about the so-called "insignificant rebellions" prior to the revolution in 1896 that culminated in 1898. The choice of this subject for a historical scrutiny is justified by the fact that these "insignificant rebellions" have found so little space in the pages of historical accounts about the Revolution in the province.

Many local uprisings against the Spaniards especially in the last decade of the 19th century have been considered irrelevant to the Philippine Revolution. Spanish accounts pictured these uprisings as pure and simple banditry and their leaders as bandits or thieves. Moreover, most official accounts of this period, including the Philippine-American War, tend to focus only on the role of the

elite who are generally portrayed as heroes by conventional interpretation of the whole context of the revolution. However, continuing serious studies about the revolution in various localities and the reexamination of the role played by these revolutionary leaders have begun to cast doubt on their heroism. As new evidence are found and newer perspectives are used to examine them, the traditional picture of the Revolution changes as these elite leaders begin to look like traitors of the Philippine Revolution.¹

This paper will reexamine the Dios Buhawi rebellion and its impact on the Revolution in Southern Negros. In particular, this paper will focus on the influence of Dios Buhawi on the succeeding struggles led by Leon Kilat in Cebu, Papa Isio in Negros Occidental, and on the march to Dumaguete organized by Felipe Tayko to join Gen. Diego de la Viña in the liberation of Negros Oriental. This paper maintains that the reconstruction of these early

revolts and religio-political protests in the various localities is vital in understanding the revolutionary struggle.

The Roots of Rebellion: Economic Progress vs. Dislocation

The establishment and growth of the Iloilo port in 1850 hastened trade and commerce in the Visayas and led to the development of the Islands of Panay and Negros. However, this economic prosperity led to the drastic dislocation of small farmers who, having no titles of ownership to their lands, were easily dispossessed by the expanding agricultural enterprise. The influx of thousands of migrant workers attracted by the prosperity of Negros added to the growing social unrest which inevitably erupted in the 1870s into an uprising against the authority and the populace. Considered lawless elements, these groups were called by various names, such as, among others, *tulisanes*, *kawatan*,

bandido, *monteses*, *ladrones*, *remontados*, *civil-civil*, and *babailanes*. Because of the growing agitation and lawlessness, the Guardia Civil was established in Negros in 1879² and the abovementioned elements were driven to the mountains.

The American anthropologist, Donn Hart, classified them into three groups. In the first group were the *tulisanes*, *kawatan*, *ladrones*, and *bandidos*. Literally, this group included plain thieves, bandits, and robbers. The second included those who posed as patriots and revolutionists but were actually bandits who claimed that their unlawful activities were in line with the revolutionary struggle. Thus collectively they were sometimes referred to as the *monteses* and *remontados*.³ The last category which was the largest and best organized was the *babaylanes* (*babailanes*), also known as *civil-civil*.⁴ This group has been compared to the *Pulabanes* of Samar, the *Colorum* of Batangas and Tayabas (Quezon) provinces, and the

Guardia de Honor of Pangasinan and Ilokos provinces because of their shared similarities.⁵ In this last category Hart included the Buhawi rebellion.⁶

Ponciano Elope, a.k.a. Dios Buhawi and Haring Kanoy

As mentioned earlier, economic dislocation and injustices ushered in the proliferation of lawless elements in the island of Negros. In 1887, the southern tip of Negros Island was rocked by an uprising headed by Ponciano Elope, better known as Buhawi (Buhawi) and Haring (King) Kanoy. Elope earned his nickname "Buhawi" supposedly from his ability to make rain at will.⁷ Hart's ethnohistorical study conducted between 1951 to 1965 also showed that Buhawi was born in 1850 in Sitio Kaladias, Barangay Nahandig of the town of Zamboanguita. He was married to Flaviana Tubigan, but they were childless. He seemed to be a person of some means and importance because he

became the *cabeza* of the said barangay. Moreover, he was described as having a long nose and fair complexion.⁸ Good natured and generous, he was also a devout Catholic and formed a close relationship with the parish priest.

