20th Century Western Visayan Millenarian Representations: The Case of "Emperor" Flor Intrencherado in the Local Press, 1925-1929

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From 1925-1929, the popular social movement of "Emperor" Flor Intrencherado in Western Visayas gained notoriety within the press local. The Iloilo-based local newspaper, the Makinaugalingon, extensively covered the movement in their press release articles. The newspaper, unsurprisingly, recreated a picture of Intrencherado and his followers in a language of ridicule, dismissing the movement and identifying its leader as a lunatic and insane despite the locality of the press. This, in turn, marginalized the movement, its goals, and objectives, as well as the leader, "Emperor" Flor Intrencherado. The goal of this study is to present, review, and analyze the different representations the local press created with the "infamous" peasant movement and give the context in which similar social movements could be understood.

Keywords: *local press, colonial representations, popular movements*

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Introduction

Decades after the American colonial government had ensured their legitimacy of colonial rule over the Philippine archipelago, series of uprisings erupted across the vast sugar lands in Negros Occidental. The local press in Iloilo, the *Makinaugalingon*, believes these alarming events are instigated by "renegade" members of a "mystic organization."[1] As the nationwide *Philippines Free Press* reports, men armed with bolos and spears, wearing *anting-anting* (amulets) captured several towns of the province.[2] Despite occupying for only several hours or days, these men garnered significant attention from state authorities and, especially, the press. The *Free Press* further featured in their report the *anting-anting*, the supposed photograph they carried: a man of considerable height, of middle age, wearing a white naval uniform with a sash and adorned with jewels and a crown. To the men that rose in arms, it was their leader, believed to be "Emperor of the Philippines", Flor Intrencherado.[3]

Florencio "Intrencherado" Salarada was arrested and tried for treason in 1926 for commanding these revolts. His movement, *Union*, consisted of thousands of mostly rural-based peasants, sugar hacienda workers across the provinces of Iloilo and Negros Occidental.[4] However, the verdict of court sentenced him first to be "medically treated" at the San Lazaro Hospital in Manila where he was pronounced by Filipino medical professionals as a "lunatic" and "insane." His self-proclaimed empire did not last long, with his name being marginalized and silenced in Philippine history and only to be characterized within the borders of banditry, insanity, and fanaticism which the local press, the *Makinaugalingon*, had described and represented his activities. Thus, this paper sought to answer the questions: how were Intrencherado and his movement represented by the 20th-century local press? In what historical, social, and cultural contexts should the Intrencherado movement be understood? By looking into the existing studies on the subject and comparing them to similar movements and the background of which the "infamous" movement arose in the Philippines, a clear representation and contextualization of Intrencherado should be achieved.

The first part of this article discusses reviews on representation and identity formation during the onset of the 20th century. This had a long-term impact on perspectives and assumptions regarding peasant movements that challenged colonial and even lowland authority. Following this discussion are reviews of existing works of literature discussing popular movements comparing similarities and unique traits and goals. Furthermore, a part of this paper focuses on the setting in which Intrencherado emerged and gained popularity. The remaining discussion of this paper focuses on representations of Intrencherado as written and described in the articles of the *Makinaugalingon*, the widely circulated newspaper of the Western Visayan region during the first half of the 20th century. The timeline of Intrencherado's story is less of the concern of this paper, nor a comprehensive biography and study. The focus, rather, is how a well-known local newspaper in the Philippines founded by a nationalist during the American colonial era projected to the public one of the

[1] *Makinaugalingon*, "Si Flor 'Intrencherado' Gindakop," November 6, 1925.
[2] *Philippines Free Press,* "He Would Be Emperor, May 21, 1927; Alfred McCoy, "Baylan: Animist Religion and Philippine Peasant Ideology," *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society* 10, no. 3 (September 1982): 178.
[3] John Richard Alayon, "The Empire of Flor Yntrencherado: A Study of Anti-Colonial Resistance" (Undergraduate Research, Iloilo, University of the Philippines in the Visayas, 1999) and McCoy, "Baylan: Animist Religion and Philippine Peasant Ideology" spell Intrencherado's name with the letter "Y", *Yntrencherado*. I opted to spell it with the letter "I", the same spelling that the primary materials of this research use.
[4] The name *Union* appears in Alicia P Magos, *The Enduring Ma-Aram Tradition: An Ethnography of a Kinaray-a Village in Antique* (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1992). Alayon, "The Empire of Flor Yntrencherado: A Study of Anti-Colonial Resistance" spell it as *Unyon*.

most "infamous" peasant movements in the first half of the 20th century.

The bulk of data gathered in this research came from news articles published by the *Makinaugalingon*. These materials were recorded in microfilm form and were accessed and sourced at the University of the Philippines Diliman Main Library. The well-known local press was founded in 1913 by Rosendo Mejica, a recognized nationalist, educator, writer-journalist, and labor organizer from Molo, Iloilo. Its name translated as "self-reliant" signified the aim of the press, a newspaper which "clients can depend on."[5] From the time of its founding, the newspaper quickly gained a reputation, credited to have enriched the Hiligaynon language and literary scene. It would become a notable venue for many well-known Ilonggo writers to publish their literary pieces, including Magdalena Jalandoni.[6] At the same time, the press featured and translated into Hiligaynon the *Noli Me Tangere* and *El Filibusterismo*, the novels of Jose Rizal, a person who Mejica admired and wanted to "emulate" through the press.[7] It became the major press circulating weekly across the Western Visayas until the Second World War. The newspaper has become a staple of information on affairs of the region and a great source of information on the local colonial life. It catered national and local news, advertisements for local businesses and transportation, and provided information especially on the sugar industry which the region thrived during the 20th century. In 1941, the press discontinued its newspaper department but continued as a publishing house until today.[8]

Figure 1: Rosendo Mejica[9]

The relationship between Intrencherado and the *Makinaugalingon* has no definite beginning, aside from its published news articles. However, the press once reported that the "emperor" had visited the press to publish his writings but declined as they believed that "…no creature with head and feet would write these, only those who are really insane."[10] From 1925-1929, the majority of the issues the press released had numerous articles focusing on Intrencherado, his followers, and the movement as a whole. These centered on describing, detailing, and refuting his beliefs. They also researched his life, activities before the onset of his "insanity" and afterward. It was not only the *Makinaugalingon* who took

[5] Emiliano Hudtohan, "Makinaugalingon Advocacy of Rosendo Mejica," *Dr. Emiliano Hudtohan* (blog), July 23, 2014, http://emilianohudtohan.com/makinaugalingon-advocacy-of-rosendo-mejica/. Hudtohan notes that his article, at the time of access, will be published in the *Bulawan Journal of Philippine Arts and Culture*.

[6] Hudtohan, "Makinaugalingon Advocacy of Rosendo Mejica."

[7] Christian George Acevedo, "Rosendo Mejica, the Golden Age of the Hiligaynon Literature and the Vernacularization of Jose Rizal's Novels," *AGATHOS: An International Review of the Humanities and Social Sciences* 11, no. 2 (2020): 115.

[8] Shirley Lua, "Rediscovering the Rosendo Mejica Museum in Molo, Iloilo," *Lifestyle Inquirer*, January 4, 2016, https://lifestyle.inquirer.net/218350/rediscovering-the-rosendo-mejica-museum-in-molo-iloilo/.

[9] Image from: Joy Lagos and Nazaria Lagos. "Remembering Don Rosendo Mejica." *The News Today Online Edition*, March 12, 2007. http://www.thenewstoday.info/2007/03/12/remembering.don.rosendo.mejica.html.; though Acevedo writes that the newspaper ceased in 1946 (see Acevedo, "Rosendo Mejica, the Golden Age of the Hiligaynon Literature", 116).

[10] *Makinaugalingon*, "Si Flor 'Intrencherado', May 24, 1927,

note of his activities. As the movement gained widespread notoriety across the archipelago, the *Philippines Free Press* also featured two published articles on Intrencherado.

As a whole, the phenomenon of popular movements—as will be discussed further in this research—did not cease across the Philippines and some of the larger newspapers like the *Manila Times* reported on these occurrences.[11] At the turn of the century, however, representations of these movements have become diverse yet bordered on similar characteristics.

Colonial Representations and Domestication: Photo and Print

Representations of these peasant movements have their shared history with representations of the colonized. This, I argue, is mostly intertwined within how colonial institutions of the 20th century infused ideological legitimization of conquest through various media. Raul Pertierra notes how early studies of anthropology and ethnographic depictions of the colonized are extensions of the colonizer, interpreting them within terms of their own worldview.[12] Long-term (mis)representations of Filipino society have been mostly attributed to the educational system, which was adopted by ruling native elites from American policymakers. This educational program, David Goh writes, points to "Americanizing" Philippine culture, which essentially subjugates native culture in favor of a Western outlook.[13] Other than the educational system, this primarily began with early American scholarship on the newfound colony they bought from Spain through the Treaty of Paris in 1898. The 1903 census provided an early attempt at American institutional decontextualization and simplified quantification of the already diverse Filipino society, projecting a Western-based identity.[14] Notable zoologist Dean Worcester produced works that justified the Filipino's incapability of self-governance, arguing that the ethnolinguistic diverse society of the archipelago produced "chaos" among natives.[15] The "civilized" lowland natives were juxtaposed with the "uncivilized" highland natives that continued to resist colonial control. This divide would eventually influence post-colonial lowland and upland social relationships. Colonial subjugation was equated with the call of *benevolent assimilation* and meant "civilization" guaranteed but, in reality, was under strict colonial surveillance in the guise of "love".[16] Filipino elites, likewise, followed suit being primary instruments of the new colonial authority, providing references and information on the natives, seeing the benefits offered authority, politically and economically. This is a historical reflection at the onset of the Spanish conquest wherein *principales*, native elites, were the first to embrace colonial control through religious conversion, in exchange for retaining their pre-Hispanic authority. Likewise, it maintained its status as the "representative" of the native population.[17] Benito Vergara Jr. and Elizabeth Maria Holt further extend these discussions on the spread of misrepresentation through various forms of popular media, in photos, art, and even

[11] The *Manila Times* once featured reports of American forces fighting off *babaylan* groups during the Philippine-American War, "Fierce Fight Near Bacolod", August 4, 1899. They have also featured *colorum* groups doing pilgrimage in Mt. San Cristobal, "The Colorum, a Strange Sect, Making Annual Pilgrimage to Old Mount San Cristobal", April 10, 1919.

