THE IGLESIA WATAWAT NG LAHI—
AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDY OF A SOCIAL MOVEMENT
IN THE PHILIPPINES

by
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I hereby recommend that this dissertation prepared under my direction by Prospero Reyes Covar, entitled THE IGLESIA WATAWAT NG LAHI - AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDY OF A SOCIAL MOVEMENT IN THE PHILIPPINES be accepted as fulfilling the dissertation requirement of the degree of DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY.

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SIGNED: Prospero R. Covac
PREFACE

A little over ten years easily went by between this study and my previous fieldwork with the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi. This is the way it should be when one studies a social movement. It is a continuing interest, probably a lifelong avocation.

A social movement evolves. It cannot pursue its own career independently of its social setting. Sometimes the sailing is smooth. Often times the road is rough. All the way the course is uneven.

Many anthropologists among others Mead, Schwartz, and Wallace had worked out several stages through which a movement goes through. It is difficult to assign a definite time schedule to each of these stages. Even harder is predicting a movement's life span.

I feel that a time-series study of about ten years interval is sufficient to retrieve what goes on in-between. It does not blur too much the mazeway of key informants to recall significant events with considerable detail. With this length of time a fieldworker should have sufficiently allowed his dust to settle down and to savor a renewed appetite for his subject.

This research on the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi was supported by the University of Arizona Committee on Pre-doctoral Fellowships for eight months. Through Dr. Curtis B. Merritt, Chairman, I wish to extend my sincerest gratitude.
The University of the Philippines - Cornell University Graduate Education Program financed our stay and studies at the University of Arizona for three years. Dr. Richard F. Wilson through Dr. Raymond H. Thompson, Chairman, Department of Anthropology, University of Arizona, made available an education grant to tie us over during the later portion of our stay in Tucson. I also received a general scholarship award through the kindness of Dr. Richard A. Harvill, President, University of Arizona, during the spring semester 1969-70. The Executive Council of the Episcopal Church through the Reverend Robert S. Seiler helped us with a special gift when we needed it most. The Bacdayans' and Sendaydiegos' shared with us much concern and affection. To all of these people we (Verna, Miriam, and I) would like to express, maraming salamat po. Pagpalain nawa kayo.

It took me about three years to come out with this manuscript. Meanwhile the composition of my dissertation Committee had changed. Drs. Edward P. Dozier, William H. Kelly, Harry T. Getty, Keith H. Basso, and Edward H. Spicer were unnecessarily kept waiting. I owed them a lot as mentors. They introduced me to the vast frontier of knowledge. They impressed upon me the elegance of anthropological theories and the rigors of research. Certainly their noble ideas and wise counsel are reflected in this study. However, any error that is here is solely mine.

Finally, to the leaders and members of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi goes my deep sympathetic understanding. To my mind your organization is a fusion of three cultural systems. It is a new whole. To you, it is a movement -- regardless of many like me who would come around again and again to disturb your peace.
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ABSTRACT

The Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi is one of many religious organizations in the Philippines. Its central doctrine revolves around Dr. Jose P. Rizal. Dr. Jose P. Rizal is a foremost national hero of the Philippines. He was the rallying point of the Philippine Revolution of 1896. The Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi considers Dr. Jose P. Rizal as the reincarnation of Jesus Christ. Reincarnation is interpreted to mean that Jose Rizal and Jesus Christ led parallel pattern of life.

The central office of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi is located at barrio Lecheria, Calamba, Laguna, Philippines. Three key leadership positions exercise control over three distinct areas of activities. The pangulo (president) together with the Board of Directors manage the overall affairs of the organization. The supreme bishop takes care of ecclesiastical matters such as supervision of the clergy and observance of rites and rituals. The invoker is a medium. Through him the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi is able to call on the sixteen Filipino heroes.

The Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi awaits the second coming of Jose Rizal, Latinized as Jove Rex Al. It also anticipates the establishment of the golden church, the golden palace, and the golden flag. All these things shall appear at Mt. Makiling overlooking Lecheria. Lecheria hill is known locally as Burol na Ginto (golden hill).

I looked at the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi as a social movement in terms of its: (1) natural history, (3) ideologies, (3) social structure, and (4) systemic organization. The natural history of the Iglesia
Watawat ng Lahi is divided into three periods or structural poses and a number of episodes. The interpenetration of structural poses and episodic strands concretize the movement's lifestyle.

The ideologies of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi were parcelled out into two: (1) historico-religious world view, and (2) ethical domain. By historico-religious world view I mean a unified cognition of events that are located spatially and temporally. Moreover I view the historico-religious world view as a cognitive guide to action. Every action of a kasapi (member) is governed normatively by a specific rule. The sets of rules reify what I labelled as ethical domain.

The social structure of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi evolved from the simulain (cause) to samahan (sodality) to iglesia (church). Not quite apart from these structures is the derivation of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi's organizational components from three distinct cultural systems. They are: (1) traditional religious system, (2) orthodox Christianity, and (3) American Protestantism.

This dissertation consists of nine chapters. Chapter I - Introduction, deals mainly with the method of gathering data. Chapter II - Review of Literature, evaluates the works done on social movements with special emphasis on research techniques and theories. Chapter III - Conceptual Framework, spells out the theoretic position of this study and the analytic tools employed. Chapters IV, V, VI, and VII are data chapters. The more significant facets of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi were treated as mentioned above. Finally, Chapter VIII - Analysis, and Chapter IX - Summary and Conclusion, put back together what I have torn apart previously.
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Sometime in 1943, Linton was requested by the American Ethnological Society to contribute a paper on nativistic movements. He made it evident then that there was a need for a systematic analysis of nativistic phenomena. Following his paper, a proliferation of taxonomic labels such as messianic, millenarian, cargo cults, vitalistic, synthetistic, syncretistic, reformatory, transformative, revitalization, and social movement, has cluttered anthropological literature. Studies of social movements, the term I prefer to use, span across continents and islands. The Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi in the Philippines is therefore one of many similar works of persistent anthropological interest.

Statement of the Problem

In this research project, I reconstructed the natural history of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi from its inception in 1936 up to 1972 — the end of my fieldwork. The substantive foci of this reconstruction included among other things: (1) a historical account of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi's development with particular attention to some critical turning points; (2) definition of its ideological domain; (3) transformation of its social structure; and (4) systemic study of its organization.
Subject and Research Area

In 1960, the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi claimed to have 50,000 members. They were scattered all over the Philippines, predominantly in Luzon provinces. Sturtevant (1969: 27) put it at 125,000. Total population figure is a mere estimate. The organization does not keep a complete census of individual members. Figure 1 shows the distribution of balangays (chapters). This indicates that the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi is multi-ethnic. In barangay (village) Lecheria, municipality of Calamba, Laguna province, where the Tanggapang Pangkahalatan (Central Office) of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi is located, it not only cuts across traditional ethnic lines, but with considerable strain, transcends it. Here Tagalogs, Bicolanos, Ilocanos, Pampangos, Pangasinans, and Visayans, live in separate households, in one community. About 110 families are literally packed in the two-hectare settlement. See Figure 2, Composite View of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi Settlement in Barangay Lecheria, Calamba, Laguna, Philippines.

Methodology

In November 1959, I joined the faculty of the University of the Philippines College of Agriculture as an assistant instructor. During the latter part of the second semester, I took over from a professor who went on maternity leave a course on Community Survey and Program Planning. The students in this class were all undergraduates majoring in agricultural extension. I thought it practical for these students to conduct actual field surveys in the nearby barrios of the Los Baños campus. After all they were scheduled to do their practicum during the
Figure 1. Distribution of Balangays (Chapters).

Notes: The map includes only those provinces where Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi chapters are found. Figures in bracket refer to the 1960 list of balangays. Figures not in bracket refer to the 1973 list of active balangays.
Figure 2. Composite View of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi Settlement in barrio Lecheria, Calamba, Laguna, Philippines.
summer months ahead. Extension field practice was a degree requirement for graduation in B.S. Agricultural Education.

I remembered perfectly well one female student in this class who related her frustration concerning her entry into barrio Lecheria. She failed miserably in gaining a footing in the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi settlement. It turned out that her religious compunction was a stumbling block. She was a faithful member of the Iglesia ni Cristo — another indigenous religious group in the Philippines which is partly the object of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi's proselytization. Apparently she could not stand the subtle insinuations regarding some Iglesia ni Cristo practices such as: "Miyerokes de bagon, Linggo de bilyon," (five centavos on Wednesday and twenty-five centavos on Sunday). This statement of ridicule is directed against the Iglesia ni Cristo's system of pledging. Other practices deplored by the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi are included in Chapter VI of this study.

Gaining entry into a small community is a ticklish matter faced by social scientists and development workers alike. A false start can cause irreparable damage. Personal commitment to a system of beliefs can openly clash against those of others. Doing fieldwork is a personal as well as a social encounter indeed!

During the summer months of April and May 1960, Philippine Institutions 100 (the life and works of Dr. Jose P. Rizal) was offered as a required course for all graduating seniors. This decision was in accordance with Republic Act No. 1425 enacted on June 12, 1956 which requires all schools, colleges, and universities to institute as a part of the curriculum a course on the life and works of Rizal. Fortunately the
responsibility of offering Philippine Institutions 100 during the summer session was assigned to me. The opportunity enhanced my previous interest in Rizal.

In June 1960, opening of the school year, I was back in Diliman campus, University of the Philippines, finishing up my M.A. in sociology. As I went about doing graduate work in 1960-61, I commuted from the Los Baños campus, where I established residence, to the Diliman campus where I attended classes. On the road to Manila, the site of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi settlement intrigued me whenever I passed by it. An undergraduate student who attempted to do her fieldwork with the Watawat but failed to gain entry made me conscious of the hazards involved in fieldwork. Very much intrigued to put to a test what other social scientists claimed they had done to gain entry and coupled by a growing curiosity to find out what was going on in the budding community on the slope of Lecheria hill, I decided to do my fieldwork among the Watawats.

It happened then that I was enrolled in Social Processes under Professor Richard W. Coller. As a class requirement I submitted to him a paper entitled: "Congregation as a Social Process." Coller who was then editor of the *Philippine Sociological Review* had the article published in the Review. This article was a product of my initial contact and subsequent fieldwork with the Watawats. Thus begins the episode of my professional interest in the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi.

Gaining Entry

I was a little bit apprehensive to proceed at once to Lecheria. In the first place, I did not know what the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi was
all about except that according to sabi-sabi (talks) and usap-usapan (hearsays) they venerate Jose Rizal. In the second place, it was reported in the newspapers that in 1958 some Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi members were allegedly associated with the AFAG (Anderson's Filipino American guerilla) rebellion incident in Camarines Sur. The incident was too recent to forget. Naturally, fear could deter even a willful mind. To compound my apprehension, Professor Coller had one thesis advisee who planned to do research on the Iglesia ni Cristo who was not given permission by the leadership of the organization. A miscalculation in gaining entry could forever be a setback, I surmised.

One morning I contacted the municipal secretary of Calamba. After introducing myself as a graduate student at the University of the Philippines and a faculty member of the University of the Philippines at Los Baños, I requested him to write me an introductory letter to the president of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi. He obliged. He assured me that the "Watawats were peaceful. As a matter of fact, they always participate in the civic parades during Rizal Day celebrations." The secretary could tell me no more about the group.

From the municipal secretary's office I proceeded to the principal of the Calamba Elementary School. My sister who was then president of the Home Economics Teachers Association of Laguna province suggested that I introduce myself to the principal as her brother. I did. The principal related that she had a primary school established in Lecheria. The Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi had offered the free use of the first floor of the two-storey bahay-pulungan (session hall). Informal agreement with teachers was also reached to include in the instruction the "Ten
Commandments of Rizal. The ten commandments are excerpts from Rizal’s major writings *Noli Me Tangere* (1956a) and *El Filibusterismo* (1956b). Anyhow, occasional disruption of classes, inadequate toilet facilities, instructional demands, and the prospect of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi leadership charging the school for rent of the place, put pressure on the school authorities to transfer the school to another site, also in barrio Lecheria. In spite of the seemingly strained relations between the principal and the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi leadership, she gave me the impression that it would be all right to deal with them.

Armed with the letter of the municipal secretary to the president of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi, augmented by whatever information the school principal had shared with me, I finally gathered myself together. I climbed up Lecheria hill.

On my way up the hill, an elderly lady happened to be ahead of me. She waited for me, about four-fifths of the distance she had already negotiated. I was catching my breath. It was not a long climb but it was quite steep. The steps were not cemented yet. She asked my sadya (intention). I told her I wanted to see the pangulo (president). After exchanging the usual pleasantries she led me to the office of the president. It turned out that she was the national treasurer of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi organization. More revealing was the fact that she came from Los Baños poblacion (town proper). A Peace Corps volunteer who was teaching English in our Rural High School was staying with her family. Immediately my professional identity had been established.

Newly introduced individuals may use as a meaningful avenue of friendship their relations with persons with whom they were acquainted.
In the beginning and even much later the president and I engaged ourselves in taking stock of whom we both knew. This is in accord with the finest observance of the traditional point of entry in the Philippines.

Fieldwork Circa 1960

It was barely three days before the 99th birth anniversary of Dr. Jose P. Rizal when I introduced myself to the president of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi as a faculty member of the College of Agriculture, University of the Philippines. I made known to him that I handled classes in Philippine Institutions 100. This course dealt with the life and works of Rizal, hence my special interest. My very first visit was brief. I had intended just to get acquainted. I graciously promised the president that I would come back later.

On June 18, 1960, I was back in Lecheria. The pangulo guided me to the bahay-pulungan where the Mga Mahal na Magulang (Beloved Ancestors) meet with the congregation for instruction on religious doctrine, ethical conduct, and other matters. The taga-tawag (invoker) performs the necessary ritual before the members of the congregation, either individually or as a group. They can hold a dialogue with the Banal na Tinig (voices of the national heroes) who are allegedly physically present in the inner chamber of the session hall. See Figure 3 Floor Plan of the Bahay-Pulungan (Session Hall).

Adjacent to the session hall is the simbahan (chapel) where mass, preparatory prayers, and other religious rituals such as baptism, confirmation, weddings, funeral services, and ordinations are performed as the occasion demands. See Figure 4, Chapel of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi at Lecheria, Calamba, Laguna.
Not too far from these two adjacent structures, about fifty paces, is a concrete musoleo which houses two tombs. Here are laid to rest the remains of Arsenio de Guzman, the legendary founder of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi, and Florentino Alvarez, former secretary of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi and brother of Carmen Herbosa. Carmen Herbosa is the wife of the pangulo. See Figure 5, Tombs of Arsenio de Guzman and Florentino Alvarez.

The statues of Dr. Jose P. Rizal and Gat Andres Bonifacio which are prominently located in two strategic places complete the list of official landmarks in the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi main compound at Lecherría. See Figures 6 and 7, Statues of Dr. Jose P. Rizal, and Andres Bonifacio, respectively.

On June 19, 1960, the 99th birthday of Rizal and barrio fiesta of Lecherría, the pangulo introduced me to the leaders of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi. I also saw approximately one thousand members who joined the civic parade in the poblacion under the auspices of the municipal government. On the night of the same day, Pedronio O. Ramos of the U.P. Extension Publications Office, College of Agriculture and I heard six messages delivered successively from 9:15 p.m. to 12:30 a.m. by the three of the sixteen Mga Mahal na Magulang (Beloved Ancestors) at the inner chamber of the bahay-pulungan. The sixteen Filipino heroes are: Padre Mariano Gomez, Gat Apolinario Mabini, Gat Jose Rizal, Gat Andres Bonifacio, Gat Marcelo del Pilar, Padre Jacinto Zamora, Gen. Emilio Jacinto, Gat Graciano Lopez Jaena, Gen. Miguel Malvar, Gat Jose Ma. Basa, Padre Jose Ma. Burgos, Gat Mariano Ponce, Gat Juan Luna, Gen. Antonio Luna, Gat Antonio Ma. Regidor, and Florentino Alvarez. Figure 8 shows
Figure 3. Floor Plan of the Bahay-Pulungan (Session Hall).
Figure 4. Chapel of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi at Lecheria, Calamba, Laguna, Philippines.
Figure 5. Tombs of Arsenio de Guzman and Florentino Alvarez.
the group picture of the fifteen of these heroes as painted by Teo A.B. Brady. Florentino Alvarez, sanggunian (counselor) of the Beloved Ancestors, was not included in the picture.

From June to the end of the month, I shuttled back and forth from Los Baños to Lecheria to gather data which I included in the term paper I mentioned earlier. Aside from unstructured interviews, the pangulo loaned me a number of documents for my perusal; some printed materials he ungrudgingly gave to me. I reciprocated his kindness by providing him some works of Rizal and those of other authors like Agoncillo, Pascual, Adamski, Cerve, and Lewis. His materials and mine served as pivotal points in our dialogue and discourse on Rizal, religion and current events.

Meanwhile on October 12, 1960, my M.A. thesis outline was approved by the Graduate School, University of the Philippines. From this date up to November 18, 1960, I did library work to locate a conceptual framework on which to hang my data on the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi. The social movement framework proved to be not only productive but moreover replicable and economical.

From November 19, 1960 to January 1961, I resumed my fieldwork in Lecheria. The timing was perfect. November 30 is Andres Bonifacio's death anniversary and National Heroes Day. The Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi in Lecheria was preparing feverishly for this important occasion.

My initial fieldwork from June 16-30 inclusive was limited to occular survey of the two-hectare settlement, examination of a number of documents and printed materials, and a few unstructured interviews with the top Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi leaders and selected active members. A
Figure 6. Statue of Dr. Jose P. Rizal.
Figure 7. Statue of Gat Andres Bonifacio.
Figure 8. Fifteen Heroes of the Philippine Revolution Considered by the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi as Beloved Ancestors.
preliminary paper of mine published in the *Philippine Sociological Review* (Covar 1960) looked into several aspects of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi organization. The article was merely reportorial in style and intention.

The second phase of fieldwork circa 1960 was focused more in terms of theoretical underpinning. My conceptual framework was very much influenced by Barber, Heberle, and Cantril. The gathering of data was guided and even skewed by the theoretical scheme I had in mind.

During the second phase, with much more frequency, I witnessed how masses were said and prayers recited. I listened to the preaching of the Banal na Tinig several times. I attended their Sunday morning religious instruction and business meetings. The pangulo accorded me the rare privilege of seeing and examining portions of the twenty-four lessons being studied by the students in the San Jose College of Mental Physics and Occult Science. Unpublished speeches and articles by the pangulo and pangalawang pangulo (president and vice-president respectively) were loaned out to me. A small prayer book, Dasalan, was given to me by the treasurer through the pangulo after I signified my interest to have one. In all of these activities I occupied the status of a panahin (special guest). This was dramatically indicated by the fact that I was always asked to sit beside the pangulo wherever he sat.

Beyond the formal organization of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi which I roughly established during the initial phase of my fieldwork, the second phase delved more into the pattern of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi life style in Lecheria. This was much more revealing. Furthermore, I was
able to gather data on visionary appearances which to my mind are an expression of their cognitive religious preoccupation.

Fieldwork Circa 1970

Even after the submission of my Master's thesis to the Graduate School, University of the Philippines, I still maintained my contact with the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi. Occasionally, I brought my classes to Lecheria. I joined them, too, in their big celebrations. My association with them was temporarily cut off, however, during my graduate studies at the University of Arizona from 1966-70. Nevertheless, the physical landmarks, the organizational set-up, and their belief system had not changed drastically.

To recall, my family and I arrived in Manila from Tucson on December 19, 1970. After spending Christmas in my hometown Majayjay, Laguna, we managed to visit the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi at Lecheria on December 27, 1970, after a nationwide transportation strike. Our nostalgic reunion with the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi leadership (president, vice-president, supreme bishop, and a number of lay leaders and members) was friendly and gratifying. I was informed without formal solicitation that a sizeable group of about 18,000 Rizalistas from Capiz province wanted to join the organization three months earlier. While we were there, three leaders from Sorsogon came to Lecheria to "consult with the Banal na Tinig." On this day too I was given a copy of Bagong Liwanag (New Light). This is a publication dealing mainly with an exposition of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi's beliefs.

My wife and I went back to Lecheria on December 30, the death anniversary of Jose Rizal. The activities for the day included: a floral
offering at 7:30 a.m., baptismal ceremonies at 11:00, and a literary-musical program at 6:00 p.m. We saw people, young and old alike, offering prayers before the tomb of Arsenio de Guzman and Florentino Alvarez, both legendary founders of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi (see Figure 5, Tombs of Arsenio de Guzman and Florentino Alvarez). Also see Figures 9 and 10, Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi Devotees Offering Mass and Prayers before the Statue of Jose Rizal.

We did not stay long during these first two meetings. Nevertheless, I was able to drop some hints to the leadership about my plan to expand my previous works into a Ph. D. dissertation. Nobody interposed an objection at that time nor did they enthusiastically approve it. It was only during the succeeding meetings I had with the president that he asked me what I wanted. He even sent a trusted member to fetch the vice-president so that we could discuss the matter fully. Later on, the Supreme Bishop mentioned in passing during an eloquent talk that I was writing a book on the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi. It was a public endorsement and legitimation of my frequent presence in Lecheria.

Compared to my previous works on the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi which Sturtevant considered "revealing" (Sturtevant 1969: 27) my 1970 fieldwork was much more insightful. I not only included additional data; more important was that my perspective had a greater depth in 1970 than when I wrote-up the 1960 materials.

Kinds of Data Gathered and Techniques of Gathering Data

I employed a number of techniques in gathering data. First of all, an ocular survey of the settlement was made as early as 1960.
Important landmarks were pinpointed. The number of households was listed down. Photographs were taken of the physical lay-out and facilities such as: houses, buildings, monuments, roads, artesian wells, stores, and the like.

Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi activities which were generally open to public participation were observed and recorded. Some activities which were considered "private" or those conducted in the past were solicited through recall and in-depth interviews.

Interviews conducted were informal and unstructured. They were conversational in style. Face to face taking down of notes was reduced to a minimum. After a one or two-hour session, I usually excused myself graciously to write down the field notes in a nearby store over a bottle of soft drink or at home.

It cannot be said that the interviews had no direction at all. Built-in leads were kept in mind even before proceeding with the interviews. The leads helped a lot in decoding. During the early part of the study, the interviews were focused on why and how the organization came about. Important dates and critical incidents served as historical locators.