Owing to the distance of his place from the *poblacion*, Buhawi formed a religious assembly in his village and introduced elaborate religious ceremonies that attracted many people from nearby villages every Saturday. These gatherings were marked by dancing, cockfighting, and trading. Meanwhile, Buhawi was gaining popularity as a *mananambal* and a miraculous healer.⁹ As news about his gift of healing and his claim as the "Living God" spread to other towns, more and more people came to Nahandig, some out of curiosity. His teachings and prophecies earned him the title of "*manluluwas*."¹⁰ His prediction about the end of the world included a threat of punishment to those who would not give tribute¹¹ to him. Subsequently, a chapel was built through cooperative labor to accommo-

date his growing number of followers who flocked to Nahandig.

Given the political climate of that time, gatherings and movements like Buhawi's elicited suspicion and alarm among the authorities who considered Buhawi a threat to the established order. Oral accounts from informants claim that he urged his followers not to pay their taxes and denounced the corrupt practices of the Spanish tax collector, Manuel Bugarin.¹² As his movement grew, his relationship with the authorities inevitably soured. The growing popularity of his movement alarmed not only the Spaniards who were relatively few, but also the local Zamboanguita officials.

The turning point of Buhawi's movement happened on Good Friday of 1887. Following the traditional Lenten practice of devotees, his parents came to the *poblacion* to attend the religious ceremonies and services in the church.¹³ While in town, his father got sick of fever and Buhawi hurried to the *poblacion* to treat him. His

presence in the town became known to the authorities who immediately dispatched a platoon of Guardia Civil to arrest him. Shortly after, four Filipino soldiers entered the house where Buhawi's parents were staying and demanded to know where Buhawi was hiding.¹⁴

According to accounts, Buhawi's father not only denied any knowledge of his son's whereabouts but also defended the latter's innocence of all accusations leveled against him. Infuriated, the soldiers struck him with their guns and bayoneted him through the throat. It was said that at this point Buhawi suddenly appeared and told the soldiers that he was going to exact vengeance against the Spaniards. For this reason, he asked to be taken to the *casa tribunal*. However, he was arrested, tied to a post, and lashed mercilessly in the presence of his mother who was herself roughly treated. Stories spread that, enraged, Buhawi broke his shackles and killed three soldiers and two onlookers before escaping. Along the way, he reportedly told his nephew Belto and Jose Entac,

who were both *cabezas*, that he would return to kill the Spaniards.¹⁵

Thus, what began as a religious movement eventually developed into a rebellion when Buhawi was declared an outlaw. His hatred against the authorities grew as they pursued his friends and relatives and punished them brutally.¹⁶ To elude capture from frequent patrols which were sent to arrest him, Buhawi and his brother-in-law, Valentin Tubigan, together with some loyal followers, moved their headquarters to the interior mountains in the neighboring town of Siaton. His ability to elude arrest added to his mysterious aura and won for him a number of followers who strongly believed that he had supernatural powers. Employing pseudo-religious doctrines and prophecies, he was able to win more followers to join his crusade to put an end to the forced payment of taxes.¹⁷ On the one hand, his exploits of moving with ease from one town to another, eluding arrest, and holding the Guardia Civil at bay damaged the im-

age of Spain. On the other, these feats convinced the masses that he was indeed their liberator from Spanish oppression.