[12] Raul Pertierra, "Philippine Studies and the New Ethnography," in *Cultures and Texts: Representations of Philippine Society*, ed. Raul Pertierra and Eduardo Ugarte (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1994), 121–37.

[13] Daniel Goh, "Postcolonial Disorientations: Colonial Ethnography and the Vectors of the Philippine Nation in the Imperial Frontier," *Postcolonial Studies* 11, no. 3 (2008): 266.

[14] Vicente Rafael, *White Love and Other Events in Filipino History* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2000).

[15] Andrei Adamkiewicz, "The Legitimating Aspects of Colonial Discourse," in *Culture and Texts: Representations of Philippine Society*, ed. Raul Pertierra and Eduardo Ugarte (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1994).

[16] Rafael, *White Love and Other Events in Filipino History,* 21. Term by Pres. William McKinley legitimizing conquest of the Philippines.

[17] Rafael, *White Love and Other Events in Filipino History,* 35, 108. Renato Constantino, *The Philippines: A Past Revisited* (Quezon City: Tala Publications Inc., 1975).

in print. Vergara's study on colonial photography notes how selective framing and captions written in many photographs, magazines, and brochures produced by colonizers were embedded with justifications of conquest. This anchored on the same legitimizations as the early American scholarship on the Philippines. Printed captions provided a limited understanding of the colonized subject yet produced a powerful ideological hinge that provided an alternative reality of interpreting actual native conditions.[18] The role of the press in manipulating native voice is explained in Holt's discussion on white patriarchy and racial tensions with Filipino women. American patriarchal discourse on gender viewed Filipino women as dangerous yet could be subjugated as not to cause "disorder."[19] The press reporting that time, the *Manila Times*, invented a textualized narrative on Inez Davis, the Filipina subject of the controversy, absent of her real "voice" or self between the conflict of two American male lovers.[20] Moreover, her actions are compared to that of a "child," an extension of the domesticated native discourse.[21] As the colonized native was unintentionally involved, the colonizer is devoid of negative imagery with the former bearing brunt of criticism from the writers and especially the readers. This is the same case for Intrencherado and his forgotten resistance movement.

Newspapers, especially the local press, are valuable sources of primary information especially on a specific timeline such as the colonial period. They project mainstream cultural sensibilities of the era and, arguably, what is socially acceptable. However, the historian must be able to discern misconceptions and criticize the text narrative at hand.[22] During the American period, relative press freedom gave rise to various newspapers in different regions, in their own local language, including the *Makinaugalingon*. However, as Doreen Fernandez notes, the journalism practice of this era generally reflected the American style of journalism including collecting information and writing.[23] As Holt further notes, these are also "fields invested with power."[24]


P. O. Box No. 167. | Isip ika 46

Ang 'Emperador' sang Espiritu Santo

lamang ang nagabantala sang nga sulat sang Emperador sabung nga kami lamang ang nagabantala sang "Noli Me Tangere", agud makilala si Dr. Risal kag si Intrencherado kon sin-o sila

Sa Bakolod na hiwaton

Figure 2: A snippet featuring Intrencherado in the October 8, 1926 issue of the Makinaugalingon[25]

[18] Benito Jr. Vergara, *Displaying Filipinos: Photography and Colonialism in Early 20th Century Philippines* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1995): 11-12.
[19] Elizabeth Mary Holt, *Colonizing Filipinas: Nineteenth-Century Representations of the Philippines in Western Historiography* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2002): 144.
[20] Holt, *Colonizing Filipinas,* 140.
[21] Holt, *Colonizing Filipinas*, 136, 140; Rafael, *White Love and Other Events in Filipino History*, 72.
[22] Joseph Baumgartner, "Newspapers as Historical Sources," *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society* 9, no. 3 (September 1981): 258.
[23] Doreen Fernandez, "The Philippine Press System: 1811-1989," *Philippine Studies* 37, no. 3 (1989): 327.
[24] Holt, *Colonizing Filipinas*, 157.
[25] Photo by the author.

It may not be surprising if the *Makinaugalingon* may have traces or vestiges of the same language of representations as discussed with Holt regarding the *Manila Times*. This is expanded in the succeeding sections of this paper. The local press was arguably responsible for providing the public the latest news on Intrencherado and his movement in Western Visayas and thus also created an identity different from what the movement understood and believed. Furthermore, the language of the newsprint, written in the local tongue provided an easier venue for comprehension and diffusion of information. In addition, mainstream lowland cultural sensibilities of the period pinned Intrencherado with the same understanding they held against other social movements that arose at the beginning of the 20th century following the demise of the Revolution, the fall of the Republic, and the beginning of the American Colonial Government.

The 20th Century Unfolding: Continued Popular Resistance

Pockets of peasant-led resistance continued to challenge the newly established American Colonial Government following the surrender of Emilio Aguinaldo and the fall of the First Philippine Republic. These resistance groups employed guerilla tactics and made the rural areas, particularly the mountains and forests, their primary hideout, relying on the support of the native population at the fringes of colonial control. To quell further organized resistance, as well as gaining further popular support, the new colonial government enacted tactics similar to Spanish conquests such as the reconcentration of the populations, and the Philippine Commission enacted laws such as the Act No. 292 (Sedition Act) of 1901 and the Act No. 518 (Brigandage Act) of 1902. The latter law had a lasting effect in Philippine history as it designated and identified resistance groups who continued popular struggle as "bandits" or *insurrectos*.[26]

Among the famous revolutionaries that continued to resist was Macario Sakay and the *Republika ng Katagalugan* (Tagalog Republic). Sakay, having been a veteran Katipunero since the time of Andres Bonifacio and a general of the Revolutionary forces, continued the struggle by frequent raids on American troops and Philippine Constabulary Forces. He was largely popular among the native population, saw him in high regard, and was believed to be the manifestation of the continuation of popular struggle led by the Katipunan.[27] However, he was betrayed after being promised amnesty and reforms and was subsequently arrested in a banquet organized for him. He was tried and subsequently executed by hanging on September 13, 1907.

Apart from Sakay, another movement called *Santa Iglesia* (Holy Church) rose in the outskirts of Manila in the nearby provinces, particularly in Pampanga, led by another veteran Katipunero and revolutionary leader, Felipe Salvador. They went on frequent raids and guerilla fights with American forces with allied resistance groups. Evading capture and arrest, the popular movement quickly spread across Central Luzon, gaining popular support, and reached its height in 1906. Despite the loss of his most abled officials, Salvador continued to maintain underground operations until his eventual capture in 1910. He was executed two years later.[28]

Uprisings similar to Sakay and Salvador continued to plague the outskirts of colonial control.[29]

[26] Constantino, *The Philippines: A Past Revisited,* 250.
[27] Reynaldo Ileto, *Pasyon and Revolution: Popular Movements in the Philippines, 1840-1910* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1979), 175-177, 185; Constantino, *The Philippines: A Past Revisited,* 256.
[28] Ileto, *Pasyon and Revolution,* 221, 223-225, 237, 248.
[29] Milagros Guerrero, "The Colorum Uprisings, 1924-1931," *Asian Studies* 5, no. 1 (1967): 65–78.

Even as the American colonial government proclaimed the formation of the Philippine Assembly in 1907, presumably for Filipinos to have a form of representation in government, popular uprisings continued throughout the half of the 20th century. What is noteworthy is that these movements were much similar in nature and character. Sakay and Salvador were known to have sported *anting-anting* and divine amulets to protect themselves and evade their enemies. Sakay was known to have preserved his long hair as a manifestation and belief of strength and prowess. Both also expounded indigenous-religious rhetoric, which arguably gave them appeal to the native consciousness.[30] Furthermore, these uprisings were not limited to Luzon. Among those who have been entangled with the Philippine Revolution was a movement by Dionisio Sigobela, famously known as "Papa Isio", that not only challenged both Spanish and American forces but also local elites and *hacienderos* during the Revolution in Negros Island. He declared himself as "Pope", fashioned himself in regal attire, bore *libretos* and *anting-anting* that was believed to have rendered him invincible against any enemy attack. Gathering support from sugar laborers, Papa Isio and his movement became threats to colonial and local authorities, conducting guerilla raids in the region. His exploits and prowess became tales of legends among those who supported the movement.[31]

These groups were largely described and labeled by colonial and lowland authorities as "colorum" movements, which Milagros Guerrero notes from the Latin *saecula saeculorum*, "forever and ever".[32] This labeling has its history with Spanish anti-colonial revolts in the 19th century. This however had negative implications and would extend to various groups across colonial and post-colonial periods.[33] They feature largely to have a community base outside centers of towns and many of their members would engage in pilgrimages in areas where they considered as sacred grounds, among them, Mt. Banahaw and the adjacent areas of Mt. Makiling in the Southern Tagalog area and the foot of Mt. Kanlaon in Negros.[34] They are branded by colonial authorities as heretics and were accused of distorting followers, used religious symbolism and language in framing and explaining their worldview.[35] Even lowland natives painted these groups in a contrasting light especially in the press where they were juxtaposed and simplified in character, in line with political and economic crises of the century. What is clear, however, is that these are continuing struggles, a form of a peasant uprising that also challenged the Spanish colonial rule, which we may also describe as resistance from the "below".[36] Many studies have revolved around characterizations such as "messianic", "millenarian", and "popular", among a few, but strict labels would often extend with the complexities of the character and goal of these movements.