As my fieldwork progressed, another major focus in the interviews was general belief system. Gathering of data with respect to beliefs was facilitated by the availability of a number of printed documents. These were formal, ideological commitments. Apart from these sources, more substantial data included personal accounts of visionary appearances, holding of personal sacrifices, undergoing of trials, and other forms of spiritual involvement.
Figure 9. Celebration of Mass Outdoors Before the Statue of Dr. Jose P. Rizal.
Figure 10. Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi Devotees Swearing Before the Statue of Dr. Jose P. Rizal.
The printed materials made available to me are: (1) *Patakaran* (Guideposts); (2) application form for membership; (3) membership card; (4) a set of rules and regulations; (5) prayer books (*Dasalan*, in two editions); (6) *Bagong Liwanag* (New Light); and (7) anniversary programs.

The unpublished manuscripts (typescript) I copied were: (1) Brief History of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi; (2) papers of incorporation; and (3) a number of speeches. I also recorded on tape: (1) a literary-musical program in commemoration of Rizal Day; and (2) a Holy Thursday Mass. Moreover, the *pangulo* made me privy to portions of the 24 lessons that students in the College of Mental Physics and Occult Science used to study. The College of San Jose later stopped operation because there were no student-enrollees.

There is a dearth of published materials on the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi. Foronda (1961) had a section on the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi in his *Cults Honoring Rizal*. He did his fieldwork about the same time I was doing mine in 1959-60. Sturtevant (1969); Elwood (1968); and Lachica (1971) simply mentioned the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi in passing, using Foronda and Covar as secondary sources. The rest were feature articles in magazines and newspapers which are often derogatory and cynical.

**Types of Analysis**

I treated the study of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi as a social movement in four dimensions. The analytic tools I employed in handling each dimension are discussed in detail in Chapter III - Conceptual Framework. A separate chapter is devoted to the discussion of each dimension.
Chapter IV is a reconstruction of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi's natural history. The historical account shows a number of structural poses which arranged themselves nicely in an evolutionary pattern.

Chapter V is a definition of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi's historico-religious world view. It is a formal narrative of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi's theological charter, i.e., beginning from the Creation up to the establishment of the New Kingdom.

Chapter VI - Ethical Domain, spells out the aims and purposes, guideposts, and rules of conduct that have to be complied with by the members of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi to gain the Eternal Kingdom. Indeed life on earth is considered a mere passageway to Eternity.

In Chapter VII, I trace the structural transformation of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi organization from the simulain (cause), to samahan (sodality), to iglesia (church). Moreover I delineated the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi's functional social units.

Finally I literally put Chapters IV, V, VI, and VII back together again in Chapter VIII. Here I attempt to establish the interconnectedness of the ideological domain and social structure in the context of their derivative components. Furthermore, the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi is placed in the context of the larger Philippine society.

**Scope and Generality**

This study is mainly concerned with the internal patterning of a social movement. This is made manifest in social structure and belief system which evolved hand in hand from 1936 to 1972. With this intention, gathering of data was concentrated in Lecheria, Calamba, Laguna. A
handful of knowledgeable informants, I felt, were sufficient for this purpose.

This study was not designed as an ethnography of the Iglesia Watawat ng Labi. After all a study of the Iglesia Watawat ng Labi as an organization goes beyond the traditional ethnographic approach. Be that as it may, every statement that is made concerning the Iglesia Watawat ng Labi had therefore a generality which applied only within the limit and scope of this study.

Organization of the Report

This report is divided into nine chapters. Chapter I is an introductory chapter. It is primarily devoted to the mechanics and methodology of the study. Chapter II establishes a perspective on social movement after a review of relevant literature. In Chapter III, I introduce the four analytical tools which I used in presenting Chapters IV, V, VI, VII, and VIII. Finally, Chapter IX is a summary of findings and a positional statement on the prospect and direction of anthropological method and theory as they specifically relate to a general theory of social movement.
CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

There are several significant directions of anthropological studies on social movement. A listing would include the following:
(1) definition of a class of social phenomena labelled social movement,
(2) its classification, (3) plausible explanation, (4) its life history, and (5) functions. Aside from this list, a number of methodological approaches have been suggested by individuals out of their own research interests. Seminars, symposia, conferences, and reviews also provided meaningful exchange of ideas on the various facets of social movement.

Each of the above listed items shall be discussed in this Chapter to locate the position of social movement in anthropological theory and method.

Definition

Initially the primary concern of students of social movement was on the definition of a class of social phenomena labelled nativism (Linton 1943). From this date on (i.e., when Linton was requested by the American Ethnological Society to contribute a paper on nativistic movements) anthropological literature was cluttered with various labels, each emphasizing one significant aspect of more or less the same class of social phenomena. Despite the variation in viewpoints, they all agreed in their definition of social movement (the label I prefer to use after
Aberle 1966) as a conscious organized attempt by a group of people to create a new order of life.

Classification

The "creation of a new order of life" is seen by various anthropologists as set forth by a number of cultural devices. Herein lies the proliferation in labels. Linton (1943) saw in nativism the revival or perpetuation of selected aspects of a culture. Smith (1959b) underscored in vitalism the incorporation of "selected aspects of another culture in contact with it." She preferred to use synthetism to describe the "attempt... to combine selected aspects of two cultures." Edmonson (1960) paid particular attention to "integration and consequent secondary elaboration of selected aspects of two or more historically distinct traditions," hence syncretism.

These labels: nativism, vitalism, synthetism, and syncretism, are descriptive of how a culture evolves. Barnett (1953) underscores a number of innovative processes underlying culture growth.

Social movements vary according to the centrality of each cultural foci. A messianic movement anticipates the coming of a cultural hero, a messiah (Barber 1941). It may await the dramatic unfolding of a golden age following the millennium, hence millenarian, (Thrupp 1962). In a more specific way, some social movements have been expecting ships full of cargo. These are popularly known as cargo cults (Jarvie 1963).

Anthropologists look at these movements: messianic, millenarian, and cargo cults with reference to their central themes as distillation of their main ideology. In contrast Aberle (1966) singled out two
dimensions in classifying social movements. One is based on the locus of change sought; the other is the amount of change sought. His chart is reproduced below to demonstrate the difficulty of classifying social movements into types.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Locus of Change</th>
<th>Supra-individual</th>
<th>Individual</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amount of Change</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Transformative</td>
<td>Redemptive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partial</td>
<td>Reformatory</td>
<td>Alterative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 11. Aberle's Classification of Social Movements.

Aberle's classification takes care of a large number of types which are otherwise difficult to classify because of overlapping and shifting reference points (see particularly Dawson and Gettys 1954). He recognizes that "... any given movement may change in type over time," "It is an empirical question whether every type may be transformed in one step to every other type," and "some movements are probably close to pure types of one or another of these four classes."

Aberle's qualification of his classification creates some difficulties. Necessarily each one of the four types is intended to be a pure type and therefore mutually exclusive. Classification of transitional types poses a particular problem. One solution is to consider each type as "in a state of" similar to the way Turner (1964) handled the liminal period in *Rites of Passage*. This is precisely the reason
why Wallace (1956: 267) avoided classification beyond his revitalization as a species of sociocultural change. He observes that a "given revitalization movement may be nativistic, millenarian, messianic, and revitalistic all at once . . ." Aberle has not solved the dilemma of Linton.

**Plausible Explanation**

The preceding section on classification, specifically the one on the dynamics of culture growth, indicates the period when anthropologists both in the United States and Europe were very much engrossed with the problem of acculturation. It is therefore not surprising that acculturation was used as a catchall causal explanation for a wide range of social phenomena, including social movement.

It is recognized that most social movements arise out of culture contacts. The Social Science Research Council Summer Seminar on Acculturation 1953 paid special attention to the delineation of acculturating social units. It states that other than contacts between alien cultures "... contacts between ethnic enclaves and their encompassing societies would be definable as acculturative," (AA 1954: 974). The members of the Seminar cautiously emphasized that a social movement is only one of the possible responses to acculturation.

In sum, the plausible explanation so far advanced may be propounded as follows: Culture contacts put a strain on either one or both of two cultures or ethnic enclaves. The society's members feel deprived (Aberle 1962) with reference to some cultural parameters. Social unrest (Barber 1941; Dawson and Gettys 1954; Cantril 1963) predisposes people
to organize and join social movements. Jarvie's (1963) critical review of theories on cargo cults in Melanesia and movements elsewhere indicates that a causal connection has yet to be established between social unrest and social movement.

**Life History**

One persistent interest among anthropologists is why movements take the forms they exhibit. Belshaw (1950, 1954) suggests that "similar conditions have brought about similar cult activity." This is a refutation of the theory that the similarity is due to diffusion. Whether diffusion or uniform conditions account for similarities among social movements in three continents (Mair 1959), Lanternari's (1965) position is that the study of single movement should be seen in its historical and social framework.

Most of the authors cited above consider movements as if they were things or physical objects. As objects they can be compared with one another based on certain definable physical features. In contrast, Wallace looks at a movement as a revitalization process. It has a life history all its own. It evolves. Each stage is marked by recognizable "structural poses" to borrow from Vogt (1960). These stages are: steady state, period of increased individual stress, period of cultural distortion, period of revitalization, and new steady state.

In passing, I would like to note that Barber (1941b); King (1961); and Cantril (1963) have delved into the careers of movements also, although less penetrating than Wallace.
Functions

It would have been easier to pass over this discussion of functionalism without notice but on the other hand, I feel I would not do justice to this review without devoting a few statements to the subject. Facetiously one could put it this way: so what, if social movement? Generally culture contact is disruptive of the recipient culture. It disturbs the ordered systems of values and social relations. After sometime, however, if the contact is not totally annihilating, a culture figuratively speaking picks itself up once again. The beneficent attitude of anthropologists is to view this cultural response as ultimately socially integrating.

Methodological Approaches

The various methodological approaches suggested by a number of authors cannot be separated from their conceptualization of social movement. This section is confined only to the review of the more definitive works.

For about two decades (Linton 1943 - Jarvie 1963) students of social movements directed their efforts mainly to the definition and classification of social movement. Distinctive features zeroing in on ideology, leadership, strategy, amount and kind of change involved are usually arranged in matrices. The urge to account for as many types as possible in a single matrix was quite strong. The elegance of its logical symmetry makes the matrix approach very attractive.

Kopytoff (1964: 87) was "frankly dubious that any overall classification of movements as 'things' is possible." He proposes a cluster
profile approach as a departure from matrices. He feels that "all along we have been classifying not movements but some of their aspects," (Kopytoff 1964: 85).

Kopytoff views movement as rapidly emergent institutions. He fell back on Malinowski's dimensions, such as: group organization, goals and means to these goals, and ideological charter, and a variety of functions. Kopytoff's "Some Selected Dimensions of Social Movements" faithfully reflects Malinowski's. They are: (1) internal social organization, (2) larger setting, (3) problem to be solved, (4) actual ideology, (5) formal goals, (6) formal means, (7) time perspective, and (8) functions. Each of these eight dimensions is a cluster of traits or elements. It is "these elements together and in different combinations that make up something which we for convenience call 'movements'," (Kopytoff 1964: 81).

The matrix and cluster profile approaches are non-historical. In a manner of speaking the variables accounted for are spread on the table. Then, we do the picking, i.e., putting together elegant arrays.

Schwartz (1962) using somewhat unorthodox terminologies opts for a micro-evolutionary approach. His categories consist of three parts: (1) cultural components, (2) temporal dimensions, and (3) dynamics of change.

His generative term is idioverse. It is defined as the sum of an "individual's repertoire of implicit representations of the structures of events and classes of events in which he has participated," (Schwartz 1962: 361). Using this definition as basal, he views culture as a
heterogeneous multiverse which is the "total set of idioverses of all the members of a society," (Schwartz 1962: 360).

Schwartz's temporal dimension is divided into three segments: (1) period, (2) phase, and (3) episode. The chronological dimension of a culture is its period. The phase is a segment of a culture which changes. An episode is a local, partial, or concrete occurrence within a phase.

The dynamics of culture change is reified through the use of transformational construct. A transformational construct is a representation of form and value of a particular cultural state (Schwartz 1962: 361). It has a specific density of informational load. The smallest unit of a transform is a cross-sectional construct. A transformational construct is viewed as a system of cross-sectional constructs.

Schwartz delineated three modes of transformation as one or the other of the following: replicative, derivative, or introductive. Replicative transformation is a kind of culture change which is merely a multiplication of a cultural construct. Derivative transformation is an elaboration of an existing cultural form through the process of recombination of its cultural components. Introductive transformation refers to the accommodation of cultural elements that are external to Schwartz's system of cross-sectional constructs. In any case, the instability between the present culture relative to the goal culture (that which is derived) is his central causal explanation of transformation or change.

A more incisive approach to the study of movement is suggested by Wallace (1956; 1966a). He identified it as event analysis within the framework of natural history of longer or shorter duration. He claims
that processual structures are comparable since they are genotypical, i.e., independent of local cultural differences, (see section on Life History for Wallace's stages).

The major thrust of Wallace's theory of revitalization movement is that of mazeway reformulation. Mazeway is "... a mental image of the society and its culture, as well as of his own body and its behavioral regularities," (Wallace 1966a: 266). Briefly, mazeway is a cognitive guide to action. It is considered efficient as long as it continuously satisfies certain needs, otherwise the individual suffers from stress.

The reduction of stress is the ultimate goal of revitalization. It is therapeutic. Stress-reduction techniques of current mazeways are replaced by new ones. The replacement process is intimately tied up with the change in the total Gestalt of a person's image of self, society, and culture, of nature and body, and of ways of action. The deliberate, organized effort by members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture is to Wallace a revitalization movement.

**Position of Social Movement in Theory and Method**

This review of literature shows that social movement falls within the general theory of sociocultural change. Wallace considers it as a class by itself in contradistinction from evolution, drift, diffusion, and acculturation.

Historically social movement phenomena have been recognized out of acculturative situations. No longer is culture contact the lone precursor of social movement. This position was advanced by the Social
Science Research Council Committee on Acculturation of 1953. Later empirical studies support the preceding position.

The methodological approaches to the study of social movement phenomena vary considerably. The analytic frames which are used, the labels employed, and the units singled out are a plethora of uneven proportion. This is markedly indicated by this review. The treatment of social movement studies is pursued in accordance with one's theoretic interest rather than in the furtherance of a general theory of social movement arising out of empirical studies.
CHAPTER III

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Following the mainstream of anthropological theorizing, the overall theoretic framework of this study is that of the whole and subwhole. Referentially, the Philippine national society shall represent the whole; the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi, the subwhole. In the outset, to expedite analysis, the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi shall be treated as if it were a whole, although I recognize it as a subwhole in the context of the national society.

Analytic Tools

The Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi as the unit of analysis of this research (the Philippine national society being the more encompassing social unit) shall be studied diachronically and synchronically. For this purpose, I have singled out four analytical tasks. They are: (1) reconstruction of natural history, (2) definition of ideological domain, (3) formal analysis of social structure, and (4) systemic study of organization. A chapter is devoted to each of these tasks. The analytical tools employed in dealing with each of the above tasks are made explicit below.

Reconstruction of Natural History

A social movement has a life history. It pursues its own career. It exhibits its own life style. I shall present the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi's life history in Chapter IV. The data were drawn from written
documents and judiciously solicited information. The period covered starts from 1936, some eight years before May 29, 1944, when the organization known as the Church of the Banner of the Race in Calamba, Laguna was duly registered in the then Bureau of Commerce and Industries (now Securities and Exchange Commission) up to 1972, the most recent contact I had with the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi.

The Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi has a written history authored by no less than its incumbent pangulo, Jose Baricanosa (1960). Alfredo Benedicto, one of the original incorporators, had written an earlier version in 1945. The substantive discrepancies between the two versions are minimal. Thermofax copies of both documents are in my possession. The originals are with Jose Baricanosa.

A reading of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi history indicates a number of significant turning points. These turning points in the words of Vogt (1960) represent structural poses. Structural poses plotted on a single temporal continuum concretizes evolutionary patterning.

The organizational and ideological contents of a structural pose may be the beginning of a new episode or an elaboration of previous ones. The latter may well be conceptualized as an episodic strand. It consists of interconnected segments. The various segments of an episodic strand occur at different points in time. Functionally the currency of a segment of an episodic strand during a structural pose enhances the career of a movement. Figure 12 indicates my conceptual model of natural history.
To my mind, AB is the temporal continuum of a given movement. It can be calendrically set apart. Structural poses N allow as many structural poses as can be identified according to the particular clusters of variables the data tend to manifest at a given period.

The profile of a structural pose, Figure 13, is shown above. \( a_1 \) and \( a_2 \) are two discontinuous segments of an episodic strand. \( b_1 \) is an episodic strand with a very brief career. \( c_1, c_2, \) and \( c_3 \) comprise a 3-segmented continuous episodic strand. The interpenetration of these strands woven together produces a unique design. I consider the unique design produced by the interweaving of the episodic strands as the movement's life style.
Two dimensions are accounted for in Figure 12. The time dimension has two levels: temporal career of a movement AB, and structural poses N. The substantive dimension is also considered in two levels in Figure 13. They are: general life style, and episodic strands. The conjunction of these two dimensions (the temporal and the substantive) is governed by one or several basic processes which I shall discuss in Chapter VII of this study.

Definition of Ideological Domain

Ideological domain, as I use it here, refers synonymously to Malinowski's charter of an organization (1960), Wallace's mazeways (1966a), and Frake's cognitive systems (1962).

For purposes of analysis, the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi's ideological system has been divided into two segregates: (1) historico-religious world view, and (2) ethical domain. The discussion of the ideological system is set apart initially from the presentation of natural history. I shall put them together in Chapter VII - Analysis.

The approach to the definition of ideological system that I shall employ is adapted from the folk classification technique popularized by: Conklin (1962); Frake (1962); Sturtevant (1964); and Basso (1969-70 class lectures in Language in Culture, and Linguistic Analysis). The natives cognition of the world about them shall be made explicit through the use of their own taxonomies. The Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi's slogan: Maka-Dios (love of God), Maka-tao (love of fellowmen), and Maka-bayan (love of country) has parcelled out for us in capsule form its main ethical segregates. An elaboration of each of these segregates is done in Chapter VI.
Moreover I shall try to isolate the cultural framework which ties up these ideologies into a coherent system.

I recognize that the components of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi's cognitive system have come from various sources. What the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi has done is to give it a meaningful unity quite apart from the unity to which the component parts originally belonged. Tracing the authenticity of the original sources of the component parts is undoubtedly interesting. This is, however, not a part of this research. Far more significant for my purpose is to underscore the basic processes involved in this task of ideological construction toward a new meaningful unity.

Formal Analysis of Social Structure

I view social structure as an ordered system of social relations. This definition follows in the tradition of Parsons (1966), Nadel (1957), and Geertz (1965). It is a cultural mechanism through which meaningful transactions are consummated. Obviously there are transactions that are consummated appropriately only within a structural unit. Moreover there are transactions which involve inter-structural relationships.

The preceding statements on social structure imply that ideologies are intimately associated with definable structural units. The intimate association between ideological segregates and a structural unit is not necessarily on a one-to-one correspondence. To put it in the context of natural history, a transaction may extend over several structural poses. To repeat, a structural pose includes both ideology and organization.
In Chapter VII, I shall trace the evolutionary patterning of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi organization from the simulain (cause) to samahan (sodality) to iglesia (church). These social forms shall be considered quite apart from the derivation of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi's systemic components. These systemic components are: (1) the traditional religious system, (2) orthodox Christianity, and (3) American Protestantism. I shall view the transformation of the social forms horizontally, gridded vertically by several periods and structural poses.

Systemic Study of Organization

In Chapter VIII, I shall attempt to put back together the significant dimensions of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi which I have previously torn apart. The interconnectedness of the various structures I have delineated may provide us not only with the characteristic life style but also with more insightful understanding of the basic processes viz., substitution, analogy, and incorporation, that underly social movement. In this task, I shall use Barnett's model of innovative processes.
CHAPTER IV

THE IGLESIA WATAWAT NG LAHI—
NATURAL HISTORY

The Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi has two written versions of its own history. Alfredo E. Benedicto wrote the 1945 version entitled "Brief History of the Church Banner of the Race, Inc." Jose B. Baricanosa wrote the 1960 version entitled "Isang Maikling Kasaysayan ng Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi." (Short History of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi). The original manuscripts (2 and 11 pages respectively) were typescript, double-space, on legal size bond paper.

For the formal beginnings of the movement I draw heavily from the 1945 version. For years after 1945 the 1960 version will be used extensively. In between and beyond 1960, I shall fill in the period with additional data based on personal interviews and perusal of documents made available to me.

To my mind, the histories of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi written by two original incorporators of the movement include the events which to them were culturally meaningful. In other words, they are the natives' categories of their own history. I shall refer to these culturally meaningful events, using my analytical terms, as episodic strands.

I found it parsimonious to divide the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi history as follows: (1) formative years, (2) period of growth and development, and (3) steady state. These divisions correspond to my analytical terms, viz., structural poses.

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During the formative years, the genetic materials of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi as a movement were laid. They assumed morphological variation during the period of growth and development. Once it reached the steady state, the activities of the movement were fairly routinized.

**Formative Years**  
(1936-1944)

Allegedly, sometime in 1936, in a house at Galas near Manila, a certain Severino de Ang invoked the presence of a **Banal na Tinig** (Holy Voice). Mateo Alcuran and Alfredo Benedicto were with him then. The **Banal na Tinig** instructed the latter to go to Lecheria, Calamba, Laguna, to look for Jovito Salgado and Gaudioso Parabuac. Hence on December 24, 1936 the four men, all middle age, met at Lecheria hill in willful obedience to the instruction of the **Banal na Tinig**.

At this time, these four men were looking for buried treasures. This was not at all surprising. There were scattered rumors in the country that some rural folks were told by some kind of a voice as if coming from a **bumbong** (bamboo tube) hidden somewhere to go to a designated place where they could find a **gusi** (earthen jar) filled with silver coins, buried several feet underground. The excitement must have been compelling.

The setting was perfect. Lecheria hill, formerly a pasture and milking place for cattle by Spanish friars of Calamba, was known locally also as **burol na ginto** (golden hill). This must be no dupe at all, and no dupe at all it really has been since.