The power of his movement to attract a great multitude from all the coastal towns from Tanjay to Tolong has been well described in various sources.¹⁸ According to one account, he led the raids on towns that refused to submit to his movement. At other times, he charged one of his trusted deputies, Camartin de la Cruz (Kamalting), to raid other towns as well.¹⁹ Despite these raids, it was clearly evident that Buhawi was not a common criminal as authorities made him out to be. As the historian, Angel Cuesta, puts it:

His own enemies did not consider him a criminal for the accusations against him were of a general character. Thus he was accused of protecting criminal elements, of persuading people not to pay their taxes and in general of raiding the towns that did not submit to him.²⁰

A vivid description of how it was like to live in that

era is found in a manuscript describing the life in Siaton at the height of the Buhawi rebellion:

The condition of the poblacion was like that of a cave because when the sun set nobody would walk the streets. When one talked, it would be in a whisper because there might be soldiers or followers of Buhawi listening under the house. If you talked against the soldiers, they would take you to their headquarters. If you said anything against Buhawi, his men might hear you and take you to face him in the mountains. There was continual stealing in the nearby areas and continual shooting in the mountains. You would hear the rattle of guns and of the machitas [*sic*]. You would hear the sorrowful howling of the dogs.²¹

Buhawi's end came when he decided to raid the town of Siaton in 1888.²² How his death came about is variously described in different accounts. A version reported to Hart narrates that in one skirmish he was prevailed upon by women and children who begged him to surrender for fear of their own lives. It was told that the authorities had threatened to

massacre them if Buhawi tried to escape. According to this account, Buhawi surrendered to a group of soldiers who were astonished to find in his body not a single trace of wounds despite the heavy firing. Recovering from their initial surprise, the soldiers then tied him to a tree and bayoneted him to death.²³

The Cebuano text of Buhawi's death by Juan Gadiane deserves to be quoted here in full for its picturesque narration:

Sa diha nga ang mga Guardias Civiles nag padayon sa pagpabuto sa ilang fusil sa walay humong, ilang nakita usa ka tawo nga Daku ug tambok nga ang iyang (bisti) sapot guinasokgusokan sa puti ug pula, kay itum man ang iyang sinina nga ingon sa camisa chino apan piit kaayo. Ug ang iyang calsonis itom usab nga binutangan sa pula sa masig ka kilid nga naga angat sa bakilid nga ang distansia kapin sa usa ka gatos ka dupa nga ang iyang camot nga too kanunay nagabupot sa pulo-an sa iyang pinuti. Guituboan sa mga Guardia Civiles ug sa uban pa nga wala makakita nga wala nay lain kun dili mao kini si Buhawi, wala man magdalagan ni maglagsik, ang iyang linaktan

natural sa maga-angat sa bakilid, ang maong bakilid tulotindog, ang iyang kabintang sa tuon tuon na nilang fusil kay gapuot man ang abo, wala na nila makita si Buhawi kay gakanunay man sa pag-lakaw, gui-agpas sa mga soldados civiles, sa pag-hisalpong nila sa maong bakilid nakita nila nga gatabok sa sapa nga may hawan (binlo) nga diyotay, usa ka tawo linuhod ang usa ka tiil, ang usa gabaka-ang ug ang kamot nagahupot sa pulo-an sa iyang pinuti (accion guibapon sapagso-kol), gibanatan sa pagfusil hangtod ka pila wala guibapon matumba ang iyang lawas nga patay (kay patay naman diay). Sa pagduol sa mga guardias civiles, ilang guitumba (hayang), nakita nila nga naga gowa ang daghang dugo sa iyang baba, ug nakita nila nga usa ra ang samad nga guikamatyan guikan sa usa ka bala nga diba omagui sa lubot ug migowa sa alimpolo sa olo (tingali diba maigo sa iyang pag-angat sa bakilid).

The brief free translation of the above story goes:

On the day Buhawi was captured, he was walking in a normal pace up a hill while the soldiers were firing at him. When he disappeared, the soldiers went up after him and saw him at the opposite bank of the river kneel-

ing on one knee while holding a bolo. They continued to fire at him but as he did not fall, they went near him and pushed the body. They soon realized that a bullet had passed through his anus exiting through his head.²⁴

In Ruiz and Cuesta's account, Buhawi's capture was attributed to a spy who informed Lt. Domenech of Buhawi's arrival.²⁵ It was claimed, however, that Buhawi was warned of this imminent arrest. He crossed the Siaton river and chose to make a stand in a place called Nabais. Nevertheless, he was killed in the encounter and his followers immediately fled and abandoned his cause.