Millenarian, Messianic, Popular: Resistance from the "Below"

Scholars contend and agree on the complexity behind terms such as "nativistic", "millenarian", "messianic", and the countless related terms. The question remains, and as complex as the terms are, as to what specific term or set of terms would one use. To distinguish and separate each of the

[30] Ileto, *Pasyon and Revolution,* 178, 180-181, 233-237.
[31] McCoy, "Baylan: Animist Religion and Philippine Peasant Ideology," 172; Filomeno Jr. Aguilar, "Masonic Myths and Revolutionary Feats in Negros Occidental," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 28, no. 2 (September 1997): 285–300.
[32] Guerrero, "The Colorum Uprisings, 1924-1931," 65.
[33] Ileto, *Pasyon and Revolution*, 75, 187.
[34] Reynaldo Ileto, *Filipinos and Their Revolution: Event, Discourse, and Historiography* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1998), 85.; McCoy, "Baylan: Animist Religion and Philippine Peasant Ideology."
[35] Guerrero, "The Colorum Uprisings, 1924-1931", 72-74.
[36] Ileto, *Pasyon and Revolution,* 7, 8, 10-11.

several terms will be a conundrum as each is fluid in describing such movements. However, several scholars have made attempts to distinguish and categorize common characteristics and attributes.[37]

Gottfried Oosterwal's general discussion on messianic groups reminds us of the different perspectives that characterize such social movements. The core of his discussion revolved around common elements: the context, leader, and ideology or religion.[38] He argues that these common characteristics are what we could find in "messianic" movements regardless of geographical, social, and cultural context.[39] The difficulty or "crisis situation" that prevailed in intercultural encounters would lead to a formation of such anti-colonial, or even an anti-status quo resistance movement.[40] Where then does this "crisis" lead? In the case of the Philippines, the imbalance of encounters would then have a dichotomic effect, the colonized and the colonizer or the "oppressed". Vittorio Lanternani's review further relates to this form of "crisis" as could be a form of "deprivation" or from such "adjustment" to acculturation or encounter that would lead to the formation or rise of such "alternative" resistance movements.[41] Gayatri Spivak adds that, however, interpreting this response towards "crisis" could only be related and explained into terms and meaning, which the oppressed could only understand as outsiders do not have the first-hand experience in their context.[42] For peasant-led or "millenarian" movements, this is mostly seen through a charismatic-spiritual leader, which a religious ideological framework is propagated.[43] Greg Bankoff, on the other hand, uses the term "messianic bandit" to describe various movements that had deep connections with indigenous religious beliefs, especially those that arose within the Visayas area.[44] Following the same definitions as the aforementioned scholars, Bankoff expounds similarities to the three core elements presented by Oosterwal: religion as a framework in these movements, especially by the leaders, not just being labeled as "criminal" but extends as prophetic and messianic. Their "banditry" is seen as somewhat benevolent, especially to those who benefit from their activities.[45] As Oosterwal further expounds, these leaders act as a medium to propagate an apocalyptic utopia, freeing the oppressed, and social and economic equality will eventually happen; it is the leader that bears prophecy as well as the way towards this messianic salvation.[46] A messiah, therefore, was seen as the leader tasked to rectify the imbalance, bring bliss and paradise into the community. As presented above, the complexities are inherent, but similarities are also present. The "crisis", which takes the form of colonization, became a threat to the innate way of life of natives, thus resistance, which includes popular movements led by messianic figures. Lanternani emphasizes that explaining through religion alone may not be sufficient in understanding the dynamics of these groups, as some may have evolved over time beyond predominant religious causes in

[37] Greg Bankoff, "Bandits, Banditry, and Landscapes of Crime in the Nineteenth-Century Philippines," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 29, no. 2 (September 1998): 319–39; Peter Braünlein, "Who Defines 'the Popular'? Post-Colonial Discourses on National Identity and Popular Christianity in the Philippines," in *Religion, Tradition and the Popular: Transcultural Views from Asia and Europe*, ed. Judith Schlehe and Evamaria Sandkühler, History in Popular Cultures (Bielefeld, 2014), 75–111; Vittorio Lanternari, "Nativistic and Socio-Religious Movements: A Reconsideration," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 16, no. 4 (September 1974): 483–503; Gottfried Oosterwal, "Messianic Movements," *Philippine Sociological Review* 16, no. 1 (1968): 40–50.

[38] Oosterwal, "Messianic Movements," 40-42.

[39] Oosterwal, "Messianic Movements," 43.

[40] Oosterwal, "Messianic Movements," 50.

[41] Lanternari, "Nativistic and Socio-Religious Movements," 484, 485.

[42] Gayatri Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?," in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, ed. Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg (London: MacMillan Education LTD, 1988), 280-281.

[43] Oosterwal, "Messianic Movements"; David Sturtevant, "Guardia de Honor: Revitalization with the Revolution," *Asian Studies* 4, no. 2 (1966): 342–52.

[44] Bankoff, "Bandits, Banditry, and Landscapes of Crime in the Nineteenth-Century Philippines," 330.

[45] Bankoff, "Bandits, Banditry, and Landscapes of Crime in the Nineteenth-Century Philippines," 331.

[46] Oosterwal, "Messianic Movements," 45.

their ideological grounding.[47] Bankoff also notes the role of the "sub-culture" in which many movements had distinguished themselves from the mainstream or lowland cultural milieu.[48] In the case of Intrencherado and his movement, a more in-depth look into the cultural context of these movements needs to be understood and contextualized. Important in representing these movements are insights into culture, especially innate native concepts that have meaning and direct correlation to how they understood their motives, leaders, and vision.

Throughout the history of the Philippines, the rural areas have been associated with the proliferation of these movements.[49] Resistances against what Reynaldo Ileto calls the "lowland power center" held primarily by the Catholic church and convent were mostly conducted from the fringes of colonial control.[50] Meanwhile, the native elites who resided at the crossroads of this social relationship may align with the lowland power center or join the uplands if interests are at stake.[51] One famous revolt during the Spanish colonial period in 1841 was the *Cofradia de San Jose* led by Apolinario de la Cruz or "Hermano Pule". The movement was characterized as popular, emanating from mass support of rural Luzon, and messianic, with Hermano Pule seen as the messiah leader.[52] They followed strict Catholic doctrines, exhibited complete devotion and fraternity. However, this brand of Christianity intertwined with native Tagalog worldview and rhetoric. Ileto further argues that the *pasyon*, popular religious literature recited during the Lenten season, became a framework of how natives or the colonized, understood liberation and anti-colonial, even anti-establishment, resistance, as images of Christ's suffering and eventual resurrection assured the fulfillment of the noble idea of *kalayaan* and paradise afterlife.[53] Renato Constantino notes how the colonizers used religion as a tool of subversion and colonization but had an ambivalent effect. Religious rhetoric became an early rallying cry against colonial oppression.[54] Even some of the participants of the 1896 Philippine Revolution and subsequent peasant uprisings of the 20th century in Luzon framed their aims and objectives within the light of religious rhetoric, continuing or having similarities with the earlier language of the *Cofradia*.[55] However, some of these uprisings even became a threat to the established First Philippine Republic, like the *Guardia de Honor* in the Central Luzon area who were branded as criminals or "*tulisanes*" by the former.[56] The character, aims, and visions of the *Cofradia* also bear similarities with the *Pulahan* movements in the Visayas. A 2015 study conducted by George Emmanuel Borrinaga in Leyte revisits these movements which had continued to exist and resist colonial authority until the 20th century. Stemming from activities recorded since the 18th century, many messianic leaders in Leyte claimed continuity, showed miracles and prophetic visions of a utopic future, a paradise that became the framework of resistance of the movement.[57] Alfred McCoy's study on *baylan* ideology, *babaylan* or indigenous shaman-healers, presents a clear localization of liturgical rites of Catholicism with Visayan pre-Hispanic beliefs and the drive of a nationalist agenda.[58]

[47] Lanternari, "Nativistic and Socio-Religious Movements", 497.
[48] Bankoff, "Bandits, Banditry, and Landscape of Crime in the Nineteenth-Century Philippines," 323.
[49] Ileto, *Filipinos and Their Revolution: Event, Discourse, and Historiography,* 84; Bankoff, "Bandits, Banditry, and Landscapes of Crime in the Nineteenth-Century Philippines"; Sophia Marco, "Dios-Dios in the Visayas," *Philippine Studies* 49, no. 1 (2001): 42–77; George Emmanuel Borrinaga, "Seven Churches: The Pulahan Movement in Leyte, 1902-1907," *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society* 43, no. 1/2 (2015): 1–139.
[50] Ileto, *Filipinos and Their Revolution: Event, Discourse, and Historiography,* 81.
[51] Ileto, *Filipinos and Their Revolution: Event, Discourse, and Historiography,* 82-85.
[52] Ileto, *Pasyon and Revolution,* 49.
[53] Ileto, *Pasyon and Revolution*, 15-22.
[54] Renato Constantino, *The Philippines: A Past Revisited*, 65, 97, 136-137.
[55] Ileto, *Pasyon and Revolution,* 180-183.
[56] Sturtevant, "Guardia de Honor", 346.
[57] Borrinaga, "Seven Churches." 16-23.
[58] McCoy, "Baylan: Animist Religion and Philippine Peasant Ideology," 165, 171.

This includes Papa Isio and Intrencherado, along with other recognized local anti-colonial groups like Birdin of the Central Iloilo and Montor of Guimbal.[59] Orations are prominently used, as well as *anting-anting* (amulets), bearing a mix of selected Latin, Spanish and local language in the belief of invincibility against foes and harnessing supernatural powers. These leaders bear legitimacy among the native population as they personified the pre-colonized way of life: performed rituals and miracle healing, connection to the unknown, and harnessing supernatural prowess. They are anti-colonial, popular, and indigenous.

