"THE DEMONIACAL IMPULSE"

THE

CONSTRUCTION OF AMOK

IN THE PHILIPPINES

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PLEASE NOTE

The greatest amount of care has been taken while scanning this thesis,

and the best possible result has been obtained.
Dedicated to my mother

and to the memory

of my father
ABSTRACT

“THE DEMONIACAL IMPULSE”: THE CONSTRUCTION OF AMOK IN THE PHILIPPINES

In the Philippines, amok is often viewed as a form of unexpected and indiscriminate homicidal behaviour to which Muslim Filipino or Moro men are inordinately prone. Underlying this perception is the assumption that it corresponds neatly with the behavioural pattern’s actual occurrence in the Philippines. A related and equally unstated supposition is that a continuity exists between the above view of amok and those of the Americans and Spaniards. The present-day Filipino cognition of the behavioural pattern is thus presumed to be the inevitable culmination of the innumerable attempts by Spaniards, Americans and Filipinos over the centuries to discern the true nature of what one correspondent to the *Straits Times* referred to in 1849 as the “demoniacal impulse”. The apparent naturalness of Filipino apprehensions of amok is only attested to by the prevalence of allusions to the behavioural pattern in Philippine popular culture. In movies, literature and Manila newspapers one frequently finds references to Filipinos “running amok”.

In my dissertation I challenge the aforesaid assumptions. As its title suggests, the thesis consists not of an ethnography of amok in the Philippines, but of a history of the Euro-American and Christian Filipino fascination with the behavioural pattern. In it I counter the seeming naturalness of the contemporary Filipino perception of amok with an analysis of its descent. I examine that perception’s emergence in Euro-American colonial writing on the Philippines at
the turn of the twentieth-century, the dominance it subsequently achieved in the American period, and its deployment by Christian Filipino commentators following WWII. To undermine the supposition that this view merely agrees with amok’s real occurrence in the Philippines, I demonstrate that this view is actually a construct by identifying the accumulation of diverse factors that generated it. To weaken the presumption that this view is only the climax of untold efforts to distinguish the behavioural pattern’s character, I reveal the discontinuities between the Spanish recognition of random violence in the Philippines on the one hand, and the American and Christian Filipino perceptions of amok on the other.

I argue that the present-day Filipino understanding of amok has lowly beginnings. Very basically, it was the product of the clash of two forces. The first was the American drive to acquire information about the Filipinos that would enable them to define and extend their control over their newly acquired subjects. The ascription to the Filipinos of a tendency to run amok was instrumental in creating the Filipino and American identities that the Americans exploited to promote and subsequently justify their occupation of the Philippines. The second force was the conflict between Filipinos and Americans that was generated by the American attempt to establish their sovereignty. The labelling of Filipinos as a ‘race’ of amok-runners functioned to delegitimate their resistance against American rule.

The peculiar association of amok with the Muslim Filipinos in the above understanding has origins which are similarly prosaic. It was the outcome of,
amongst other factors, the mistaken conflation of the behavioural pattern with
the *juramentado* convention of the Moros by early colonial commentators, and
the idea, latent in the ‘racial’ classifications of the ethnologists F. Blumentritt
and J. Montano, that the Muslim Filipinos were the most Malay of the various
Malay ‘subraces’ in the Philippines (and thus the most likely to run amok).
Following its accidental emergence, the fusion of amok with the *juramentado*
convention (what I call the amok/*juramentado* convention nexus) was deployed
by the Americans to depoliticise Muslim Filipino dissent against the extension
of their sovereignty over the southern Philippines. Since WWII, it has likewise
been used by Christian Filipino commentators to mystify the causes of the Moro
militancy that has arisen in “Moroland” as a result of the policy of integration
pursued for decades there by different colonial and national governments.
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In the course of my doctoral candidature, I have received encouragement and assistance from a number of persons and institutions in three different countries. Compared to the research and writing of my dissertation, the task of acknowledging these people and organisations may seem simple enough. However, so varied has been the aid they have rendered me, and so great is my liability to them, that frankly I am not sure how or where to begin.

The origins of this thesis date back to my time at the History Department of James Cook University (J. C. U.) in Townsville, Queensland under the supervision of Reynaldo Ileto and Rodney Sullivan. It was at the J. C. U. library, while inspecting its holdings of British and American colonial writings on Southeast Asia, that I first noticed the striking similarities between the references to and commentaries on amok contained in these corpuses. That I was able to discern such resemblances was due in part to Rod and Rey, who, amongst their other legacies, greatly refined my sensitivity to the dimension of political meaning inherent in the colonial literature on the Philippines. Although the difficulties of conducting doctoral research without a scholarship (and thus part-time) forced me in the end to discontinue my candidature at J. C. U., I benefited very much from Rod and Rey’s supervision, and like to think that this dissertation bears the impress of their own scholarship, ideas and critical stances.
The receipt in 1994 of a research award from the Faculty of Humanities/Social Sciences of the University of Western Sydney (U W S) Nepean enabled me to concentrate fully on this dissertation. My principal supervisor during my candidature at U W S Nepean has been Judith Snodgrass. Always supportive, Judith has been a model of patience, allowing me to resolve (often laboriously) the various problems raised by this thesis at my own pace. Whenever I stumbled into her office after a few weeks spent wrestling with such difficulties, she invariably revived me with perceptive comments and suggestions, as well as strong cups of coffee.

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The primary sources presented in this thesis were culled from the diverse Filipiniana collections held in libraries in Australia, the Philippines and the United States. Anyone who has conducted research would be aware of the frequent elusiveness of such material, and hence of the extent to which the hapless researcher is dependent on archival staff for help in locating documents often crucial to one’s argument. For the invaluable assistance they rendered me, I would like to acknowledge my indebtedness to the personnel of the Philippine National Library, the Library of Congress, the United States National Archives, the Australian National Library, the University of Sydney Library, the University of New South Wales Library, the Australian National University Library, the Lopez Library and the Thomas Jefferson Library.

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of the costs of lodgings in that city and its environs, Jose’s liberality was particularly appreciated. My very special thanks, however, go to Rosemarie and Antonio Prieto Jr. and their family, who provided me with accommodation during my entire stay in Manila. I was and remain deeply touched by their generosity and the attention they paid an old family friend.

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If not for the generous financial aid I received during my candidature, I would not have been able to research and write this thesis at all, much less carry out archival research overseas. The Faculty of Humanities/Social Sciences of UWS Nepean has been munificent, supplying me with a Fieldwork Scholarship (1994-5), a Postgraduate Research Award (1994-7) and an additional six-month extension. As well, the Australian National Library provided me with an Asian Studies Library Award in 1994.

Finally and most importantly, I would like to extend my greatest thanks to my mother, Julia Ghezzi Ugarte, to whom I am inexpressibly grateful for her love and support all these years.
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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

But historical beginnings are lowly: not in the sense of modest or discreet like the steps of a dove, but derisive and ironic, capable of undoing every infatuation.¹

In Confessions of an English Opium Eater,² his celebrated account of his opium addiction, the Romantic English writer Thomas De Quincey relates a curious “little incident” that took place in his “unpretending cottage” in Grasmere in Westmoreland. One day, hearing a knock at the cottage door, his servant opened it to find a Malay man standing there: “What business a Malay could have to transact amongst English mountains, I cannot conjecture: but possibly he was on his road to a sea-port about forty miles distant” (90). Astonished by the sight of the man, whom he describes as a “tiger-cat” and “ferocious looking” with “small, fierce, restless eyes,” De Quincey, lacking a Malay dictionary, “addressed him in some lines from the Iliad; considering that, of such languages as I possessed, Greek, in point of longitude came geographically nearest to an Oriental one” (91). However, apparently ignorant of Homer’s epic, the man replied in what De Quincey could only suppose was Malay. He then “lay down upon the [cottage] floor for about an hour” before pursuing his journey. On the man’s departure, De Quincey, “on recollecting that if he had travelled on foot from London, it must be nearly three weeks since he could have exchanged a

¹ Michel Foucault, “Nietzsche, Genealogy, History,” in Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: selected essays and interviews by Michel Foucault, ed. Donald Bouchard (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977), 143.
thought with any human being”, presented him with three pieces of opium “in compassion for his solitary life” (91). To De Quincey’s dismay, the man raised his hand to his mouth and consumed all the opium in one mouthful. “The quantity”, De Quincey remarks, “was enough to kill three dragoons and their horses: and I felt some alarm for the poor creature: but what could be done?” (91). After all, De Quincey could hardly violate the laws of hospitality by seizing the man and drenching him with an emetic. For several days after the man’s departure, De Quincey felt anxious, but as “I never heard of any Malay being found dead, I became convinced that he was used to opium: and that I must have done him the service I designed, by giving him one night of respite from the pains of wandering” (92).

The incident was noteworthy, De Quincey observes, because it subsequently caused him to have nightmares about the man and other Malays running amok at him:

This incident I have digressed to mention, because this Malay (partly from the picturesque exhibition he assisted to frame, partly from the anxiety I connected with his image for some days) fastened afterwards upon my dreams, and brought other Malays with him worse than himself, that ran ‘a-muck’ at me, and led me into a world of troubles (92).

The Malay was to long trouble De Quincey. In his entry for May, 1818 De Quincey notes that the “Malay has been a fearful enemy for months. I have been every night, through his means, transported into Asiatic scenes” (108).

How do we account for the “anxiety” De Quincey connected with the man’s image, as well as the mechanicalness with which his unexpected encounter with a Malay later conjured up fantasies for him of Malays running
amok? The answers to these questions can be gleaned from Alethea Hayter's introduction to the *Confessions* and from a footnote in De Quincey's work in which he briefly explains the term “a-muck”. Regarding De Quincey's style, Hayter observes that his “reading was enormously wide, and echoes from many recondite sources might be traced in his work...” (19). Discussing “the full connection between his youthful experiences and his later visions”, Hayter comments that “childhood events and emotions, adolescent encounters, *things read* and things seen, combined into new imaginative patterns which dominated his dreams (emphasis mine)” (8). If De Quincey's visions of frenzied Malays and the distress they evoked in him ultimately derived from “things” he had read, “anecdotes from history” (19), in what corpus would he have been most likely to find references to Malays running amok? De Quincey alludes to it in his footnote to the word “a-muck”: “See the common accounts in any Eastern traveller or voyager of the frantic excesses committed by Malays who have taken opium, or are reduced to desperation by ill luck at gambling” (92). As it happens, opium (along with Islam) is cited frequently as a cause of amok in European travel writing on the Malay archipelago from roughly the seventeenth- to the early nineteenth-centuries.3 Far then from being the fruit of only De Quincey's especially fertile imagination, the Malay who recurrently haunted him in his dreams was in fact the stereotype of the Malay amok-runner or *pengamok* that features

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notably in that writing. What De Quincey’s reaction to his meeting with the Malay demonstrates is the sheer familiarity of that stereotype to educated Britons (and presumably Europeans and Americans) by the early nineteenth-century, the extent to which in their eyes the Malays were associated with “the demoniacal impulse”.

In this dissertation, I trace the movements of De Quincey’s stereotypical Malay amok-runner who, in the guise of the juramentado or sabbil, stalked American colonials and Christian Filipinos in their collective imaginations from approximately 1899 to the present day. Specifically, I explore the history of the belief, popular in the Philippines since the early twentieth-century, that amok is a form of furious homicidal behaviour which in the Philippines is inordinately engaged in by Muslim Filipino or Moro men. It is this understanding of the behavioural pattern that is in question in this dissertation. This point needs stressing because, although amok is immoderately associated with the Muslim Filipinos in both American and Filipino writing on the behavioural pattern, it is also linked in those discourses with Filipinos in general. Hence I provide not an ethnography of amok in the Philippines, one which records its occurrence in the Islands during the period in question, but a study of the causes and sources of the American and Christian Filipino fascination with the behavioural pattern.


4 “Correspondence,” *Straits Times*, 25 September 1849.
These days the term “amok” is frequently used by English speakers to denote acts of “frenzied maniacal behavior in general”. In this dissertation though I take the word to mean the type of sudden and random violence, allegedly peculiar to Malays, that is a leitmotif in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century British colonial writing on the Malay archipelago. A good description of this behaviour is provided by John C. Spores:

Historically, amok represents a behavioral constellation unique to the Malay context and distinguishable from similar patterns occurring in other cultures. It is a culture-specific syndrome wherein an individual unpredictably and without warning manifests mass, indiscriminate, homicidal behavior that is authored with suicidal intent.  