At Lecheria hill, the **Banal na Tinig** admonished the four treasure hunters to discontinue their intent search for buried treasures.
which rot and rust \textit{(nabubulok at kinsakalawang)}. It prevailed upon them to seek the wealth which shall assure them of eternal life in the Hereafter. Since then, every Saturday afternoon, in a small nipa hut, near a big \textit{sampalok} (tamarind) tree, toward the eastern portion of Lecheria hill, they assiduously listened to the moral preachings of the Holy Voice. Soon, Cirilo Lavadia from Sariaya, Quezon, and Lorenzo Chacon from Surigao joined the chosen four.

At this juncture, a little of their background seems in order. Alfredo Benedicto hailed from Villadolid, Negros Occidental. His second wife was from La Carlota of the same province. Of this marriage, they had four female children.

Alfredo Benedicto stayed in the United States for about ten years. An American had asked him to tag along. In 1919, at Chicago, Illinois, he finished a degree - Doctor of Mechano Therapy. He underwent special training on chiropractic for six months and massage techniques in 1922. At Tampa, Florida, he attended classes for six months in the Mystic Brotherhood University. In the Philippines, he graduated from the Philippine Law School. At the time of the interview he was a practicing lawyer at Calamba, Laguna.

Mateo Alcuran simply described himself as a master carpenter of Calamba. Gaudioso Parabuac is a native of Aplaya, a lakeshore barrio of Calamba. He has been the invoker of the movement since its beginning. Cirilo Lavadia was a municipal judge. He came from the town of Sariaya, Quezon, less than one hundred kilometers from Lecheria. Lorenzo Chacon was also a lawyer from farflung Surigao province, island of Mindanao.
Obviously the Banal na Tinig drew its early recruits from a mixture of lawyers, mystics, and skilled craftsmen. These are incidentally sterling qualities to which many Filipinos tend to aspire.

Anyhow, more and more people became interested in the moral lessons propounded by the Banal na Tinig. Among those who joined during the first year were Buenaventura Lazian, Lazaro Ocampo who became a councilor of Calamba, Rosendo Salgado, Tomasa Banaybanay, Felipe Velasquez, Juan Canicosa, and Julio Parabuac.

After a year of moral preachings, probably in 1938, the Banal na Tinig informed them that he would no longer be with them. Instead the spirit of Dr. Jose P. Rizal would serve as their patnubay (guide).

This belief in spirit has a long tradition in Philippine culture. As early as 1582, Miguel de Loarca in his Relacion de las Islas Filipinas recorded that the Tagalogs worshipped a deity called Batala (Supreme God). This Batala had many "agents" under him whom he sent to this world. These "agents" were called anitos. Each anito had a special function. Some of them were for the fields and some for those who journey to sea, etc. To these anitos the people offered sacrifices. The catalonan (priest) offered heaps of rice, meat, and fish. The catalonan's invocation lasted until the anito possessed him. He swooned and foamed at the mouth. Upon recovery, the native would ask the catalonan for the answers that the anito had given him to their requests (Zafra 1953: 110).

In retrospect it becomes clear that the Banal na Tinig that Severino de Ang invoked previously was only one of a number of Banal na Tinig sent by the Almighty on earth. The new patnubay is only one of many
which the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi members reverently address as Mga Mahal na Magulang (Beloved Ancestors). As a matter of fact, Baricanosa recollected that sixteen Filipino heroes founded this organization in Masbate in 1914. A certain Alvarez, the sanggunian (counselor) of the Mga Mahal na Magulang was not included in the picture painted by the Iglesia Watawat artist (see Figure 8, p.17). It was only much later, December 24, 1936 that the organization got started in Lecheria.

Invoking the spirits, offering of food, swooning, being possessed by the spirit, speaking in many "tongues," and ultimately recovering, constitute a tight cultural pattern. The Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi has deviated from it somewhat. It is alleged that the Mga Mahal na Magulang directly communicate to the people, singly or as a group, rather than the Banal na Tinig speaking through Gaudioso Parabuac, the invoker. I have not seen Gaudioso Parabuac swoon or being possessed by the spirit although he appears worn out whenever he comes out of the inner chamber. Delicacies like balut (half-incubated, boiled duck eggs), pancit (sautéed noodles), fried chicken, sandwiches, soft drinks, and what have you, are brought into the inner chamber by relatively old ladies who are members of the Board of Directors, set on a table for six, as offerings to the Mga Mahal na Magulang before the tawag (invocation).

The 1939-40 batch of new recruits included Regina Habilagon, Rufino Habilagon, Paulina Magnaye, Josefina Ocampo, Julia San Pedro, and Mercedes San Pedro. By this time, the movement had no less than nineteen formally recognized members. It was opportune that the Banal na Tinig instructed the group to organize a Simulain and called it Samahang Watawat ng Lahi.
Epistemologically the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahí imputes two usages to the term simulán. On the one hand, it refers to a set of objectives, aims, or purposes. On the other hand, it refers to a voluntary organization (sodality) with a special mission or cause.

The first set of officers of the Samahang Watawat ng Lahí included the following:

First Leader . . . . . . Gaudioso Parabuac
Second Leader . . . . Jovito E. Salgado
Treasurer . . . . . . Lazaro Ocampo
Foster Mother . . . . Tomasa Banaybanay
Muse . . . . . . . . . . Josefina Ocampo
Adviser . . . . . . . . Alfredo Benedicto

Except for the position foster mother, the rest typified the set of officers commonly found in many voluntary associations in the Philippines. Three of the officers were drawn from the original four, two from the first batch of recruits, and one from the most recent converts. Strategically the set of officers had a wide membership representation.

Meanwhile, on August 1941 the following joined the Samahan: Jose Baricanosa, Carmen Herbosa, Agapito Samson, and Jacinto Amido.

Jose Baricanosa was a native of Aplaya. At the time of the interview, he was sixty years old, married to Carmen Herbosa. They had five children, two males and three females. Sometime in the 1930's he went to the United States. He finished his Bachelor of Commerce degree from a Chicago university. Afterwards, he worked in Seattle, Washington. In 1941, while his family was in Davao, they were advised by his parents-in-law to go back to Aplaya. The ominous beginning of the Second World
War was very much felt all over the country. Carmen Herbosa recalled that while she was young, her father advised her to seek the truth and never to part with it once she has found it. In Aplaya, they met Gaudio-so Parabuac. She asked him if she could join and hear the Banal na Tinig. The encounter has turned into a lifetime devotion and service.

About the same year, the whole San Pedro family (Severo - father; Eleuterio, Pedro, and Narciso - sons; Wenceslao Gillaco - son-in-law; and much earlier Mercedes and Julia - daughters) and Francisco Hernandez, lawyer and connected with the Tarlac branch of the Land Tenancy Commission, joined the movement.

During one of the regular Saturday afternoon sessions at Lecheria hill, the Banal na Tinig prophesied that the membership of the Samahan would increase and decrease three times. With the third increase, it would set the pace until the organization numbers thousands of members. The members were warned that they would be placed under trying circumstances and the weak among them would desert the Simulain. They were exhorted to be strong in their faith for the Lord has promised, "whoever remains with me and follows my commandments shall be saved and shall inherit eternal life."

On October 1941, the members were instructed by the Banal na Tinig to build a cave in Lecheria hill, toward the eastern portion, somewhat above the sampalok (tamarind) tree, near the nipa hut. Every Saturday at 2:00 o'clock in the afternoon, they were gathered in the cave to hear the golden teachings. During one of these gatherings, the Banal na Tinig told them that it would be necessary for the Samahan to select a new leader because an invoker should not be occupying two positions at
the same time. Jose Baricanosa nominated Eliseo Hidalgo, a new member and a brother-in-law of Gaudioso Parabuac; Lazaro Ocampo entered the name of Rosendo Salgado; and Agapito Samson suggested Jovito Salgado's. Eliseo Hidalgo won.

Ordinarily Jovito Salgado should have assumed the office since he was then the Second Leader. It is interesting to note that a relatively newcomer wrested the position from many much older members. It is tempting to speculate that Eliseo Hidalgo's affinity with Gaudioso Parabuac may have influenced his selection. But the Banal na Tinig knows best!

Before the Japanese occupation of Calamba on January 1942, the Banal na Tinig warned the members that they would experience trying moments which would greatly decimate the membership. After two months, on June 19, 1942, the cave which was decorated with flowers and coconut leaves was raided by Japanese soldiers. The Samahan was suspected of holding anti-Japanese meetings. The officers: Eliseo Hidalgo, Jovito Salgado, Lazaro Ocampo, Gaudioso Parabuac, and Alfredo Benedicto were taken into custody. They were severely punished, forced to kneel on pieces of kindling wood, and a thorough investigation was conducted.

"Una'y sa Dios, pangalawa'y sa Banal na Tinig" (firstly because of God and secondly because of the Holy Voice) who abided with them, the five were set free.

This is the second time that the members were warned of impending crises. "To forewarn is to forearm," has become the style of the Banal na Tinig. Also, the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi members have adopted "Una'y sa Dios, pangalawa'y sa Banal na Tinig" as a vocative, prefatory statement whenever they relate their unforgettable, trying experiences.
On October 18, 1942, seventeen members (eleven males and six females) were commanded by the Banal na Tinig to hold a ten-day sacrifice on Mt. Makiling. They were: Gaudioso Parabuac, Jovito Salgado, Mateo Alcuran, Alfonso San Pedro, Eleuterio San Pedro, Wenceslao Gillaco, Lazaro Ocampo, Jose Baricanosa, Rosendo Salgado, Alfredo Benedicto, Hermogenes Librada, Mercedes San Pedro, Julia San Pedro, Regina Habilagon, Paulina Magnaye, Eufrosina Magnaye, and Jacinto Amido. These constituted a little over one half of the total membership.

The sacrifice lasted from nine o'clock in the evening to two o'clock in the morning. They knelt atop big boulders, mumbling prayers in Latin which were taught to them by the Banal na Tinig. This sacrifice is known as sacrificio para sa mga pangitain (sacrifice for vision). On the basis of the vision seen, the Banal na Tinig decides on the kinds of role the individual members should play.

Immediately after the ten-day sacrifice, the seventeen members were instructed by the Banal na Tinig to proceed to the house of Alfredo Benedicto in Lecheria. The Banal na Tinig informed them that the Mga Mahal na Magulang would be the ones to appoint the new set of officers according to the outcome of the sacrifice.

At Benedicto's house, the Banal na Tinig invited Jose Baricanosa, Rosendo Salgado, and Jovito Salgado inside the room. Subsequently they were appointed presiding elder, second presiding elder, and secretary, respectively. Eliseo Hidalgo who succeeded Gaudioso Parabuac earlier apparently did not serve the Simulain faithfully. A little after he was killed by the guerillas in Malabon, Rizal.
Jose Baricanosa recalled that when they were ushered into the room by the Banal na Tinig, they actually were brought face to face with Dr. Jose P. Rizal. He attested, without an iota of doubt, that at this instance, Dr. Jose P. Rizal was physically present. He was not in the form of a spirit.

Jose Baricanosa's selection as presiding elder was obviously sanctified when a bulalakaw (shooting star) fell in front of him while he was performing the sacrificio para sa pangitain. In contrast, the untimely death of Eliseo Hidalgo is a stark reminder of a ghastly consequence if one disobeys the wishes of the Banal na Tinig.

The initial leadership of Jose Baricanosa was fruitful. Barely six months had passed when on March 20, 1943, the following were added to the roll of the movement: the Banatins - Manuel, Nestorio, Pilar, and Trinidad; the Ocdamias - Felisa, Guillermo, Jovencio, Juan, Pacencia, and Ursula; the Ercias - David, Filomena, and Juan; the Ybians - Lorenzo and Rosario; Angel Fatiga, Francisco Hernandez, Ora Parabuac, Maxima Salgado, Melanio Tejada, and Felisa Ustaris. These newly initiated members were required by the Banal na Tinig to hold a three-day sacrifice for vision inside the cave at Lecheria hill.

On September 16, 1943, twenty-four members were gathered in the house of Alfredo Benedicto. The Banal na Tinig gave them a big surprise by requesting them to set the table in the room for twenty-four persons. Fifteen minutes later, the group was invited to go in. When the room was finally lighted, they found pancit, chicken, eggs, and mamon (muffins wrapped in tin foil) on every plate. They heartily ate their shares. Some were even brought home to their children. The following week, on a
Saturday, the members prepared fried chicken and bread. It was their
turn to play host to the Mga Mahal na Magulang.

The foregoing incident partook of a special significance. The
country then was reeling in food shortage as a consequence of the Second
World War. Flour and tin foil were hardly available. To the members
gathered in the house, the feast was more than plainly feeding the hungry;
it was a gracia ng Dios (grace of God).

About this time, a number of Protestant denominations were either
federating or uniting (Sobrepeña 1964). In October 1942, the Philippine
Federation of Evangelical Churches came into being. A new and larger
church called the Evangelical Church in the Philippines was born in 1943.
The Propaganda Corps of the Japanese Army made up of Christian clergymen
wanted to consolidate and simplify whom to contact. The KALIBAPI (Kapi-
sanan sa Paglilingkod sa Bagong Pilipinas), a politico-civic organization
held sway over other forms of voluntary organizations.

Sometime in May 1944, the Banal na Tinig instructed the members
to incorporate the Samahan. Hence on May 19, 1944, with about 160 mem-
ers present, representing at least 2/3 of the total membership, it was
decided to register the Samahan with the Securities and Exchange Commis-
sion, Bureau of Commerce and Industries. It was decided to change the
name of the Samahan to Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi. The adoption of a reli-
gious name would allay any Japanese suspicion.

On May 20, 1944, the following officers were duly elected and
designated:

Presiding Elder . . . . . . Jose Baricanosa
Second Presiding Elder . . Rosendo Salgado
Secretary ........ Jovito E. Salgado
Treasurer .......... Felisa Ocdamia
Auditor and Legal Adviser . Alfredo E. Benedicto
Spiritual Adviser . Gaudioso Parabuac
Board Members ....... Eleuterio San Pedro

Lorenzo Ybuan
Trinidad Banatin

They constituted the Junta Directiva (Board of Directors). They were to serve as long as they live in accordance with the by-laws of the Iglesia.

On May 29, 1944, the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi was incorporated under the laws of the Philippine Republic. On October 10, 1945 such incorporation was confirmed to be lawful under the Commonwealth of the Philippines.

The corporation papers included among other things: (1) the rules governing the conduct of members, (2) aims and purposes, and (3) Patakaran (Guideposts). The latter document was enacted by the Junta Directiva as its first order of business on May 19, 1944. See Appendix A, Papers of Incorporation.

I would like to point out in summary that during the formative years (1936-1944) a number of significant changes took place. The nature of the organization had shifted from the Simulain to Samahan to Iglesia. The top leadership positions also changed from: first and second leaders to first and second presiding elders. The latter titles were clearly patterned after the American Protestant church leadership structure. Certainly the positions were adapted to the changing status of the movement.
As the organization expanded there was a corresponding expansion in the set of officers. The original positions, foster mother and muse, were discarded. One auditor and three board members were added to the list of offices. Almost always all the batches of recruits were fairly represented in the hierarchy of leadership. There were but few turnovers among persons occupying certain positions.

As of May 1944, the rules governing the conduct of members were already formulated. The rites and rituals consisted of listening to the moral preachings of the Banal na Tinig and the holding of sacrificios to farflung and out of the way places. A belief system revolving around the life and works of Dr. Jose P. Rizal had fired the imagination of no less than two hundred members. Propitious dreams, apocalyptic visionary appearances, actual or merely imagined relief from national, local, and personal crises certainly generated and deepened moral and organizational commitment day by day.

**Period of Growth and Development**

*(1945-1970)*

The year 1944 was made more auspicious with the establishment of balangays (chapters) in Sinalhan, Santa Rosa; and Bigaa, Cabuyao, both in Laguna. Also, Primo Aragones, Vicente Malaiba, Moises Gaa, and Anatacio Mira, all from the island of Talim, Binangonan, Rizal joined the movement. These events indicate expansion beyond the borders of Lecheria hill.

However, on December 1944, the Banal na Tinig forewarned them of an impending disaster. The members who were residing in barrio Lingga and Calamba poblacion (town proper) were advised to evacuate to Lecheria.
The Japanese soldiers were frantic with the protracted return of General MacArthur and his men. The last Japanese offensive would be horrendous.

On February 12, 1945, about one thousand males from Calamba were carted away and massacred by the Japanese. Eleven among them were Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi members. They did not heed the warning of the Banal na Tinig. The eleven who were killed were the Habilagos - Lorenzo, Rufino, and Rufo; the Ercias - David and Juan; the Ocdamias - Jovencio and Juan; Dominador Alarcon, Alberto Herbosa, Anacleto Gebania, and Lorenzo Ybuan - a board member. The massacre was a stark reminder to those who would disobey.

The loss of eleven members did not dampen the enthusiasm of the Iglesia. On May 1945, additional members were brought into the fold. They were; Dominga Ercia, Sotero Makairog, Zacarias Palad, Crispin Penid, Sinfrosa Ratusto, Pascual Tallada, and many more. Similarly, they were instructed to hold a sacrifice for vision inside the cave.

On April 1946, sixteen members (9 males and 7 females) were instructed to hold a seven-day sacrifice on Mt. Susong Dalaga on the island of Talim, Binangonan, Rizal. In addition to the sacrificio para sa pangitain, they also held sacrificio para sa salmo (sacrifice for hymn), and sacrificio para sa estrellas (sacrifice for stars).

Those who joined the 7-day sacrifice were the more outstanding members. They were; Jose Baricanosa, Gaudioso Parabuac, Crispin Penid, Sotero Makairog, Jovito Salgado, Rosendo Salgado, Eleuterio San Pedro, Mateo Alcuran, Elas Naraga, Sixta Maibo, Maxima Salgado, Felisa Ustaris, Felisa Ocdamia, Filonila Ercia, Dominga Ercia, and Sinfrosa Ratusto.
It was during the 7-day sacrificio between one o'clock to two o'clock in the morning when Sotero Makairog saw a very thin sheet of paper, almost misty linen, much like the color of a Philippine flag, being handed to Jovito Salgado - the secretary of the organization. At this time Jovito Salgado was asleep. Hence, it was handed over to Sotero Makairog by one sugo (especially sent agent) of God. "Liwanag sa 1961." (light in 1961) was written on this piece of paper.

According to Jose Baricanosa, Makairog's vision was significant. He explained that "before light, darkness prevailed. Many shall perish in the dark before the coming of the true light." Hence, every member must live up to what he had sworn under the Simulain, established by the national hero, in order to earn salvation and life eternal and to be included in the New World where the Lord shall reign supreme. Parenthetically 1961 marked the centennial year of Dr. Jose P. Rizal. A Rizal Centennial Commission was especially created to prepare the country for a grand celebration. Indeed, the celebration was grand.

Auspiciously Sotero Makairog's sacrificio para sa pangitain earned for him the secretaryship of the organization while Jovito Salgado's being "asleep" augured his inevitable replacement.

After the sacrificios at Mt. Susong Dalaga, formal missionary work was launched. The following members were especially commissioned to different places in Luzon. They were: Gaudioso Parabuac, Mateo Alcuran, Crispin Penid, Sotero Makairog, Felisa Ocdamia, Felisa Ustaris, and many others. In the next two years the gain in missionary effort was quite substantial.
Meanwhile on July 4, 1946 the Philippines got back its Independence from the United States. This was in accordance with the Jones Law of 1935. The Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi participated in the parade. They had a float that got the municipal award for meaningful depiction of a historical event.

The following year, on June 19, 1947 during the anniversary of Rizal's birth, the members of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi participated with three floats and two brass bands. This was the first occasion that the balangays (chapters) from other places participated too. Since 1947, June 19 has become an annual pilgrimage for the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi members. It also coincides with the barrio fiesta of Lecheria.

The missionary effort which began in 1946 culminated in the conversion of Fathers Salustiano Basco and Luis Fabregar. They formerly belonged to the Universa Dei Ecclesia. Their parish was in San Antonio, Los Baños, Laguna. Carmen Herbosa recalled that she objected to the plan to have these two priests become members. When the decision was brought to a vote, she was out voted. In any event, on March 1948 a chapel was put up in barrio Lingga.

Elsewhere other balangays were organized. Sotero Garcia established a chapter at Sampaloc, Manila; and Agapito Samson working in La Paz, Tarlac established three balangays in barrios Sierra, Balanoy, and Lara. The biggest haul, however, was at Buragwis, Legaspi City under the leadership of Panfilo Dugan. An organization known locally as Pantay-pantay (co-equal) which recognized the leadership of a certain Josefina Lopez legally fused with the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi (Tabios 1962). The fusion of three otherwise independent religious movements was indeed salutary.
On April 17, 1948 nine members (five females and four males) were
instructed by the Banal na Tinig to hold sacrifices in different places.
They were: Gaudioso Parabuac, Mateo Alcuran, Crispin Penid, Ponciano la
Plana, Felisa Ustaris, Felisa Ybuan, Carmen Herbosa, Regina Habilagon,
and Epifania Almira. They shuttled back and forth to Antipolo and Montalban, Rizal; Zambales; Baguio City; Naga City; and Pinamalayan, Mindoro. The sacrificios lasted for about two years. They stayed in Calamba only to rest.

One evening, while they were in Orani, Bataan, two of the kapang-
warahan (powerful beings) allegedly serenaded them. The one singing a
nationalistic song was accompanied by someone on the flute. Incidentally
a flute is on display in a bedroom adjacent to the assembly hall at Leche-
ria. Dr. Jose Rizal had been said to be fond of playing the flute.

Meanwhile in a river somewhere in Bataan, where the Japanese and
Philippine Army had an encounter, Gaudioso Parabuac, Mateo Alcuran, and
Crispin Penid took a bath one day. They accidentally found a kerosene can
containing silver coins presumably confiscated by the Japanese from the
civilian population. They were about to bring the booty to their hut
when they heard the Banal na Tinig. They were reprimanded to leave the
money behind since that was not their atas (mission). In the hut they
received additional tongue lashings.

In Montalban, after breakfast, Gaudioso Parabuac, Crispin Penid,
and Mateo Alcuran decided to go inside a cave. The Banal na Tinig forbade
them to go because the Japanese had mined the cave before they retreated.