Despite their anti-colonial character and disposition, they were portrayed and characterized negatively within the bounds of criminality, absurdity, and extremism. Most of their actions were marginalized and subordinated to the actions of larger individuals, mostly elites. Their presence and activities were threats to the existing order. Filomeno Aguilar Jr's studies on Papa Isio showed how his image was marginalized, while elite haciendero revolutionaries like Juan Araneta and Aniceto Locsin were given most of the credit for anti-colonial activities, even creating "myths" of their exploits and heroism.[60] Papa Isio remained as an image for hoax and fanaticism. This, however, is not surprising as "colonial domestication" is part of the colonial narrative of separating those who can be labeled as "civilized" against those who could not hold those standards.[61] Further, characterizing them as "mentally ill" and "insane" with "confirmation" of (Western) science, sets this fixed boundary of identification, legitimizing their own view of the popular leader. This dismissal and justification of scientific medication to the identified "mentally ill" has its shared history in Western civilization. Michel Foucault writes, the establishment of medical institutions such as the asylum or psychiatric ward was a "material" success by the so-called "modern man" or those of "reason" to contain and socially label those whom they deem identified as incapable of conforming with the existing order, of "madness" or those without "reason."[62] Their actions are labeled and characterized as akin to animals and to "children."[63] With the rise of the colonial era relative press freedom, activities of these popular movements became headline reports for the larger public and were branded along the lines far from being accepted as part of civilization. Guerrero mentions an important role of newspapers in branding these groups as mere criminals and brigands, even in connection with communism.[64] Their exploits have been recorded and sometimes were given judgment and opinions by these columnists and writers. They use the press as a medium of distorted representation regardless of the language utilized in writing. Popular newspapers like local Spanish *El Tiempo* and the *Manila Times* painted earlier similar peasant movements as "bandits", "ignorants", "lacking in education" who were "causing panic and ruin", and misleading the people by positioning themselves as divine beings.[65] For the Hiligyanon *Makinaugalingon*, the local language became a translating tool on a lowland worldview that has reflected the same justifications as the colonial authority. This

[59] Randy Madrid and Joefe Santarita, "Montor: Iloilo's Robinhood and Reluctant Revolutionary," in *The Struggle Against the Spaniards and the Americans in Western Visayas: Papers on the 1st and 2nd Conferences on the West Visayan Phase of the Philippine Revolution*, ed. Henry Funtecha and Melanie Jalandoni Padilla (Iloilo: UP in the Visayas Centennial Committee, 1998); Alicia Magos, "Birdin: Bukidnon (Sulod) Revolutionary Hero," in *The Struggle Against the Spaniards and the Americans in Western Visayas: Papers on the 1st and 2nd Conferences on the West Visayan Phase of the Philippine Revolution,* ed. Hentry Funtecha and Melanie Jalandoni Padilla (Iloilo: UP in the Visayas Centennial Committee, 1998).

[60] Aguilar, "Masonic Myths and Revolutionary Feats in Negros Occidental," 290-292.

[61] Rafael, *White Love and Other Events in Filipino History,* 72-74.

[62] Michel Foucault, *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason*, trans. Richard Howard, Vintage Books Edition (New York: Random House, Inc., 1988): *x*, 80, 251.

[63] Foucault, *Madness and Civilization*, 252.

[64] Guerrero, "The Colorum Uprisings, 1924-1931", 65.

[65] *El Tiempo,* "El Pulahanismo," August 8, 1907; *Manila Times*, "Fierce Fight Near Bacolod", August 4, 1899. A note on *El Tiempo*: it was founded by the affluent Lopez Family of Iloilo who founded wealth on the sugar industry and local and national politics; discussions are added on the following sections of the paper.

is the apparent case of Intrencherado, whom his believers to be the legitimate successor to the anti-colonial resistance, while the local press, despite being founded by a nationalist, imagined and represented as a fanatic, lunatic who could be "cured" through medical science.

Enter Intrencherado: The "Emperor" of the Philippines in the Local Press

Intrencherado entered the fray of the 20th century during the height of elite affluence in the political, social, and economic scene in the archipelago and the growing pressures of the Philippine independence. Political participation within the colonial administration started with elite collaborators in the previous war and during the Revolution. Following the surrender of Aguinaldo and the demise of the Malolos Republic in 1902, other local elites soon cooperated and joined the new colonial administration given the promise of democratic participation. Since the inauguration of a civil government in 1901, elite political participation in the Philippines grew further with the establishment of the Philippine Assembly in 1907. This political control was soon expanded through the Jones Law or the Organic Act of 1916, where a bicameral legislature, giving the already empowered elites full legislative control of Philippine affairs.[66] Parliamentary missions for Philippine independence organized by the Assembly followed suit, beginning in 1919 and ending in 1931. This was, as Samuel K. Tan notes, an elite-led anti-colonial movement moving alongside the continuing popular anti-colonial resistance.[67]

Sugar had been the primary industry since the mid-19th century, contributing largely to the cosmopolitan and urban development of the region, especially in Iloilo. The opening of the port of Iloilo to world trade in 1855 was a major factor in this development paving the way for foreign investors and businesses.[68] During the initial years of the Revolution, Iloilo remained relatively loyal under Spanish rule due to the increase of sugar exports. The Iloilo theater of the Revolution, and the eventual war with the US, prompted new alliances and shifting allegiances of the elites and prominent businessmen as the new colonial rule focused on the region's rich sugar export industry. At the same time, remaining revolutionaries in the region continued the fight underground while also being denounced as bandits and criminals. Notable families in the region like the Lopezes were able to preserve their wealth since the Spanish era through alliances with foreign capital, providing technological and labor capital on the sugar market. McCoy expounds this relationship: "[a]fter the start of free trade with the United States in 1913, the colonial government and American investors found the sugar industry, with 80 percent of its production on Negros, the only sector capable of absorbing a major infusion of capital."[69] Thus, the sugar capitalists took advantage of this financial gain as well as political positions in the Philippine Assembly to preserve and maintain the legislative advantage and legitimate authority.

The majority of the labor in the Western Visayas, likewise, centered and paralleled on the sugar industry. The migration of workers to the sugar fields of Negros was a common endeavor in the growing economic development in the region. However, labor practices in the haciendas of Negros differed greatly from other existing

[66] Samuel K. Tan, *A History of the Philippines* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1987; 2012): 74-75.
[67] Tan, *A History of the Philippines*, 74.
[68] Henry Funtecha, "The Making of a 'Queen City': The Case of Iloilo 1890s-1930s," *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society* 20, no. 2/3 (September 1992): 107–32.
[69] Alfred McCoy, "Sugar Barons: Formation of a Native Planter Class in the Colonial Philippines," *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 19, no. 3–4 (1992): 122.

haciendas across the archipelago; it reflected a deep relationship of the global capitalist system exploiting the labor market for profit. McCoy notes the condition of the sugar workers,

> *Unlike the tenanted sugar plantations of Central Luzon, Negros haciendas were cultivated by supervised work-gangs paid a nominal daily wage...The Negros hacienda worker was, by contrast, a wage or debt slave who owned, quite literally, nothing more than his clothes and cooking utensils. Worked in teams under the supervision of a foreman like open-air factory workers, the Ilongo plantation hand was paid an inadequate daily wage which left him constantly in debt to the planter.*[70]

New technological advancements of the 20th century, most especially the introduction of centrifugal mills, led to an increase in sugar production and changed the labor dynamics within the sugar industry.[71] Wages began to decrease in Negros as the sugar plantations began to mechanize and further industrialize their operations. While at the same time, labor in the sugar warehouses in Iloilo, stevedores had to endure harsh labor practices, low wages, and being treated like an "animal".[72] This situation would become the impetus for the transformation of the labor movements in the region, mostly paralleling the developments of the sugar industry.

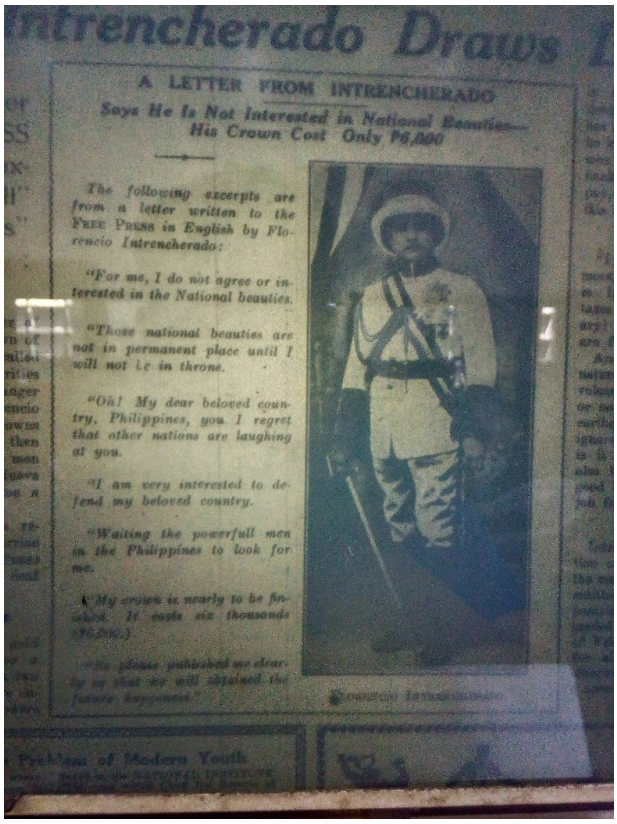
Many of the early labor unions in Iloilo City, like the *Union Obrera* (1903), were founded by "elite nationalists" most of whom were already established sugar planters, were mostly conservative in nature, but offered little to no benefit for the workers.[73] Soon, community-based "mutual aid societies" became popular, considered to be the surest avenue through which workers could secure insurance and security.[74]

The worker's movement began to evolve by 1914 and new unions began to rise which are led mostly by the city's "literati" nationalist middle class, typically playwrights and journalists, who were becoming prominent participants in the local political scene.[75] This period was what McCoy notes as "[having] the quality of an inter-class dialogue between a chiding literati leadership moving upwards towards the middle of the society and an impoverished working class who attended their plays, read their newspapers and joined their unions" or what is basically an expanded form of "patronage relationship" that was already present within their own neighborhood or community.[76] These unions, alongside other worker's organizations, would become militant over time and would also become the basis for political support. In Negros, many local labor unions and societies in the 1920s were either founded by a planter or miller which functioned primarily as political bases used by sugar capitalists against their rivals, a "product of the province's gathering conflict between planters and millers," and were more politically active than those in Iloilo City.[77]

To note, the founder of the *Makinaugalingon,* Rosendo Mejica, was an active participant in this complex labor movement in the region. He had led several labor union branches in Negros during the early union movement, had established *Mga Baybayanon* (Shore Dwellers) in 1905, a mutual aid society in Molo, revived the 1903 *Union Obrera* in 1914, albeit short-lived.[78] He also became further politically involved as a city councilor, elected multiple times and retained his position from 1906 until 1936.[79]

[70] Alfred McCoy, "A Queen Dies Slowly: The Rise and Decline of Iloilo City," in *Philippine Social History: Global Trade and Local Transformations*, ed. Alfred McCoy and Edilberto de Jesus (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1982), 297–358: 326.
[71] McCoy, "A Queen Dies Slowly", 325.
[72] McCoy, "A Queen Dies Slowly", 332.
[73] McCoy, "A Queen Dies Slowly", 329.
[74] McCoy, "A Queen Dies Slowly", 329, 333. McCoy writes that even before the establishment of worker's unions, mutual aid societies had already been catering to the insurance needs of the workers.
[75] McCoy, "A Queen Dies Slowly", 333.
[76] McCoy, "A Queen Dies Slowly", 333, 336. McCoy expands more on this by looking into the arrangement of structures within the city, especially the positions of the elite residential areas vis-à-vis those of the working class, noting their positions within the proximity of the elevated roads.
[77] McCoy, "A Queen Dies Slowly", 338.
[78] McCoy, "A Queen Dies Slowly", 333, 337.
[79] Lagos and Lagos. "Remembering Don Rosendo Mejica." Lagos and Lagos also mention *Mga Baybayanon* as a "civic association" and was

It was in this complex political, social, and economic setting that Intrencherado, the self-proclaimed "emperor of the Philippines," would become popular among the peasantry, especially among the workers of Negros.



ntrencherado Draws

A LETTER FROM INTRENCHERADO

Says He Is Not Interested in National Beauties—
His Crown Cost Only P6,000

The following excerpts are from a letter written to the FREE PRESS in English by Florencio Intrencherado:

"For me, I do not agree or interested in the National beauties.