Considering the commonness of references to amok in Philippine popular culture since WWII, it comes as a surprise to discover that the twentieth-century literature dealing with it has not received much critical attention. This anomaly appears to be the result of a widespread and enduring assumption that this literature does nothing more than faithfully mirror the behavioural pattern’s incidence in the Philippines. Given the seeming naturalness of this literature, what more can be said about it? The supposition that this literature merely corresponds smoothly with its subject has discouraged consideration of the possibility that it did not so much reflect amok’s occurrence in the Islands as construct it as an object of intense interest first for the Americans and later for the Christian Filipinos. As well, it has hindered analysis of the relations between the present Filipino understanding of the behavioural pattern and those of the

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6 Ibid.
Americans and (perhaps) the Spaniards. The fact that those relations have never been addressed by commentators suggests that an underlying continuity is commonly presumed to exist between the Spanish, American and modern Filipino comprehensions of amok. The contemporary Filipino perception of amok is thus typically presupposed to be the culmination of untold efforts by Spaniards, Americans and Filipinos over the ages to determine the behavioural pattern’s true nature and meaning.

Of the little academic scrutiny that the twentieth-century literature on amok in the Philippines has received, a disproportionate share has come from specialists on the histories and cultures of the diverse Muslim Filipino ethnic groups such as Samuel K. Tan, Peter G. Gowing, Cesar A. Majul and Thomas M. Kiefer.\(^7\) The overrepresentation of these scholars in the discussion (feeble as it is) of the subject is due to the frequent association of the behavioural pattern with the Moros, through its conflation with the *juramentado* convention,\(^8\) in American colonial writing and in Philippine popular culture. The *juramentado* convention or *parang sabbil* was one of the two forms of *jihad* performed by the Muslim Filipinos against the Spaniards and Americans in Moroland. Apparently it was first resorted to by the Tausug against the Spaniards during Governor-

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\(^8\) For an analysis of the convention’s history, nature, meaning and accompanying ritual, see Chapter 5.
General Jose Malcampo’s military expedition on Jolo island in the Sulu archipelago in 1876. “Juramentado,” Spanish for one who has sworn an oath, was the name given by the Spaniards to both the convention itself and its practitioners. As for the phrase “parrang sabbil”, “parrang” derives from “perang”, the Malay word for “war”, while “sabbil” comes from the Arabic expression “fi sabil Allah”, “in the path of Allah.”

Any individual who fought and died in the path of Allah was regarded by Moros as a martyr who was rewarded for his self-sacrifice with the bounties of paradise. Among Muslim Filipinos such a person was referred to by panditas or ‘ulamas (learned men) as a “mujahid” (“one who strives”), and by ordinary Moros as a “sabil-ullah” (“in the path of Allah”) or “sabbil” for short. However, in time the sabbil also came to be referred to by some Muslim Filipinos as a “juramentado”.

The engagement of the aforesaid scholars with amok all occur within the context of their expositions on the juramentado convention. Because amok’s incidence in the Philippines and the manner of its depictions in signifying systems, colonial or otherwise, are of less interest to these scholars than the unravelling of the history, meaning and accompanying ritual of the convention, their comments on the behavioural pattern are necessarily brief and limited basically to rebuttals of its confusion with the convention. They carefully separate the convention and amok from each other in order that the convention may be more clearly defined and its reputation, long tarnished by its fusion with amok, reha-

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11 Majul, Muslims in the Philippines, 357.
bilitated. Hence all these academics agree that while amok is fundamentally a form of spontaneous and indiscriminate violent behaviour, indicative of a highly disordered mental state, the juramentado convention was a Muslim Filipino variant of jihad which was premeditated, freely assumed by its exponents, informed by a religious motive, and resorted to in defence of dar-ul-Islam (the Abode or Territory of Islam).\textsuperscript{12}

Of these writers, only Kiefer displays any sensitivity to the dubiousness of the European colonial amok accounts set in what he calls “greater Indonesia”. However, because his interest in this issue is overridden by his greater desire to untangle the intricacies of the juramentado convention, his observations on it are consigned to one tantalisingly brief paragraph. Noting the need to “make a few remarks on the relationship between parang sabbil and the classic Malaysian pattern of ‘running amok’,” Kiefer opens his discussion of the question with a standard definition of the latter:

The so-called amok is usually described as a pattern of uncontrolable violent behaviour directed randomly without apparent regard for the consequences. As such, it is usually regarded as an indication of psychological imbalance.\textsuperscript{13}

He then adds:

It is rather curious that accounts of this phenomenon [amok] in greater Indonesia are more common in medical literature than ethnography. Even within the medical literature there are few documented cases, most of the later writers apparently fed off the meagre data presented in the few articles published around the turn of the century. As far as I can tell, amok is a phenomenon which is recalled more often than observed, and as such was subject to all manner of fanciful distortion. I am convinced that a

\textsuperscript{12} Tan, Filipino Muslim Armed Struggle, 12-14; Kiefer, “Parrang Sabbil,” 112-113; Gowing, Mandate in Moroland, 100; Majul, Muslims in the Philippines, 353-354.
\textsuperscript{13} Kiefer, “Parrang Sabbil,” 112.
history of the mythology of amok would tell us more about Europeans than about Malaysians - note the speed with which the word was adopted into European languages in the late seventeenth century - but that is beyond the scope of this paper.¹⁴

Kiefer's perception of the profound derivativeness of the colonial corpus on amok is as astute and refreshing as his conviction of what a "history of the mythology" of the behavioural pattern might reveal is provocative. No sooner, though, does he make both points than he abandons them to take up again the thread of his analysis of the juramentado convention.

This dissertation begins then where Keifer leaves off by investigating the "history of the mythology of amok" in the Philippines. However, as noted earlier, it does not do so by presenting an interpretation of the behavioural pattern that accords more neatly with the colonial or Filipino experience of the phenomenon. Instead, employing Michel Foucault's notion of genealogy as a heuristic device, I examine the history of the aforesaid mythology through an investigation of its descent and emergence. In light of the centrality of Foucault's notion to this dissertation, it is worth quoting his comments on genealogy and the analysis of descent at length. According to him, the analysis of descent permits the dissociation of the self, its recognition and displacement as an empty synthesis, in liberating a profusion of lost events.

An examination of descent also permits the discovery, under the unique aspect of a trait or a concept, of the myriad events through which - thanks to which, against which - they were formed. Genealogy does not pretend to go back in time to restore an unbroken continuity that operates beyond the dispersion of forgotten things; its duty is not to demonstrate that the past actively exists in the present, having imposed a pre-determined form to all its vicissitudes. Genealogy does not resemble the evolution of a species and does not map the destiny of a people. On the contrary, to follow the complex course of descent is to maintain passing

¹⁴ Ibid.
events in their proper dispersion; it is to identify the accidents, the minute deviations - or conversely, the complete reversals - the errors, the false appraisals, and the faulty calculations that gave birth to those things that continue to exist and have value for us; it is to discover that truth or being do not lie at the root of what we know and what we are, but the exteriority of accidents.\textsuperscript{15}

The analysis of descent thus enables one to contest imposed identities - i.e. "the self", "a trait or a concept" - through the detection of the "lost events" or "the myriad events" that constructed them. It allows one to counter the presupposition that such identities possess an essence or are a synthesis of their previous incarnations through the identification of the "accidents, the minute deviations - or conversely, the complete reversals - the errors, the false appraisals, and the faulty calculations that gave birth" to them.

In this dissertation, I employ the analysis of descent to challenge and unsettle the apparent naturalness of the Filipino perception of amok, the belief that it represents the culmination and synthesis of past Spanish, American and Filipino attempts to discern the nature and meaning of the behavioural pattern. Assuming that an underlying continuity exists between the Spanish, American and Filipino understandings of "amok-like" behaviour in the Philippines, writers have generally ignored the particularities of these understandings. In contrast, I focus on such particularities to reveal the singularities of these understandings and so emphasise their differences from each other. By highlighting the discontinuities and inconsistencies that are present in the available literature on amok, I demonstrate that contrary to popular assumption, no underlying continuity exists between the Spanish cognition of arbitrary violence in the Philippines on the

\textsuperscript{15} Foucault, "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History," 145-6.
one hand, and those of the Americans and Filipinos on the other. For instance, as we shall see, although references to amok are common in American colonial writing and in present-day Philippine newspapers, they are inconspicuous in the Spanish sources. While amok, because of its fusion with the juramentado convention, is inordinately linked with the Muslim Filipinos in American and Filipino accounts of the behavioural pattern, this linkage is absent from the Spanish sources; in the latter, if amok is frequently connected with any ethnic group at all, it is with the Manobos, the non-Christian inhabitants of the mountainous interior of the Cotabato region in Mindanao. And whereas, in the Spanish sources, a substantial number of the early descriptions of random homicide relate it to ritual mourning as it was practised by various Philippine ethnic groups, this relation is not present in the twentieth-century literature on amok. In light of these striking discrepancies and discontinuities, the contemporary Filipino perception of amok can hardly be said to be the synthesis of the Spanish discernment of arbitrary native violence and the American interpretation of the “demoniacal impulse”. These incongruities, I argue, are the results not of the varying accuracy of the Spaniards’ and Americans’ apprehensions of amok, but of the basically disparate ways in which they conceived of human identity.

If the analysis of the descent of historical items reveals the miscellaneous and discontinuous nature of their beginnings, the complementary analysis of their emergence un_masks the variety of factors that generated them.¹⁶ Foucault states that the emergence of such items “is always produced through a particular
stage of forces. The analysis of the Entstehung [emergence] must delineate this interaction, the struggle these forces wage against each other or against adverse circumstances...”17 Emergence “is thus the entry of forces; it is their eruption, the leap from the wings to center stage, each in its youthful strength.”18 An historical item that appears on the “center stage” of history is “not the culmination of anything but is a consequence of an accumulation of factors with no inherent interrelatedness.”19 A genealogy of such items then consists of the attempt to discern the “play of dominations” that gave rise to them: “Genealogy...seeks to reestablish the various systems of subjection: not the anticipatory power of meaning but the hazardous play of dominations.”20

The analysis of the emergence of the perception of amok as a form of frenzied violence, predominantly resorted to by Moro men, shows that its “historical beginnings” are similarly “lowly”. As stated earlier, this perception is not the climax of previous Spanish, American and Filipino interpretations of the behavioural pattern; its roots do not lie in the diligent efforts of now forgotten colonials and Filipinos to correctly describe “the demoniacal impulse”. Instead, ultimately it can be said to have been the product of the conflation of amok with the juramentado convention by a handful of influential British and American writers on the Philippines at the turn of the twentieth-century. This unwarranted association was then perpetuated by later colonial commentators, officials, trav-

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18 Ibid., 149-150.
19 Prado, Starting with Foucault, 37.
ellers and residents who, often quietly conscious of their deep unfamiliarity with
the Philippines and its peoples, sought to disguise it through their regurgitation
of colonial commonplaces. It was primarily this conflation that was responsible
for a glaring inconsistency in both the American and Filipino literatures on
amok: namely, the inordinate association of the behavioural pattern with the
Muslim Filipinos. Although in theory all Philippine ethnic groups - or at least
those which are reputedly subdivisions of the Malay ‘race’ - are supposed to be
susceptible to the amok impulse, in practice it is the Muslim Filipinos who in
these literatures are inordinately portrayed running amok.