On their way home, it was necessary for them to cross the Montal-
ban river. The current was swift. They took a bamboo raft (balsa). They
swam, pushing the raft across. They became exhausted and they were about to drop into a deep waterfall. But they thought of seeking God's help when they felt the doom was near. Suddenly the raft cut across the current to the other side. For an hour, on the river bank, they were mesmerized by what had happened. They returned to the hut. The Banal na Tinig reminded them that if it were not for him they would have been dead. Death comes like a thief by night but the Banal na Tinig always abides.

While the group was in Calamba, the Banal na Tinig convened the members to a meeting at Calamias, in an isolated house in the middle of a rice field. This was on March 17, 1949. It was brought to the attention of the body that Rosendo Salgado was no longer doing his duty. Right here and there Crispin Penid got the nod of the group. Subsequently Rosendo Salgado died of a kidney ailment after undergoing an operation at the University of Santo Tomas hospital.

It was also about this time when Father Luis Fabregar became a kagawad (board member) of the Junta Directiva. An ecclesiastical dimension had been infused into the movement.

Luis Fabregar was born in Concepcion, Romblon on June 21, 1914. He spent six and a half years preparing for the Roman Catholic priesthood in the Seminario de San Carlos de Cebu. But his was a restless spirit. He had joined the Philippine Independent Church for two months and later the Iglesia ni Cristo and Iglesia Filipina Cristiana for two and six months respectively. As mentioned earlier, he founded the Universal Dei Ecclesia in 1936 and was its head up to 1946. Sometime in 1947 he joined the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi. He has maintained ecclesiastical leadership ever since.
On June 19, 1949 during the laying of the cornerstone for the reconstruction of Dr. Jose P. Rizal's house in Calamba, about five thousand members all over Luzon joined the parade. Each member wore a crossband with the bold inscription Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi. They had ten floats and six brass-bands.

The following year, 1950, about eight thousand (8,000) members paraded with 10 floats and six brass-bands. Since 1946, the first time the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi had ever participated in a civic, public function, it has caught national attention. The members, proud of being called Watawat could by then be found in Tarlac, Nueva Ecija, Nueva Vizcaya, Isabela, Camarines Sur, Camarines Norte, Albay, and Sorsogon. It was like a mighty army welling up with enthusiasm.

The enthusiasm of the Watawat ng Lahi was seemingly contagious. Felicidad Lapitan of Los Banos was infected in 1951. Before this, she was for twelve years a member of an spiritista lunduyan (spiritist group). Her husband from Macao, China, was vehemently against these groups. But she could not be persuaded to renounce her new faith. After a year of actively participating in the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi affairs, the Lupong Pamunuan (the same as Junta Directiva) chose her to succeed the national treasurer who had just died. She refused. She was warned by the sanggunian (counselor) during one of the meetings. She was persuaded to accept the job and has since served the organization faithfully.

Sometime in the early 1950's, the Banal na Tinig instructed Jose Baricanosa to establish a settlement at Lecheria hill. The latter willingly complied. Out of his family savings he bought two hectares of hilly land from the Salgados.
Out of town balangays were subsequently encouraged to build houses. These balangay houses serve as temporary shelters for balangay representatives who are undergoing religious instruction and training at Lecheria. On special occasions like the annual pilgrimage on June 19, many transient visitors are accommodated in these dwellings.

Soon the central office (tanggapang pangkalahatan) was formally located at Lecheria. A two-storey building was put up. Part of the first floor was occupied by the various offices. The other half was being used as a classroom by grade II pupils. The Iglesia Watawat ng Labi had petitioned the principal of the Calamba Elementary School, a government-supported school, to establish an extension class in barrio Lecheria. The leadership offered the classroom free of charge.

The second floor serves as a session hall during the tawag (call). When the College of Mental Physics and Occult Science was still in operation, during weekdays the second floor was used as a classroom. Here, students preparing for the priesthood were trained. They were sponsored by their balangays.

In 1956, a church was put up. Mass is regularly celebrated at 7:00 o'clock a.m. Baptism is scheduled after mass. At 2:00 o'clock p.m. preparatory congregational prayers are recited in the church. After the prayers, the members transfer to the adjacent session hall for a business meeting and tawag. The tawag usually starts at 4:00 o'clock in the afternoon.

On February 28, 1956 Jose Baricanosa received an instruction from the Mga Mahal na Magulang assigning balangays nos. 12 and 24 of Calamba to take charge of the cleaning and upkeep of the central office.
On October 20, 1956, another set of rules was handed down pertaining to the conduct of members during the tawag. Furthermore, ways and means of strengthening the organization which was apparently beset with internal problems such as poor attendance during meetings and failure to turn in balangay contributions to the central office were deplored.

On October 26, 1958 Jose Baricanosa presented to the congregation an abstracted Ten Commandments from the writings of Dr. Jose P. Rizal. The document was obviously patterned after the Biblical Ten Commandments received by Moses from God at Mount Sinai.

Through the years the membership of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi has steadily grown. As of 1959, it claimed to have 130 balangays scattered in the fifteen provinces of Luzon: Albay, Cagayan, Camarines Norte, Camarines Sur, Catanduanes, Isabela, Laguna, Nueva Ecija, Nueva Vizcaya, Pampanga, Pangasinan, Quezon, Rizal, Sorosogon, and Tarlac. See Figure 1 Distribution of Balangays, Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi, Philippines, p.3.

The set of offices expanded too. On December 30, 1959, the Banal na Tinig designated the following:

President ............. Jose B. Baricanosa
Vice-President ........ Crispin M. Penid
Secretary .............. Sotero Makairog
Treasurer .............. Felicidad Lapitan
Auditor ............... Eleuterio San Pedro
Sargeant at Arms ...... Juan Daop
Public Relations Officer .. Clemente Fuentes
Supreme Bishop ........ Luis Fabregar
Between 1944 to 1959, there were a number of remarkable changes in the set-up of offices. The titles of the first two top leadership positions had been changed from Presiding Elder and Second Presiding Elder to President and Vice-President respectively. A clearcut delineation of functions was inevitable with the accommodation and subsequent growth and development of the ecclesiastical body since 1947, with the union of the Universa Dei Ecclesia. By 1959, Luis Fabregar has risen to the position of bishop.

Two other positions were added: one public relations officer and one sargeant at arms. Moreover either because of death or non-performance of duties, six persons holding top positions in 1944 had been replaced in 1959. Only three had the distinction of holding over up to 1959. They are: Jose B. Baricanosa, Gaudioso Parabuac, and Eleterio San Pedro.

The above set of officers had the distinction of serving during the centennial celebration of Rizal's birthday on June 19, 1961. Symbolic floats, brass-bands, and several thousand members from all over the Philippines participated. As usual, floral offerings, an outdoor mass, a literary musical program, and tawag highlighted the affair. The vision of Sotero Makaihog, "Light in 1961," had come to pass.

By 1960's the organization of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi was firmly set. The secular structure in 1936 has been complemented by an
ecclesiastical body complete with rites and rituals, religious symbols, and paraphernalia almost all borrowed from orthodox Roman Catholicism. Even at this writing the tension of organizational fusion between the "secular" and the "sacred" remains.

In 1960, the first edition of Dasalan (Prayer Book) was published. It consisted of: (1) commandments, (2) exhortation, (3) prayers, and (4) doctrinal statements. An expanded edition of the Dasalan came out in 1971.

On November 9, 1963, the twelve laws of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi were coded and printed into eight (6" x 9") pages. On March 1970 the fourth edition of Bagong Liwanag (New Light), a codified statement of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi’s formal beliefs, doctrines, and teachings written down at various times since 1963, was published.

In 1960 when I wrote my Master’s thesis on the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi I observed that it was in the later part of the formal stage of the formulation of issues and the formation of public. It took them ten years to complete the process. The Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi has just entered into a steady state.

Steady State
(1970 and beyond)

It took the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi thirty-seven years to enter into a steady state. At this juncture its organizational machinery is firmly established. It has a Lupong Pamunuan (Board of Directors) composed of twelve elected officers who were duly approved by the Banal na Tinig. The pangulo (president) is the recognized titular head of the
movement. A supreme bishop manages the ecclesiastical affairs. An invoker still calls on the Banal na Tinig.

The rules of conduct of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi were already codified. From time to time additional rules are being formulated by the Lupong Pamunuan and Panguluhan (Council of balangay Presidents). The Mga Mahal na Magulang constantly remind them of their duties and obligations as kasapi (members).

Aside from the historic-religious world view that is spelled out in Chapter V, the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi's theology is being put together by Fidel Bardos -- a promising theologian of the movement. He is writing a book on the life and teachings of Jose Rizal that is patterned after the New Testament books of the Bible.

The rites and rituals of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi have already been routinized. Every Sunday mass is heard in the morning and tawag in the afternoon. Special dates like Rizal's birthday and National Heroes Day are observed with appropriate ceremonies. Christmas and Holy Week highlighted by singing the Pasyon (Passion of Jesus Christ) are likewise being celebrated. Formal rites of passage such as initiation, baptism, confirmation, ordination, and the like are done.

With the above internal patterning of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi as spelled out above, I feel that the organization has achieved the position of strength to negotiate with other nativistic movements of similar tradition and persuasion. On December 30, 1972, the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi was negotiating for a fusion with the Alaph Divine Temple of Roxas City, Capiz, under the leadership of Gaudencio Franco. The Iglesia
Watawat ng Lahi had experienced organizational fusion twice in its own career so far. I see an elaboration of this experience in the 1970's and beyond.

The relative stability of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi cannot go on forever. A movement has to move along otherwise it will die because of inaction. The Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi has become big and bigness can overwhelm it. Right now, it is faced with the problem of control and supervision. The supreme bishop put it succinctly during my last visit in Lecheria. He said, 'We cannot go on like this. We need to have a mechanism to reach our members, a publication perhaps where we could expound on our ideas and tell the people about the good news.'

Over at Lecheria, a different concern is brewing. One hundred and ten houses are packed in the two-hectare settlement. Previously these houses were put up by the various balángays. However, many families have taken over the ownership of the houses. The purpose for which Lecheria was originally conceived by the Banal na Tinig has been obliterated, i.e., Lecheria is the "Holy Land" where God shall choose who shall dwell in His New Kingdom. Now the settlers are demanding from the rightful owners of the two-hectare settlement to subdivide it (lotehin) among themselves. Carmen Herbosa, the wife of Jose Baricanosa, is appalled and dismayed over this apparent mendacity.

It is propitious to claim, given the circumstances above, that beyond the seventies the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi shall leave behind the comfort of the steady state and enter into a new period of revitalization.
CHAPTER V

THE IGLESIA WATAWAT NG LAHI -
HISTORICO-RELIGIOUS WORLD VIEW

By historic-co-religious world view I mean a unified cognition of events. Some of these events have not yet actually occurred but they are already temporally located.

The historic-co-religious perspective of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi can be drawn as a single evolutionary line starting from the time of Creation to the establishment of God's New Kingdom. This single evolutionary continuum is cut up into five sequential stages. They are: (1) the creation, (2) ministry of Jesus Christ, (3) ministration of the Banal na Tinig, (4) second coming, and (5) establishment of the New Kingdom (Bagong Kaharian). These stages are conceived to be may kapana-hunan (timeliness).

The sections following present how the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi has elaborated on each of the stages outlined above. Figure 14 Altar of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi at Lecheria, Calamba, Laguna, shows the imagery and serial unfolding of the religious drama. In the beginning it was the Father symbolized by Chos Abimasola. The resurrected Christ was second in the line of descent. Jose Rizal followed after Christ.

The Creation

The Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi's account of Creation is principally drawn from the book entitled Rey de los Reyes. For the religious reason
Figure 14. Altar of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi at Lecheria, Calamba, Laguna, Philippines.
that it is not yet opportune (hindi pa panahon), this book is not available to the general public for scrutiny. I acknowledge the kindness of Jose Baricanosa for sharing with me his typescript copy in Tagalog of this portion pertaining to the story of Creation.

It is alleged that God first created the "time" (panahon). Then he made the heavens together with the angels, cherubims, and seraphims. Later he made the seven planets and all the things therein. On earth, Adam and Eve were created. All things they needed had been prepared. Man need not hunger nor thirst.

The creations of God are destined. Human beings, birds, beasts, fish, plants, weather, tide, earthquake, storms, even famine, prosperity, and the like exist according to their appointed time (kapanahunan).

The course of events on earth are claimed to be guided by twelve kings of time. They are:

1. Salutator - time king of the east. He is a powerful king. He looks after the time in the east, the changes of nature, and the fate of the impatient creatures.

2. Olionte - time king of the south. He is an understanding king. He decides on the request of many creatures whether to grant their needs.

3. Memerel - time king of the west. He is a fierce king. He punishes the creatures who are impatient, upset by worries, and unreasonably commit suicide.

4. Caralonte - time king of the north. He is full of mercy. He makes the plants bear fruit, and the birds, beasts, fish to multiply.

5. Notambat - time king of the southeast. He loves music and theology. He looks after this knowledge.

6. Ampilator - time king of the southwest. He is a powerful king. He decides on the invention of chemists -- the mixture of metals and minerals.
7. Exlaxut - time king of the northwest. He is an obedient king. He directs the people to follow the commandments of God. He prepares the people to recognize a person's wisdom and intelligence.

8. Brobator - time king of the northeast. He tries the creatures through famine, calamities, hopelessness, and failure.

9. Lumayos - time king of the land. He is an intelligent king. He assigns the destiny of creatures according to signs and planetary readings.

10. Latibub - time king of the water. He is a peaceful king. He controls the tide and rain.

11. Disipolero - time king of the fire. He is strong. He controls the fire and war.

12. Fanpiriem - time king of the wind. He is a powerful king. He looks after the storms and earthquakes.

Each of these kings has angels under his dominion. These angels serve as mga sugo (messengers) of God to inform man of God's plan and will. On the other hand, through the recitation of a divine formula an invoker (a recipient of charisma) can cause the presence of a sugo in the form of a Holy Voice. This communication system is known as schemham-poras.

The Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi's version of creation unmistakably revolves around the theory of predestination -- everything has its appointed time. The unfolding of God's grand design is carried out through the workings of his appointed kings and angels. It is in this context of sending sugo interpreted theologically as God's concern for men that Jesus was sent.
Ministry of Jesus Christ

The Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi subscribes to the basic Biblical account of the life of Jesus Christ. Their _Sumasampalataya_ (Confession of Faith) freely translated below embodies mainly the orthodox Christian beliefs regarding the ministry of Jesus Christ except for the inclusion of the phrase "Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi, heroes and saints in the company of the Holy Spirit."

_Sumasampalataya_  
(Confession of Faith)

We believe in God, the Father Almighty who created heaven and earth.

We believe in Jesus Christ, God's only son, Lord of all. He was made flesh, created by God the Holy Spirit. Born of the Virgin Mary, made to suffer by Pontius Pilate. He was crucified, died, and buried, went down to Limbo, after three days he rose again. Ascended to heaven and sat on the right hand of God, the Father Almighty. He shall come from there, to return, to save, and to bless the living and the dead.

We believe in the Holy Spirit who has the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi, who has the company of heroes and saints, who has the remission of sin and the dead shall live again, and who has eternal life.

So be it.

The above "Confession of Faith" recognizes the orthodox doctrine of the Holy Trinity. The Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi has certainly indigenized it. True, they subscribe to the triplicity of persons in one God, but it is in the context of "being persons" that the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi has appropriated names to each of the three persons. They are: Jehovah, Jesus, and Jose. Obviously Jose refers to Jose Rizal. These three names all start with the letter J. This is by no means incidental. More than its bizarre effects it tends to convey the unity of the three persons in one God.
To digress a bit, the doctrine of the Holy Trinity has been one of the subjects of proselytization among the numerous Christian churches in the Philippines. The issues that are painstakingly discussed revolve around its nature, allocation of divine power and authority (kapanyarihan), and mediatorship. To cite one example, many protestant evangelists deplore the fact that many orthodox churches claim to believe in one God yet they also offer prayers to the Virgin Mary and numerous saints. Apparently the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahí is conscious of this theological debate. They have developed some doctrinal defenses regarding the Holy Trinity. No less than the Banal na Tinig has articulated its position in verse.

(Original) (Free Translation)

Jehovah, Jesus, Jose
Sila ay isa.
Kaya pinag-ibaiba
Upang hindi makilala.

Jehovah, Jesus, Jose
They are One only.
The reason why they vary
To conceal their identity.

The doctrinal position of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahí is that God has willed that He shall not be revealed completely. For God to reveal himself completely is to lose His divinity and efficacy. It is from this theological stance that the doctrine of the Holy Trinity shall forever be a guarded mystery. Mystery it is indeed for Dr. Jose P. Rizal to have become the third person of the Holy Trinity.

Ministration of the Banal na Tinig

To recall, Jose B. Baricanosa claimed that sixteen Filipino heroes founded the Simulain in the island of Masbate as early as 1914. It was only in 1936 when the Simulain initially took root at Lecheria, Calamba, Laguna. At Lecheria, a Banal na Tinig ministered to the early
converts for one year. Upon his departure he left behind a *mang-saliw* (comforter). This comforter later revealed himself as Dr. Jose P. Rizal.

Dr. Jose P. Rizal as *guro* (teacher) allegedly brought along with him the fifteen other Filipino heroes of the Philippine Revolution. They have become known as the *Mga Mahal na Magulang*. Their presence is made known through a voice called *Banal na Tinig*.

Seldom do they all come together to Lecheria. The reason given is that they have to attend to the numerous requests of different *balangays* spread all over the country. At one instance, June 19, 1960, I had the opportunity to listen to six messages delivered by six visiting "voices." The *pangulo* had the kindness to identify for me, one at a time, who was speaking.

During the initial years of my fieldwork, the *Banal na Tinig* was heard at Lecheria every Sunday afternoon at 4:00 o'clock and such other days during the week when especially invoked by Gaudioso Parabuac. Ten years later the visits of the *Banal na Tinig* has been moved to every fourth Sunday of the month at about the same time. One informant told me that the reason why the *Banal na Tinig* appears rarely is that many strangers attend the sessions. As early as October 20, 1956 (minutes of the meeting), the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi discussed among other things what they would do if the *Mga Mahal na Magulang* gradually cut off their visits. According to Jose Baricanosa, "if the *Banal na Tinig* no longer comes, this means that His Second Coming is at hand."
The Second Coming

Just like the orthodox Christian doctrine of the Holy Trinity, the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi has indigenized the Second Coming. Instead of awaiting the return of Jesus Christ, the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi is looking with great anticipation to the coming of Dr. Jose P. Rizal. This doctrinal position is buttressed by a passage from Revelation 2: 26-28.

Rev. 2:26 And he that overcometh, and keepeth my works unto the end, to him I give power over the nations;

27 And he shall rule them with a rod of iron; as the vessels of a potter shall they be broken to shivers, even as I received of my father.

28 And I will give him the morning star.

Parenthetically, although the above quotation was addressed by the Son of God to Thyatira -- the Church in Idolatry (Scofield 1967), Crispin M. Penid (vice-president) interpreted the passage as referring to Dr. Jose P. Rizal whom he claims to be the "reincarnation" of Jesus Christ. Penid's understanding of reincarnation is that of having followed a similar life style. In several of his writings he argues that Dr. Jose P. Rizal "followed closely the life crises which Jesus Christ underwent."

It is in the context of Rizal keeping faith with Jesus that he (Jose) had been given the power over nations during the Second Coming. The sections below follow through the development and elaboration of the above doctrinal posture.

The Life and Mission of Dr. Jose P. Rizal

According to Crispin Penid, the life and mission of Dr. Jose P. Rizal was foretold in the Bible. He cited Revelation 12: 1-5 to support his allegation.
Rev. 12:1 And there appeared a great wonder in heaven - a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars.

2 And she, being with a child, cried, travailing in birth, and pained to be delivered.

3 And there appeared another wonder in heaven; and behold, a great red dragon, having seven heads and ten horns, and seven crowns upon his heads.

4 And his tail drew the third part of the stars of heaven and did cast them to the earth; and the dragon stood before the woman who was ready to be delivered, to devour her child as soon as it was born.

5 And she brought forth a male child, who was to rule all nations with a rod of iron; and her child was caught up unto God, and to his throne.

The passage foretells, in capsule form, how Dr. Jose P. Rizal would redeem his country from Spanish colonial rule rather than what Jesus Christ had done for Israel.

The symbolic re-interpétations in the text are noteworthy. "A woman clothed with the sun," refers to a nation where the sun rises. Unmistakably it is the Philippines. "And she being with a child," represents a country which shall have a son who shall be duly acknowledged worldwide. He is none other than Dr. Jose P. Rizal. "And she . . . cried, travailing in birth, and pained to be delivered," is interpreted as a nation asking mercy from God to redeem her from suffering, cruelty, and punishment -- all caused by a colonial government that was Spain.

"And there appeared another wonder in heaven; and, behold a great red dragon, having seven heads and ten horns, and seven crowns upon his heads." The red dragon is symbolic of Spain whose history is immersed in blood. The seven heads and seven crowns were the powerful kingdoms which supported the red dragon organization.
"And his tail drew the third part of the stars of heaven and did cast them to the earth." The "third part of the stars in heaven," refers to the angels who fought on the side of Lucifer against God. They were cast to earth.

"And the dragon stood before the woman . . . to devour her child as soon as it was born," is taken to mean that Spain was ready to kill and did cause the death of Dr. Jose P. Rizal because she knew that he was going to expose the truth against her.

"And she brought forth a male child who was to rule all nations with a rod of iron . . ." Here is the turning point in the interpretation. Penid argues that St. John wrote the scriptures as instructed by Jesus Christ while He was already at his Father's throne. Hence, it could not be Him who was prophesied to be born. Falling back on Revelation 2:26-27, the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi claims that of all persons who lived after Jesus Christ, only Rizal measured up to Jesus' commandments and standard. Therefore, he truly deserved "to rule over nations with a rod of iron."

Finally, the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi believes that Dr. Jose P. Rizal sits at the right hand of Jesus on His Father's throne. From here he shall come to judge the living and the dead.