Buhawi's Legacy

With his death, the Spanish authorities thought that the rebellion was over and outlawed the repetition of any stories about this "living god." Little did they know that most of his followers continued to believe that he was alive. They were convinced that the body that was brought to Zam-

boanguita was just a banana stalk. However, they dared not tell the officials for fear that the Spaniards would continue to look for Buhawi.²⁶ Nor did the movement he started end with his death. His wife, Flaviana Tubigan, and brothers-in-law, Valentin and Higinio, took over and continued the activity. Flaviana became the "Reyna" (Queen), Valentin became the successor of Buhawi, and Higinio became known as "Dios Talisic."²⁷ At the same time, a certain Juana Gaitera also claimed to be another successor to the movement. However, Valentin and Higinio were ambushed and killed and Juana Gaitera was later captured and exiled in Jolo.

At the deaths of Buhawi's brothers in-law, Camartin de la Cruz (Kamalting), his most trusted deputy, took over the leadership of this movement. He and Buhawi's wife, Flaviana, joined forces and together waged a reign of terror in the area while at the same time preaching Buhawi's doctrines. As Camartin continued to raid the southern towns, reports about disturbances were

common.²⁸ These uprisings were happening when the American anthropologist, Dean C. Worcester was visiting Dumaguete and the neighboring towns in 1888. In his report, he wrote,

...we found that the guardia civil had been having a hard time trying to run down a famous *tulisan* leader, one Ca Martin.... The officer who was after him in Negros had a hard problem to solve. The bandit was believed to have *anting-anting*, having earned the reputation by escaping the fire of six native soldiers, at a range of a dozen yards. They reported that their bullets had glanced from his body, and their tale was believed. The story lost nothing in the telling, and at the time I mention the hero of it was believed to have a new charm by virtue of which he could step from one mountain peak to another, or precipitate a rushing stream of ice-cold water on any one hardy enough to pursue him. *These child's tales were implicitly believed, not only by the natives but even by intelligent mestizos. I heard them from the gobernadorcillo of Bais, who vouched for their truth* [emphasis added]....²⁹ It is to be hoped that he has long since been captured, and that the officer who took him

had executive ability; but when we left Negros Camartin was still at large and his name was one to conjure by.³⁰

Some time later Camartin was killed reportedly in a trap laid by his mistress, Alfonsa Alaidan, on September 11, 1893.³¹ Yet his death did not destroy the Buhawi movement because the followers, now labeled as pure bandits, continued to preach that Buhawi would soon return. Various sources consulted by Angel Cuesta about the reports in the southern towns during this period were unanimous in reporting that the "remnants continued to sow terror." In fact, one account described that "things became so serious that the townspeople did not dare to go three hundred meters beyond the border of the town [*sic*]." ³² In almost all areas, Buhawi's followers, such as Lorenzo and his lieutenants, Pastor and Manuel, continued their activities and told the people to leave the town.³³ To complicate the situation, a certain Francisco Malga of Bonawon, in the town of Siaton started publicly pre-

senting himself as Buhawi.³⁴

While these uprisings and anarchy were rocking the southern towns of Negros Oriental,³⁵ a former religious leader who used to take refuge in one of Buhawi's camps in the mountains emerged in the Occidental side of Negros Island. Dionisio Seguela, popularly known as Papa Isio, was earlier involved with Buhawi and his followers, notably Camartin, when he hid in the mountains prior to his leading the *babaylan* movement. Accounts showed that Papa Isio later recruited the remnants of Buhawi's followers to join his own movement. At the height of his own exploits, he raided the southern towns of Negros Occidental and attacked mainly the haciendas and the Chinese stores.³⁶