While the above association accounts for the frequent fusion of amok
with the juramentado convention in American writing and Philippine popular
culture, it does not explain the great interest that the Americans took in the be-
havioural pattern during their interlude in the Philippines, the monotonous
regularity with which commentators referred to and expounded on the reputedly
strange Filipino propensity to embark on rampages. That derived from the stra-
tegic function the “demoniacal impulse” possessed within the American ration-
ale for their “civilising mission” in the Philippines. Their fascination with amok
was fundamentally the product of their attempts to extend the United States’
control over the Philippines and the subsequent resistances they encountered
from Filipinos, both Christian and Muslim. By labelling and dismissing such
resistances as instances of “amok”, colonial commentators effectively depoliti-
cised them. Such acts of protest became, in colonial eyes, mere consequences of
the ‘racial’ inadequacy of Filipinos and hence telling demonstrations of the need
for the Americans to remain in the Philippines. Between approximately the early nineteenth- and mid-twentieth-centuries the alleged Malay tendency to run amok was ordinarily considered by Britons, Europeans and Americans, imbued with the sociocultural evolutionist thought of the time, to be the most striking illustration of the Malays’ savageness. The Americans’ ascription to the Filipinos of such a tendency thus served to ‘racialize’ them: it identified them not only as a ‘race’ but as one which lacked the attributes necessary for self-rule. In so defining Filipinos, the post-1898 discourse on amok dovetailed neatly with the general justification of the United States’ occupation of the Philippines: the Americans were positively obliged to remain there because “Natives cannot govern” and their departure would see the Islands “sink in the slough of savagery…”

As it relates to the Muslim Filipinos, the post-1898 discourse on amok emerged or came-to-be “because of a compilation of disparate factors”. One of these factors - the blending of amok with the juramentado convention by several authoritative writers in the early twentieth-century - has already been mentioned. A second factor was the Moros’ performance of the juramentado convention in response to the Americans’ efforts to subjugate them, integrate Moroland into the Philippine colonial state and open up the region for commercial development by American capital. It was principally this factor that was responsible for the regular incitement of the discourse on amok between 1899 and 1914. During this period that discourse functioned to invalidate the convention

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as an expression of Muslim Filipino dissatisfaction with the American presence in Moroland. The fusion in it of amok with the convention enabled commentators to suggest that the convention was less a form of *jihad* than a type of "illness" which only underlined the Moros' primitiveness and hence their need of upliftment by the Americans.

The above reference to the American view of the *juramentado* convention as a sort of ailment brings us to another factor: the influence on colonial pundits in the early twentieth-century of the biomedical understanding of "deviance". This understanding encouraged them to individualize and medicalize the convention, to detach the *juramentado's* actions from his social situation and view them as nothing more than the product of his personal difficulties.

A fourth factor was the interplay in the Americans' collective imagination between the three corpuses which most greatly shaped their conception of the Muslim Filipinos: British colonial writing on the Malays, its Spanish equivalent on the Moros, and the traditional Orientalist literature on Islam and the Arabs. From British accounts the Americans acquired their information about "the Malay" as a 'racial' type, his infamous proclivity for running amok and the stereotype of the Malay *pengamok*. From the Spanish sources they learnt of the *juramentado* convention and its exponents, the benightedness of the Moros' religion and the despotism and corruption of his political system. The latter judgements of the Moros' faith and political structure are, of course, merely Spanish versions of clichés relating to Islam's intrinsic irrationality, aggressive-

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22 Prado, *Starting with Foucault*, 37.
ness and barbarism that have long been current in Orientalist thought. Although they are clichés with which the Americans would have been broadly familiar, their presence in the Spanish sources would have only confirmed for the Americans their veracity.

It was the combination of mainly these diverse factors, not any assiduous attention to amok assaults in the Philippines, that led to the emergence in American colonial writing of the amok/juramentado convention nexus and the figure of the amok-runner/juramentado. Like the stereotypes of the Malay pengamok and the savage in sociocultural evolutionism from whom he was descended, the amok-runner/juramentado of colonial fame was distinguished by his constitutional inability to govern the natural forces that both bore upon him from his environment and were internal to him. Thus he was predisposed by his ‘racial’ shortcomings to embark on rampages as a response to life’s vicissitudes, but he was often directly prompted to run amok/“turn” juramentado by certain supposedly unenlightened features of his traditional Islamic society: despotism, slavery, debt-bondage, concubinage and polygamy. Given the putative likeness between amok and the juramentado convention, it is not surprising that the convention was viewed by many colonials as a form of unexpected and random violence that was utterly devoid of a political dimension. The difference then between amok and the convention was, in their eyes, merely one between
“ordinary, common or garden amuck and amuck with religious and other frills.”

It should be emphasised that the Americans and Christian Filipinos did not deliberately set out to conflate amok with the *juramentado* convention with the aim of depoliticising the convention and Muslim Filipino dissent in general. Instead, this conflation and the accompanying imagery it generated were created by the circumstances of first American and later Christian Filipino rule in Moroland, coupled with the political, social and intellectual backgrounds of the Americans and Christian Filipinos who have commented on the Muslim Filipinos since 1898.

**Organisation of the Thesis**

This dissertation is divided into three sections. The first is made up of five chapters. In Chapter 2 I focus on the Spanish and American understandings of random homicide in the Philippines. Challenging the supposition that a fundamental continuity underlies the Spanish, American and Christian Filipino comprehensions of amok, I reveal the discontinuities and inconsistencies that lie between these understandings. After surveying the few explanations for these discrepancies that have been advanced by scholars, I suggest that they were the outcomes of the Spaniards’ and Americans’ distinct notions of personhood. In Chapter 3 I discuss the circumstances that encouraged the Americans, following their intervention in the Philippines in 1898, to consult British colonial com-

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23 John R. White, *Bullets and Bokos: Fifteen Years in the Philippine Islands* (New York: The
mentators for information about their newly acquired possession and its unfamiliar inhabitants. The Americans' traditional reliance on such pundits for their knowledge of "the Malay" was only reinforced by such factors as their inexperience in administering a Southeast Asian colony, their profound ignorance of the Philippines and its population, and the inadequacy and comparative inaccessibility of the Spanish sources. Hence it was principally to the British that the Americans were indebted for their understanding of "the Filipino" as a 'racial' type. In Chapter 4 I examine the role played by American writing on amok in the construction of Filipino and American 'racial' identities. The Americans' regular ascription to the Filipinos of a tendency to embark on rampages was not the consequence of their exposure to actual amok assaults in the Philippines; rather, it was the result of a drive to obtain information about the Filipinos that would enable them to define and extend their control over their newly acquired subjects. To counter the popular confusion of amok with the jumentado convention in the Christian Filipino imagination, in Chapter 5 I expound on the history, nature and meaning of the convention. Although the convention, because of its conflation with amok, was often regarded by the Americans as a form of sudden and indiscriminate homicidal behaviour, it was actually one of the two forms of parrang sabbil or jihad performed by the Muslim Filipinos in Moroland. Proof of this is the fact that it was most often resorted to by the Moros when their relations with the Americans were particularly poor. In Chapter 6 I uncover the main purposes for which the discourse on the amok/jumentado

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convention nexus was deployed between roughly 1899 and 1913. While accounts of the Filipinos’ alleged susceptibility to the amok impulse served mainly to identify them as an inferior ‘race’, the aforesaid discourse functioned most importantly to invalidate the juramentado convention’s religious and political dimensions. Essentially, the confusion of amok with the convention led to the latter being viewed by many colonial commentators as less a form of jihad than as a sort of “illness” which dramatically illustrated the Muslim Filipinos’ ‘racial’ shortcomings.

The second section is devoted to close analyses of some of the signifying practices and their dimensions of political meaning through which amok and the stereotypical amok-runner are constructed as artefacts in British and American colonial writing. These analyses are designed to defamiliarize the seeming naturalness of that writing and draw attention to their rhetorical strategies. In Chapter 7 I use a form of textual analysis developed by Roland Barthes to explore the processes through which the Moros are produced as pengamoks in the colonial author John Foreman’s brief reverie about Jolo town. In Chapter 8 I delve into the grounds for the perceived resemblance between the stereotypical amok-runner and a rabid dog. The popularity of what I call the “mad dog” trope in the aforesaid writing stemmed from its capacity to evoke a range of ideas, relating to “the Malay’s” intellectual and moral characters, which affirmed his primitiveness.

In the last section I canvass influential Christian Filipino representations of amok since WWII. I claim that if the alleged Moro propensity to run
amok/‘turn’ juramentado functioned for colonials during the American period as a marker of the Muslim Filipinos’ ‘racial’ otherness, since 1946 it has operated for Christian Filipinos as an emblem of the Moros’ cultural otherness. Whereas the discourse on the amok/juramentado convention nexus was deployed by the Americans to negate the convention as a form of dissent against American rule, from the mid-1950s onwards it has often been wielded by Christian Filipino writers and illustrators to mystify the true causes of the ongoing Muslim-Christian conflict in Moroland.
Chapter 2

"THE DISSENSION OF OTHER THINGS": THE DISPARITY BETWEEN THE SPANISH AND AMERICAN PERCEPTIONS OF AMOK

"What is found at the historical beginning of things is not the inviolable identity of their origin; it is the dissension of other things. It is disparity."¹

INTRODUCTION

The issue of the Spanish perception of amok in the Philippines has received little attention, with not a single study devoted to the subject. Because of this gap in our knowledge, it is tempting to simply posit an underlying continuity between the Spanish and American conceptions of the behavioural pattern. This temptation is only fuelled by the fact of the Spaniards' precedence over the Americans in the Islands by almost 350 years. In the attempt to locate the origins of the American conception, it would be easy to suppose that the Americans, in the process of rectifying their ignorance of their newly acquired Filipino subjects, were profoundly influenced by the representations of amok that they came across in the Spanish sources, and that they subsequently reproduced these representations in their own literature. For these reasons, one is inclined to presume that the Spanish sources also contain references to and commentaries on the behavioural pattern which resemble in most respects those to be found in American writing. Hence because brief reports of amok incidents are present in American newspapers such as the Manila Times and the Manila

American, one equally expects them to feature in Spanish newspapers, such as the nineteenth-century El Comercio. Similarly because amok, through its conflation with the parrang sabbil or juramentado convention of the Muslim Filipinos, is closely associated with the Moros in American writing, one confidently anticipates discovering examples of this conflation and association in the Spanish sources.

On searching through the Spanish sources for references to amok, it is not long before such expectations and assumptions are unsettled. What such an investigation reveals is that there is little, if any, relation between the Spanish and American representations of arbitrary violence in the Philippines. Where one assumed a continuity, there exists mostly disparity. The sorts of frequent references to amok incidents and expositions on the behavioural pattern that are extant in American writing are simply absent from the Spanish sources. This does not mean that the latter are bereft of descriptions of forms of random homicide, engaged in by Filipinos, which to a modern reader may seem “amok-like”; such descriptions are indeed to be found in those sources. Rather, it means that the descriptions of indiscriminate violence or fits of fury that feature in the Spanish sources differ from American references to and expositions on amok in important respects.

The more obvious dissimilarities between the Spanish and American representations of arbitrary violence in the Philippines can be mentioned briefly. To start with, the majority of the Spanish descriptions do not identify the behaviours in question by the name “amok” or their practitioners as amok-
runners. Thus an inspection of El Comercio, covering the period from 1868 to 1897, may yield the occasional report of a Filipino engaging in sudden, random slaughter; but it will not produce formulaic expositions on “amok” or, more tellingly, numerous reports of Filipinos and especially Muslim Filipinos “running amok” of the sort that appeared in the Manila Times and the Manila American between 1899 and 1918. Given the length of their stay in the Philippines, the failure of the Spaniards to designate these murderous actions by the term “amok” can hardly be treated as an oversight or be attributed to their ignorance of the local dialects. To complicate matters, a substantial proportion of the early Spanish descriptions link these forms of arbitrary homicide to ritual mourning as it was practised by various Philippine ethnic groups - a connection that is missing from American writing. Moreover, the Spanish accounts that do refer to amok by name are comparatively few and seem to date from the last quarter of the nineteenth-century. In them the behavioural pattern is associated with not the Muslim Filipinos, as it is in American writing, but the Manobos, a non-Muslim ethnic group that inhabits the mountainous interior of the Cotabato region in Mindanao. One reason why amok is not allied with the Moros in the Spanish sources is because the behavioural pattern is not conflated with the juramentado convention in those sources. In light of these differences, one can reasonably conclude that while the Spaniards were acquainted with forms of arbitrary killing in the Philippines, they were relatively indifferent to amok - at least as it was conceived of and depicted by the Americans in their writings.