I would like to inject a point of caution before I proceed any further. To my mind, the imputation of new meanings to passages quoted out of context as exemplified above should not be viewed as attempts to beguile neither to legitimize beliefs nor to deceive the unsuspecting as some writers of social movements are quick to deplore. Rather I look at it as a sincere and judicious effort to fit together various types of
corpora to construct a more meaningful belief system. It is not foolhardiness on the part of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi to claim that Jose Rizal and Jesus Christ underwent parallel life histories. The adoption of analogical procedure is instrumental culture (Devereux 1961) with respect to the deification of national heroes. I suggest that it is in the spirit of sympathetic understanding that the accounts above and the following be considered.

Nativity. The source of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi's account of the nativity up to crucifixion is Ubornal. Like Rey de los Reyes, it is not yet available for public scrutiny. A typescript copy on which the following account is based was shared with me by Jose Baricanosa.

The Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi subscribes to the orthodox Biblical version of Jesus' nativity. Since it is widely available I need not recount the story here. However, some circumstances attending the birth of Jesus have been stressed by the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi more than other details. For instance, when Jesus was born, the star that shone was called Estrella Matutina. The names of the shepherds who first visited the infant correspond to the names of His twelve disciples even before they were made followers. The first child who visited the Messiah was Epran, and Epran was alleged to be the reincarnation of David. Those who sang the "Gloria in Excelsis Dei" were the choirs and archangels under the baton of Joperon.

In the case of Dr. Jose P. Rizal, according to the Banal na Tinig, his birth is a mystery. He was carried while an infant by an old beggar and placed by the door of Doña Teodora's house one early dawn. He was wrapped in a white blanket. His diaper had the inscription Jose Rizal
which in Latin is translated as Jove Rex Al. Jove is the secret name of God. Rex means king, and Al all. In short Jose Rizal means God King of All.

Undoubtedly the details of nativity as presented above tend to leave marked impressions. They fit very well into the theology of kapanahunan (timeliness). Everything has an appointment with time.

**Baptism.** Before Jesus was made the Christ, he underwent seven trials, the most difficult part of which was when the beautiful Miriam tempted him. Because he was successful in all of these tests, the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove anointed him at the river Jordan. His baptism was administered by John the Baptist. Incidentally, John the Baptist was believed to be the reincarnation of Noah.

Pursuing the story of the Banal na Tinig concerning Jesus' birth, it appears that the Teodora Alonzo family merely played foster family to the infant Jose. Somehow the couple had to decide when to baptize the baby. There is a general belief in the Philippines that an unbaptized child is sickly and accident-prone. However, they could not agree on the sponsor (ninong and ninang). Eventually they decided that the first person who would come around by the door would be asked to stand as godparent. That morning a beggar knocked at the door. The beggar graciously accepted the offer to be the baptismal sponsor. As a baptismal gift, he gave the couple a piece of white paper with an inscription. They were instructed to give the gift to the child when he had learned to read.

The story of baptism as related above is in keeping with the early Christian Filipino literary tradition of metrical romances. Finding a child by the door is considered propitious. It is a form of pagsubok...
The appearance of a beggar is an extension of the initial test. Beggars in many metrical romances, e.g., *Florante at Laura* by Baltazar, usually play disguised roles (*balatkayo*). In the climax of many plots they reveal themselves as the paragons of virtue.

From the factual perspective of Philippine historians, the birth and baptism of Dr. Jose P. Rizal were not extraordinary. Palma (1949) observed:

... His advent was not preceded by prophecies. It was not announced by any mysterious constellation. No wise men foretold his good fortune. There were no augural signs which might for­bade that that boy was going to perturb the peace of the world that the Spaniards considered ideal.

Except for the fact that his mother had a difficult labor and promised a pilgrimage to the Virgin of Antipolo, the event had nothing extraordinary in it. His parents did not give him better treatment than their other children. They baptized him on the third day and called him Jose, probably because his birth occurred on a day commemorative of Saint Joseph.

Ministry. The ministry of Jesus was punctuated with miraculous deeds such as feeding the five thousand, healing the sick, raising the dead, and many others. The Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi are familiar with these Biblical accounts. Likewise, stories and anecdotes associated with Dr. Jose P. Rizal proliferate. They border on the supra-mundane as the following texts show.

"Matthew 12:29-39 tells us that Jesus fed the five thousand with only five loaves of bread and two fishes," Jose Baricanosa fondly re­called. "In the case of Rizal, this is paralleled by a picnic in Pansol when he served thirty young people with only a spring chicken and a litter of rice." Note the symbolic equivalents of bread and fish as against rice and chicken, respectively. The story in greater detail is as follows.
One Sunday morning, shortly after his arrival from Europe in 1887, Dr. Jose P. Rizal invited thirty young people to a picnic in Pansol hot spring. On their way, Lilay noticed that Jose brought only one spring chicken and a liter of rice. She jokingly remarked, "your baon (sack lunch) is good only for you." Rizal replied, "Never mind, Lilay. I'll be responsible for your food. Go on with your swimming. Don't worry. I'll ask our helpers to cook these for us."

When they reached Pansol, Jose asked one of the helpers to boil the rice and dress the chicken. After these were prepared, he ordered for a big kaing (container made of bamboo slats), placed the rice in it and covered it with banana leaves. Thereafter, he ordered seven bowls (kam-aw) and apportioned the chicken and covered them with banana leaves. At lunch time, he placed a big table at the middle of the spring bed, atop the red stones. Everybody sat around the table. Rizal then removed the banana leaves from the kaing and kam-aw. Great was their delight. They had a hearty meal. They were not able to finish the food.

On another occasion, seven adults and four children went to Sinalhan, Sta. Rosa, Laguna. They stayed in the house of Arsenio de Guzman. Arsenio de Guzman claimed to be the katulong (attendant) of Rizal at Dapitan (Penid 1970f). He claimed he was commissioned by Rizal to organize the Simulain all over the Philippines, including the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi at Lecheria, Calamba, Laguna. Carmen Herbosa tells how she brought rice and dalag (mudfish) with her to eat. The old man was indifferent. In Philippine peasant society, it smacks of insult against the host if you bring your food with you, especially if you are just visiting. Anyway, they cooked the food just the same. They were surprised to find
that they were not able to finish the food which they thought would not be enough for all of them. The rice in the pot overflowed as they ate and ate.

To demonstrate Rizal's healing power, Jose Baricanosa had this to tell. When Rizal was in Spain, Queen Victoria's son, Alfonso the Third, became ill. His head bulged and an operation was needed. Nobody in Spain could cure him. When Rizal learned of the situation he volunteered to perform the operation. He made certain specifications. He requested a glass-walled operating room. It was immediately granted. When everything was ready, he entered the operating room alone. The dignitaries who were witnessing the operation were surprised to find out that three persons were doing the hazardous task. The operation was a success. Thereafter, Queen Victoria asked Rizal what reward he wanted. He did not ask for anything. He only wanted to show the Spaniards that the Filipinos were as talented and as capable as they were.

To my mind, the preceding account and the one succeeding tend to explicate four essential qualities attributed to Rizal: (1) efficacy of his medical training, (2) his supernatural being, (3) his conviction that all men are equal, and (4) a special concern for the needy.

Similarly, when Rizal was in Germany, he learned that the wife of the German king was sick. He again volunteered his services. The King was quite reluctant to accept the offer because of the diminutive appearance of Rizal. He was warned that he would be beheaded if the wife would die. Rizal tried his luck. He touched her and the wife was able to move. He touched her for the second time and the wife sat straight. After the third touch, she was able to walk. The German King was very
pleased. Rizal was offered a pile of gold nuggets as high as himself. He refused them. The king was not persuaded, though, and as an expression of gratitude he gave Rizal a magic cane. It had the power of death. The Queen gave him a magic umbrella. It could carry him everywhere.

"Children, obey your parents," a Biblical exhortation, is illustrated by the following account. In 1887, after Dr. Jose P. Rizal’s arrival from Manila, the mother handed him a letter. No inscription was visible in it. After examining the letter, Jose P. Rizal asked for a lamp and placed the letter on top of the flame. The words became visible. It was learned that Jose was needed in Germany because the king was sick. The mother objected saying that he should rest first. The old woman advised him to stay with the family since he had just arrived from Europe. As a dutiful son, he obeyed his mother, but not for long.

The mother was then cooking their food for lunch. She locked Jose in his room. The mother went to the kitchen to taste the viand. She was startled to find her son ahead of her. She did not utter a word but went back to Jose’s room to verify if Jose was locked in. She saw him reading a book. Her mother asked him, "Weren’t you at the kitchen a while ago?" Rizal gleefully replied, "Yes." The mother was about to scold him for his seeming mischief but Jose quickly explained that it was impossible for her to lock him in. He further asserted that if he wanted to go to Germany without her permission he could do so. The mother then consented to his going to Germany to treat the German king.

Crucifixion. Jesus was nailed on the cross. Jose Rizal was shot in Bagumbayan. The forms of punishment were both traditional in their respective cultures. Herein lies the parallelism. The richness of
this kind of parallelism is elaborated in the sections following. It has been claimed that on the way to Calvary the first individual who took compassion on Jesus by carrying the cross was Simon of Cyrene, the second was Judas Tadeo. Judas Iscariot ridiculed him. The first who greeted him was Ximulatoc, and the third, John the Baptist. The *dignum crucis* (Holy Cross) was created by God the Father. The *dignum* tree had twelve leaves and on each leaf was written the twelve names of the disciples. The ladder that was supposed to have been used when Jesus' body was removed from the cross was to be used by those who would follow the commandments of Jesus. After his death, St. Mary, Nicodemus, and Joseph of Arimathea asked his body from Pilate. It was so granted. His sepulchre was guarded by the soldiers for three days. The stone that covered the sepulchre was called "Piedra Amor." He was buried where Adam and Eve were buried. He rose from the dead after three days.

In contrast, the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi contends that on the morning of December 30, 1896 Dr. Jose P. Rizal asked his guard to furnish him a banana stalk and it was so granted. It was alleged that the said stalk was transformed into his own likeness. It was also related that shortly before Rizal's fatal death in Bagumbayan, Dr. Felipe Ruiz of the Military Medical Corps pronounced his pulse to be normal. Jose Baricanosa claimed that "on the ground where Rizal was shot, there was not even a drop of blood."

After his death his corpse was not given to his immediate kin. Instead, it was buried in the Paco cemetery. It was guarded for fifteen days by fifty soldiers, one captain, one lieutenant, one sargeant, and a corporal. Some Ilocano soldiers testified that several days after the
burial they found a banana stalk instead of a rotten corpse in the tomb. They were ordered to keep this apparent miracle to themselves.

To prove further their point that Dr. Jose P. Rizal was not shot at Bagumbayan, Jose Baricanosa related the following incident. After the firing squad succeeded in killing Rizal's alter ego, some of the soldiers went to the Hotel de Francia, then located near the present Ideal theatre. They were boasting that they finally put down the proud Filipino. The waiter retorted, "how could you have killed him when I served him just ten minutes before you came in. You are lying." The soldiers ridiculed the waiter.

The imputation of Rizal's unflinching attitude towards death is illustrated by the following account. On one occasion, Dr. Jose P. Rizal had a premonition of death. He informed Pio Elasegui, Melquiades Belarmino, Tomas Jarumayan, and Paciano Rizal that if it were only the will of the people he could not be eliminated. However, if it were God's will, then he had no choice. "... my Father, if it is possible, let this cup pass me by. Yet not as I will, but as thou wilt," (Matt. 26:39).

The Watawats believe that Jose Rizal is not dead. Ten years after the incident at Bagumbayan, a German painter happened to be at Legazpi. He frequented the hill to paint the beautiful views of Mount Makiling. One day, he saw a Filipino idling on the hill. This German painter was desirous of putting into a canvass a typical Filipino. So he immediately asked him if it would be possible for him to serve as his model. It was agreed that they would meet for several days on the hill. As the German painter drew the Filipino portrait on the canvass, the model also painted the portrait of the painter.
A day before the unveiling of the typical Filipino portrait in Calamba, it rained so hard that the finishing touches were done in the house of the German painter. The model did not appear. The painter had to resort to his own memory and imagination. During the unveiling he announced that at least he had put on the canvass what he considered a typical Filipino. When the picture was finally unveiled the people were stupefied to find out that the typical Filipino portrait was that of Dr. Jose Rizal. The painter somewhat dejected hurriedly went to Rizal's house. He inquired from the servant if the portrait was that of Jose. The painter got a nod. He was terribly astonished. "How could a man shot in Bagumbayan live again after almost ten years," he muttered.

Juanito Briones added a personal testimony to this question of Rizal being alive. He claims to have been a friend of a certain Mauricio Cruz, the son of Maria. Maria was the sister of Dr. Jose P. Rizal. They had a house in San Pablo City. When Juanito was about eight years old, he was told that there was a secret room in the house of Doña Maria where the national hero and his compañeros used to meet. In fact the servant testified that Doña Maria used to prepare the room for them. She would ask the servant to bring in the food that she cooked for her brother and his companions. At night the servant could hear people talking inside the room. The following morning the servant would clean the room of leftovers and debris.

To allay any remaining doubt regarding Rizal's omnipresence, the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi quotes the tenth stanza of Rizal's Last Farewell as a final supporting evidence:
And when in the night the darkness
Enwraps the graveyard round
And only, only the dead remain there
to watch with me,
Do not disturb their repose
their mystery profound;
If haply thou hearest a zither,
or a psaltery resound
'Tis I, my motherland, I, who am
singing to thee. (Palma 1949: 321)

The Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi kasapi (member) argues that if Rizal is dead, how could he claim to be a zither who sings to the Motherland. The zither is culturally interpreted as the Banal na Tinig. The Banal na Tinig peregrinates to many lands, forewarning the people of his Second Coming.

The sections above show that through analogical procedure the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi has established the parallelism of Rizal's and Christ's lives and missions. Similarly the same analogical procedure is used by the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi to justify his coming back as a reward for leading a Christlike life. The imagery of the establishing of his kingdom is discussed below.

**Establishment of the New Kingdom**

Again with the Holy Bible as authority, the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi symbolically describes Rizal's coming. Revelation 19:11-16 provides:

Revelation 19:11 And I saw heaven opened and behold, a white horse; and he that sat upon him was called Faithful and True, and in righteousness he doth judge and make war.

12 His eyes were like a flame of fire, and on his head were many crowns; and he had a name written, that no man knew, but he himself.

13 And he was clothed with a vesture dipped in blood; and his name is called the Word of God.
14 And the armies that were in heaven followed him upon white horses, clothed in fine linen, white and clean.

15 And out of his mouth goeth a sharp sword, that with it he should smite the nations, and he treadeth the winepress of the fierceness and wrath of Almighty God.

16 And he hath on his vesture and on his thigh a name written, KING OF KINGS, AND LORD OF LORDS.

Penid explains the symbolism of each verse as follows: "He that sat upon him," refers to Rizal since he was "Faithful and True," to the teachings of Christ.

Verse 12, "His eyes were like a flame of fire," signifies the granting of God's authority to him to cast his anger and fierceness upon evil. "and on his head were many crowns," corresponds to the many areas of learning he had successfully pursued.

Verse 13, "And he was clothed with a vesture dipped in blood," referred to his merciless death at Bagumbayan. "and his name is called the Word of God," conveys the idea that Jesus Christ had given to him what he received from God Almighty.

Verse 14 refutes Jesus' second coming since the one referred to would come in the company of "armies in heaven." Jesus asserted that he would come in the company of angels and archangels.

Verse 15, "And out of his mouth goeth a sharp sword," means that every word that Rizal would say would have the power to smite nations.

Verse 16, the title "KING OF KINGS AND LORD OF LORDS" is a fulfillment of Revelation 3:12 which says, "Him that overcometh will I make a pillar in the temple of my God, and he shall go no more out; and I will write upon him the name of my God, and the name of the city of my God, the new Jerusalem, which cometh out of heaven from my God . . ."
In a nutshell, the authority to establish the New Kingdom at Lecheria has been granted. Several nagging questions still remain. They are: When will he come? What will be the auguring signs? What changes will take place? Where will it happen? I will address myself to these questions in the succeeding accounts.

Augural Signs

The story goes that on October 13, 1887 Melquiades Belarmino, Tomas Jarumayan, Lt. Taviel de Andrade, and Dr. Jose P. Rizal climbed up Mt. Makiling. Upon reaching the mountain top, Rizal wrote the names of his companions on a piece of paper, folded it carefully, placed it in a bottle of Vichy, covered it with a cork, and attached it to a bamboo pole. He buried the pole in the ground. Later on it has been alleged that a bamboo whose circumference cannot be hugged by a large person has been seen growing at the site. His companions had entertained the idea that probably the golden flag of the New Jerusalem shall be hoisted on the site at Mt. Makiling.

The story just cited can be placed meaningfully in the context of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi's doctrinal position. It claims that the house of the Lord shall be established atop Mt. Makiling, facing the town of Calamba. Many symbols shall be revealed: the golden flag, the golden church, and the golden palace. All nations shall go to this chosen place for judgment (Baricanosa 1971: 86-101).

The above doctrinal position is based on Isaiah 2:1-2, thus:

Isaiah 2: 1 The word that Isaiah, the son of Amoz, saw concerning Judah and Jerusalem.
2 And it shall come to pass in the last days, that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills; and all nations shall flow unto it.

The description above approximately fits the geographic position of Lecheria relative to Mt. Makiling. See Figure 2, Composite View of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi Settlement in Barrio Lecheria, Calamba, Laguna, page 4, relative to the foothills of Mt. Makiling. "And all nations shall flow unto it." Nowadays the visits of many foreign tourists to the Rizal shrine which is the birthplace of the national hero located at Calamba, Laguna, is interpreted as a sequel to the prophecy.

Verses 3-5 of the same chapter are meant to refer to Lecheria hill where the Banal na Tinig mainly does his preaching.

Isaiah 2:3 And many shall come, and say: "Come, let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob; that he may teach us his paths." For out of Zion shall go forth the Law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem.

4 He shall judge between the nations, and they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning forks. Nations shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war anymore.

5 O house of Jacob, come, let us work in the light of the Lord.

Armageddon

The Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi believes that the establishment of God's New Kingdom shall be preceded by armageddon -- a great battle to be waged between good and evil. There shall be war in the West. Meanwhile the East shall be in total darkness to protect it from the scourge of war. There shall be sorrows all over the lands.
The Biblical basis of the above doctrinal position is found in Matthew 24:3-8; 24, thus:

Matthew 24:3 And as he sat upon the Mount of Olive, the disciples came unto him privately, saying, Tell us, when shall these things be? And what shall be the sign of thy coming, and of the end of the age?

4 And Jesus answered and said unto them, Take heed that no man deceive you.

5 For many shall come in my name, saying, I am Christ; and shall receive many.

6 And ye shall hear of wars and rumors of wars; see that ye be not troubled; for all these things must come to pass, but the end is not yet.

7 For nation shall rise against nation, and Kingdom against Kingdom; and there shall be famine, and pestilences, and earthquakes, in various places.

8 All these are the beginning of sorrows.

24 For there shall arise false Christs, and false prophets, and shall show great signs and wonders, insomuch that, if it were possible, they shall deceive the very elect.

Jose Baricanosa (Dasalan 1971: 98-101) is convinced that the temper of the time foretells that armageddon is at hand, i.e., panahon na. He cited the following indications: continuing wars in many locations, especially Vietnam and the Middle East; famine in India; earthquakes in Iran; eruptions of volcanoes in Bali; unemployment; rising prices, etc. All these are augural preliminaries. Only after the nuclear war shall have taken place shall the Savior come.

Social and Physical Changes

From the book Biographicus Apokaliptikus, which is one of three books that are not yet available for public scrutiny, the coming of the
Savior shall cause changes in the physical features of nature. They are as follows:

1. The plains, mountains, and seas shall be disturbed. The mountains shall crumble. The dormant volcanoes shall erupt. The land beyond the sea shall appear.

2. Idle land shall flourish. Its richness shall be distributed to the people.

3. Mineral resources shall be mined. The dwellings of the people shall be constructed out of iron and bronze.

4. New varieties of plants shall appear. Its produce shall be tremendous.

5. The physiology of man shall be transformed. Their muscles shall be weak; their nervous system shall be thoroughly functional.

6. The physique of females shall be perfectly symmetrical, made adaptable to all types of activities.

7. Animals shall become fierce. Man and beast shall be at war. As a consequence, man shall perish.

8. The sun and the moon shall be altered. This will prove disastrous to all living creatures.

All these natural changes are supposed to happen to cope with the anticipated destruction which shall pave the way for the Second Coming.

With the reign of the Savior, a new social order shall prevail. Distinctively the New Jerusalem shall have the following distinguishing features:

1. Neither his being first to believe nor his membership with an association shall be sufficient to vindicate himself before the Lord.

2. The titles in the name of religion shall become useless. All people shall be educated and literate.

3. Holiness, worthiness, and the righteousness are in the invisible things.
4. The word of God shall be preached by God's people in their respective pulpits in their homes without any congregation.

5. The people on the mountains and far away places shall understand more clearly the truth. They need not come together under one church.

6. Salvation is for all, with all, and by all. The worthiness of ministers shall be based on their deeds; noble, true, and perfect.

7. The useless ministers shall disappear. There shall be a need for ministers who have a vow for sincere service to humanity. No longer is service in the church obligatory worship to God.

8. No longer shall the ignorant be taken advantage of. Those who serve for their bodies and stomachs shall pass away. There will be honest toil.

9. The things of the truth shall belong only to those who do a singular good act. Coming together for a common worship shall have no bearing at all.

10. He who does the truth of holiness without any personal motive shall receive the crown of Eternal Life.

11. The spirit shall shine in the conscience of man and no longer in the church nor in a group.

12. On that day, there shall be no Hebrew, Greek, Catholic, Protestant, Iglesia ni Cristo, white, black, or any other color because whoever has the truth in holiness shall be worthy of the crown of Eternal Life.

13. Wisdom, wealth, greatness, and popularity of race and color shall not be the basis for a man to deserve being called the son of God.