While Papa Isio and his band continued their raids in southern Negros Occidental, a native of Bacong, one of the towns of southern Negros Oriental, emerged as one of the prominent leaders of the KKK in the island of Cebu. He was Pantaleon Villegas, more popularly known as Leon Kilat

(lightning). A close examination of his exploits revealed some links with the Buhawi movement. For instance, accounts of his early years in Negros Oriental showed that his family went to Tolong where Buhawi and Camartin operated.³⁷ Rather interestingly, his biography revealed no account of his early years.³⁸ According to stories, he disappeared when he was twelve years old but reappeared briefly in Bacong in 1892 only to disappear again. Resurfacing in 1895, he left soon after for Manila and Cebu where he established the KKK.³⁹ The mystery surrounding his whereabouts helped to fuel speculations that he was involved with the Buhawi movement at the time of his disappearance.⁴⁰

This speculation finds some basis in the fact that Leon Kilat came from the area where the Buhawi movement was popular. Furthermore, widespread rumors associated with his owning an amulet (*anting-anting*) and a magic handkerchief which enabled him to travel the islands with ease

bore similarities with the tales about Buhawi's own exploits.⁴¹ As his influence grew, Pantaleon Villegas eventually spearheaded the revolution in Cebu on April 3, 1898. Unfortunately, this was a short-lived leadership. On April 8, 1898, he was murdered by his fellow revolutionists.⁴²

To the authorities, Buhawi's movement was plain and simple banditry.⁴³ To the ordinary masses, however, it promised liberation. After Buhawi's death, people still invoked his name and some even embarked to continue his movement. His teachings were still fresh in the people's minds when the revolution broke out in Luzon in 1896. Interestingly, although many of his followers were either captured or killed, there was always one individual who would emerge to continue his exploits, albeit on a different plane.

One of the later local leaders to emerge in his shadows was Don Felipe Tayko, the son of a *gobnadorcillo* and a son-in-law of a priest. Unlike the other rebels, Felipe Tayko was a member of the ruling

elite family in Siaton. As early as 1891, the people of Siaton had anointed him as the second Buhawi after he allegedly led the bandits in the mountain. To escape this rumor, he left for Manila.⁴⁴ Ironically, it was in Manila that he came in close contact with the revolutionists. When he returned to Siaton after the outbreak of the revolution in 1897, he brought with him a helper named Lorenzo, who was himself a rebel and an escapee from the Bilibid prison.

While Felipe was in Manila, his brother Santiago Tayko succeeded his father as the *gobernadorcillo*. Upon his return to Siaton, Felipe was appointed as the town's chief of police. In this capacity, Felipe Tayko led a group from the southern towns and marched to Dumaguete to join Diego de la Viña's⁴⁵ forces in the liberation of the capital. Earlier, news reached them that Gen. Juan Araneta's forces had liberated Negros Occidental on the first week of November 1898.⁴⁶

In the wake of the Spanish defeat in the later part of 1898, members of the elite

started to join the rebellion initiated by Buhawi. However, they relegated to the periphery the pseudo-political and religious undertones of Buhawi's movement which did not appeal to them. By the time revolution broke out in the province, many of them were in the forefront of the revolutionary struggle.

Concluding Notes

New Historicism stems from the emergence of the postmodern theory. It is a way of looking at history from the point of view of the different events that formed it. Thus, a major historical event is broken down to different historical studies inspired by relevant questions regarding the past. In addition, it looks into the motive of the study and the interpretation of the facts. It asks whose history gets told? In whose name? For what purpose? It delves into historical texts and discourses as though they were never studied. It directs one's attention to histories that are forgotten, hidden, invisible, considered unimpor-

tant, changed, and eradicated.

An analysis of the Buhawi movement from this perspective has brought to light the fact that it was not plain and simple banditry and fanaticism. Attempts by the authorities to portray this movement as such in the pages of historical accounts have succeeded in imbuing it with a negative image rather than being considered as a legitimate nationalist movement dramatizing the refusal of the masses to submit to the foreign colonizers. However, the simple folks who joined Buhawi and who continued to talk about him even after his death certainly understood what the movement meant for them. Yet, because they were only simple folks considered insignificant by the authorities, their feelings and views on the Buhawi movement were not taken seriously even by early historians who tended to focus their attention on the role of the elite.