2 For examples from El Comercio, see “Crimen,” 22 March 1897 and “Ultima Hora,” 6 July
In order to explore the Spanish perceptions of amok and of general indiscriminate slaughter in the Philippines, I delineate in this chapter the depictions of these phenomena that are contained in the Spanish sources. In doing so, I will challenge the popular assumption that the roots of the American understanding of the behavioural pattern lie in the Spanish corpus. A holder of this assumption, faced with the discrepancies between the Spanish and American accounts of arbitrary homicide in the Philippines, would gloss over such disparities and instead emphasise the apparent similarities between the accounts - for instance, the references to amok they both contain and the Spanish descriptions of forms of random killing which to a modern reader may appear "amok-like". The problem with this approach is that, in palliating such differences, it leads to the neglect of the very details that make up the Spanish apprehensions of amok and of indiscriminate violence in the Philippines. It encourages a disregard for the particularities of the Spanish accounts in order to assert a continuity between the Spanish and American understandings of amok. As well this approach facilitates the projection, on to the Spanish sources, of features that in truth are peculiar to American writing on the behavioural pattern - for example, the chronic confusion of amok with the _juramentado_ convention.

Hence in this chapter I discuss the discontinuities between the Spanish and American representations of arbitrary homicide. I carefully describe these dissimilarities in order to reveal the Spanish perceptions of amok and of indiscriminate slaughter in all their singularity.
DIFFERENCES

On 19 November 1888 there appeared in *El Comercio* an article, entitled “Feroces Instintos”, that dealt with a recent assault by a man on three youths in Sampaloc, Manila. From our perspective, the item is less interesting for the tragedy it relates than for the information it omits concerning the assailant:

In Guipit, a subdivision of the suburb of Sampaloc, there occurred the night before last, a deed more characteristic of furious savages than of men.

Several children, busy entertaining themselves, were playing in the middle of the street of the aforementioned barrio when suddenly there appeared an individual, bolo in hand. Dealing out cuts wildly and disastrously, he badly injured Valeriano Ramos and Manuel Espiritu and less seriously Alejandro de la Rosa. Thankfully, at the same time that Mateo San Jose Cuba was committing those atrocities, passing through that place was the lieutenant of the cuadrilleros Tomas Santiago, who was able to catch the aforesaid Mateo.

The alerted municipal doctors of the district, Messrs. Carranceja and Xerez, performed first aid in the courthouse of the town on Valeriano Ramos and Manuel Espiritu who had grave injuries and an uncertain recovery. We were witnesses to the serenity and great fortitude of spirit of the injured children. The treatment should have produced great suffering yet not even a tear or a complaint was exhaled.

Much weaker was the one named Manuel Espiritu, who was older than the first [Ramos].

We saw also in the court the author of that crime and we suffered a great disenchantment. He has more the appearance of an animal than of a man; we were not even able to have him look us in the eye.

The gobernadorcillo, as required, conducted the initial inquiries and the injured
were sent to the Hospital of San Juan de Dios.

Now, a question: cannot something be
done to stop that constant use of the bolo which
leaves such sad memories amongst the populace?
The authorities should do their part so that we do
not have to lament events of the sort that we have
just related.

The piece does not explain the relation (if any) between the assailant,
Mateo San Jose Cuba, and his three victims, Valeriano Ramos, Manuel Espiritu
and Alejandro de la Rosa. Nor does it delve into the possible reasons for Cuba’s
actions. In not discussing his motives, the article inevitably suggests that Cuba’s
“atrocities” were not only unexpected but inexplicable and indiscriminate. The
descriptions of Cuba’s assault as a “deed more characteristic of furious savages
than of men” and of his appearance in court as being animal-like show that, in
the eyes of the item’s author, Cuba’s crime had reduced him to the levels of a
savage and, worse, a beast. They reflect the traditional colonial belief that acts
of violence, when committed by native subjects, mark their abandonment of
their civilised veneer and their surrender to their instincts, their return to their
original primitive or bestial condition - an idea encapsulated in the piece’s title,
“Ferocious Instincts”.

In “Feroces Instintos”, then, we have an article that recounts the
apparently random, unexpected and incomprehensible assault by a Malay man
on some youths. If it had appeared in contemporary British newspapers such as
the Straits Times and the Singapore Free Press, or later in the Manila Times and
the Cabelnews American, the item would have described Cuba as having run
amok. That it does not is a small but telling sign of the differences that exist
between Spanish descriptions of random violence in the Philippines and their American equivalents.

The more prominent of these discrepancies can be enumerated here. Perhaps the most obvious relates to the respective quantities of such descriptions. Although references to and commentaries on forms of random violence that identify them by the name “amok” are fairly common in American writing, they are inconspicuous in the Spanish sources. Indeed, following a survey of the latter, one could be forgiven for concluding that such references and commentaries are missing from them, and that the description of the Spanish understanding of amok is best envisaged as the delineation of an absence. A search through the Spanish sources for such references and commentaries is both a baffling and frustrating exercise, for it uncovers few of them in precisely the genres in which they surface in American writing: journalism, ethnographies, histories, medical reports.

This point can be illustrated through a comparison of the references to and expositions on indiscriminate homicide to be found in a sample of American and Spanish sources. To take the American material first, an inspection of the Manila Times for the period from March 1899 to August 1918 uncovers around nineteen articles which refer in some manner to amok.\(^3\) Of

them, only one consists of an exposition on the phenomenon; the rest are made up of reports of alleged amok incidents. Whereas in nine of the articles the “amok-runners” are identifiable as non-Muslim Filipinos, in five of them they are recognisable as Moros. Of the remaining five articles, in three of them the pengamoks are neither non-Muslim Filipinos nor Moros but a Malay and two American servicemen, while in the final two the subjects are animals. In addition, the newspaper ran about eight articles which depict amok and the juramentado convention as being coterminous. Only one article that draws a distinction between the convention and amok seems to have appeared in the newspaper during the period in question.

A survey of references to amok in the Cabilenews American for the period from February 1902 to March 1915 yields similar results, namely an over-representation of Moros in such references and a significant number of articles that conflate the behavioural pattern with the juramentado convention. In the newspaper the association of amok with the Muslim Filipinos is even more pronounced than it is in the Manila Times. Of the roughly fifteen articles

4 “Tales of the Malayan Coast”.
5 “Native Runs Amuck With A Bolo”; “Ladrones Run Amuck In Panay”; “Another Native Creates Havoc”; “Ran Amuck”, “Scout Ran Amok”; “Runs Amuck With Bolo; 2 Are Slashed”; “Madman Runs Wild In Plaza”; “Life Term For Filipino Killer”.
6 “Tales of the Malayan Coast”; “Soldier Ran Amok”; “Shot Down As He Ran Amuck”.
7 “Mad Bull Runs Amuck”; “Gored By Carabao”.
9 “Customs Of The Moros,” 13 June 1911.
in the *Cablenews American* which allude in some way to amok, in seven of them the “amok-runners” are clearly Moros, whereas in six they are American personnel stationed in the Philippines and the United States. In only two of these articles are the assailants non-Muslim Filipinos. Ironically then, for all the alleged propensity of Filipinos to succumb to the impulse to run amok, during the period in question the *Cablenews American* apparently carried more stories of Americans than of Filipinos embarking on rampages. Moreover, like the *Manila Times*, the newspaper came out with about ten articles which identify the *juramentado* convention with amok.

In summary, a study of the *Manila Times* and the *Cablenews American* reveals a close connection in them between amok and the Muslim Filipinos during roughly the first two decades of this century. Of the approximately thirty-four references to the behavioural pattern that were published in both

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13 “Aged But Untamed Still”; “Maniac Murders Fellow Prisoner in Davao Jail”.

newspapers during the respective periods in question, in eleven of them the assailants are identified as non-Muslim Filipinos, while in a full twelve they are Moros - a striking figure, given that the Muslim Filipinos constituted only four percent of the entire population of the Philippines in 1900.\footnote{Peter Gordon Gowing, *Mandate in Moroland: The American Government of Muslim Filipinos 1899-1920* (Quezon City: Philippine Centre for Advanced Studies, 1977), 9.} In these articles, then, the Moros are portrayed more often than any other ethnic group in the Philippines engaging in reputed amok assaults. This affiliation between amok and the Moros is only strengthened by the roughly eighteen articles in both newspapers which conflate the behavioural pattern with the *juramentado* convention. Nor are these ties which bind amok and the Muslim Filipinos together confined to only the *Manila Times* and the *Cablenews American*; they are also ubiquitous in post-1898 colonial writing on the Moros, as readers acquainted with that corpus would be well aware. Faced with these facts, one can conclude that in the eyes of the Americans, at least, amok and the *juramentado* convention were virtually coterminous. One can infer also that while all Filipinos are supposed to be equally prone to run amok, in truth it was the Muslim Filipinos who, out of all the ethnic groups in the Philippines, were held by colonials to be most susceptible to the “demoniacal impulse” during the first two decades of the American period. As S. E. Kane observed, “The Moro runs amuck oftener than any of the other tribes in the Islands.”\footnote{Samuel E. Kane, *Thirty Years With The Philippine Head-Hunters* (London: Jarrods, 1934), 101.} And of the Muslim Filipinos it was the Tausug, the dominant ethnic group in the Sulu archipelago, who were generally held to be the most vulnerable to this strange
propensity. As Brig. Gen. Samuel S. Sumner noted in 1902 in a wire to Division Headquarters, in which he broke the news of the recent attack on a soldier by two Moros in Jolo, “this amuck business seems to be confined to Jolo.”

To now consider the Spanish material, it is a curious fact that no references to or commentaries on amok appear in El Comercio between 1868 and 1897. Moreover, they are equally unobtrusive in The Philippine Islands, E. Blair and J. Robertson's magisterial 55 volume compendium of documents from the Spanish period. Under the subject heading “Amok”, its index contains only a single listing, and on consulting the document in question - Antonio Mozo’s report on the later Augustinian and Dominican missions in the Philippines from 1763 - one finds that the pertinent reference it contains is typically ambiguous:

They [the inhabitants of the Visayan islands] also made use of a certain root, called in the Pampanga tongue sugapa, to inflame their courage in battle; ‘he who eats it is made beside himself, and rendered so furious that while its effect lasts he cares not for dangers, nor even hesitates to rush into the midst of pikes and swords. On many occasions, therefore, when they go out to fight with any who are hostile to them they are wont to carry this root with them, and, by eating it at the time of the attack, they enter the battle like furious wild beasts, without turning back even when their force is cut to pieces; on the other hand, even when one of them is pierced from side to side with a lance, he will raise himself by that very lance in order to strike at him who had pierced him. Sometimes, also, when they wish to revenge themselves on some more powerful man, it occurs to them to eat the said root; and, with the fury which it arouses in them, they fling themselves upon him like rabid wolves, being carried away by that rage in the presence of the person whom they meet, whoever he may be. Therefore, on account of the pernicious effects which the said root causes, the Dutch have given peremptory orders in Batavia that any person who sees

17 “Two Moros Ran Amuck In Jolo And Were Killed,” Cablenuwes American, 2 November 1902.
another, whoever he may be, in the said fury shall without fail shoot him or [otherwise] put him to death, in order that an end may be put to the fatal accidents which are daily seen in that city, on account of the natives there being very prone to this barbarous proceeding. The Malanao and Joloan Moros are accustomed to use this plant much.\(^{19}\)

At first, the above passage may read like an account of amok that could have been penned by a British colonial commentator. The renowned Malayness of the behavioural pattern seems to be alluded to by Mozo’s equation of the rages of the Visayans and Moros with those of Batavia’s indigenes. Further, the frenzies into which the Visayans and Moros were plunged by their consumption of the *sugapa* root appear to resemble the rampages of the stereotypical amok-runner. Moreover, their use of the root in the aforesaid manner to “revenge themselves on some more powerful man” evokes two well-known claims in British colonial writing. The first is that Malays typically consume opium before running amok. Initially advanced by W. Schulzens, a Dutchman who visited the Indonesian archipelago in the seventeenth-century, this belief was debunked by William Marsden in his *The History of Sumatra* in 1783, and was no longer current by the second quarter of the nineteenth-century.\(^{20}\) The second claim in question is that Malays sometimes run amok in response to injustices perpetrated by their rulers. These two claims are intertwined in a comment made by T. J. Newbold in his 1839 account of the British settlements in the Malacca Straits. In a commentary on running amok, Newbold remarks that when a Malay’s honour

\(^{19}\) Ibid., 120-122.