To my mind the aforementioned changes in beliefs, manner of worship, and types of worshippers are social commentaries against the stereotyped religious way of life of many churches and sects in the Philippines including its own. In the context that the current way of life is a mere preparation for life to come, the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi organization has to be transformed also.
In concluding this Chapter, I would like to emphasize that the historico-religious world view as presented above was drawn from varied sources. What the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi has done is to fashion them into a fairly systematic theology which is distinctively its own. Not quite apart from this historico-religious world view is the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi's ethical standards. The ultimate attainment of the "good life" depends upon the strict observance of a set of rules. The next chapter especially considers the ethical orientation of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi.
THE IGLESIA WATAWAT NG LAHI -
ETHICAL DOMAIN

The messianic and millenarian orientation of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi's historico-religious world view as spelled out in the previous Chapter decisively dictates the existential posture that life on this earth is a mere preparation for the life hereafter. For this purpose, i.e., to prepare the believers, the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi not unlike other religious bodies has been organized. It does not claim that membership to its organization is a sure ticket to salvation. It deplores the seeming self-righteousness of many religious sodalities in the Philippines which invariably claim to be the only way to salvation. In contrast, it grants to other organizations the same posture it claims for itself, viz., that they may well be duly ordained organizations by God's agents (sugo) to forewarn the people of impending dangers.

The outward liberality of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi in spite of competition from other religious movements to attract prospective followers is counteracted by formally proclaiming its distinctive slogan that they are: maka-Dios (they love God), maka-tao (they love their fellowmen), and maka-bayan (they love their country). These tatlong gintoong simulain (three golden objectives) are the yardsticks upon which individual salvation shall be measured.

In this Chapter, I shall attempt to spell out the ethical rules of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi. The presentation of a number of documents
shall follow the course of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi's natural history.
I shall trace the evolution of ethical ideas from the formative years to
1972

Aims and Purposes

It took the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi some eight years to formalize
its aims and purposes. Article 3 of its Articles of Incorporation (see
Appendix A) which was approved by the Junta Directiva on May 19, 1944
provides:

Article 3. That the principal aims and purposes of the
said religious organization are as follows:

a. To love and serve the Lord God, our fellowmen,
and our native land;

b. To unite, cooperate, and mutually help each other
for the common benefit and welfare of the members,
and of the community in which they live; and,

c. To respect and obey the existing laws and constituted
authorities.

It is obvious that the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi as early as the
formative years had parcelled out its ethical rules into three distinct
segregates, namely: love and service to God, fellowmen, and country. In
turn, love and service are qualified by observing culturally appropriate
actions such as: (1) performance of rites and rituals, (2) helping one
another, and (3) obeying the laws of the country.

On the following page I have worked out a schematic representa-
tion of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi's ethical domain. Love and service
to God, fellowmen, and country are translated into culturally appropriate
ways of acting and thinking. Appropriate ways of acting and thinking are
governed by specific rules. Several sets of rules are spelled out in the succeeding sections of this Chapter.

![Figure 15. Schema of the Iglesia Watawat ng lahi's Ethical Domain.](image)

Alfredo E. Benedicto's historical account of 1945 made explicit the Board of Director's intentions in laying down the above aims and purposes. They were:

**First Principle.** The primordial aims of the founders are to simplify the mode of worship to God and service to our fellowmen without any formalities or ostentations whatsoever, and to inculcate true faith and obedience of the Lord's commandments which should be exemplified thru conduct and behavior.

**Second Principle.** Unity, cooperation and mutual help among the members are emphasized and encouraged so as to help in maintaining peace and order in their place of abode. The main object is to foster a brotherhood, thus uniting them into one family or race without discrimination or partisanship, either in religion or politics.

**Third Principle.** This is an important factor to be impressed upon the followers of the church. By faithfully complying with the existing laws, it is believed there would be less crimes and troubles in the community in which they reside. Exemplary behavior resulting from moral discipline and fear of God inculcated will undoubtedly lead them to live happily and contentedly as law-abiding citizens of our Republic.
The preceding normative explications may be taken as the obverse of the ethical performance which during the formative years needed corrective measures. In Wallace's terms, these are explicit statements of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi's goal culture. The corrective measures have been embodied in the Patakaran (Guideposts).

Patakaran (guideposts)

I consider the Patakaran as a set of rules which governs the conduct of the Watawats. It is an operationalization of the ethical domain I have worked out above.

Just like the aims and purposes, this Patakaran was enacted by the Board of Directors on May 19, 1944. A later version is included in the Dasalan. The original version of the Patakaran is found in Appendix A. Below is my translation.

Guideposts

1. That the first guidepost that must be followed by every member is to love God above all; second, to love your fellowmen like yourself, and third, to love your native land; and to serve your country with all your heart toward its order, progress, peace, and goodness.

2. That it is necessary to follow, carry-out and respect all the laws of the Philippine Republic, and to protect one's countrymen. The Church does not have authority over any member who transgresses the laws of the government.

3. That any male or female, 18 years old, who has strong faith in God, has a clean way of life, and a good livelihood may be admitted as a member of the church after being duly examined by the members of the Board of Directors.

4. That all members of the church must attend the meetings designated by the Board of Directors, except those who are incapacitated.
5. All the members must follow the Ten Commandments of God which is the Holy Scripture or Bible, which is the fundamental basis of the Church with respect to faith in God, love of fellowmen, and country.

6. That there must be sincere cooperation, protection, and love just like among siblings by all those who are members in doing all that is good for the development of the Church and peace of the country.

7. All the aged and women must be respected, and one must have true charity to all the poor who need help, according to one's means.

8. That the Church does not have the right to ask for contributions from its members except if a member has died or is incapacitated and needs assistance by all the members, according to one's means.

9. That all the members are strictly prohibited from indulging in any form of gambling like cards, cockfighting, mah-jong, kara y cruz, etc, etc. It is also prohibited to lie and defraud one's fellowmen.

10. That all the rules that were approved by the Board of Directors must be carried out wholeheartedly with patience, diligence, and forbearance by all the members.

The 1944 versions and the Dasalan versions differ in many ways. The following changes can be identified. Generally the language is much more improved in the Dasalan version. Moreover the Dasalan version has several statements which are inserted in the main text such as: "Honor and respect the heroes of the race, most of all the Martyr of Bagumbayan, Gat Dr. Jose P. Rizal. Follow, develop, and carry-out their just causes."

Provision number 5 which provides that the Ten Commandments is the fundamental basis of the movement was deleted and replaced by a new provision which states: "That all the members must avoid all kinds of luxuries, and high-handedness in deeds and words; and let humility reign in them."
In terms of procedure, every prospective member shall be screened by an examiner designated by the Board of Directors rather than by all the members of the Junta Directiva. Finally the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi is given the prerogative to raise funds for worthwhile projects; and the Board of Directors to enact other rules and regulations. The allocation and exercise of power and authority have been greatly widened.

In the light of its natural history, the Patakaran during the formative years made use of the Mosaic Ten Commandments as the fundamental basis of the faith. Eventually during the period of growth and development, the doctrinal stance shifted to the observance of the national heroes' just causes or simulain. I would like to point out at this juncture that on October 26, 1958 Jose Baricanosa made out a distinctively Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi Ten Commandments. These were abstracted from the writings of Dr. Jose Rizal. The adoption of the Ten Commandments worked out by Jose Baricanosa and attributed to Rizal made obsolete the Mosaic Ten Commandments.

**Rules of Conduct**

I mentioned in the previous section that the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi's ethical domain can be translated into specific rules of conduct. The Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi has formulated two such sets of rules. They are: (1) Rules Governing the Conduct of the Members of the Church of the Banner of the Race (see Appendix A), and (2) Ang Sampung Utos ni Dr. Jose Rizal (the Ten Commandments of Dr. Jose Rizal). See Appendix B for the original text. The first was enacted sometime in May 1944, and the second on October 26, 1958 — a difference of fourteen years span between
the two. Below is my translation of the rules governing the conduct of
the Watawats.

Rules Governing the Conduct of the Members
of the Church of the Banner of the Race

1. Love your God, in order for you to benefit from whatever
   may come.

2. Love your fellowmen, in order that you may prolong your
   life; love them like you love yourself.

3. Help one another, in order to carry out all plans.

4. Obey one another, in order to unite in any endeavor.

5. Assist one another, in order to succeed in whatever plan.

6. Unite, in order to accomplish whatever activity.

7. Gambling is bad because it brings shame and disaster.

8. Boasting is bad because it is disrespectful of one's
   fellowmen.

9. Adultery is bad because it is a disaster and death.

10. Ill-feeling is bad because it bears great disaster.

The above rules may be parcelled out into three categories:

(1) a re-statement of conviction about loving God and fellowmen
   Rules 1 and 2,
(2) articulation of the ideal modes of social relationship
   Rules 3 - 6,
and (3) a commentary on specific social problems
   Rules 7 - 10. More than the seeming definitiveness of each rule, one
is struck by its functionality. Again, as I observed elsewhere, the
period when these rules were formulated was characterized by general
restlessness because of the ravages of the Second World War.

In contrast, the Ten Commandments worked out by Jose Baricanosa
were formulated twelve years after the United States gave back to the
Philippines her Independence. One may safely say that the Philippines
during this period was on her way to economic and political stability in spite of isolated struggles scattered in some parts of Luzon and Mindanao. The social climate under which Jose Baricanosa lived when he abstracted the Ten Commandments was more favorable than when the Junta Directive formulated the set of rules above. Below is my translation of the Ten Commandments.

The Ten Commandments of Dr. Jose Rizal

1. Thou shalt believe that there is one God; the God of justice, of mercy, of freedom and equality.

2. Thou shalt love and defend thy country, develop and patronize all that is native.

3. Thou shalt strive to make thy government free, loyal, and just which is the foundation of your citizenry.

4. Thou shalt love and honor thy parents and home, and let no one desecrate it.

5. Thou shalt not desire to make thyself famous, aspire to make thy country distinct and teach thy neighbor.

6. Thou shalt inspire and guide the youth to build a country that is honorable, worthy, intelligent, and great.

7. Thou shalt not always be submissive, forgiving, and downhearted because such are corruptions which worsen tyranny.

8. Thou shalt unite and protect thy countrymen because a nation that wants freedom needs unity and protection.

9. Thou shalt live up to your promise and belief but respect the opinion and faith of others.

10. Thou shalt study and learn to struggle because light is in the intelligence and freedom is in the struggle.

the Ten Commandments above are statements of convictions regarding five social categories. They are: (1) God, (2) country, (3) government, (4) family, and (5) self. The individual believer is enjoined to enhance the integrity of each of these social units.
Unlike the ten rules of conduct which deal mainly with deploving social problems and associated modes of social relationship, the Ten Commandments delve into social aspirations. The former is behaviorally circumscribed; the latter is extensive and more profound.

Much more discrete and behaviorally specific than the two sets of rules that were formulated during the formative years (1936-1944), and the period of growth and development (1945-1970), respectively, is a set of Don'ts (Mga Huwag ni Dr. Jose Rizal) -- also attributed to Dr. Jose Rizal (Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi 1970: 27). See Appendix C for a true copy of the original text. My translation appears below.

The Don'ts of Dr. Jose Rizal

Don't gamble.
Don't get drunk.
Don't transgress the laws.
Don't be too partisan.
Don't be a fault-finder.
Don't place yourself in an embarrassing situation.
Don't deal with anyone who is condescending and high-hats.
Don't judge anyone if you have not heard his side.
Don't abandon the poor who are right.
Don't abandon those who really are in dire need of your help.
Don't associate with persons with bad manners and conduct.

These are scathing negative sanctions spawned probably by the increasing complexity of the movement and congested settlement at Lecheria in particular.

In brief, the ethical domain presented in this Chapter is intimately related to the historico-religious world view in so far as earthly existence is perceived as a preparation for the life Hereafter. The sets of rules underscored above are cognized formally as the culturally appropriate ways of thinking and acting.
As a general observation it can be said of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi — as a social movement — that it merely wants to recover the Lost Eden, that is, to preserve the integrity of the social categories such as God, country, government, home, fellowmen, and the self. It wishes to perpetuate the traditional modes of social relationships associated with God, fellowmen, and country. To a Watawat, this is imperative to deserve the Kingdom of God and the good life.
CHAPTER VII

THE IGLESIA WATAWAT NG LAHI-
SOCIAL STRUCTURE

In Chapter III, I mentioned that I view social structure as an ordered system of social relations. I consider it functionally as a cultural mechanism through which meaningful transactions are made possible. Within the purview of natural history social structure is dynamic. It changes within the limit of its possibilities. Two options are opened beyond mere structural maintenance: either the social organization becomes dysfunctional or it flourishes. The latter process is described in anthropological literature as cultural elaboration. In this Chapter, I shall look into the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi's (1) structural transformation, and (2) its functional social units.

Structural Transformation

As early as 1582 Loarca in his Relación de las Islas Filipinas, (English translation is found in Nicolas Zafra's Readings in Philippine History 1953), documented the fact that the Tagalogs of the Philippines believed in anitos (spirits). By the time the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi was founded in the 1930's, a number of Rizalist movements claimed to have special access to the spirit of Dr. Jose P. Rizal. Foremost among them were the Tres Personas Solo Dios (Three Persons One God), Bathalismo Inang Mahiwaga (Godism Miraculous Mother), and Sagrada Familia (Holy Family). Many charismatic leaders were believed to be the reincarnation
of the national hero. Those with a fairly large following were Agapito Illustricimo, Agustin Coronado, and Arsenio de Guzman. Arsenio de Guzman alleged that he was especially commissioned by Dr. Jose P. Rizal to continue his cause or simulain (Penid 1970f). Hence, immediately after Rizal's execution at Bagumbayan in 1896, Arsenio de Guzman ventured to carry out Rizal's will. On December 24 and 25, 1936 Mateo Alcuran, Gaudioso Parabuac, Jovito Salgado, and Alfredo Benedicto formed the nucleus of the movement at Lecheria, Calamba, Laguna. Lecheria was designated the permanent site of the movement's central office.

**Simulain (Cause)**

The call to discipleship of the earliest recruits capitalized on the dominant preoccupation of treasure hunters, i.e., to find gold. The *Banal na Tinig* made a big issue out of "seeking His Kingdom first and all these things shall be added unto you," as against "finding riches and losing both life and wealth." The profundity of the issue presented -- the mere fact of hearing a mysterious voice -- was a more compelling reason for these chosen men to heed the call to discipleship. The style of recruitment by the Holy Voice was essentially the same as when Jesus called up Simon and Andrew saying, "Follow me, and I will make you fishers of men," (Matthew 4:18-19).

In any event, after three years since its initial beginning no less than nineteen members had heard the preachings of the *Banal na Tinig*. In 1939 the *Banal na Tinig* instructed the group to organize the simulain into a *samahan* (sodality).
Samahang Watawat ng Lahi

At this juncture of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi’s life history, the ingredients which were necessary for the establishment of a samahan (sodality) were already present. These conditions were: (1) an ideological charter, (2) a set of goals, (3) a social structure that can facilitate the translation of goals into action, and (4) definite allocation of functions, power, and authority. These conditions (closely akin to Malinowski’s elements of an institution) had to be rightly articulated to create a more viable organizational set-up. The Samahang Watawat ng Lahi was a formal step beyond its very informal beginnings.

To recall, the titles of the positions of the Samahan included the following: first leader, second leader, treasurer, foster mother, muse, and adviser. The term “leader” if it is used in the mystical sense is sinusunod (one whom we follow) in Tagalog. Rather rarely the term patron is also used. Sinusunod and patron contrast semantically with the term lider. The latter refers to someone who endorses or expouses the candidacy of a political figure (Hollnsteiner 1963: 41). Ordinarily a lider has also a substantial number of followers. Hence right in the very beginning, the Samahan envisioned a mystical role for its top leader.

Quite interesting was the position foster mother. The title was expressive of a concern for social work like taking care of war orphans. The Samahan was probably thought of as a haven for the destitute. The title muse connotes participation in civic functions such as riding on a float during a parade or presiding as a queen during a ballroom affair. The positions treasurer and adviser are almost always regular features of every form of association in the Philippines.
Without looking into the charter of the Samahan, the social structure alone tended to indicate that three categories of transactions were slated to be dealt with. They were: (1) the mystical, (2) social welfare, and (3) civic participation. At this stage it is noticeable that the Samahan had gone beyond its inner-oriented spirituality, that is to say, a single-minded devotion to the salvation of souls.

During the two-year existence of the Samahan, the mystical concern was served by listening to the teachings of the Banal na Tinig inside the cave which they themselves built on the instruction of the Banal na Tinig. They also held sacrificios at Mt. Makiling to induce visionary appearances.

The Samahan's concern for social welfare expressed itself in the continuing recruitment not only of individuals but whole families. Truth and grace should be shared and not kept under a bushel.

During the period under review the Samahan suffered from a leadership crisis. In 1944 Gaudioso Parabuac then first leader was replaced by Eliseo Hidalgo. The former remained, however, as invoker. The following year a sweeping reorganization took place. Jose Baricanosa, Rosendo Salgado, and Jovito Salgado were appointed by the Banal na Tinig as presiding elder, second presiding elder, and secretary, respectively. The selection of a new set of officers was legitimized by a ten-day sacrificio para sa pangitain (sacrifice for vision) which was held at Mt. Makiling.

The Samahan of 1942 relegated into the background the traditional mystical title sinusunod and instead projected through its leadership hierarchy a more "Protestant" organizational posture. The titles
presiding elder and second presiding elder were certainly borrowings from
the more popular Protestant board of elders. This transition was under­
standable in the light of a national event when in October 1942, the
Philippine Federation of Evangelical Churches came into being under the
watchful eyes of the Propaganda Corps of the Japanese army. If the Sa­
mahan was to survive the Japanese onslaught it had to make a painful ad­
justment. Thus on May 20, 1944, the Samahan was changed into Iglesia Wa­
tawat ng Lahi to allay any Japanese suspicion.

The Samahan of 1944 dropped from its old set-up the positions of
foster mother and muse. At the same time, it added an auditor and legal
adviser and three board members. A distinction between legal adviser and
spiritual adviser was made. The new set of officials eventually consti­
tuted the Junta Directiva (Board of Directors) of the Iglesia Watawat ng
Lahi.

Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi

Officially the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi was incorporated under the
laws of the Philippine Republic on May 29, 1944. This incorporation was
confirmed to be lawful under the Commonwealth of the Philippines on Octo­
ber 10, 1945. There was no indication during this period of a change in
the previous leadership structure, not even a change in the titles of po­
sitions.

Fifteen years later the Protestant influence which was certainly
reflected previously in the titles of two important positions, presiding
elder and second presiding elder, was obliterated. President and vice­
president (pangulo and pangalawang pangulo) respectively) have since been
used up to this writing.
To recall, in 1947 two priests from the Universa Dei Ecclesia joined the movement. Since then the Protestant stance has given way to the more orthodox and ritualistic Christianity. The religious ceremonies such as the offering of mass, baptism, confirmation, extreme unction, funeral services, weddings, Christmas, and Holy Week celebrations, ordination, and the like (except confession) are closely akin to orthodox Christianity. The Roman Catholic practice of confessing before a priest is contrasted with direct confession to God. In 1959 Luis Fabregar assumed the position as supreme bishop. He now dons the vestment of a Roman Catholic bishop complete with mitre and staff. Other than his exercise of administrative and religious authority over the three Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi bishoprics and numerous parishes, he says mass, baptizes (binyag), confirms (kumpil), and ordains candidates for the priesthood not only in Lecheria but in other balangays as well.

As of this writing, the Lupong Pamunuan (Board of Directors) of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi consists of the following officers:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positions</th>
<th>Officeholders</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pangulong Pangkalahatan</td>
<td>Jose Baricanosa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(National President)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pangalawang Pangulong Pangkalahatan</td>
<td>Crispin M. Penid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(National Vice-president)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalihim Pangkalahatan</td>
<td>Ernesto Escorpiso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(National Secretary)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taga-payo</td>
<td>Gaudioso Parabuac</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Adviser)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ingat-yaman Pangkalahatan</td>
<td>Felicidad L. Likwong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(National Treasurer)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The order of the above list of positions is the same as printed in the last page of the Dasalan (Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi 1971). I take this array of official positions as reflecting the leadership's cognition of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi's authority allocation and ranking.

The hierarchical positions found in the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi's leadership structure is a fusion of the (1) traditional religious roles, (2) offices commonly associated with socio-civic groups which are unmistakably American-protestant in origin, and (3) those of the Roman Catholic set-up.

The traditional roles which are traceable from the Simulain are the adviser who actually is the invoker, and the members of the kagawad. These board members are the ones who prepare the food offerings for the Mga Mahal na Magulang (Beloved Ancestors) during the tawag (call).

The socio-civic officers include the following: president, vice-president, two secretaries, two treasurers, and auditor. The legal adviser position was deleted upon the death of Alfredo Benedicto.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positions</th>
<th>Officeholders</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Taga-suri (Auditor)</td>
<td>Eleuterio San Pedro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pangalawang Ingat-yaman (Second Treasurer)</td>
<td>Gertrudo Fajardo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pangalawang Kalihim (Second Secretary)</td>
<td>Romulo Derolfo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obispo Supremo (Supreme Bishop)</td>
<td>Luis Fabregar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mga Kagawad (Board Members)</td>
<td>Carmen Herbosa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Trinidad Banatin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Felisa Ustaris</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The church hierarchy which is patterned after the Roman Catholic hierarchy is represented by the supreme bishop. He is the titular head of the ecclesiastics. Under him are three bishops and seven legally licensed priests. See Celebration of Mass Outdoors before the Statue of Dr. Jose P. Rizal, officiated by the Supreme Bishop, Figure 9.

The preceding structural fusion seems to be functioning well as a whole. The exercise of leadership is distributed according to the three previous structural components I have delineated above. The taga-tawag (invoker) is the epitome of the traditional religious system; the president that of the defunct Protestant organization; and the supreme bishop that of the orthodox Christianity. Behind all these wielders of power, the vice-president exercises unopposed control over the administration and management of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi.

The organizational scheme from which the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi leadership structure has been derived may be drawn as follows:

Figure 16. Derivation of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi's Organizational Components.
The structural components above are articulated with each other by several easily recognizable instrumental social units. Note that the traditional religious system and orthodox Christianity are equivalents. The socio-civic structure originally patterned after the more Protestant board of elders imposes its influence and authority over the sub-systems. I have more to say on this point in Chapter VIII - Analysis.

**Functional Social Units**

The operationalization of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahil's social organization is drawn in Figure 17 below.