Viewed from the perspective of relevance to the Philippine Revolution, the Buhawi movement was a product of the growing national discontent

experienced by the dispossessed masses under the prevailing socio-political system of the whole archipelago. Their struggle and their subsequent adoption of the concepts of "freedom from taxation" and "liberation" placed Buhawi's movement at par with other similar movements in the country, recently the focus of serious studies and reinterpretation.

As the above discussion shows, the movement spearheaded by Buhawi a decade prior to the liberation of Negros initiated, influenced, and contributed significantly to the dynamic processes that culminated in the liberation of the island from Spain. Its greatest impact was manifested in the subsequent revolutionary activities of Leon Kilat in Cebu, Felipe Tayko in southern Negros Oriental, and Papa Isio in Negros Occidental, not to mention the numerous other personages who continued his cause but did not live to see the liberation.

In the context of the revolutionary struggle of the Negrenses against the Spanish

regime, Buhawi undoubtedly deserves to be remembered for his fight and his personal conviction which enabled the people to achieve their dream of freedom. Alone, he was able to form a group who remained loyal to him and his doctrines and continued his cause even after his death. A man who shook the foundation of the Spanish rule over the island, he became the inspiration and hope of the oppressed Negrenses. Although outlawed by the Spanish authorities, he remained enshrined in the hearts of the exploited masses as *their hero*.

Notes

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1. Remarks of Modesto Sa-onoy during the 12th Regional Seminar Workshop on Oral and Local History held at Buenos Aires Resort in Bago City last August 20-21, 1993. A similar observation is shared in my article, "Negros Oriental in the Context of the Philippine Revolution," published in *Silliman Journal* 39:1 (1998).
2. Jose Y. Marco, *Reseña Historica de la Isla de Negros* (Manila: La Vanguardia, 1912).
3. This term is derived from the word "remount" or to take to the hills. See James L. Leroy, *Philippine Life in the Town and Country* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1905), pp. 29-30. This is especially the term used to refer to the bandits during the American occupation.
4. So-called because they wore uniforms similar to those of the Guardia Civil.
5. All these movements had a tone of religious ritual with crusading popes, self-appointed "Messiahs," distinctive costumes, bottles of holy oil, prayer books, and vari-

- ous amulets believed to protect the members from harm. See Vic Hurley, *Jungle Patrol: The Story of the Philippine Constabulary* (New York: E.P. Dutton and Co., 1938), pp. 130-132; and Donn V. Hart, "Buhawi of the Visayas: The Revitalization Process and Legend Making in the Philippines," in *Studies in Philippine Anthropology* (Mario Zamora, ed.; Quezon City: Alemar Phoenix, 1967), p. 370.
6. However, Angel Cuesta O.A.R. argues that Hart's classification is overly arbitrary and that all these groups actually often coexisted. See Angel Martinez Cuesta, *History of Negros* (trans. Alfonso Felix Jr. and Sor Caritas Sevilla; Manila: C. P. Garcia Publishing Co., 1980), pp. 430-431.
 7. Donn Hart translates Buhawi as "waterspout" (in Hart, pp. 371-378). Modesto Sa-onoy translates Buhawi as "whirlwind" and hence the God of the Four Winds. See Modesto Sa-onoy, *A History of Negros Occidental* (Bacolod: Today Printers and Publishers, 1992), p. 111. The above translations are correct but in this context, "tornado" or "twister" is a more appropriate translation.
 8. But Hart insists that he is a Filipino [*sic*] (in Hart, p. 373).
 9. Hart, p. 374.
 10. Cebuano word for Redeemer (Liberator?).
 11. They were told to bring a candle, five cents, chicken and egg. See Licinio Ruiz, *Sinopsis Historica de la Provincia de San Nicolas de Tolentino de las Islas Filipinas de la Orden de Agustinos Des Calzos* (unauthorized trans. by Juan Mesquida; Manila: Tip. Pont. De la Univ. de Sto. Tomas, 1925), pp. 148-152.
 12. Juan Gadiane, "Halandumong Kaagi sa Lungsod sa Siaton" (unpublished manuscript in Cebuano, 1951), p. 25.
 13. One informant claimed that Buhawi's father, Oris Elope, was visiting a nephew to facilitate Buhawi's surrender to the local officials to avoid fur-