\(^{20}\) H. B. M. Murphy, “History and the Evolution of Syndromes: The Striking Case of Latah and Amok,” in *Psychopathology: Contributions from the Social, Behavioral and Biological Sciences*, ed. M. Hammer et al. (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1972), 34; William Marsden, *The
has been stained by a person of rank, the Malay, desperate over his inability to
wipe out the stain by "shedding the blood" of his offender, frequently takes
opium so as to whip himself into a fury: "Should the offenders rank be much
superior, the injured party in despair has recourse to opium and the desperate
Amok, slaying indiscriminately all he can lay hands on."\textsuperscript{21}

However, these links between Mozo's account and standard colonial
perceptions of amok are offset by the dissimilarities between them. Most
obviously, Mozo himself does not refer to the fits of fury he describes by the
name "amok". That was done by Blair and Robertson through their citation of
his work in their index under the heading "Amok" (presumably on the basis of
the likeness Mozo discerns between the rages of the Visayans and Moros and
Batavia's indigenes). Moreover, the frenzies portrayed by Mozo do not accord
with the classic colonial view of amok as a sudden, spontaneous, often
inexplicable and indiscriminate homicidal act. The consumption of the \textit{sugapa}
root (or any other) by amok-runners, in the hope of arousing their courage
before their assaults, is not remarked on by either the British after the early
nineteenth-century or the Americans in their respective expositions on the
behavioural pattern. Such a practice would have required a degree of foresight
and preparation on the part of the \textit{pengamok} that would hardly have squared
with the conventional portrait of him as a madman at the mercy of his passions.
Lastly, in the above passage the furor of the Visayans and Moros is shown to be

\textit{History of Sumatra} (1783; reprint, with an introduction by John Bastin, Kuala Lumpur: Oxford
University Press, 1966), 278.
occasioned by their eating of the *sugapa* root, whereas in American writing the *pengamok*’s delirium was ultimately held to be the result of his constitutional inability, as a Malay, to resist his impulses.

From the above, it should not be inferred that the Spanish sources are devoid of depictions of forms of random violence. Anyone acquainted with the sources would be aware of the presence in them of such descriptions. A number of the latter are to be found in the Blair and Robertson collection. To a modern reader, they may well resemble the portrayals of amok contained in British and American colonial writing. Yet once again, the perceived similarities between these representations are counterbalanced by their differences. Firstly, the Spanish descriptions do not identify the arbitrary killing in question as “amok” or the individuals who engage in it as amok-runners or *pengamoks*. Instead, some of them simply and briefly attribute such violence to the acute sensitivity of the natives, their inability to forget an injury, and their consequent vengefulness. A good illustration of this type of depiction is provided by Francisco Ignacio Alcina, S. J., from the mid-seventeenth century:

> The Visayans are characteristically patient and long-suffering; it seems even excessively so. For rarely will they appear wrathful, rarely vexed, because the passion of anger seldom overcomes them…. On the other hand, they never forget injuries received, although they may be by a word, but they conserve them in their resolution with a kind of almost indelible rancor and hate. Yet they tolerate a great deal and suffer a thing for many months, and even years, if they do not find an occasion to avenge themselves; but once they find [the occasion] they take advantage of it inevitably. I have come upon these qualities which seem

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contradictory not in just a single case but in many. I have unravelled it philosophically thus: that that natural insensibility which they show to suffering is the cause of that ill that they preserve in order to revenge themselves.... Thus, the majority of the deaths that occur among them are in cold blood.\textsuperscript{22}

Secondly, other descriptions - a number of those from the seventeenth-century - connect this arbitrary homicide with ritual mourning as it was practised by such Philippine ethnic groups as the “Tagals”, “Subanons”, “Zambals”.\textsuperscript{23} Now this connection is absent from the American literature on amok. Such killing appears to have been the final act in the mourning process of these groups. Following a person’s death through violence, his relatives, in order to relieve their anger and pain, would take up arms and set out to kill their enemies and even strangers until they were appeased:

Those who died in battle were honored with much weeping, and the sacrifices offered to them, or for them, lasted quite a long time, with a great deal of feasting and drunkenness. If the deceased had died violently, whether in war or in peace, treacherously or otherwise, the period of mourning continued and the interdiction was not lifted until his sons, brothers or male kinsfolk had slain many others, not only among the enemies and murderers but among any strangers who were not recognized as friends. They roamed about like robbers and bandits, attacking by land and sea and hunting for men, and slaying as many as they could until their fury had been satisfied. Once satisfied they celebrated a great banquet, lifted the interdiction and in time removed their signs of mourning.\textsuperscript{24}

\textsuperscript{22} The Munoz Text of Alcina’s History of the Bisayan Islands (1668): Part 1, Book 3. Translated by Paul Lietz, Dept. of Anthropology, University of Chicago, Unpublished typed manuscript, 341-342. For another example see Francisco Javier de Moya y Jimenez, Las Islas Filipinas en 1882 (Madrid: Establecimiento tipografico de El Correo, a cargo de F. Fernandez, 1883), 327-8.

\textsuperscript{23} See the following documents from Blair and Robertson’s The Philippine Islands: Diego de Bobadilla, S. J., “Relation of the Filipinas Islands,” 1640, 294-295; Francisco Colin, S. J., “Native races and their customs [from his Labor evangelica],” 1663, 82; Francisco Combes, S. J., “The natives of the southern islands [from his Historia de Mindanao, Jolo, etc].” 1667, 167; “Relation of the Zambals,” Domingo Perez, O. P., 1680, 312. See also Pedro Chirino, S. J., Relacion de las Islas Filipinas, ed. and trans. Ramon Echevarria (Manila: Historical Conservation Society, 1969). 328.

\textsuperscript{24} Chirino, Relacion, 328.
In passing, it should be noted that the above custom is reminiscent of headhunting as it was performed by older Ilongot men in northern Luzon until about the mid-1970s. Both these conventions seem to have served the purpose of enabling their practitioners to better cope with their anguish over the death of their kin. The Ilongots headhunted because it allowed them to cope with the anger in their bereavement. According to R. Rosaldo, if one asked an older Ilongot man why he cuts off heads, he would reply that “rage, born of grief, impels him to kill his fellow human beings.” Specifically, the cutting off and throwing away of a head symbolised for the man the release of his fury: “The act of severing and tossing away the victim’s head enables him, he says, to vent and, he hopes, throw away the anger of his bereavement.” Interestingly, M. Z. Rosaldo provides evidence that a probable derivative of the word “amok” was employed by the Ilongots to describe their assaults on their victims and, in particular, the way their pet dogs rush at meat when it is placed before them:

Once shots are fired, the raiders rush upon and struggle for their injured and dead victims in a chaos Ilongots describe with the word, ‘amuluk (probably related to the Austronesian root contained in the English expression “run amok,” and used primarily for dogs who race toward meat set out before them).”

Direct Spanish references to “amok” - references that identify practices or behaviours by that name - are comparatively scarce. Before examining them,

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26 Ibid., 1.
27 Ibid.
however, we can address the question of whether any ethnic group (or groups) is particularly associated with amok in the Spanish sources. To better answer this question, though, we first need to consider which such group (or groups) is typically affiliated with the behavioural pattern in American writing.

In the American literature, amok is closely allied with the Muslim Filipinos because it is frequently conflated with the *parrang sabbil* or *juramentado* convention, their version of holy war. Faced with this conflation, it would be easy to suppose that it is also present and indeed originated in the Spanish sources. After all the Americans, being profoundly ignorant of the Philippines and its inhabitants, would have been heavily reliant on those sources in the initial years of their occupation. In affiliating amok with the Muslim Filipinos, through their equation of the behavioural pattern with the *juramentado* convention, the Americans were doubtlessly only following the lead of their Spanish predecessors. This line of reasoning seems to be behind T. M. Kiefer’s assertion that it was the Spaniards who first confused amok with the *juramentado* convention. Rebutting the popular misconception that the *juramentado* or *sabbil* “was a person ‘running amok’ and was totally out of control”, he claims that “With little understanding of the theology that gave rise to *parrang sabbil*, the Spaniards easily interpreted the *juramentado’s* act as simple insanity of a particularly troublesome sort.” A version of this argument also appears in an account of the *juramentado* convention contained in *Filipino Heritage: The Making of a Nation*: “Failing to understand this religious
dimension [of *parrang sabbil*], the Spaniards and the Americans have reduced the concept into a psychological disorder, and have referred to the shahid [martyrs] as juramentados and amok, respectively."30 Ultimately this argument probably originated in the American period, for a variant of it was advanced by Major Charles E. Livingston, the author of an influential monograph on Sulu, in 1915:

The Spanish made no distinction between the amok, driven murder mad by personal grief, and the frenzy-driven religious fanatic, and referred to both as "Juramentado"; hearing the word applied [*sic*] amoks, the Sulus, thru misunderstanding, took the word to use in place of amok, writing it huramintaw, and this word is used almost entirely in referring to amoks, and to shout the warning.31

Revealingly, none of these assertions - Livingston's, Kiefer's, nor the one in *Filipino Heritage* - is supported by any evidence. This suggests that they are all based on nothing more than the common assumption that, because the Americans often equated amok with the juramentado convention, the Spaniards must have done so as well.

Now this assumption is not supported by the Spanish sources. A study of them shows that the Spaniards neither fused amok with the juramentado convention nor associated the former with the Moros. If they had, examples of this fusion and association would be scattered through the standard Spanish works on Mindanao and the Sulu archipelago: amongst others, the memoirs and

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histories of E. Bernaldez, P. A. de Pazos, P. de la Escosura, M. Espina, J. Montero y Vidal and M. M. Rincon, as well as the collections of letters sent by Jesuit missionaries in the southern Philippines to their superiors in Manila. Yet an investigation of this literature fails to uncover such examples. Nor are they to be found in the wider records. Put simply, the Spanish sources are bereft of references to Moros “running amok”.

Although Kiefer is right to state that the Spaniards’ understanding of the “theology that gave rise to parrang sabbi” was imperfect, he is wrong to conclude that their ignorance made them typically interpret the “juramentado’s act as simple insanity of a particularly troublesome sort.” The Spaniards may have been unfamiliar with the finer details of the Islamic doctrine of jihad, but they were aware that the juramentado convention was the Muslim Filipino variant of holy war. Furthermore, they were cognizant of the convention’s various aspects, such as the juramentado’s purpose, the ritual preparation he underwent before attacking Christians, the role of the pandita (learned man) in his preparation, and his method of assault. Indeed, it was their familiarity with these features that seems to have prevented the Spaniards from interpreting the juramentado’s actions as plain madness. While they were conscious of the personal motives that could drive a Moro to commit ritual suicide, and regularly

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32 Emilio Bernaldez, Resena Historica De La Guerra Al Sur De Filipinas, Sostenida Por Las Armas Espanolas Contra Los Piratas De Aquel Archipelago, Desde La Conquista Hasta Nuestros Dias (Madrid: Imprenta Del Memorial De Ingenieros, 1857); Pio A. de Pazos, Jolo. Relato Historico-Militar Desde Su Descubrimiento Por Los Espanoles en 1578 a Nuestros Dias (Burgos: Imprenta y Estereotipia de Polo, 1879); Patricio de la Escosura, Memoria Sobre Filipinas y Jolo (Madrid: Imprenta de Manuel G. Hernandez, 1882); Miguel Espina, Apuntes Para Hacer Un Libro Sobre Jolo (Manila: Imprenta y Litografia de M. Perez, hijo, 1888); Jose
impugned *parrang sabbil* for being a travesty of the *jihad* doctrine, they did not commonly regard the *juramentado* as a garden variety of lunatic. Rather, they viewed him essentially as a religious fanatic. For them he was, at worst, a troubled individual who performed ritual suicide as a glorious means of escaping from personal difficulties; a person whose profound ignorance of Islam left him vulnerable to the pernicious influence of his *panditas* (learned men) who were bitterly opposed to Spanish rule. At best, he was a zealot willing to sacrifice himself in the defence of his religion and community. In more nuanced Spanish accounts of *parrang sabbil*, such as the following by B. Francia, we find no suggestion that the *juramentado’s* actions were considered to be mere madness:

The first juramentados of whom we have information, through legends or ancient traditions, consecrated themselves to martyrdom because of the fanaticism of their faith. Exalted in the practice of prayers, fasting and hair shirts, denying themselves all worldly enjoyments and desirous of reaching the paradise offered by Mohammed to believers, they prepared themselves for sacrifice by imposing on themselves physical mortifications, tying strong ligatures on their limbs and resolving to die on a day determined. Shaving their heads carefully, they dressed in clean white clothes (the colour of mourning amongst these Muslims) and were accompanied by their parents and relatives to the neighbourhood of the place chosen as the bloody arena of their purification. Saying goodbye to all, they then presented themselves, arrogant, brave, before the greatest possible number of armed Christians and from a distance called their attention, provoking them and looking for death and martyrdom. If in order to achieve their goals they needed to injure their enemies, they did so without defending themselves; but what was correct, proper, and the most worthy of praise and eternal reward, was to receive their enemies’ bloody blows dauntlessly, disdainfully, contemptuously, arrogantly without a single complaint or

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lament...without diminishing their suffering until they expired.