"Those national beauties are not in permanent place until I will not i.e in throne.

"Oh! My dear beloved country, Philippines, you I regret that other nations are laughing at you.

"I am very interested to defend my beloved country.

"Waiting the powerfull men in the Philippines to look for me.

My crown is nearly to be finished. It costs six thousands (P6,000.)

"So please published me clearly so that we will obtained the future happyness."

Problem of Modern Youth

Figure 3: A photograph of the "Emperor" Flor Intrencherado featured in the May 21, 1927 issue of the Philippines Free Press.[80]

McCoy noted that several, if not most, revolts led by Intrencherado's army occurred in Negros. Intrencherado did not personally lead these uprisings, but his top generals carried out the commands of the "emperor". The army, mostly consisting of peasant laborers from sugar lands, was able to take hold of several municipal buildings and hold hostage government officials. The special report of the *Philippines Free Press* on Intrencherado recalls one of the events:

> *In four towns of Negros—La Carlota, Bago, Silay, and Victorias—the municipal police and officials were overpowered and for a day the mob held the town. In La Castellana, three Spanish plantation owners were tied to posts and flogged. At the Bago, the president, after seeing that resistance was hopeless, invited about 200 of the invaders to inspect the municipal buildings and the jail before taking over the government. After herding them inside the jail, he slipped out and locked the people inside. Before evening, the constabulary forces were organized and their guns found little difficulty in subduing the bolo-armed barefooted people, surprised and half-frightened already at their sudden though temporary success.*
>
> *Four deaths resulted. One policeman and two followers of Intrencherado were killed during the assaults and the chief of police of La Carlota died the next day, from wounds received when the municipal building was captured. Over 200 peasants have been charged with sedition. Nearly a hundred also face additional charges, of rebellion and murder.*[81]

Several uprisings have occurred in various municipalities with almost the same circumstances and outcomes—skirmishes with state officials and forces and short-lived occupation of the municipal hall. This caught the attention not only of the local newspaper media but also in the national setting as well, even catching the attention and concern of the American colonial government.

Following his second arrest in 1926 and his departure for Manila in 1927, series of *Makinaugalingon* articles tried to investigate the background of the self-proclaimed "emperor". In their investigation of his life, in articles published on May 20 and 24, 1927, Flor Intrencherado, otherwise a *Makinaugalingon* article claims his real name as Prudencio Salarda, was born in the island of Corregidor, then part of the province of Cavite, on November 12, 1871, to parents Rufo Salarda, from the town of San Miguel, Iloilo, and an unnamed mother whom the press believed to be Tagalog. The family eventually resided in the Iloilo City near the ports, in

responsible for constructing the "first public school building put up in the Philippines under the American rule" in Baluarte, Molo, Iloilo City.

80 Photo by the author.

81 *Philippines Free Press,* "He Would Be Emperor", May 21, 1927.

the neighborhoods of Tungkil, presently Rizal Street, where the father earned a living working for a Chinese businessman.[82] However, the press wrote that residents in Tungkil strongly stated that they have no relations or whatsoever with the parents of Intrencherado nor they do know why they reside there.[83] Evidently, any hint of association with the self-proclaimed "emperor" meant negative representation in the press and among the public, thus many of the residents of the area claimed to have no knowledge nor do so. As discussed later, the followers are treated negatively similar to the leader.

Growing up in the city and region's economic center, he would eventually be working as a *mayordomo* or steward in a vessel along the port of Iloilo. It was also there where he met his first wife by the name of Virginia Ibarzabal. Not long, Intrencherado's first wife died which led him to venture to the town of Maasin in Central Iloilo where he married his second wife, Daniel Alilis.[84] It was not mentioned or expanded by the news article what have had happened to Intrencherado's residence in Maasin. However, it is worth noting that in 1917, the press had some coverage on the area during the notoriety of a known *būyúng* or "bandit [sic]", Otô.[85] The second coverage on Intrencherado's background revealed that in 1904, he moved into the rural village of Payaw in the town of Binalbagan, Negros Occidental.[86] It was here that the press believes Intrencherado had gone into "insanity" after what was believed to be an unfortunate gambling incident that led to "loosening of the brain in his head", *paghalug sang iya utak sa ulo*.[87] This, as the press records, would then led to a pilgrimage, moving to the islands of Higante (Gigantes Islands) where he apparently proclaimed his emperorship,

> *In the end, he ended up in the islands of Higante, and there, it was claimed, that he had spoiled himself for no one dared to argue with him until the time came which he started to write his works and* ***his proclamation (of himself) as "Emperor" which God the Holy Spirit has sent upon to rule and govern over our archipelago***.[88]

Following this spiritual revelation, Intrencherado moved to Jaro where he began to propagate and quickly amass a large number of followers through his writings, as well as attention from government authorities.[89] The booklet of his writings, *Kaluasan san tanan kon pamatian*, translated by the *Free Press* as "Redemption for all when heed", prophesized that a grave calamity will befall on February 4, 1929, for those who would not follow his words.[90] The *Free Press* further reported that Intrencherado's supernatural prowess could harness the power of nature, summoning typhoons, volcanoes, and earthquakes.

What is noticeable in the press coverage of Intrencherado's life history is that their claim was linked to events that had apparently altered his mental condition, turning him into an "insane" person. His writings and claims as ruler of the Philippine Islands were, the news articles claim, a result of losing his mind over a gambling loss. Prophecies that Intrencherado proclaimed are just based on delusions of an illusory grandeur produced by the acclaimed mentally ill monarch.

82 McCoy, "Baylan: Animist Religion and Philippine Peasant Ideology," 176.
83 *Makinaugalingon,* "Sin-o si Flor Intrencherado," May 20, 1927; *Makinaugalingon,* "Si Flor 'Intrencherado'", May 24, 1927.
84 *Makinaugalingon,* "Sin-o si Flor Intrencherado," May 20, 1927.
85 *Makinaugalingon*, "Sarisari'ng balita", March 7, 1917; *Makinaugalingon*, "Sarisari'ng balita", April 11, 1917.
86 Binalbagan was a reported sugar land in the 1920s and presently the location of the Binalbagan-Isabela Sugar Company (BISCOM), see John Larkin, *Sugar and the Origins of Modern Philippine Society* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).
87 *Makinaugalingon,* Si Flor "Intrencherado", May 24, 1927.
88 *Makinaugalingon,* Si Flor "Intrencherado", May 24, 1927, *emphasis mine*; All of the Hiligaynon news press articles presented hitherto are already translated by the author of this paper. I claim no expertise in translation. Translation comes with aid of Fr. John Kauffmann's *Kapulúngan Binisayá-Ininglís*, a 1935 Hiligaynon dictionary (Iloilo: La Editorial) in relative contemporary with Intrencherado's time.
89 McCoy, "Baylan: Animist Religion and Philippine Peasant Ideology," 177.
90 *Philippines Free Press,* "Why Intrencherado Draws Legions," May 21, 1927

The press also portrays Intrencherado's wife as pitiful, who was enduring "both happiness and sadness," *"kalipayan kag kalisdanan"*. Both attributes were only inserted by the press who had represented her husband, Intrencherado, as someone with a mental disability.[91]

While the press dismissed Intrencherado, this did not hinder the growth of his movement. Followers of the "emperor" continued to rise across the region, particularly in the rural areas within the province of Iloilo and the sugar lands of Negros Occidental. From 1925 to 1926, the provincial government of Iloilo received reports of the growing influence of Intrencherado following the increased resistance of his followers from paying taxes and the solicitation activities of Intrencherado and his most loyal followers. In an article published by the *Makinaugalingon*, dated November 6, 1925, Intrencherado and several of his "renegade" followers were arrested in the town of Estancia after carrying bladed weapons, *siantong*.[92] In a follow-up coverage, the press stated that his bearing of arms was in his intention to become an "anarchist" and that he had already collected several more donations for his cause in the town and in the town of Estancia. A portion of a press article reports:

> *He has stated that he carries these weapons because it was his aim that* ***he will become an anarkista (anarchist)*** *when he grows up. He was able to collect donations of around 300 pesos in Estancia and 50 pesos in Tigbawan (Tigbauan), in order to buy toisons for those who will help him in case other nations [countries], will wage war, yet he still lacks 700 pesos which he really needs.*[93]

Intrencherado believed himself to be an "anarchist" preparing for a "war" that would change the current conditions of the Philippines and gracing it with "salvation". However, the writer of the news report does not elaborate any further than this. It will only be during the trial of Intrencherado that his plans for the country be revealed. But as seen in the years following this report, Intrencherado's words turned into a reality as many peasants in the rural areas and laborers began to join the movement. The article concludes that Intrencherado was released after paying a 10-peso fine. The following year, increased reports circulated in the press, especially in the towns of Guimbal and Leon, where municipal presidents had complained and sent reports to the provincial government that several villages (*minuro*) were not paying their personal tax, *sedula personal*, as well as other tax dues. In news articles published in the *Makinaugalingon*, followers of Intrencherado were instead collecting money—their supposed tax—for them to buy their Emperor's regalia. As the news articles say: "[t]hey will not pay their taxes, yet they collect money in order to buy imperial garments for Flor Intrencherado, which they believed to be the true ruler of the Philippines."[94]Another report says the following extent of influence and resistance:

> *In the village of Kawilihan in Leon, Municipal President Cajilig has stated in his letter to the Provincial Government that many of the villagers in the town will not pay their sedula personal and* ***they will not hesitate to resist against the police if forced to do so, for this is the mandate of their emperor which is Flor Intrencherado and their emperor only lets them pay in pesetas****. If they should pay disaster will strike them as they are increasing in number even replacing these village heads with top followers of Intrencherado who have all solid faith in the authority of their emperor, and because of these, they will continue to resist town officials. Members of Intrencherado in Leon are reported to be in hundreds and continue to increase daily.*[95]

[91] *Makinaugalingon,* "Sin-o si Flor Intrencherado", May 20, 1927; All the press articles related to Intrencherado from 1925 to 1929 have no further mention about the status of Intrencherado's wife, or her absence in the press coverage is apparently noticeable, as her perspective might have been insightful or whether she had left him or not or had supported the movement.