- ther conflict (see Hart, p. 382).
14. Legendary accounts relate that Buhawi knew that the civil guards were coming because his dagger, that he alone could draw from its scabbard, began to bleed. Seeing this, his father pleaded for him to flee. When the soldiers entered, he became invisible (Hart, p. 382).
 15. Hart, p. 383.
 16. Jose and his wife Braulia, who had just delivered a baby, and Belto were imprisoned. Also, his brother Sebastian was arrested and mysteriously disappeared.
 17. Sa-onoy, p. 109.
 18. Cuesta (p. 433), as cited from *Libro Cosas Notables Siaton*. The priest of Tolong puts it at 2,000 and Juan Gadiane (primary source in Cebuano) said that his followers numbered around 15,000. As he puts it: "the *poblaciones* of Negros Oriental were almost deserted since young and old, father and son were joining him" (see Gadiane, p. 27).
 19. Surprisingly, all sources do not mention in detail how these raids were done (see Cuesta's endnotes 30-38). Cuesta got all the information about these raids from the *Libro Cosas Notables of Siaton, Tolong, and Pamplona*.
 20. Cuesta (p. 434); as cited from *Libro Cosas Notables Tolong*. Although, understandably enough, Fr. Cuesta is critical of the Buhawi movement in his book, his constructive comments and corrections on Donn Hart's study and Gadiane's manuscript are well appreciated and enlightening.
 21. This was the English translation of the Juan Gadiane's manuscript in Cebuano by Donn V. Hart with the assistance of Mr. Vitorio Concepcion (in Gadiane, pp. 17-18; and Hart, p. 386). Although Angel Cuesta in his notes stressed that "it is impossible to accept them at face value and extreme care and caution should be observed in reading the manuscript" (see Cuesta, 464, no. 29).

- Indeed, his corrections on some of the dates are impressive but he also accepted that there are clerical errors of his Spanish source, i.e., Fr. Lorenzo Cordon's *Libro Cosas Notables Siaton*, which placed Buhawi's death on August 1887 which he dismissed as a mere clerical error. However, it is unclear whether he had read the original Gadiane Cebuano manuscript.
22. Various dates are given. Gadiane and Hart pegged it on 1889; Licinio Ruiz puts it in 1887, same with Lorenzo Cordon. But Sa-onoy and Cuesta agree on 1888. This seems to be logically correct since Buhawi only became an outlaw in the Holy Week of 1887.
 23. Hart, p. 387.
 24. Gadiane, p. 20.
 25. This spy was identified as Manuel Ege, the son of Cabeza Francisco Ege who reported to Lt. Domenech also known as "Sota" because one half of his body had a black birthmark (see Gadiane, p. 11).
 26. Hart, p. 388. It was obvious that the Spaniards had difficulty in identifying him because they displayed the body in the tribunal for the people of Siaton to confirm that the cadaver was indeed Buhawi's. Moreover, rumors ran wild that the body did not decompose and he would soon return.
 27. There is no known "talistic" in the Cebuano dialect in this part of the province. Hart even invented "God Talistic." The more appropriate word seems to be "taligsik" which connotes drizzle.
 28. A report of March 15, 1889 stated that seven patrols were sent from Tolong to pursue him. See Guardia Civil Reports 1880-1897; Expediente 60 ff. 391-392 N.A., as cited in Evelyn Cullamar, *Babaylanism in Negros, 1896-1907* (Manila: New Day Publishers, 1986), p. 30.
 29. In a photograph in his book, the person identified as the *gobernadorcillo* of Bais