These mystical martyrs were followed by the warriors who were not content with dying but desired to kill: mixing religious fanaticism with political fury...they vented their anger on their victims and looked for the means of vanquishing as many of them as possible before falling. Open provocation, once discovered, would be followed by an ambush, surprise and treason. Dissimulation, cunning deceit, all methods were deemed appropriate to reach ultimate martyrdom...33

Most importantly, the Muslim Filipinos themselves did not normally consider the juramentado to be an amok-runner as the latter was conventionally perceived by the Americans. The evidence relating to their vision of parrang sabbil demonstrates that the Moros neither referred to the convention by the name “amok” (or the term’s derivatives) nor regarded its practitioners as madmen.34 On the contrary, they viewed sabbils as persons whose performance of ritual suicide against the Spaniards, for whatever reason, was worthy of admiration and praise. This point is suggested by a Tausug informant of Kiefer’s in the course of an interview he conducted in Jolo in the mid- to late 1960s. First inquiring as to whether Tausugs who died in battle during the Spanish period were honoured, Kiefer then asks his informant whether such men appeared insane (presumably in the eyes of their fellow Tausugs). The man’s reply is unequivocal:

[Kiefer] Were there men so brave and fearless that they seemed crazy?

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33 Quoted in Espina, Un Libro Sobre Jolo, 341-2.
[Informant] Never. Such as [sic] man was admired.\textsuperscript{35}

In light of the intimate association of amok with the Moros in American writing, it is surprising to discover that on the relatively few occasions the behavioural pattern is mentioned by name in the Spanish sources, it is often in association with the Manobos.\textsuperscript{36} An example of such a reference is supplied by R. Jordana from 1885:

The Manobos inhabit the long and wide basin of the Agusan river, from the point at which it receives the tributary named Naan as far as its mouth. Cowardly in the extreme and at the same time vengeful; subject to fits of anger that resemble the amok of the natives of Java and Malacca, they live isolated in the forests without forming villages or camps, distinguishing themselves in this regard from the pagans of northern Luzon, who, in other ways, they strongly resemble.

However, as the above passage demonstrates, even in such references the link between amok and the Manobos is not direct. In the passage the Manobos are not actually described as having a tendency to run amok; nor are the “fits of anger” to which they are allegedly subject identified by the term “amok”; instead, such fits are said to be similar to the amok of the natives of Java and Malacca. In other words, while amok is cited in the passage to illuminate a form of violence to which the Manobos were reputedly prone, it is not portrayed as that form of violence. Jordana’s apparent ignorance of the Manobos’ own name/s for their supposed frenzies, coupled with the generality of his depiction, indicate that his knowledge of their rages was derived not from first-hand

\textsuperscript{35} Thomas M. Kiefer, Tausug of the Philippines (Connecticut: Hraflex Books, 1972), 125.
\textsuperscript{36} Ramon Jordana, Bosquejo Geografico E Historico-Natural Del Archipielago Filipino (Madrid: Imprenta de Moreno y Roxas, 1885), 86; Jose de Lacalle, Tierras y Razas del Archipielago Filipino (Manila: Establecimiento Tipografico Del Colegio De Santo Tomas,
experience but from hearsay and/or other texts. This peculiar manner of
describing the Manobos’ fits is evident in other depictions of the subject, such
as the following by J. de Lacalle from 1886:

In every respect uncivilized, they are cruel, suspicious, and
pursue tenaciously the occasion to attack their neighbouring
tribes. Weak by temperament, they avoid conflict in open
country, preferring the trap to exterminate their enemies. When
they find themselves obliged to fight they do so with an unusual
fury and courage, and are satisfied only after they have torn to
pieces their opponent. In those moments they surrender to
raptures of fury which have led many to suppose that the
Manobos suffer frequently attacks of that sudden madness that
the Malays call amok. 37

Lacalle only notes that, because the “raptures of fury” of the Manobos remind
“many” of amok, it was believed that they frequently suffer from the
behavioural pattern. He does not actually portray them “running amok” or
identify their frenzies by the term “amok”. Once again, we have a reference that
mentions amok only to shed light on the rages to which the Manobos were held
to be susceptible.

A final, notable discrepancy between Spanish and American
representations of amok pertains to their diverse relationships with their British
equivalents. In general, Spanish commentators do not display a familiarity with
British accounts of the behavioural pattern in their writings. The few that do
show an awareness of such accounts like Jordana, de Lacalle, and Francia and
Parrado wrote in the late nineteenth century and often cite amok only to clarify
the issue of the Manobos’ reputed fits of anger. In contrast, an examination of

1886), 219; Benito Francia y Ponce de Leon and Julian Gonzalez Parrado, Mindanao (Habana:
Imp. De la Subinspeccion de Inglaterra, 1898), 135.
British and American references to the behavioural pattern reveals the presence in the latter of numerous traces or echoes of the former. Since an analysis of all these traces is beyond the scope of this dissertation, it is sufficient to state that they are comprised of textual elements that range from morphological and syntactic units and motifs to word and sentence quotations and figures of speech. Examples of such morphological and syntactic units are the references to amok assaults and commentaries on the behavioural pattern to be found in British and American colonial writing; regarding figures of speech, an illustration is the "mad dog" motif whose wanderings through the British and American corpuses over more than a hundred years I trace in Chapter 8; as for motifs, an example is the stereotype of the pengamok whose transposition from the British to the American literature resulted in his transformation in the latter into the juramentado/amok-runner. The presence of these constituents in British and American writing and their absence from the Spanish sources show that the American perception of amok was mediated by not Spanish, but British, accounts of the behavioural pattern. In other words, such British references served as the "pre-texts" through which the Americans apprehended the "demoniacal impulse".

RELIGION AS DIFFERENCE

How do we account for the disparity between the Spanish and American perceptions of amok? Why are references to and expositions on the behavioural pattern inconspicuous in the Spanish sources when they are so noticeable in American writing?

The question of the paucity of amok accounts in the Spanish sources has been briefly addressed by Leonard Andaya. In a stimulating, unpublished paper on "The Amok Concept in the Southeast Asian Archipelago", he suggests that this paucity stemmed from the zeal of Spanish friars to ensure the continuance of their "program of proselytization" in the Philippines. The friars, he correctly notes, played a key role in the establishment of Spanish control over the Islands, frequently being the only representatives of the Spanish Crown in the interior. Since reports of their negative experiences might have led the Crown to terminate their mission and withdraw them from the Philippines, the friars made a point of emphasising the success of their efforts in their missives. This strategy, Andaya argues, led the friars to ignore the existence of amok in the Islands in their correspondence:

Because the friars were often the sole representative of the Spanish Crown in the interior, they were careful to describe the successful progress of Christianization and hence Hispanization among the Indios. To admit to the existence of amoks would have been an admission of failure in the program of proselytization. Yet they did provide descriptions of the "character" of the Indios, which included the occasional glimpse of what can only have been the amok.39

Andaya's explanation is unconvincing for two reasons. The first is that it only

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addresses the dearth of references to amok in friar accounts of the Philippines. As we have seen, such references are comparatively rare in not only friar accounts but the Spanish sources in general. As well, it probably exaggerates the reluctance of the friars to comment on the hurdles they faced in the Islands and the reputed shortcomings of its inhabitants. Certainly, no such reluctance can be detected on the part of Gaspar de San Agustín, author of probably the most infamous Spanish diatribe against the Filipinos.\(^{40}\) Revealingly, however, although in his piece San Agustín discusses the seemingly endless shortcomings of Filipinos, one of which was their excessive vengefulness, he does not refer to them “running amok” or expound on their propensity to embark on rampages.

If the rarity of amok accounts in the Spanish sources cannot be convincingly ascribed to the friars’ prudence, neither can it be attributed to the Spaniards’ unawareness of the term “amok” (or its derivatives) and the form/s of violence it denoted in the Philippines. Given that they were in the Islands for almost 350 years, it is hardly likely that the Spaniards would have remained ignorant of such matters throughout their stay. A possible insight into both the Spanish and Tagalog understandings of the behavioural pattern is provided by Pedro Serrano Laktaw in his *Diccionario Tagalog-Hispano* from 1914. In it Laktaw provides a range of Spanish definitions for a likely derivative of “amok”, the Tagalog word “*pamuok*”.

*Pamouk; pagpapamuok.* Stabbing. m. / Fight; struggle; battle;

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war. f. / Scuffle; argument, brawl. f. (of knives or blades). - 
Mamuok. To cut, slash. a. / To wage war; to attack, to combat; to 
fight. a. / To fight, struggle. n. - Magpamuokan. To fight each 
other with knives, to slash at each other; to fight each other. r. 
(mutually). V. Mamuok.41

Although Laktaw's Diccionario surfaced during the American period, his 
definitions of "pamuok" do not appear to have been influenced by American 
perceptions of amok. This is indicated by the dissimilarities between his 
definitions and those perceptions. To start with, the term he explains is not 
"amok" but "pamuok". Secondly, he neither conflates "pamuok" with the 
juramentado convention nor associates it with the Muslim Filipinos. Thirdly, his 
interpretation of "pamuok" does not agree with the then popular colonial view 
of amok as a "culture-specific syndrome wherein an individual unpredictably 
and without warning manifests mass, indiscriminate, homicidal behavior that is 
authored with suicidal intent."42 Instead, for Laktaw the term and its derivatives 
only signify general acts of violence, especially those involving the use of 
knives or blades. Interestingly, the generality of Laktaw's definitions of 
"pamuok" is also characteristic of the interpretations of "amok" to be found in 
several British colonial dictionaries, such as the following from Frank 
Swettenham and Hugh Clifford's A Dictionary of the Malay Language:

Amok, to attack, to attack with fury, to make a charge, to assault 
furiously, to engage in furious conflict, to battle, to attack with 
desperate fury, to make an onslaught with the object of ruthless 
and indiscriminate slaughter, to run amok, to dash against, to rush

41 Pedro Serrano Laktaw, Diccionario Tagalog-Hispano (Manila, 1914), 997.
42 John C. Spores, Running Amok: An Historical Inquiry (Ohio University Monographs in 
International Studies, Southeast Asian Series No. 82, Athens: Ohio University Center for 
against; an attack, an assault, a charge.\textsuperscript{43}

If "pamuok" is a derivative of "amok", then Laktaw's definitions of the former term may well capture the traditional Tagalog and Spanish understandings of amok.

The disparities between the Spanish and American perceptions of amok were due, I suggest, to the diverse criteria the Spaniards and Americans employed in constructing identities for themselves and the Filipinos. These criteria were, in turn, the products of their respective discursive orders in the Philippines. For most of their stay in the Islands, the Spaniards, unlike their British contemporaries in the Malay archipelago and American successors, did not distinguish themselves from their subjects primarily in terms of 'race'. Rather, they did so by the yardstick of religion. The axis of the binary opposition in terms of which they generally defined themselves and the Filipinos was not 'racial' but religious.\textsuperscript{44} This was the case because their discursive order was essentially a premodern one which explained and structured "the nature of the material world" and "relations between people" through religion. This context ensured that their representations of their subjects were similarly organised in religious terms.\textsuperscript{45} Thus in 1857 Emilio Bernaldez, in his history of the Muslim-Christian conflict in the southern Philippines, was still grouping the inhabitants of the Philippines under the headings of \textit{Idolatras} ("idolaters"), \textit{Infieles}

\textsuperscript{43} Hugh Clifford and Frank Swettenham, \textit{A Dictionary of the Malay Language} (Perak: Government Printing Office, 1894), 12.