[92] *Makinaugalingon,* "Si Flor 'Intrencherado' gindakop," November 6, 1925.

[93] *Makinaugalingon,* "Ang Bantug nga Intrencherado", November 13, 1925, *emphasizes mine*; *Toison de Oro*, a fleece, translated from Spanish.

[94] *Makinaugalingon,* "Wala pagbalayad sang ila buhis," February 19, 1926, *emphasis mine*.

[95] *Makinaugalingon,* "Sarisari'ng Balita," April 27, 1926, *emphasizes mine.*

Local governments could not control the growing influence of Intrencherado. It is clear in these news articles that the "emperor" only mandates them to pay in fewer amounts, in *pesetas*, equivalent to 20 centavos, thus ensuring support from the peasant population.[96] This is in contrast to tax dues of that time that amounted to *pesos*. This may also be one of the reasons why Intrencherado quickly gained hundreds of followers from the labor class. In many towns, local village leaders were either members of the Intrencherado movement or, if not, were forcibly replaced. McCoy records that the movement swelled to thousands with most of the followers working as laborers in sugar haciendas of Negros.[97] They were in full support of Intrencherado's vision and mission to alter the existing exploitative system and to usher radical social reforms. In 1927, an article in the *Makinaugalingon* writes, the Philippine Constabulary was able to obtain a list containing the number of followers in Negros after raiding his residence in Jaro, Iloilo; this apparently showed the extent of his influence across the province (*see Table 1)*.

Table 1: Number of Intrencherado Followers in Negros Occidental[98]	
Bacolod	859
Bago	2, 085
Binalbagan	30
Cadiz	864
Escalante	267
Hinigaran	300
Himamaylan	18
Ilog	25
Isabela	300
Kabancalan	31
Kawayan	18
La Castellana	577
La Carlota	1, 144
Calatraya	26
Manapla	700
Murcia	962
Pulupandan	42
Pontivedra	150
San Enrique	359
Sagay	742
Sarawa	928
Silay	1, 698
Talisay	880
Sa. Carlos	165
Valladolid	246
Victorias	928

This massive following in Negros was largely due to the propaganda efforts of many of Intrencherado's top officials in the area, the same individuals who have prominent roles in the various uprisings that spread throughout the region. Municipalities like Silay and La Carlota are known to be centers of sugar production on the island. Aside from the supposed "anarchistic" agenda, many of those who followed him were devoted to his charisma and prophetic stature. Maybe of pure coincidence, a great natural calamity did take place in Negros in March 1927. Mt. Kanlaon began to show signs of activity as the "emperor" had predicted in his writings.[99] Whether or not the "emperor" really manifested such prowess, to be able to prophesize such an event, what is clear to the followers is that their belief was always proven true.

[96] A single *peseta*, or alternatively spelled as *pisita*, amounts to only 20 centavos (see Kaufmann, *Kapulíngan*, 408).

[97] McCoy, "Baylan: Animist Religion and Philippine Peasant Ideology," 177.

[98] *Makinaugalingon*, "Kapid-an ang ginsakpan ni Intrencherado sa Negros nga Nakatungdan", July 21, 1927. Unfortunately, I was not able to find any statistical data regarding the followers in Iloilo and in other provinces in the region.

[99] McCoy, "Baylan: Animist Religion and Philippine Peasant Ideology," 177.

Trial of the Emperor, Departure, and the Fall

In October 1926, the Intrencherado turned himself in and, several days after, faced trial before the Iloilo Court of First Instance. During the trial, hundreds of followers converged at the *Gobierno Provincial* (Provincial Capitol) to witness the trial of their beloved "emperor". After the trial, hundreds of followers soon were reported to have gathered at his residence at Jaro to celebrate thanksgiving, that "no harm was done to him"[100]. The transcript of the exchange at court, published in several parts by the *Makinaugalingon* a year after the trial, reflected the purpose, the conviction of Intrencherado in his beliefs, word per word, out for the public to read.[101] The following transcript below shows his position, explaining to the court his intentions behind his activities and that of his followers.

QUESTIONS OF HONORABLE JUDGE SALAS
Q: What is your intention in appointing dukes, marquis, counts, and barons?
A: [In] response of the order [commandment, placed upon me] to explain clearly the uprisings [unpleasant events, that have happened] and to allow/permit the salvation that will be sent to us from the United States.
Q: What I am asking is your intention in appointing such ranks [titles]
A: Your honor, ***in making a righteous government, a righteous government that is independent***[102]
Q: What do you mean by independent
A: What I wish for is ***liberation (redemption) for all***[103]
Q: You mean to say, you want to be the Chief [Jefe] of the Philippine nation?
A: Yes, sir [your honor], but ***I must first free my nation*** *which I have strived hard for long.*[104]
Q: What title [or position] do you wish to rule over the Philippines?
A: In the form of ***creating an imperial government*** *with an emperor, six kings, twenty-eight counts, a few hundreds of battalions [of people] which will [help]* ***improve our industry, our commerce, rightly owned by a government which is independent***[105]***; for we will not be granted independence by the United States if we do not have our own industry and commerce****. For this to happen, I have continued to strive and labored hard since 1905.*
Q: Your wish is for you to be called the emperor of the Philippines?
A: Yes sir [your honor]; ***for this is the wish of the nation [people]. The United States has stated that we should have our own [independent] government****, and this is what I have strived for [the sake of] the people for a proverb states: 'velar es estudiar' (to observe is to study) and this, your honor, is the lesson which I have learned.*
Q: What is the meaning/symbol of that large cross that is at your chest?
A: ***This is the cross of patriotism****, your honor, which I could feel [embedded] inside my body [or physical being].*
Q: And who has given you this honor?
A: ***It is, truly, the Holy Spirit through the work of the people who contributed [money] for me to bring salvation to this archipelago, which for the longest time, have waited for an independent government.***[106]

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100 *Makinaugalingon*, "Ang 'Emperador' sang Espiritu Santo," October 8, 1926.

101 I was able to only find two parts of the transcript produced by the *Makinaugalingon* at the University Library Microfilm Records. The full name of the presiding judge may have been Fernando Salas based on available online court records dating from 1925 to 1928, (see Arellano Law Foundation. *The LawPhil Project*. https://www.lawphil.net/)

102 The basic translation for the Hiligaynon word *maayo* is "good", however, its definition could extend to include "honest", "excellent", "virtuous", etc. depending on the context of which the adjective describes. I have opted to choose "righteous" since the goal of Intrencherado's movement was to reform, change the existing system of government for the benefit of the people (see Kaufmann, *Kapulúngan*, 292.). I have translated the Hiligaynon kaugalingon as "independent." Other definitions presented by Kaufmann are: "own", "private", "personal", "peculiar", and "particular" (226).

103 *Kaluasan* may also mean "redemption." Expanded further in the article.

104 Intrencherado uses the term *luason* which I translated as "to free", but it could also mean "to redeem" (Kaufmann, *Kapulúngan*, 280, 284).

105 I opted to translate the last phrase based on the other definitions of *kaugalingon* as Intrencherado repeats it, maybe as a form of emphasis. Original Hiligaynon: "Sa bagay sang pagpatuk sang gobierno imperial nga may isa ka emperador, anum ka hari, duha ka pula kag walu ka konde, pila ka gatus ka batalyon nga amo ang magpabakud sang aton industria, sang aton komersio, **kaugalingon** sang *isa ka gobierno* nga **kaugalingon**…"

106 *Makinaugalingon*, "Mga panalabton ni Intrencherado sa Hukmanan", 1927, emphasis mine.

Q: I need to confirm [the basis or purpose] why the Holy Spirit gave you that cross which is in your chest
A: ***For enlightenment, by the Holy Spirit which is also Divine Justice that has led people to contribute and through these contributions I have bought such jewels; here I adorn all the jewels, for all the other nations to see that we know how to venerate our 'patria' (nation)****.*
Q: And that white cross, what does it mean?
A: ***This is the 'toison' (fleece), [a symbol] of being a count and through this, I will rule the Philippine Islands****.*
Q: What is the purpose of the contributions and the cedula personal [personal tax] which you solicit from the people?
Q: It is only in pesetas, your honor.
A: But for what purpose?
Q: ***For the improvement of our Philippine industry and commerce for as I have intended, your honor, to pay the United States four million annually****,*[107] *and where shall I get money to rescue my people who need liberation [freedom]?*
A: You mean to say, you have been sending money to the United States?
Q: Yes, your honor. Thus, it is clear now, your honor, that I have labored long years to see for these things in fruition; ***I need the empire justly supported by an independent government, and I resisted/endured with and worked hard for I know that an empire brings liberation; freedom for my people****… here are the outsiders [extranjeros]...*
Q: Wait for a moment
A: Yes, your honor, the foreigners/outsiders are here…
Q: Wait for a moment, and have you already sent money to the United States for that purpose?
A: ***Not yet, for the people have not yet received their freedom...and I have labored to make sure of that freedom [will come]****.*
Q: So, what have you done with the twenty centavos that you have solicited.
A: It is here with me; I show to the people; here are the monetary contributions they have given me; for I have labored hard and long for years since 1905.[108]

[107] Does not specify if in Pesos or US Dollars.
[108] *Makinaugalingon,* "Mga panalabton ni Intrencherado sa Hukmanan (padayon)", 1927, *emphasis mine.*

Intrencherado made clear of his goal in two ways: improving the overall industry of the Philippines, and making sure not just of political independence, but also in the form of "redemption" as well, as seen from his use of the term *kaluasan* interconnecting it with synonymous terms such as *kaugalingon* and *katimawaan*.[109] Furthermore, it is noteworthy to point out that Intrencherado's goal of independence stretched also towards the inclusion of benefits of modernization and technological advances, which were being abused by capitalists instead of sharing its benefits to the ordinary laborer. The radical reforms Intrencherado echoed in these exchanges are well stated: the promise of providing the people with a just, righteous, and independent government that honors the nation above all, not for the benefit of the corporate elites—especially the political *haciendero*s of the sugar lands of Negros. For him, the most suitable government structure that would bring these reforms into fulfillment would be an imperial system with him as the "emperor", the *jefe* or chief of the entire Philippine Islands.