![Diagram of Iglesia Watawat ng Lahil's Social Organization](image)

**Figure 17.** Operationalization of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahil's Social Organization.
In the above presentation the **Lupong Pamunuan** (Board of Directors) is considered a functional social unit within the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi organization. It is the locus of authority, power, and influence. The exercise of authority, power and influence filters down through two channels: (1) Rizalist movement instrumental structure, (2) orthodox Christianity instrumental structure.

The Rizalist movement's ideology revolves around the belief in Jose Rizal. This belief is easily appreciated during the **tawag** which is an actual dialogue of those present with the voices of the national heroes.

The observance of the orthodox Christianity is concretely shown in the offering of mass every Sunday morning. In the afternoon, the preparatory prayer session is held in the chapel every fourth Sunday when the Beloved Ancestors are scheduled to come. This practice establishes firmly the articulation of the Rizalist movement and orthodox Christianity.

Two distinct instrumental structures are set into motion to carry out the two sets of rites and rituals. As previously stated the invoker presides during the observance of the rites associated with the Rizalist movement. The supreme bishop takes over the performance of the orthodox Christian rites. The participants on both occasions are the same. In the central office the above structural separation is quite distinct. In the **balangays** (chapters) the same structural separation is no less clear. The **pangulo** of the **balangay** (president of the chapter) is recognized by the local followers as the leader of the Rizalist movement. Similarly
the local priest exercises control and supervision over religious matters which are associated with orthodox Christianity.

The instrumental structures which are associated with the Rizalist movement on the one hand and the orthodox Christianity on the other hand are equivalently aligned. The alignment of the functional social units of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi organization is found in Figure 18 below.

![Figure 18. Alignment of Functional Social Units of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi.](image-url)
The panguluhan is a council of chapter presidents. The ecclesiastics are composed of the supreme bishop, three bishops, and seven licensed priests. The two groups meet separately during the annual meeting which is held every June 19 presided over by the national president and supreme bishop, respectively. Here they discuss matters pertaining to membership, contributions, missionary work, and other matters that affect the balangays.

In Lecheria, at least, the three board members and Kabataang Rizalistas have as counterparts the prayer leaders and choir.

The balangays (chapters) of the Rizalist movement are terminologically and structurally the equivalent of the parishes.

The set of officers of a local balangay is a microcosm of the Lu­ pong Pamunuan (Board of Directors). Again the pangulo (chapter presi­ dent) is the counterpart of the parish priest. The vice-president position at the local level is optional. It depends upon the size of membership. The secretary and treasurer are officers of both the balangay and parish. The overall membership composition of the balangay and parish is the same.

The derivation of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi organization illustrates the conjunction of differences of the previous autochthonous sociocultural systems mediated by instrumental structures such as the Lu­ pong Pamunuan and balangay council. The organizational transformation from Simulain to Samahan to Iglesia is indeed characterized by well-articulated structural adjustment.
CHAPTER VIII

ANALYSIS

This study has considered the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi as a social movement. A social movement as a class of social phenomena is generically defined as an organized effort to establish a new order of life. Basically a social movement has a charter and a social structure that are functionally organized. As an organized effort it pursues its own career and exhibits its own life style.

Chapters IV, V, VI, and VII of this dissertation looked at the various aspects of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi as a social movement. I employed a number of methodological techniques that I felt were appropriate and sensitive to the class of data under investigation. At every instance the analysis of the data was built into the presentation of each of the four chapters mentioned above. To a large extent, this Chapter is a re-statement of what I have done so far. Finally a systemic study of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi using Barnett's model of innovative processes was done as a final section of the analysis.

Treatment of Natural History

The natural history of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi was divided into three periods: (1) formative years, (2) period of growth and development, and (3) steady state. I considered each of these periods as a structural pose. Moreover a structural pose consisted of a set of discontinuous and continuous segments. These segments constituted what I
identified as episodic strands. The interweaving of these episodic strands produced the movement's life style.

The labels of the periods I have delineated are descriptive of the changing mood of the movement's career. The episodic strands indicate the internal patterning of the movement. They are sorted out as follows: (1) organization of leadership, (2) recruitment of members, (3) internalization of dreams, visions, and critical experiences, (4) codification of rules of conduct, (5) formalization of beliefs, teachings, and doctrines, and (6) routinization of rites and rituals.

Organization of Leadership

To my mind leadership is a culturally constituted mechanism to facilitate inter- and intra-organizational transaction. In this section I would like to underscore the elements which comprised the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi's organization of leadership.

Each batch of recruits was represented in the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi's leadership hierarchy. The selection of officeholders was done periodically. Even if it was provided in its article of incorporation of 1944 that the set of officers shall serve as long as they live, incapacity or non-performance of duties were made legitimate reasons for replacing some personnel. Also, over and above the formality of election, the Banal na Tinig at every instance was consulted and his opinion prevailed.

Aside from the very wide representation of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi leadership, the number and kinds of positions at a particular point in time reflected the variety of services provided by the organization.
The number of positions expanded hand in hand with the growth of the organization. The kinds of services not only became differentiated but they were judiciously allocated. All these meaningful decisions that were situationally appropriate produced a strong fabric that has accounted so far for the relative stability of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi leadership.

Recruitment of Members

The Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi's recruitment procedure was continuous and organized. To recall, its natural history was studded with batch after batch of new recruits. First, individuals were brought into the fold. Then whole families followed. Eventually other nativistic movements of more or less similar persuasion were absorbed. From Lecheeria hill it has spilled over to many parts of the Philippines. The Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi has a sufficiently wide base from which to draw its members.

One problem attendant to continuous recruitment is effective enculturation or socialization. New recruits of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi undergo some sort of initiation rites whether they be offering sacrificios, going on an atasan (mission), or plainly raising of hands or swearing (panunumpa). See Appendix D for a true copy of panunumpa form. The sharing of experiences has a unifying effect. The members spend countless hours retelling stories and meaningful events about the movement and its system of beliefs. This reinforces each other's belief and commitment.
Staggered enculturation procedure was partially overcome by formally defining rules of conduct with respect to as many culturally meaningful situational categories as possible. Effective internalization of the rule by the members was crucial in minimizing internal friction arising out of nuances in social expectation. During its annual meeting every June 19 the Banal na Tinig always reminds them of their duties and responsibilities and what to hope for.

**Internalization of Dreams, Visions, and Critical Experiences**

The natural history of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi is studded with exciting accounts of dreams, visions, and critical experiences. They follow certain recognizable patterns.

During the formative years, the early recruits were astounded by the anthropomorphic appearances of the Mga Mahal na Magulang, especially Dr. Jose P. Rizal. Dreams and visions became veritable sources of anecdotes and myths. On the other hand, the various sacrifices generated a lot of visionary experiences.

The period of growth and development of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi coincided with the Second World War. These were hard times. Social unrest prevailed all over the country. Hence the plot of stories associated with this period had a different mood. The members were forewarned of impending disasters, the Banal na Tinig tendered a lavish feast in spite of nationwide food shortage, some members on missionary errands were saved from the brink of death, and many more. All these tended to establish the infallibility, efficacy, benevolence, and power of the Banal na Tinig as the paragon of all virtues.
All these dreams, visions, and critical experiences constitute the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi's oral traditions. The members who shared these stories with me cautioned me that they were *hindi kapani-paniwala* (not believable). Yet to my mind they are more forceful and persuasive than the many repetitious sermons and oratories combined.

**Codification of the Rules of Conduct**

A movement does not get started with the rules of conduct all spelled out at once. These things are formulated and reformulated over and over as the movement evolves. The process of formulation and reformulation proceeds from the general to the particular.

The internal rules of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi dealt with three distinct categories: (1) rules concerning the worship of God, (2) rules concerning the relationship with fellowmen, and (3) rules concerning service to country. These sets of rules were reduced to such slogans as: *Maka-Dios, Maka-tao,* and *Maka-bayan.*

During the formative years, the rules were in the nature of positive sanctions. They were normative standards of reciprocal social expectation. In most cases the standards set were too high. Seldom were they carried out fully.

During the period of growth and development deviations from the standards previously set reached their tolerable limit. The Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi reacted by enacting measures which were punitive and corrective. This was particularly true a decade before the movement entered its steady state,
Formalization of Beliefs, Teachings and Doctrines

In passing, I would like to emphasize that similarly the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi's beliefs, teachings, and doctrines were not spelled out in the beginning. During the formative years there was a general belief in the Holy Voice. After a year the Holy Voice left them, leaving behind a comforter. This comforter turned out to be Dr. Jose P. Rizal. Since then the godship of Rizal has created some doctrinal difficulties. Alfredo Benedicto did not believe that "Rizal is God," although he claimed that, "It is possible for Rizal to be given the power of Christ." He was more convinced that "Rizal is the fourth reincarnation starting from Moses to Elijah to John the Baptist." In contrast Jose Baricanosa believes that Rizal is the third person in the indigenized Holy Trinity. Jose Rizal is the reincarnation of Jesus Christ.

Crispin Penid who joined the movement right at the beginning of the period of growth and development provided an analogical twist to Jose Baricanosa's doctrinal stand. He contends that Jesus Christ and Jose Rizal lived somewhat identical patterns of life. Reincarnation to him is analogical parallelism. In his more recent writings he considers Rizal an avatar -- a messenger of God. Considering the honor and respect accorded Dr. Jose P. Rizal by the general public in the Philippines and especially the Knights of Rizal which is composed of the intellectual elite of the country, Crispin Penid's claim seems to be the more reasonable doctrinal position. It is the prevailing central thrust of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi's continuing search for a more viable and defensible belief system.
Routinization of Rites and Rituals

Like the accounts in the previous sections, the rites and rituals of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi are episodic. Certain categories of rites and rituals are associated with the specific period of its natural history.

A number of these rites and rituals have been routinized. They constitute the regulatory rites and rituals of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi. I use "regulatory rites and rituals" advisedly. They are not only calendrical; they regulate the rhythm of life of the Watawats.

To recall, the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi started as a samahan. Later on an ecclesiastical body emerged with the union of the Universa Dei Ecclesia. These two distinct social units brought to the "new" organization their distinctive rites and rituals.

The samahan during the formative years had as its regular rite listening to the moral preachings of the Banal na Tinig in a cave every Saturday afternoon. It also held at various times sacrificios and initiation rites.

The transformation of the samahan into an Iglesia opened up the movement to the inevitable accommodation of certain orthodox rites such as: baptism, confirmation, marriage, and funeral services. The inclusion of the priesthood has also required ordination after several years of training.

As early as 1948 the celebration of mass has become a regular rite. By this time, too, the holding of sacrificios had practically stopped. One can say that there where the sacrificios had left off, the offering of mass has taken over. The mass is a form of sacrificio.
It is clear that the formalization of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi's rites and rituals is a virtual accommodation of two sets of rites and rituals that have been derived from the traditional religious system on the one hand and the orthodox Christianity on the other. To illustrate, one becomes a member of the organization either through baptism, confirmation, or initiation or both. Mass is held every Sunday morning at 7:30 o'clock inside the church. Preparatory prayers are recited at 2:00 o'clock in the afternoon in the church before the whole congregation moves over to the adjacent session hall to hear the Banal na Tinig. As usual, this is preceded by the tawag.

Treatment of the Historico-religious World View

I stated in Chapter V that a historico-religious world view refers to a unified cognition of events. The events comprehended are temporally but not necessarily spatially located. On a much higher abstraction the unfolding of successive events corresponds to structural poses. The seriation of events is a continuum starting from the Creation to recreation.

Empirically, however, the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi tried to establish its historical connection with the Mosaic tradition. Now it claims to have a singular access to schemhamposas -- a religious communication channel wherein through the recitation of a divine formula an invoker can cause the presence of a Holy Voice. Evidently this was the same channel used by God to tell Adam to eat the apple; to ask Noah to build the Ark; to inform Lot of the impending destruction of Gomorrah and Nineveh; and finally to admonish the four original treasure hunters to seek the Kingdom of God.
In turn the Mosaic tradition is hitched to the New Testament gospel of the Holy Trinity. The Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi following the claim of Biblical scholars alleges that God was made flesh through Jesus Christ. Eventually when Jesus died after three days he rose again from the dead and left behind a comforter.

The Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi has indigenized the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. It fits remarkably well to its belief in a Banal na Tinig. The Banal na Tinig has a duality of identity: first, that of a "Father in Heaven," and later, that of a "comforter" (mang-aaliw). A "God made flesh" in the person of Jesus Christ established the temporal connection of the former to the latter.

The question remains. How does Rizal fit into the picture? The Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi has this to say. The Old Testament upholds the identity of God as Jehovah. Jesus Christ is the New Testament Messiah. To be strictly logical, the Holy Spirit must bear a name, too. All three belong to the "Three persons in one God." "A person has to have a name," the Watawat argues. Jove Rex Al is the name. It is transliterated into Tagalog as Jose Rizal. Jose Rizal or Jove Rex Al means God King of All.

The Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi's world view is intimately associated with the succession of divinities. It is both messianic and millenarian. In contrast, its ethical domain is nativistic, that is to say, it wishes to preserve the traditional way of life.

**Treatment of the Ethical Domain**

The operationalization of the historic-religious world view as a charter for action depends upon a set of ethical rules. These rules
define what are considered appropriate and inappropriate behavior. Al-
though ethical rules to a large extent are measures to correct certain social situations, they are significantly tied-up to the historico-
religious charter in so far as the present way of life is believed to be a preparation for the life to come. Only through the faithful observance of rules is eternal life merited.

The treatment of the ethical domain was patterned after that of the historico-religious world view except that the structural poses in the latter were purely ideological. In the former the structural poses were empirical.

_Treatment of the Social Structure_

The social structure of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi was handled historically as a series of structural transformations. Three forms were delineated: the _simulain_, _samahan_, and _iglesia_. They were associated with the three periods of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi's natural history. Different sets of positions were associated with each of these structural forms and periods. These positions were derived from three sociocultural systems: (1) the traditional religious system, (2) the socio-civic system which could be traced from the more Protestant religious system, and (3) orthodox Christianity. Thus the present social organization of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi both at the national and local levels was a fusion of elements, structural and ideological that have been derived from three independent traditions.

The processes and procedures underlying the derivation of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi as a sociocultural innovation is the immediate concern of the final section of this Chapter.
The Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi as a social movement is a sociocultural innovation. It attempts to establish a new order of life. The new order of life is new relative to an old order of life. The new order is qualitatively different from previously existing forms.

Barnett (1953:181) holds that every innovation is a recombination of ideas. He observes that, "when innovation takes place, there is an intimate linkage or fusion of two or more elements that have not been previously joined in just this fashion, or that the result is a qualitatively distinct whole. The union is a true synthesis in that the product is a unity which has properties entirely different from the properties of its individual antecedents."

The derivation of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi fits very well the above description: The analysis of its history (both structural and ideological) shows its components to have been derived from three distinct sociocultural systems. At the expense of being redundant one can say that the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi's configuration is distinctively "Watawatic."

At this point I would like to underscore the basic processes which underly the derivation of this distinctively "Watawatic" configuration. I shall use Barnett's model to account for the basic innovative processes. See Figure 19, Barnett's Model of Innovative Processes. The assumption of the model below is that there is no perfect identity. Hence there is always room for innovation through one of the following procedures: substitution, analogy, or incorporation.
In brief, Figure 19 shows that X and A are regarded as equivalent; also Y and B; R₁ and R₂. This means that X can substitute for A in the relationship R₂ for Y in the relationship R₁. R₁ can substitute for R₂ and vice-versa.

By definition, an innovation is a product of recombination of ideas. Therefore X can be combined with B when X and A are regarded as equivalent (see Figure 20 below).

![Diagram](image)

Figure 20. X and A as Equivalent Structures.

To illustrate, X is an invoker to Y, a dyadic relation in the traditional religious system, R₁. The supreme bishop is a high priest B in the orthodox Christianity R₂. X can be an invoker to B if X and A are regarded as equivalent. As religious leaders the invoker and supreme bishop are equivalent. B can have the services of either X and A. Although X and A can operate in some areas in an either/or fashion,
there are other cultural areas where X and A can operate most appropriately. In this case boundary-maintenance is sustained. No substitution takes place.

Figure 21 below shows that $R_1$ can parallel $R_2$ through analogy.

\[ \begin{array}{c}
Y \\
\text{R1} \\
X \\
& = \\
& \text{R2} \\
& A
\end{array} \]

Figure 21, $R_1$ and $R_2$ as Equivalent Structures.

For instance, $R_1$ (belief in Rizal as avatar) is a parallel of $R_2$ (belief in Jesus Christ as sent by God). They belong to two distinct cultures. Both are considered savior of their people; both were killed by their enemies; they underwent more or less the same pattern of crises in life. To a Watawat it does not seem to make a lot of difference whether to worship Rizal or Christ.

$R_1$ and $R_2$ can be linked to C through convergent incorporation. See Figure 22, Convergent Incorporation.

Barnett (1953: 200) states that "incorporation binds previously unconnected wholes, and these traditional groupings do not easily lose
their identities in a larger configuration in the minds of most people. Because of their physical detachability, they tend to maintain their isolation and distinctiveness."

In the case of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi, the traditional religious system may be represented by $R_1$. $R_2$ symbolically refers to the orthodox Christianity. The socio-civic system is indicated by $C$. In the previous discussion, I made mention of the fact that $C$ is the locus of influence and authority for $R_1$ and $R_2$. See Figure 16 Derivation of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi's Organizational Component. Structurally and ideologically the case of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi is a good illustration of the conjunction of differences through convergent incorporation.

In resume a thorough analysis of a social movement is a complex one indeed. What I have done here is twofold. I utilized a number of analytical tools, both conceptual and methodological, to deal with the more significant aspects of a type of social movement. I reckoned the derivation of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi as a sociocultural innovation using Barnett's model of innovative processes.
CHAPTER IX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

In this dissertation I addressed myself to answering three fundamental question. First, in what way was this study anthropological? Second, in what way was the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi a social movement? Third, what if it were the case that this dissertation is an anthropological study of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi as a social movement in the Philippines?

In the first place, this study is historical and comparative. I divided the life history of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi into three periods: (1) formative years, (2) period of growth and development, and (3) steady state. The label for each period is a qualitative description of a structural pose. The three structural poses were articulated by a number of continuous and discontinuous episodic strands which I delineated in Chapter VIII. The extension of these episodic strands over a single or several structural poses gave expression to the movement's internal patterning. The unique design of this internal patterning, for instance, the derivation of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi organization from three autochthonous sociocultural traditions is distinctively Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi.

The preceding paragraph provides the necessary materials out of which a meta-language which is truly anthropological in the sense of its being historical and comparative can account for a class of social
phenomena labelled social movement. The career of a movement is reckoned in terms of periods and episodes. The internal patterning is monitored by the interpenetration of episodic strands. Each strand carries a structural and substantive information load. Thus, social movements can be analyzed, that is to say, parcelled out along these generic terms. In another level of analysis comparable to the study of a deep structure of a language, one may study the basic innovative processes underlying the career of a movement. Barnett's model may be used for this purpose. Given the two levels of analysis suggested above, a student of anthropology is enabled to study not only cultures but more important, Culture.

The Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi is messianic. It awaits the second coming of Jose Rizal — a culture hero. It is millenarian. His coming shall be preceded by an armageddon. A golden flag, a golden church, and a golden palace shall be established at Mt. Makiling. It is nativistic. The operationalization of its tatlong sintong simulain (three golden objectives) is a wishful expression to recover the Lost Eden. As a whole, it is transformative. It seeks to change the order of life on earth. Thus, the case of the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi indicates that a social movement may be messianic, millenarian, nativistic, and transformative, all at the same time. The varieties of a social movement are many but they all belong to a single species.

Limitation of the Study

The title of this dissertation is, The Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi - An Anthropological Study of a Social Movement in the Philippines. From the outset, it was intended as a case study. The Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi was at once established as the unit of analysis.
I recognize that the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi as a social unit should never be considered out of its contextual social setting. Hence, following the mainstream of anthropological theorizing the overall theoretic posture of this study took special cognizance of the whole and subwhole. In the chapter on Conceptual Framework, I stated that the Philippine national society shall be made to represent the whole; the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi the subwhole. However, the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi was treated mainly as if it were a whole. Special effort had been exerted to view the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi in the light of the Philippine society yet very little has been accomplished in this regard. Much remains to be done to establish the interconnectedness of the subwhole to the whole.

Prospect and Direction

As of this writing I have catalogued a total of five hundred eighty-six religious organizations in the Philippines. This is in connection with a larger study supported by the Philippine Social Science Council. Most of these groups have been registered with the Securities and Exchange Commission of the Philippine government. Their belief systems and structural forms are quite varied. Many of them get support from missions abroad mainly from the United States. The rest, like the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi are autochthonous.

Of the indigenous ones they may be classified as: Rizalist, spiritualist, and revivalist. The Rizalists believe in Dr. Jose P. Rizal as God; the spiritualists practice faith-healing as an expression of divine Grace; and the revivalists go for the revival of specific religious practices such as the use of the family rosary, the worship of the sagrada
familia (Holy Family) and the like. They all start as sodalities. They gradually evolve a more complicated social organization. As sodalities they tend to focus on one or more unique features of their beliefs in contradistinction from the beliefs of others. For instance, the Maka-Apo of Pampanga province which belongs to a larger group called Kapatirang Pag-ibig sa Dios with central office at barrio Paraiso, Orani, Bataan, imitates the kneeling position of the Black Nazarene whenever they conduct their worship in the church. They become zealous and oftentimes quite militant to uphold the faith.

The Philippine religious landscape is a veritable garden for anthropologists to cultivate. Admittedly there is a dearth of materials on the subject. This was shown by my review of literature. What I have done here is just a beginning. It has barely scratched the surface. This suggests that more field data have yet to be gathered, appropriately sorted out, and interpreted according to the natives' cognitive framework and outlook.