\textsuperscript{45} Ibid.
("unbelievers") and Indios ("Indians"). As late as 1881, it could still be proposed in the Manila newspaper El Comercio that an increase in the number of evangelists operating in Mindanao would be the best means of extending Spanish control over the island. As David P. Barrows, the first chief of the Bureau of NonChristian Tribes, noted in his report in 1902, the "Spanish classification of the peoples of the Philippines was ecclesiastical in form, dividing the inhabitants of the archipelago into Christians, heathen (infeles), and Mohammedans (Moros)."

Because the Spaniards in general did not perceive the differences between themselves and the Filipinos to be 'racial' differences, they largely did not ascribe the Filipinos with traits - such as a tendency to run amok - which served to distinguish them as a "biologically distinct entity, as a 'race' apart..." In contrast, the Americans did make much of that reputed tendency because they were modernists who, regarding the dissimilarities between themselves and the Filipinos to be 'racial' in nature, treated that tendency as perhaps the most striking marker of the Filipinos' 'racial' difference. David T. Goldberg's comment on the close ties between modernity and the concept of race is apposite here: "...racial definition and its attendant forms of racist articulation emerge only with the institution of modernity, and they transform in relation to

46 Emilio Bernaldez, Resena Historicca, 37-8.
the principal formative developments in modernity’s self-understanding and expression." Following the British lead, the Americans seized on the reputed propensity of the Malays to run amok and employed it in their racialisation of the Filipinos. In attributing that famous propensity to the Filipinos, the Americans were able to identify them as a collectivity, as members of the Malay ‘race’. As well, since that propensity had long been regarded in colonial circles as the most dramatic manifestation of “the Malay’s” barbarism, the Americans were able to label the Filipinos as savages, lacking in reason and self-control.

Admittedly, there is evidence that the Spaniards’ premodern discursive order in the Philippines was gradually being displaced by a modern one in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. This shift would have been the result of the advancing secularisation of their culture and the “growth, and increasing hegemony, of science” amongst them with its emphasis on the idea of race. That this change was underway is indicated by the growing emphasis the Spaniards placed during the period on ‘race’ as a standard of difference. In their publications from the epoch, the Spaniards increasingly define the Filipinos in ‘racial’ terms and display a greater familiarity with “forms of racist articulation” - for instance, the discourses of craniometry and physical anthropology that were then in vogue in Europe and the United States. By the mid-1880s the Fernandez Museum in Manila, according to Jose de Lacalle y

49 Miles, *Racism*, 32.
51 Miles, *Racism*, 30-1.
Sanchez, possessed a "magnificent collection of skulls [twenty-one in all], collected in Mindanao by the late-lamented physician of the navy, D. Agustin Domech." In 1889 the first "congress of Filipinologists" was held in Paris; made up of "notable orientalists" from France, England, Holland, Germany and Spain, the congress elected as its president the Austrian professor Dr. Ferdinand Blumentritt. Around the mid-1890s the Dominican fathers at the University of Santo Tomas set up the institution's first ethnological installation. Revealingly, as we have seen, it is precisely in writing from this period - the works of Jordana, de Lacalle, and Francia and Parrado - that the majority of amok accounts to be found in the Spanish sources appear. However, although these developments show that a transformation was indeed occurring in the late nineteenth-century in the Spaniards' representations of their subjects, this transformation was still in its initial stages. Proof of this were the repeated complaints of budding Spanish ethnologists over the lack of Spanish anthropological studies of the Filipinos, such as the following by Francisco Javier de Moya y Jimenez:

The Philippine islands, where magnificent examples of diverse races are to be found in all their purity, offer immense horizons for the curious investigation of the naturalist; but unfortunately, in this field of observation...no-one or few have penetrated, with the exception of the missionaries, who are the only ones that have dominated the language and penetrated the secrets of nature.

Due to the paucity of such studies, Spanish commentators found themselves in

53 De Lacalle, Tierras y Razas del Archipelago, 214-5.
54 "Congreso de filipinologos," El Comercio, 22 April 1889.
55 "Revista de la Exposicion Regional," El Comercio, 21 February 1895.
the invidious position of having to rely on the writing of foreigners - visiting travellers and naturalists - for information about their own subjects. Benito Francia and Julian Gonzalez Parrado admitted as much in 1898:

In modern times, the most accurate information we have concerning anthropology we owe to the foreign naturalists who, at the expense of their governments or on their own account, have undertaken journeys of inspection into the interior, recording their observations in luminous reports not lacking in exaggerations or errors, the effect perhaps of their wish to be original or of the circumstances in which they gathered their impressions.⁵⁶

Had the Spaniards remained in the Philippines, their shift from a premodern to a modern conception of human identity and personhood would have presumably run its course. As it was, the American defeat of their outdated navy in the Battle of Manila Bay, in the same year that Francia and Parrado’s work was published in Havana, abruptly put an end to this transformation.

In claiming that the American discursive order in the Philippines was a modernist one, I’m not suggesting that it was entirely bereft of a religious dimension. Anyone acquainted with the colonial literature would know that many Americans conceived of the Islands’ population and of their civilising mission in religious terms. For instance, in a speech he delivered in Boston in 1898, President William McKinley referred to that mission as something that had been entrusted to the United States by Providence: “Our concern was not for territory or trade or empire, but for the people whose interests and destiny,

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⁵⁶ Ponce de Leon and Gonzalez Parrado, Mindanao, 104.
without our willing it, had been put in our hands.”

To take another example, the American intervention in the Philippines was often justified by the Protestant religious press in the United States on the grounds that it would lead to the wholesale conversion of Filipinos to Christianity. Admittedly, this justification became difficult to sustain when it became widely known that the Philippines, along with Cuba and Puerto Rico, had for centuries been bastions of Roman Catholicism. Changing tack, Protestants then viewed the intervention as the commencement of a new campaign in their “continuing struggle against Romanism”, but this only aroused the ire of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States.

Instead, what I am arguing is that religion and politics were linked far more closely during the Spanish period than they were during the American interlude. Whereas for most of the former they were virtually indissociable, during the latter they were largely confined to the private and public spheres respectively. For the Spaniards, as for many Filipinos today, religion functioned as the “idiom and provided the concepts for articulating significant relationships and interests.” Hence their tendency to classify Filipinos along religious and not ‘racial’ lines. In the end, the Spaniards’ political legitimacy in the Islands was defended on religious grounds, namely their propagation of Catholicism. In contrast, the Americans drew a greater conceptual distinction between religion

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58 Ibid., 134.
59 Ibid., 137.
and politics in their apprehension of social reality. Unlike the Spaniards, they legitimated their presence in the Philippines on secular grounds, "substituting the concepts of democracy and literacy for hierocracy and predicancy...."61 This does not mean that the Americans did not entertain religious views - of themselves, their newly acquired subjects and their civilising mission in the Philippines; rather, it means that they on the whole restricted such views to the private sphere of religious freedom, and preferred to employ, in the public sphere of governance, a secular discourse which emphasised themes of education, sanitation, democracy and 'race'.62

CONCLUSION

Marked differences do exist between the Spanish and American perceptions of amok in the Philippines. Whereas references to and commentaries on the behavioural pattern are conspicuous in American writing, they are less perceptible in the Spanish sources. Although the latter do contain descriptions of random violence, such descriptions are not articulated in the same terms as the American references and commentaries. For instance, they neither directly identify the forms of violence in question as "amok" nor the individuals who engage in them as amok-runners or pengamoks, and occasionally they associate those forms of violence with ritual mourning as it was practised by various Philippine ethnic groups. Furthermore, in American writing amok is inordinately associated with the Muslim Filipinos because it is

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61 Ibid., 174.
often conflated with the *juramentado* convention. In comparison, on the relatively few occasions that the behavioural pattern is mentioned by name in the Spanish sources, it is frequently in connection with the Manobos, and it is cited to shed light on a form of violence to which they were held to be susceptible.

The issue of the paucity of amok accounts in the Spanish sources drew little attention during the American period, and it has not received much more since then. Of the few modern commentators who have touched on the question, Kiefer and others suggest that the paucity was due to the conflation by the Spaniards of amok with the *juramentado* convention, while Andaya claims that it was the result of the prudence of Spanish friars, concerned over the possible damage to their missions that the advertisement of such references would cause. In contrast, I argue that the dearth of amok accounts in the Spanish sources was the consequence of the diverse ways in which the Spaniards and Americans conceived of human identity. Being premodernists, the Spaniards defined themselves and the Filipinos primarily by the criterion of religion, and for this reason they were largely uninterested in valorising certain traits (real or imagined) of their subjects as signs of their ‘racial’ difference - unlike the Americans. Because the Americans, being modernists, distinguished themselves and the Filipinos essentially by the yardstick of ‘race’, they exploited the alleged propensity of the Filipinos to run amok to identify them as an inferior ‘racial type and attribute them with certain negative characteristics, such as irrationality

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62 Ibid.
and impulsiveness.
Chapter 3

"OUR COUSINS ACROSS THE ATLANTIC": THE AMERICAN-BRITISH CONNECTION

I feel quite certain that the operations of British officials in the Malay States is at this time an object-lesson to our cousins across the Atlantic, who have themselves embarked on colonial expansion and who in the Philippines have before them much the same class of work we took in hand in the Peninsula.¹

INTRODUCTION

In his history of the Philippine-American War, Richard Welch asserts that "What little Americans knew about the Filipinos and their aptitudes" in 1898 "came chiefly from British sources."² In the ensuing chapters, I prove the veracity of his assertion through explorations of the American perception of amok in the Philippines and its links to the British understanding of the behavioural pattern in the Malay archipelago. In this chapter, though, I broadly describe the conditions that were responsible for the Americans' great reliance on British sources for their knowledge about the Filipinos. That reliance, of course, was in part the consequence of their traditional dependence on those sources for information about the Malays and the Malay archipelago. Long before the Philippines ever appeared on their horizon, generations of educated Americans, through their readings a la Thomas De Quincey of "any Eastern traveller or

¹ Response of Sir Cecil Clementi Smith to a speech, entitled "Life in the Malay Peninsula: As it was and is," delivered by Hugh C. Clifford at a meeting of the Royal Colonial Institute on the 20th June 1899. Paul H. Kratoska, ed., Honourable Intentions: Talks on the British Empire in South-East Asia delivered at the Royal Colonial Institute 1874-1928 (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1983), 254.
voyager”, would have acquired some knowledge of “the Malay” as a ‘racial’
type and of his alleged tendency to run amok.

However, their traditional reliance on British sources was only strengthen-
ened by the circumstances that confronted them in the Philippines in 1898. In
the process of redressing their ignorance of their newly acquired possession and
subjects, the Americans discovered that the relevant material the Spaniards had
surrendered to them did not entirely meet their needs. It was comparatively
meagre, scattered across different libraries in the Philippines and overseas, and
irregular, being significantly devoid of all military records pertaining to the
Muslim Filipinos and tribal minorities. In addition, being in Spanish it was
probably not immediately accessible to most colonial officials (hence the exten-
sive translation of such documents into English at the dawn of the American
period). These factors, combined with the Americans’ inexperience in govern-
ing an overseas colony, led them to turn for guidance to in particular the British
experience of colonialism in the Malay archipelago. In this manner they im-
bibed from mainly British sources “What little” they “knew about the Filipinos
and their aptitudes”, such as their reputed propensity as Malays to run amok.

This chapter is divided into three sections. In the first section I discuss
the ignorance of the Philippines that prevailed amongst Americans in general at
the tail-end of the nineteenth-century. After sketching the extent of this igno-
rance, I survey the barriers that impeded American officials in their attempts to
correct it. In the second section I outline the historical, political and cultural ties

\[2\] Richard E. Welch, *Response to Imperialism: The United States and the Philippine-American*
that drew together the British and American peoples, as well as their colonial ventures in Southeast Asia, at the beginning of the twentieth-century. Noting the respect and even deference that American colonial officials and commentators showed their British counterparts in the Malay archipelago, I demonstrate that their education in colonialism typically entailed the study of the standard British colonial literature on the subject. In the last section I briefly consider the interest that Hugh Charles Clifford, a prominent colonial official in Malaya and fiction writer, took in the American civilising mission in the Philippines. This section on Clifford is designed to illustrate the special attention that the British and Americans paid to each others' colonial projects, and provide a taste of the sorts of ideas, relating to the Malays' capacities, which are staples in the British sources and which the Americans reproduced in their own accounts of the Filipinos.