- was Serio Guzman Singco who eventually would become a member of Diego de la Viña's party when they liberated Negros Oriental and one of those who initially resisted the American occupation of Bais.
30. Dean C. Worcester, *The Philippine Islands and Their People* (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1899), pp. 269-273.
 31. Gadiane has a vivid account of the incident in pp. 21-23.
 32. Perhaps *poblacion*. See *Libro Cosas Notables de Tanjay* (as cited in Cuesta, p. 466).
 33. Cuesta, p. 435.
 34. Gadiane, p. 21.
 35. Negros Oriental was proclaimed a separate province on January 1, 1890.
 36. Modesto Sa-onoy in his paper entitled "The Reexamination of the Negros Revolution" during the 12th Regional Seminar Workshop on Oral and Local History held at Buenos Aires Resort in Bago City last August 20-21, 1993. See Sa-onoy, p. 112; and Cullamar, pp. 30-37. For lack of space, Papa Isio's exploit will not be discussed in this paper.
 37. In 1884, the family decided to transfer to Tolong and Pantaleon was employed as a servant of Friar Angel Maestro. See Jose R. Quisumbing and Caridad Rodriguez, *Leon Kilat (1878-1898) and the Cebu Revolution of 1898* (Cebu City: S & G Printers, 1991), p. 1.
 38. See Manuel Enriquez de la Calzada, *Ang Kagubot sa Sugbo* (Sugbo: Rotary Press, 1951), p. 52.
 39. One reason why he did not establish the KKK in his home province was the fact that there was no organized army in Negros Oriental. See T. Valentin Sitoy, "The Making of Negros: A Brief History," in *Kabilin: Legacies of a Hundred Years of Negros Oriental*, p. 12.
 40. Hart wrote that Buhawi gave his magical silk handkerchief to Leon Kilat (in Hart, p. 380). But Cuesta disagreed stating that the "Kilat" referred to was Miguel Paero who was a

- good friend of Juana Gaitera.
41. Quisumbing, p. 14 (as cited in de la Calzada, p. 52).
 42. Dionisio Sy, *A Short History of Cebu 1500-1890s and The Anti-Spanish Revolution in Cebu* (Cebu City: Bathalad Inc., 1996), pp. 104-107.
 43. Rodriguez labeled it as brigandage. See Caridad Aldecoa Rodriguez, *Negros Oriental and the Philippine Revolution* (Dumaguete City: Provincial Govt. Of Negros Oriental, 1983), pp. 31-32.
 44. Felipe Tayko was married to Margarita Lajato, the daughter of Friar Julian Adan (the parish priest of Siaton at that time), on Dec. 8, 1888. From an interview with Mauro Tayko Jr., grandson of Felipe Tayko, on August 16, 1998.
 45. He was the acknowledged leader of the revolutionaries in Negros Oriental. Gen. Emilio Aguinaldo conferred on him the title: *General de Brigada, Commandante del Ejercito Filipino, Provincia de Negros Oriental*. See Caridad A. Rodriguez, p. 84; as quoted in "A Brief Biography of Diego de la Vina," by Woodrow Serion (1954). (This writer also had the opportunity to interview Mr. Serion.)
 46. In response, de la Viña immediately dispatched an order to the various towns enjoining the leaders to liberate their towns and subsequently march and converge all forces in Dumaguete. Consequently, Negros Oriental was liberated on Nov. 24, 1898, the day before the fiesta of Dumaguete. Yet just like what happened in the Occidental side, there were no bloody skirmishes because the Spaniards left the towns before the arrival of the revolutionists. Rodriguez has a detailed account of these events (in Rodriguez, pp. 81-88).

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