Another noteworthy detail in the exchange is Intrencherado's goal of "buying" Philippine independence from the United States, by sending money through a part of the contributions his members had made. Ambitious it may seem to the spectators and non-members of his movement, Intrencherado may have been aware of the Treaty of Paris agreement in which Spain sold the archipelago to the United States for 20 million US Dollars. He may also have been aware of the growing clamor for Philippine independence since the establishment of the

[109] From the root word *Luas* which is defined by Kaufmann in the *Kapulúngan* as "to [be] free, **deliver**, **redeem**, liberate, set free, set at liberty, let out, let loose, release, discharge" (*emphasis mine*). The first sentence he used as an example in the dictionary has a religious tone: "Luasá akó, Ginóo, sa maláut ko nga kapaláran" (Deliver me, oh Lord, from my misfortune). Another form of *katimawaan, patimawa* also has the same tone as *luas* with the same religious tone sentence example: "Patimawáa kamí, Ginóo." (Deliver us, oh Lord). The *Free Press* also translated *kaluasan* as redemption.

civil government and the subsequent rising participation of elites in the political process of governing the archipelago. Seeing that, as he states he had "labored hard" on this endeavor since 1905, combined with the objective of improving the industry through fair means, Intrencherado's goals and aims may seem possible for the believers. His "anarchist" framework was ensuring fair and just government for those exploited, improving national and local industry which benefits all, and eventually political, as well as a "redemptive" form of independence under his rule legitimized by the "holy spirit". What we also see working as the core philosophy behind the imperial ambition is the devotion to the nation, *patria*.

However, these were all dismissed by the Court who declared Intrencherado mentally ill and sentenced him to be "treated" at the San Lazaro Hospital in Manila. On the other hand, the press further described him as a "deranged" person who needed to be confined in a *manicomio* (insane asylum).[110] On the day of his send-off to Manila, thousands of followers gathered at his residence in Jaro bearing arms, trying to prevent their "emperor" from going to Manila. It was also reported that some followers began to collect ten centavos to be given to Intrencherado as "provisions", *balon*.[111] However, this spontaneous would-be uprising would be averted and intervened by Governor-General Leonard Wood, who had stopped by Iloilo on his way to Mindanao. He came to convince Intrencherado to commit and follow the verdict of the court. He also ensured the followers of their leader's safety. The commotion soon died down as Intrencherado gave an order to his followers to stand down and soon traveled to Manila.[112]

As soon as Intrencherado sailed to Manila, government officials and state forces began an intensive crackdown on the followers of the "emperor", raided his house in Jaro, confiscated his assets, and conducted mass arrests on top officials of the movement. All the while, remaining followers of Intrencherado in Iloilo and Negros continued to resist and staged revolts. The *Makinaugalingon*, likewise, was engaged with this campaign against Intrencherado and his followers. The movement's top military leaders such as Policarpo Montarde and his brother Valentin Montarde were arrested after an intensive pursuit. Both were sentenced with sedition and related offenses following the revolts they led in Victorias and Bacolod.[113] Many followers were either fired or dismissed from their regular occupations such as the case of a certain Feliciano Abello, a member of a local police force in Guihulngan, Negros Oriental.[114] Additionally, names of arrested followers, including those who helped Intrencherado during his arrest and trial, were publicly posted in the articles published by the *Makinaugaligon* press for the public "to be aware" of these people.[115] The press also made commentaries dismissing

[110] *Makinaugalingon*, "Ang 'Emperador' sang Espiritu Santo," October 8, 1926
[111] *Makinaugalingon,* "Tubtub sa Banate ang kabuangan ni Intrencherado," n.d.
[112] *Philippines Free Press,* "He Would Be Emperor," May 21, 1927

[113] *Makinaugalingon*, "Isa naman ka heneral ni Intrencherado ang nadakup," May 31, 1927; *Makinaugalingon*, "Si Policarpo Montarde pagausisaon sa Hukmanan," July 26, 1929.
[114] *Makinaugalingon*, "Polis nga maki-Intrencherado," May 31, 1927.
[115] *Makinaugalingon*, "50 ka ginasakpan ni Intrencherado…," May 20, 1927; this news article lists the following members in Bacolod and Silay who were arrested, charged with "sedition," and were held at the provincial jail in Bacolod: Felipe Manape, Leon Montarde (a brother of Policarpio Montarde), Eleno Labte, Casiano Casijue, Pedro Petantible, Capriano Obeja, Modesto Dusco, Cayo Pequina, Vicente Sision, Remigio Lable, Bartolomo Perras, Modesto Sumadia, Gregorio Iye, Julo Pasullag, Ruperto Sison, Francisco Patines, Alejandro Calixto, Melecio Villaruel, Mateo Balota, Calixto Cirtusa, Daniel Hernueve, Leopoldo Cayao, Teodoro Palma, Adriano Luntao, Cesareo Villanueva, Meliton Lumayo, Loncio Rufo, Martin Casiple, Victorio Zuela, Pablo Manapo, Marciso Parmado, Nicolas Palmera, Severo Espunte, Agustin Peronee, Luciano Diese, Pablo Orge, Macario Labte, Eugenio Labios, Sotero Aposaga, Sabas Estilo, Vicente Culimoan, Domingo Gallego, Pio Macanan, Vicente Argosines, Donato Casiple, Liberato Areasitas, Alejandro Villarante, Francisco Andena, Ponciano Ortiz, Francisco Cayas, Fausto Gulmatico, Lolengo Lumbay, Leodegario Diocales, Ricardo Josdito, Emilio Abura, Fernando Pangilagon, Antero (unclear print), Buenaventura Yansoy, Cirico Castillo, Bernardino Saragoza, Felix Lapo-os, Itoy Bintanganan, Dionisio Bata-anon, Cirspulo Platica, Isabelo Hechanova, Gabino Pangilason, Agustin Bingcal, Gaudencio Flores, Crispolo Golmatico, Francisco de Asis Partolero, Irineo Tapalla, Proceso Magno, Felix Ayola, Florentino Rostico, Bernardo Fernandez, Pablo Zalazar, Carlos Jardeza, Gaudencio Lapo-os, and Agustin Desabillo.

and making a mockery of the promised salvation Intrencherado preached.[116]

Meanwhile, at the San Lazaro Hospital, the *Makinaugalingon* reports that medical officials have assessed and concluded that the "emperor" was nothing but insane. They attributed his apparent "illness" to Papa Isio and noted that this "ran in the blood" of people like them.[117] Other prominent people, like then University of the Philippines President Jorge Bocobo, used the press as a medium in publishing a commentary on Intrencherado. In the published commentary, translated into Hiligaynon and reprinted in two parts by the *Makinaugalingon*, Bocobo notes that Intrencherado was just a man who is "lacking in education or instruction", *isa lamang sia ka tao nga kulang sing binasahan.* He also notes that this phenomenon, and even other similar *colorum* movements in Luzon, was only brought about by economic and political crises. He concludes that it is up to the readers to "lead them into the light", to "educate" them.[118]

In May 1929, after two years of "treatment", medical professionals in San Lazaro Hospital had declared Flor Intrencherado "cured" and "already in the right mind", *maayo na ang iya panumduman*. The following months nearing his release, however, reports circulated from the hospital officials and cautioned that Intrencherado's "illness" would return from time to time.[119] Despite the appeals from his lawyers to release him from the asylum, authorities would not reconsider stating the considerable charges that were placed upon him. With the uprisings and incidents that took place during his period in Manila, authorities have said that Intrencherado must still face charges of sedition and fraud upon returning to Iloilo.[120] Despite his absence, the movement continued with the remaining top officials leading various uprisings. However, at the same time, support from his followers also began to wane as these revolts also failed. His prophetic predictions did not occur as most believers had hoped.[121] Throughout the press coverage of the movement, his name became the staple term or adjective in the press in describing lunatics and the insane, *intrencherado*, even to describing similar phenomenon abroad. The *Makinaugalingon* thus concludes that Intrencherado is indeed the "emperor" of the insane.[122] Intrencherado was "quietly" released from San Lazaro years later, never to be heard from again.[123] Late into the 1930s, remaining loyalists tried to revive the movement however too limited success and ultimately failed.