This dissertation may well be worth the effort put into it if it contributes in a little way to the formulation of a general theory of social movement.
APPENDIX A

PAPERS OF INCORPORATION

Calamba, Laguna, P.I.
August 27, 1945

The Director
Bureau of Commerce and Industry
Malacanan, Manila

Sir:

Permit me to inform you that the church known as the Banner of the Race in Calamba, Laguna, presided by the undersigned as Presiding Elder was on May 29, 1944, registered as No. 1267 in the Bureau of Commerce and Industry, as a duly incorporated organization under the existing laws of the Philippine Republic. Inasmuch as the said organization is still operating and numbering more than 600 active members now who are mostly residing in the barrios of Tabon, Pinagbilawan and Sapang, Binangonan, Talim Island; barrios of Sinalhan and Kaingin, Santa Rosa; barrios of Bic-a-a, Butong, and Mamatid, Cabuyao; and Calamba, Laguna, as the Central Headquarters, we still gratefully appreciate the favor to be officially informed whether or not it is necessary for us to register the same church in the Bureau under the existing laws of the Philippine Commonwealth. An early reply will be highly appreciated.

Very respectfully,

Jose B. Baricanosa
Presiding Elder
Church of the Banner of the Race
Calamba, Laguna
Mr. Jose B. Baricanosa  
Calamba, Laguna

Sir:

Reference is made to your letter anent the CHURCH known as the BANNER OF THE RACE IN CALAMBA, LAGUNA, which was referred to this Commission by the Bureau of Commerce.

In connection therewith, it is advised that if, as you alleged, the said corporation was duly registered with the Bureau of Commerce on May 29, 1944, the same was lawfully incorporated, following the opinion rendered by the Secretary of Justice on May 8, 1945, in connection with the Pacific Insurance Co., a corporation incorporated during the Japanese occupation.

For the purpose of reconstructing our records, it is requested that you furnish the commission with duplicate copies of the articles of incorporation and by-laws of said corporation certified to under oath by you as its presiding elder and countersigned by the secretary of the corporation.

Very respectfully,

FILEMON COSIO  
Assistant to the Commissioner
December 10, 1943

The Honorable Commissioner
Securities and Exchange Commission
Malacanan, Manila

Sir:

In compliance with the request contained in your letter dated October 10, 1943, I hereby certify, as Presiding Elder, that the following documents attached hereto, are true and correct copies of the articles of incorporation and by-laws of the corporation known as the CHURCH OF THE BANNER OF THE RACE in Calamba, Laguna, and duly countersigned by the Secretary, JOVITO E. SALGADO, of the said corporation:

1. Certificate of Registration No. 1267, dated May 29, 1944, of the Director of Commerce and Industries.
2. Articles of Incorporation signed by Jose B. Baricanosa.
3. Affidavit of Incorporation signed by Jose B. Baricanosa.
4. Minutes of the meetings of the members of the Church of the Banner of the Race electing the members of the Board of Directors and voting upon the incorporation and registration of the organization.
5. Minutes of the meeting of the Members of the Board of Directors electing their officers.
6. Rules governing the conduct of the members of the Church of the Banner of the Race.
8. Appendix "B", Patakaran ng Iglesia Watawat ng Lahad, Inc.

JOSE BARICANOSA
Presiding Elder

Countersigned:

JOVITO E. SALGADO
Secretary
TO ALL TO WHOM THESE PRESENTS MAY COME, GREETINGS:

Whereas, Articles of Incorporation duly signed and acknowledged for the organization of CHURCH OF THE BANNER OF THE RACE, Calamba, Laguna, under and in accordance with the provisions of Act of the Philippine Commission Numbered Fourteen hundred and fifty-nine, enacted March first, nineteen hundred and six, as amended by Acts of the Philippine Legislature, Numbered Fifteen hundred and six; Fifteen hundred and sixty-five, Sixteen hundred and thirty, Seventeen hundred and forty-four, Eighteen hundred and thirty-four, Eighteen hundred and ninety-five, Twenty hundred and three, Twenty hundred and twelve, Twenty hundred and thirty-seven, Twenty hundred and ninety-two, Twenty-one hundred and thirty-five, Twenty-four hundred and fifty-two, Twenty-seven hundred and twenty-eight, Twenty-seven hundred and ninety-two, Twenty-nine hundred, Twenty-nine hundred and ninety-four, Thirty-five hundred and eighteen, Thirty-six hundred and ten, Thirty-seven hundred and forty-one, Thirty-eight hundred and forty-nine, and Thirty-eight hundred and fifty, and Commonwealth Acts Numbered Two hundred and eighty-seven and Four hundred and Thirty-seven, were presented for filing in this Bureau on May 29, 1944 and a copy of which said articles is hereto attached;
NOW, THEREFORE, by virtue of the powers and duties vested in me by law, I do hereby certify that the said Articles of Incorporation were duly registered in this Bureau of Commerce and Industries on the twenty-ninth day of May nineteen hundred and forty-four.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand at the City of Manila, Philippines, this 29th day of May nineteen hundred and forty-four.

CORNELIO BALMACEDA
Director of Commerce and Industries
ARTICLES OF INCORPORATION
OF THE
CHURCH OF THE BANNER OF THE RACE

KNOW ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS:

1. That the "CHURCH OF THE BANNER OF THE RACE" is a religious organization which was founded and organized in the Barrio of Lecheria, Municipality of Calamba, Province of Laguna, since the year 1941;

2. That by vote of at least two-thirds (2/3) of the members of the said religious organization, in a meeting in the barrio of Lecheria, Calamba, Laguna, on May 19, 1944, the incorporation of the said religious organization in accordance with the Corporation Law of the Philippines was unanimously approved;

3. That the principal aims and purposes of the said religious organization are as follows:

   (a) To love and serve the Lord God, our fellow-men and our native land;

   (b) To unite, cooperate and mutually help each other for the common benefit and welfare of the members and of the community in which they live; and,

   (c) To respect and obey the existing laws and the constituted authorities.

4. That the incorporation of the "CHURCH OF THE BANNER OF THE RACE" is not forbidden by competent authorities, or by the constitution, rules, regulation and discipline of the said organization;

5. That the religious organization of the "Church of the Banner of the Race" desires to incorporate for the administration of its temporalities or the management of its properties or estate;
6. That the place where the principal office of the corporation is to be established and located is the barrio of Lecheria, Municipality of Calamba, Province of Laguna;

7. That the names and residences of the Board of Directors elected by the members of the said religious organization, the registration of which is hereby sought, to serve as long as they live in accordance with the by-laws of the organization are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>RESIDENCE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jose B. Baricanosa</td>
<td>Calamba, Laguna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosendo E. Salgado</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alfredo E. Benedicto</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaudioso Parabuac</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jovito E. Salgado</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eleuterio San Pedro</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lorenzo Ybuan</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Felisa Ocdamia</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trinidad Banatin</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

IN WITNESS WHEREOF I, Jose Baricanosa, Presiding Elder of the "CHURCH OF THE BANNER OF THE RACE" do hereby certify under oath that the foregoing articles of incorporation are true and correct as the express will of the members of the organization.

JOSE B. BARICANOSA

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 29th day of May, 1944.

Affiant exhibited to me his Residence Certificate No. A-0646656, issued at Calamba, Laguna, on January 10, 1944.

BENJAMIN T. LIGOT
Notary Public
AFFIDAVIT

I, JOSE B. BARICANOSA, Presiding Elder of the "CHURCH OF THE BANNER OF THE RACE", a religious organization with followers from various parts of the Philippines, upon oath, states that in a meeting of the members of the said organization in Lecheria, Calamba, Laguna, on May 19, 1944, wherein over two-thirds (2/3) of all the members of the said organization and the registration of the same in the Bureau of Commerce and Industries; that the affiant was, in said meeting, elected member of the Board of Directors together with Rosendo E. Salgado, Alfredo E. Benedicto, Gaudioso Parabuac, Jovito E. Salgado, Eleuterio San Pedro, Lorenzo Ybuan, Felisa Ocdamia, and Trinidad Banatin; that in a meeting of the members of the Board of Directors held in the same place on May 20, 1944, he was elected Presiding Elder and that Rosendo E. Salgado, Alfredo E. Benedicto, Gaudioso Parabuac, Jovito E. Salgado, and Miss Felisa Ocdamia were elected Second Presiding Elder, Auditor and Legal Adviser, Spiritual Adviser, Secretary, and Treasurer, respectively; that in the said meeting of the members of the Association of May 19, 1944, about 160 members, representing at least 2/3 of the members of the said organization were present; and that affiant submits herewith a copy of the minutes of May 19, 1944 and of May 20, 1944, signed by the affiant, Jose B. Baricanosa and Jovito E. Salgado, Secretary.

JOSE B. BARICANOSA
MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE MEMBERS OF THE
BOARD OF DIRECTORS ELECTING THEIR OFFICERS

The meeting of the members of the elected members of the board of directors of the "CHURCH OF THE BANNER OF THE RACE" held at the home of Atty. Alfredo E. Benedicto in the barrio of Lecheria, Calamba, Laguna, on May 20, 1944, at about 8:30 p.m. A.; the board members -- Jose B. Baricanosa, Rosendo E. Salgado, Alfredo E. Benedicto, Gaudioso Parabuac, Jovito E. Salgado, Eleuterio San Pedro, Lorenzo Ybuuan, Felisa Ocdamia, and Trinidad Banatin -- were all present. On motion duly seconded by Eleuterio San Pedro, it was moved that the following board members be elected to the position indicated opposite their respective names, to serve the association for the rest of their lives, as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jose B. Baricanosa</td>
<td>Presiding Elder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosendo E. Salgado</td>
<td>Second Presiding Elder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atty. Alfredo E. Benedicto</td>
<td>Auditor and Legal Adviser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaudioso Parabuac</td>
<td>Spiritual Adviser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jovito E. Salgado</td>
<td>Secretary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Felisa Ocdamia</td>
<td>Treasurer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The election of the board members to the position indicated opposite their respective names in accordance with the motion of the movant board member, was unanimous.

I hereby certify to the correctness of the above.

(SGD) Jovito E. Salgado
Secretary

ATTESTED:

(SGD) Jose B. Baricanosa
Presiding Elder Elect

Subscribed and sworn to before me, a Notary Public, for and in the City of Manila, Philippines, this 29th day of May, 1944. Affiant, Jovito E. Salgado, exhibited to me his Residence Tax Certificate No. D-0757662, issued at Calamba, Laguna, on February 8, 1944.

(SGD) Benjamin T. Ligot
Notary Public

Doc. No. 394,
Page No. 80.
Book No. II. (sealed)
Series of 1944.

The meeting of the members of the "CHURCH OF THE BANNER OF THE RACE", held after due notice to all the members, took place in the home of Atty. Alfredo E. Benedicto, in the barrio of Lecheria, Calamba, Laguna, on May 19, 1944, at about 7:00 p.m. Temporary presiding officer, Atty. Francisco Hernandez, after having informed the assembly that the meeting has come to order asked temporary secretary, Mr. Jovito E. Salgado, to please call the roll, and he reported that 160 members out of 200 members of the organization were present. The presiding officer then informed the assembly that the table was open to business.

1. Election of Board Members

After the presiding officer has informed the assembly that the table was open for the nomination of candidates for the members of the Board of Directors, member Nestorio Banatin nominated Messrs. Jose B. Baricanosa, Rosendo E. Salgado, Alfredo E. Benedicto, Gaudioso Parabuac, Jovito E. Salgado, Eleuterio San Pedro, Lorezon Ybuan, Misses Felisa Ocdamia and Trinidad Banatin. The nomination was seconded by member Jose Llamas. The election was viva voce and all the candidates were elected unanimously to serve the association for the rest of their lives.

2. Incorporation of the Organization

On motion by member Rosendo E. Salgado and seconded by member Alfredo E. Benedicto it was moved that the organization be incorporated in the Bureau of Commerce and Industries, in accordance with the provisions of the Corporation law governing religious corporations. The voting was viva voce also and the incorporation and registration of the association was voted upon unanimously by all the members present.

I hereby certify to the correctness of the above.

(SGD) Jovito E. Salgado
Temporary Secretary

Attested:

SGD. Jose B. Baricanosa
Board-Member Elect
Subscribed and sworn to before me, a Notary Public, in the City of Manila, Philippines, this 29th day of May, 1944, Affiant, JOVITO E. SALGADO, exhibited to me his Residence Tax Certificate No. D-0757662, issued at Calamba, Laguna, on February 8, 1944.

Doc. No. 393. Book No. II. Series of 1944

(SGD) Benjamin T. Ligot
Notary Public
RULES GOVERNING THE CONDUCT OF THE
MEMBERS OF THE CHURCH OF THE
BANNER OF THE RACE

1. IBIGIN MO ANG POONG DIOS, upang ikaw ay makinabang sa
   anomang mangyayari.

2. IBIGIN MO ANG KAPIWA TAO, upang tumagal at buhay mo;
   Ibigin mo siya katulad ng pag-ibig mo sa iyong sarili.

3. MAGTULUNGAN, upang maisagawa ang lahat ng layumin.

4. MAGSUNURAN, upang magkaisa sa lahat ng bagay.

5. MAGDAMAYAN, upang magtagumpay sa alin mang layumin.

6. MAGKAISA, upang mabuo ang alinmang gawain.

7. MASAMA ANG SUGALAN, sapagka't ito'y nagdudulot ng
   kahihiyan at kapahamakan.

8. ANG KAYABANGAN, ay masama sapagka't ito'y nagbibigay sa
   kapuwa ng pagka-walang pitagan.

9. ANG MANGBABAE, ay masama sapagka't ito'y kapahamakan at
   kamatayan.

10. ANG SAMAAN NG LOOB, ay masama sapagka't ito'y nagbubunga
    ng matinding kapahamakan.

I HEREBY CERTIFY TO THE CORRECTNESS OF THE ABOVE:

JOVITO E. SALGADO
Secretary

ATTESTED:

JOSE B. BARICANOSA
Presiding Elder

SUBSCRIBED AND SWORN TO before me, a Notary Public, in and
for the City of Manila, Philippines, this 29th day of May, 1944.
Affiant, Jovito E. Salgado, exhibited to me his Residence Tax
Certificate No: D-0757662, issued at Calamba, Laguna, on February
8, 1944.

BENJAMIN T. LIGOT
Notary Public
ANG IGLESIA WATAWAT NG LAHI, INC.

Ang Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi, Inc. ay itinatag sa Nayon ng Lecheria, bayan ng Calamba, provinsia ng Laguna ngayong ika-20 ng Mayo ng taong 1944.

Kaming siyam na kagawad ng Junta Directiva na pinagkaisahang ilagay ng mga kasapi ng nasabing Iglesia ayon sa kapulungan na pinagtibay ng ika-19 ng taong 1944, ay nagkaisang gumawa ng Patakaran na siyang dapat sundin ng lahat ng kasapi.

1. Na ang unang patakaran na dapat sundin ng bawa't kasapi ay ibigin ang Dios ng lalo sa lahat; ikalawa, ibigin ang kapuwa tao para ng pag-ibig sa sarili at ang ika-tatlo, ay ibigin ang bayang tinubuan, at buong pusong maglingkod sa bayan sa ika-aayos, ika-uunlad, at ika-papayapa ng bayan na kabutihan.

2. Na kailangang sumunod, tumupad at igalang ang lahat ng batas ng pamahalaang "Republika Filipina" at tangkilikin ang mga kalahi. Ang Iglesia ay walang pananagutan sa sino mang kasapi na lalabag sa batas ng pamahalaan.

3. Na ang sino mang lalake o babae na may 18 taong gulang na may matibay na pananampalataya sa Dios, may malinis na pamumuhay at may mabuting gawa'in ay tatanggapin ng kasapi ng Iglesia pagkatapos na masuri ng mga kagawad ng Junta Directiva.

4. Na ang lahat ng kasapi ng Iglesia ay kailangang dumalo sa araw ng pagpupulong na itinakda ng Junta Directiva, matangi ang kasapi na may karamdaman.

5. Ang lahat ng kasapi ay kailangan sumunod sa sampung utos ng Dios na nasa Santong Kasulatan o Biblia, na siyang saligang pinagbabatayan ng Iglesia tungkol sa pananampalataya sa Dios, sa pag-ibig sa kapuwa tao at sa bayan.

6. Na kinakailangang magkaroon ng isang tunay na pagdadamayan, pagtatangkilikan at tunay na pagmamahalang parang magkakapatid ang lahat ng magkakasapi sa paggawa ng pawang kabutihan sa ika-uunlad ng Iglesia at ika-papayapa ng bayan.

7. Kailangang igalang ang lahat ng mga matatanda at mga kababaihan ng lahi at magkaroon ng isang tunay na pagkakawang-gawa sa lahat ng mga maralita na nangangailangan ng tulong sa abot ng makakaya.
8. Na ang Iglesia ay walang karapatang humingi ng abuluyan sa mga kasapi matangi kung ang isang kasapi ay namatay o may karamdaman na dapat abuluyan ng lahat ng kasapi ayon sa kanilang makakaya.

9. Na mahigpit na ipinagbabawal sa lahat ng kasapi ang ano mang uri ng "juego" kagaya ng pagsusugal, sabong, mahjong, kara y kruz, etc. At ipinagbabawal din ang magsinungaling o mangloko sa kapuwa tao.

10. Na ang lahat ng patakaran na pinagkaisahan ng Junta Directiva na nabanggit sa unang pahina ay kailangang isagawa ng buong puso, tiyaga, sikap at pagtitiis ng lahat ng kasapi.

At bilang katibayan sa mga patakaran binanggit ay inilagda namin ang aming pangalan sa ibaba nito ng walang anomang pasubali.

Jose B. Baricanosa  Jovito E. Salgado
(Presiding Elder) (Secretary)
Rosendo Salgado  Alfredo Benedicto
(Board Member) (Board Member)
Gaudioso Parabuac  Felisa Ocdamia
(Board Member) (Board Member)
Eleuterio San Pedro  Lorenzo Ybuan
(Board Member) (Board Member)
Trinidad Banatin
(Board Member)

I hereby certify to the correctness of the above.

Jovito Salgado
(Secretary)

Attested:

Jose B. Baricanosa
(Presiding Elder)
APPENDIX B

ANG SAMPUNG UTOS NI DR. JOSE RIZAL

I
Manalig ka na may isang Diyos: ang Diyos ng Katarungan, ng Habag, ng kalayaan't pagkak-apatay-pantay.

II
Ibigin mo't ipagtanggol ang iyong bayan, at pagsyamant't tangkilikin ang lahat ng katutubong sa kanya.

III
Pagsikapan mong ang iyong pamahalaan'y maging malaya, makabaya't uskatarungan, pagka'diyan nasasalig ang kapamayanan mo.

IV
Mahalin mo't parangalan ang iyong magulang at tahanan, at huwag tutlutang lapastanganin ng kahit sino.

V
Huwag mong nasabing mainghal ang sarili, ang pagpilita'y matampok ang bayan at makapagturo sa kapuwa.

VI
Pasiglahin mo't patnubayan ang kabataan, upang makabuo ka ng bayang marangal, mariwasa, matalino at dakila.

VII
Huwag kang sa tuwi-tuwina'y maging mapanuyo, mapagpaumanhin at mapagpakumbaba, pagka't iya'y kaimbihang nagpapalala sa paniniil.

VIII
Sa bayang ibig lumaya, kailanga'y pagkakaisa't pagtatangkiliklan; kaya maki-isa ka't tumangkilik sa iyong mga kababayan.

IX
Panindigan mo ang iyong mga kapangakua't pananalig, nguni't igalang ang kuro-kuro't pananampalataya ng iba.

X
Mag-aral ka at matutong makibaka pagka't nasa dunong ang ilaw at nasa pakikibaka ang kalayaan.

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APPENDIX C

MGA HUWAG NI DR. JOSE RIZAL

Huwag kang magsugal.
Huwag kang maging maglalasing.
Huwag kang lalabag sa mga batas.
Huwag kang lubhang maging makalapian.
Huwag kang maging mahanapura sa kamalian lamang.
Huwag mong habatulan ang sino man na hindi mo naririnig
  ang kanyang panig.
Huwag mong pabayaan ang mga dukhang nasa katuwiran.
Huwag mong pabayaan ang sadyang nangangailangan ng iyong
  tulon.
Huwag mong pabayaan ang mga dukhang may kalilingan na
  may kakayahan.
Huwag kang makisama sa mga taong may masamang asal at
  di mabuting pag-uugali.
APPENDIX D

PANUNUMPA

IGLESIA WATAWAT NG LAHI
TANGGAPANG PANGKALAHATAN
Kalamba, Laguna
Kapuluang Pilipinas

Sa pangalan ng Dios Ama, Dios Anak, at Dios Espiritu Santo, akong si __________________________ ay buong puso at taalitim na nanunumpa na aking tutuparin ang tatlong Gintong simulain ng Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi, na ang una ay "TEHIGIN ANG DIOS SA LAHAT"; ikalawa ay "TEHIGIN ANG KAPUWA TAO KATULAD NG PAG-TEHIG SA SARILI"; at ang ikatlo ay "TEHIGIN ANG BAYANG TINUBUAN"; at ito'y tutuparin ko nang walang pasubali sa ilalim ng pangangasiwa ng Iglesiang nabanggit sa itaas.

Ako ay umanib at nanumpang kusang loob at walang sino mang pumilit sa akin. At ang panunumpa kong ito sa ngalan ng Dios ay siya kong katibayan sa pagka-anib sa Igle Wa-Watawat ng Lahi.

Bilang kaanib sa nasabing Iglesia ay tungkulin ko na sa buhay o kamatayan ang itaguyod ang Tatlong Simulain na siyang tanging landas sa ikatitiwasay, pagkakabig-kis-bigkis at pagdadамayan ng lahat ng tao sa isang tumpak na na pananampalataya at pagaawa ng pawang kabutihan.

At bilang patibay sa panunumpa kong ito ay imilagda ko sa ibaba nito ang tunay kong pangalan at idiniit ko ang hin-lalaki ng aking kanang kamay sa harap ng dalawang saksi na siyang nagpapatotoo na ako'y hindi magtataksil sa Iglesiang ito na inaniban ko habang ako'y nabubuhay.

________________________________________

(Dirit)

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(Saksi) __________________________________________________________________________
(LP. (Lagda ng nanumpa)

(Saksi) __________________________________________________________________________
(LP. (Tirahan)

Sinuri at nanumpa sa ngalan ng Dios ng hinarapan ko ngayong ika ______ ng ______ taong 19 __ dito sa ________________________ Bayan ng ________________________ Lalawigan ng ________________________ Kapuluang Pilipinas.

(Pangulo) __________________________________________________________________________
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