Representing and Understanding Intrencherado

A question one may postulate is that: if the founder *Makinaugalingon* was a nationalist and a labor union leader, why did the newspaper used such language to describe and discredit the movement of Intrencherado? A possible explanation this paper posits is the political and social climate of the 1920s outlined earlier in this paper, especially with the complexities of politics and the labor movement in the region, as well as the growing calls for Philippine independence by the elite-led independence missions. Intrencherado's movement may have

116 *Makinaugalingon*, "Dina si Intrencherado…," June 14, 1927.
117 *Makinaugalingon*, "Si Intrencherado," May 24, 1927; *Makinaugalingon*, "Si Intrencherado bu-ang gid," May 31, 1927. It is also worth noting that the press made emphasis that these medical officials are Filipino.
118 *Makinaugalingon*, "Ang may sayup sining mga gamu-gamu…," June 2, 5, 1927. The commentary was originally written in English and published in the *Philippine Herald*.
119 *Makinaugalingon*, "Si Intrencherado mapauli…," May 17, 1929; *Makinaugalingon*, "Nagabalikbalik ang pagkabuang…," June 21, 1929.
120 *Makinaugalingon*, "Si Intencherado nagpabu-angbu-ang tapat," October 1928.
121 Filomeno Aguilar Jr., *Clash of Spirits: The History of Power and Sugar Planter Hegemony on a Visayan Island* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1998): 225.
122 *Makinaugalingon*, "Nagabalikbalik ang pagkabuang…," June 21, 1929.
123 Rosario Cruz-Lucero et al., "Ilonggo," *Our Islands, Our People: The Histories and Cultures of the Filipino Nation* (blog), 2018, https://ourislandsourpeople.wordpress.com/ilonggo/.

been seen as an alternative "union", owing to his movement's name *Union*, over the patron-client-based worker's organizations and the popular aid societies across the region. Working conditions in the warehouses and the mill's sugar continued to be detrimental. Decreasing wages and dismissals, strikes and compromises, rivalries, corruption, violence, and factionalism were the common features of the complex politico-labor scene in the region.[124] An example of this complex dynamic can be observed in 1925 when a strike against Iloilo's major sugar transport company Visayan Stevedore Transportation Company (Vistrancto) by a stevedore union *Balhas Sang Mamumugon* (Sweat of the Workers) was easily taken down as the former was able to solicit aid from a mutual aid society from Molo, *Mainawaon* (The Compassionate), and quickly replaced the *Balhas*-membered workers. In Negros, two influential elite-led mutual aid societies, *Kusog Sang Imol* (Strength of the Poor) and *Mainawaon,* competed for political and financial power in the early 1920s, often engaging in violent gang-like conflicts.[125] Intrencherado's movement may have been seen as a threat to the existing socio-economic system, which the region is dependent upon, especially that Mejica was part of the complex worker's movement and also a member of city government.[126] Thus, Intrencherado's movement had become a grave concern among colonial and local officials and had "brought popular protests…to a level of anxiety."[127] An anxiety that was intended to disrupt the system.

The writers of the *Makinaugalingon* made it clear that they recreated an image of Intrencherado that is based on their own textual narrative. These outside representations and identities fostered by the press are symbolic and well representative of a dividing space between an "us" and "them" dichotomy, a reflection on the early discourse of Western interpretation and understanding of the colonized. They silenced the "emperor" and his movement, giving meaning to his actions in accordance with the terms they recreated. They viewed Intrencherado as a conman, insane, and uneducated, downplaying his testimony at court where he publicly outlined his patriotic beliefs and goals of his movement. Even though the founder of the press is a labor organizer and was considered a nationalist, attempts to understand the movement as a part of the continuing anti-colonial struggle were undermined. To cross that boundary and be recognized as "civilized," the members of the movement must allow themselves to be "enlightened" and "educated" by the readers to be accepted into the mainstream society; they must transfer from the uncolonized space to the colonial one to become normal. Continued association and devotion for the "emperor" and his movement meant ridicule and continued mockery of their beliefs, calling them *idu-idu* (loyal dogs) from the Hiligaynon word *ido,* "dog." Authors of the press articles, likewise, questioned the decisions of the followers. This includes the voluntary contributions the movement had collected, claiming that Intrencherado's officials are the ones who were benefiting from the money of "ignorant masses", *kailo nga ignorante*, also dismissing their group as "a joke".

In contrast, Intrencherado firmly believed his calling was brought by the divine, the *Espiritu Santo*, and his intentions and goals were noble in character. Alayon's study notes that Intrencherado's deep devotion to the Catholic religion and the movement's character may be well described as a "combination of both Western and

[124] McCoy, "A Queen Dies Slowly," 337, 338.
[125] McCoy, "A Queen Dies Slowly," 338.; Larkin, *Sugar and the Origins of Modern Philippine Society,* 191. Larkin notes that the Negros *Mainawaon* was brought from Panay, most likely the same Molo society which McCoy mentions.
[126] In 1930, Mejica would be involved in breaking down a strike by the *Federacion Obrera de Filipinas* (FOF) against Vistranco; the latter formed an alliance of conservative unions, businessmen, and other workers organizations, including Mejica, that dealt with the striking FOF stevedores (see McCoy, "A Queen Dies Slowly", 342).
[127] Tan, *A History of the Philippines*, 67.

Oriental religious ideas" with political reforms inspired from reading historical literature.[128] The cry and word of social reforms inevitably attracted thousands of laborers and peasants who viewed him likewise as a divine figure, a messiah, that would alleviate and free them from the unfair system they were experiencing. The economic situation in the Western Visayas was deeply divided and the gap was as wide as it was a profit-oriented market fueled by foreign capital and controlled by long-time elites that also controlled politics at the regional and national level. The public opinion, therefore, had to sway in one way or another, in the same way how colonizers projected Philippine society in various representations in books, postcards, magazines, etc. However, this was negated by his followers that numbered thousands across the region. His followers firmly believed in his words, proven by their conviction, manifested in their efforts to free the "emperor", provided contributions, and protected him from those who seek harm. They regarded him as the real "ruler of the Philippines." His very image and persona were divine. They are also willing to raise their arms to fight against authorities when necessity seeks it. Reflecting on the aforementioned studies on popular movements, Intrencherado easily fits all of the core elements: having a prophetic message and persona, believing in a divine election, preaching a perfect utopia to be achieved when following his words and actions. In summary, they revered him and, according to what followers in Negros had said to the press, as the successor of the infamous folk hero, Bernardo del Carpio.[129] This is the cultural aspect that defines Intrencherado's movement. The link between the image of Intrencherado and that of Bernardo del Carpio represents an important connection between how followers understood and perceived the movement, especially how they saw Intrencherado's persona—the enduring native or indigenous worldview.

Indigenous systems that survived and endured during the colonial periods remained outside the control of colonial authority, where they formed an alternative community that followed their traditional laws and figures of authority, especially the *babaylan*. As discussed, these areas resisted the control of the lowland power center. During the Philippine Revolution and beyond, these far-flung areas became alternate centers of resistance for many guerilla groups and surviving revolutionaries, including popular religious movements including Salvador's *Santa Iglesia* and Papa Isio's movement based at the highland areas of Mt. Kanlaon. Again, these are not strictly geographically marked but based on the extent of political, cultural influence, and authority of lowland colonial and even post-colonial power centers. This is an important feature that characterizes the complexity of Philippine highland-lowland relationships, social, cultural, and even historical. Even today, many rural areas, especially in the mountainous terrains, feature enduring patterns of traditional and indigenous attitudes and ways of life.

Intrencherado's movement likewise follows the same pattern of influence of anti-colonial resistance based in the rural areas, and many of his followers recognized his connection with the surviving indigenous system. Alayon agrees with the notion of an alternate base that the movement created, notes that Intrencherado represented a threat against the dominant state authority. Most of his followers in Iloilo and Negros reside outside urbanity, and the extent of his influence grew in the rural towns. They were members of the peasantry outside of colonial influence. As expounded by Aguilar and McCoy, they viewed him as a *babaylan* figure, an indigenous spiritual leader, similar to their own enduring cultural context, thus the image of the folk hero Carpio and the successor of Papa Isio.[130]

[128] Alayon, "The Empire of Flor Yntrencherado", 226-227.
[129] *Makinaugalingon*, "4 ka libu ang bili," April 8, 1927.
[130] Aguilar, *Clash of Spirits*; McCoy, "Baylan: Animist Religion and Philippine Peasant Ideology."

McCoy further describes Intrenchardo as a figure of a *dalagangan*, a higher category of *babaylan* that could "command the elements".[131] Many of the popular, messianic, and millenarian revolts that occurred in the Visayas area, even dating from the 16th to 17th century, were attributed to this figure of indigenous leadership like Tapar, Agustin "Tan Osting" Baladjay, Estrella Bangotbanwa, and Papa Isio. Tales of their exploits were recorded as folktales and oral stories, while their images were retained as inspiration for future and continuing anti-colonial revolts in the region. Larkin notes that, even in the 1920s, many suspected "bandit" groups from the remote areas of Negros still continued their close association with Papa Isio.[132] Another contributing factor is that Panay indigenous beliefs hold the island sacred with four pillars residing at key places across the island, thus the continuing and enduring *babaylan*-led anti-colonial movements.[133] Their connection with the unseen "spirit world" has always been valuable to the community as a counsel to community leaders and as a healer of the sick.[134] For Intrencherado's case, this apparent and visible manifestation of indigenous power was already observed in his childhood and adolescent years, and already claimed visions from spirits of past nationalists.[135] This apparently continued as he later established his emperorship and his movement, in the form of supernatural prophecies of volcanic activities of Mt. Kanlaon, albeit never did actually occur. Despite the fall out of favor from most of his followers during the later years following his arrest and medical treatment, the indigenous connection in Intrencherado's persona and image represented the native's mind of contextualizing him in the historical and cultural dimension of their own surviving and enduring system.

Conclusion

The case of Flor Intrencherado and his movement reflects a large part of marginalized representation and common misunderstanding of many popular movements that rose from below. By representing them in popular media as lunatics and ignorant that needed to be "enlightened", these descriptions further created a divide, a boundary of which the voices of the followers are silenced. Their representations came from the outside, mostly from the local press, with no relation nor understanding the purpose of the peasant movement. Intrencherado is just viewed as a threat to the established order set by lowland and colonial authorities. The followers, in contrast, do not consider themselves as such. Rather, they actively participated and believed in the prophetic words of Intrencherado, the promise of radical social change, the eventual end of colonial control, and the establishment of a just and righteous independent government. They associate him with other historical indigenous leaders before him like Papa Isio and folk heroes like Bernardo del Carpio, which have connections to the enduring indigenous consciousness. They believed in his supernatural prowess, a *dalagangan* who possessed power and control of nature. He was regarded as a savior by the common folk. For Intrencherado, he viewed his cause with noble intent. He believed that he was given a divine task to free the Philippines. However, he was not taken seriously and was viewed by the press and the non-believers alien to his worldview as a criminal and a con man. Until the present, Intrencherado and his followers lacked the recognition they deserve as among those who continued to resist colonial authority.

[131] McCoy, "Baylan: Animist Religion and Philippine Peasant Ideology", 162.
[132] Larkin, *Sugar and the Origins of Modern Philippine Society*, 189.
[133] Alicia P. Magos, *The Enduring Ma-aram Tradition: An Ethnography of a Kinaray-a Village in Antique* (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1992).
[134] Magos, *The Enduring Ma-aram Tradition.* This term is always expounded by Dr. Magos in my informal conversations on the subject of indigenous worldview and beliefs.
[135] McCoy, "Baylan: Animist Religion and Philippine Peasant Ideology," 176.

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