AMERICAN IGNORANCE

In *In Our Image: America's Empire in the Philippines*, Stanley Karnow recounts two amusing anecdotes which nicely exemplify President William McKinley's unawareness of the Philippines at the tail-end of the nineteenth century. The first relates to a visit that Joseph Foraker, a prominent Senator from Ohio, paid to the White House sometime in the late 1890s to secure a consular position for his friend, a Professor Oscar F. Williams. At the time, Karnow observes, the United States diplomatic service was primarily made up of

“amateurs” who owed their appointments to “political patronage”. In responding to Foraker’s request, McKinley was a study in vagueness:

The only place open, McKinley apologized amiably, was an undesirable spot called Manila. It was “somewhere away around on the other side of the world,” he said, but he “did not know exactly where” since he “had not had time to look it up.”

McKinley’s knowledge of geography had apparently not improved by the time he learnt of Commodore George Dewey’s resounding victory over the decrepit Spanish navy in the Battle of Manila Bay on May 1, 1898, for he later told his friend, H. H. Kohlsaat, that while he had been overjoyed by the information, he had to consult a world map to locate the Philippines: “McKinley, jubilant, turned to a map to locate the Philippines, later confessing to a friend that he ‘could not have told where those darned islands were within two thousand miles.’”

In fact, other evidence suggests that the Philippines were not as unknown to McKinley as has been assumed. According to D. Healy, the Islands first came to the attention of American policymakers when the prospect of war with Spain began to loom on the horizon in the 1890s. In 1895 a clandestine group of naval strategists examined the likely nature of such a conflict and the plan the United States should adopt in waging it. A year later they concluded in their report that the United States should exploit its greater strength at sea to cripple Spain’s weak overseas empire. The best way of doing this would be to conduct a naval war in which the United States would launch a two-pronged attack against

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Spain's outermost possessions, Cuba and the Philippines: while a "main American fleet would blockade Cuba, cutting off the supplies of the Spanish forces there collaborating with the Cuban insurgents", other naval units would "blockade the Philippines and attack Manila, in order to put further pressure on the government of Spain." As early as September, 1897, McKinley was informed that in the event of war with Spain, the navy would attack the Spanish forces in Manila. Moreover, the "Secretary of the Navy twice discussed with him the orders to be given Dewey" in such an event, and following the declaration of hostilities, "McKinley himself approved the directive sent on April 24" to Dewey, instructing him to proceed immediately to the Philippines and begin operations against the Spanish forces there, in particular the fleet.

However, if Karnow's anecdotes exaggerate McKinley's lack of knowledge about the Philippines, they can serve as fitting examples of the ignorance of the Islands that prevailed amongst Americans at the turn of the twentieth-century. The truth is that, until Dewey's triumph in Manila Bay, most Americans would have been unaware of the Philippines' existence and of the fact that they were owned by Spain. Even in 1936, a full 38 years into the American occupation, the "average American", conceded George A. Malcolm, a Senior Justice of the Philippine Supreme Court, had "a very hazy idea of the geographical

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4 Ibid., 104.
7 Ibid., 4.
location of the Philippine Islands. This haziness was basically a result of the insignificance of the trade links that had always existed between the United States and the Spanish colony.

Since the sixteenth-century Spain had made a point of preventing foreigners from trading or settling in the Philippines. As a result early Philippine-American commercial relations "were usually brief and clandestine." American merchants began calling at Manila in the 1790s, but normally they did so only on their way to or from "some other part of Asia" in order to "try to fill out incomplete cargoes." However, the opening up of direct trading ties between Salem and Manila in the late 1790s saw a number of such merchants remain in the latter city at the turn of the century and illegally establish themselves as commercial agents. Following Spain's formal opening of Manila to foreign residence and trade in 1814, these merchants, in tandem with American business interests in Canton, eventually built up two major trading houses in the city: Peele, Hubbell and Company, and Russell and Sturgis. Although these firms went on to play a highly significant role in the Islands in the provision of banking and credit facilities, by the mid-1880s both were bankrupt and all "but forgotten by the time Commodore Dewey sailed into Manila Bay."

Malcolm well describes the roots and extent of the American unawareness of the Philippines:

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10 Ibid.
11 Ibid.
Ignorance regarding the Philippines is readily understandable. Before the Spanish-American War in 1898, the Philippines was to the United States a terra incognita, not even a geographical expression. American relations with the Philippines had been confined to desultory commerce carried on by clipper ships which occasionally came into the port of Manila, the trade that had been fostered by two American houses before they were forced out of business [Russell and Sturgis, and Peele, Hubbell, and Company], having an American Consul at Manila, and a little-known treaty entered into by Commander Charles Wilkes of the United States Navy and “Mohammed, Sultan of Sooloo” on February 5, 1842. When Commodore George Dewey was appointed commander of the Asiatic Squadron of the United States Navy, he found that the latest official report relative to the Philippines on file in the office of naval intelligence bore the date of 1876. Senator Williams of Mississippi enjoyed telling how as a member of the House Committee on Foreign Relations during the Spanish-American War, it was one of his arduous tasks to climb upon a stool and point out the Islands on the map for the benefit of his colleagues.  

In their attempts to redress their ignorance, the American military and civil officials who were despatched to the Philippines encountered real obstacles. The most significant of these can be mentioned briefly here. Two such hurdles were the scarcity and inadequacy of the available information concerning their newly acquired possession and its diverse inhabitants. On withdrawing from the Philippines, the Spaniards apparently failed to provide their American successors with their records pertaining to the Islands’ non-Christian minorities. David P. Barrows, the first Chief of the Bureau of NonChristian Tribes, commented on this problem in his 1902 Report: “Of the peoples and tribes brought within the comprehension of this bureau, the most insufficient knowledge has been left us

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12 Ibid., 109.
13 Malcolm, Commonwealth of the Philippines, 5-6.
by the former rulers of the archipelago."\textsuperscript{14} This lapse seems to have been the result of a proviso relating to military records that was contained in the Treaty of Paris of 1898.\textsuperscript{15} Although the Spaniards were obliged by the Treaty to hand over to the Americans all documents relating to their dominion over the Philippines, they were also entitled to keep their military records. Now, the form of government the Spaniards had imposed on the Moros and tribal groups had been a military one. Because their material bearing on these peoples had been classified as military, they apparently took it with them when they returned to Spain. William Cameron Forbes, Governor of the Philippines between 1909 and 1913, touches on this point in his 1928 account of the Philippines:

In 1898 the government of Mohammedans presented problems for the solution of which there were no experienced American military or civil officials to be obtained. Few Americans had experience in governing dependencies and none of these had dealt with Moslems. Moreover, when the responsibility of the United States in the Philippine Islands began, there was little useful information available to American administrators in regard to the Mohammedans in the Islands. The Treaty of Paris contained the stipulation that all records referring to sovereignty be turned over to the Americans, but all military records were withdrawn by the retiring Spaniards and, as the Spanish government of the tribal and Mohammedan peoples had been military, under the terms of the Treaty the Spaniards withdrew most of the public records concerning the Moros.\textsuperscript{16}


\textsuperscript{15} It was through the Treaty of Paris that the United States was able to purchase the Philippines from Spain for 20 million dollars. For an interesting discussion of the negotiations which preceded and accompanied the drafting of the Treaty, see Walter Millis, The Martial Spirit (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1989), 361-403.

Moreover, the documents the Spaniards did surrender concerning the other ethnic groups in the Islands the Americans found limited. In 1905 Fred W. Atkinson, a senior colonial official, described the deficiencies of these documents in this manner:

During the Spanish rule there were two sources which were almost always available for the purpose of ascertaining with sufficient accuracy for all practical purposes the number of inhabitants in the towns recognizing the Spanish sovereignty. These were the assessment lists and the parochial records. Independently of these two regular means, the Spanish government took an official census in 1887, the results of which showed a population of just under six million. Another official census was started some nine years later, but the insurrection of 1896 interrupted it, and on this account it was never completed, and the results, such as they were, were not compiled. Thus at the time of the coming of the Americans only very unsatisfactory data in regard to the number of people and their general characteristics were available.¹⁷

A third impediment most American military and civil officials would have faced, at least initially, would have been their likely ignorance of Spanish. This would have prevented them from being able to readily consult the available Spanish sources. Although a number of them who took part in the Cuban War would have possessed some proficiency in the language, it is unlikely that the majority would have. A notable exception was Dean Conan Worcester, member of the first Philippine Commission and the bugbear of Filipino nationalists until his withdrawal from politics in 1913.

The first Philippine Commission - also known as the Schurman Commission - was headed by Jacob Schurman (president of Cornell University) and made up of Dean C. Worcester, Admiral George Dewey, Major General Elwell
S. Otis and Charles Denby. It was established by President William McKinley to address the differences between the American military forces in the Philippines and the new national government led by General Emilio Aguinaldo. Even before the commissioners convened in the Islands in March, 1899 the Philippine-American War broke out. Roughly a month after their arrival, the commissioners issued a proclamation to all Filipinos that enumerated the main principles that were to direct the United States in its dealings with the Philippines. Sullivan describes the final report they submitted in 1900 as a “remarkable compendium of existing knowledge of the Philippines ranging from political conditions to ‘cyclical variations of terrestrial magnetism’.”

It was Worcester who mainly assembled, organised and translated the Spanish material relating to descriptive and scientific matters that were published in the Commission’s report of 1900. The fact that he had to translate such material at all indicates that it was not freely accessible to the bulk of his colonial colleagues.

In *The Moro Problem*, his 1913 monograph on the situation in Moroland, Najeeb M. Saleeby, probably the most informed colonial authority on the Muslim Filipinos, suggests that on the contrary such officials were accomplished in Spanish. Commenting on how, even before the Americans “met the Moro”, their perceptions of them were mediated by the Spanish sources, he observes that “American officials do not speak any of the Moro dialects, but they

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all read and understand Spanish.” Saleeby’s observation appears to be an ex-
aggeration of both such official’s proficiency in Spanish and their familiarity
with the Spanish sources before they first encountered the Muslim Filipinos. If
he is correct, then why did such officials find it necessary, immediately upon
their arrival in the Philippines, to have the main Spanish sources translated into
English by the likes of Worcester? There is no evidence that such officials were
in general familiar with those sources prior to their arrival. Moreover, how
would they have been able to locate and thoroughly immerse themselves in the
Spanish accounts before meeting the Moros, given the briefness of the interval
between their arrival in the Philippines in 1898 and their entry into Moroland
with American troops in mid-1899? Such officials may well have read a few
such accounts, but they could hardly have thoroughly acquainted themselves
with the Spanish corpus on the Moros during that interlude. Their familiarity
with that corpus and command of Spanish were, I suspect, gradually acquired
not before but after 1899.

The final major barrier confronting the Americans was their inexperi-
ence in governing an overseas possession. Admittedly, they had been running
the affairs of subjugated Indian tribes for decades, and their background in this
form of administration, as well as the larger history of their dispossession of the
Indians, would for instance strongly shape their perceptions of the Muslim Fili-
pinos, the methods by which they controlled them, and the policies they im-

19 Ibid., 88.
20 For a reproduction of Saleeby’s monograph, see “The Moro Problem,” Manila Times, 25 Oc-
tober 1913.
plemented in the southern Philippines. Thus it was to this background that the first Philippine Commission turned in part for instruction when it initiated a study of the policies that should characterise the governance of the non-Christian minorities. Under instructions from the Commission, David P. Barrows, chief of the newly created Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes, visited the United States between December, 1901 and May, 1902 to inspect Indian reservations and schools for the purpose of gaining "information as to the results obtained by the present administration of Indian affairs." But Barrows's mission was unsuccessful: "My recent examination of Indian education in the United States impressed me as especially unsuitable and disappointing in its results." Moreover, as unfamiliar as the Americans were with the Muslim Filipinos, they at least knew that the Moros were not Indians, however much they thought the two had in common in terms of their savagery. From their general knowledge of British colonial writing, the Americans would have deduced that the Moros and Filipinos in general were members of the Malay 'race', and so it was to such writing that they would have (re)turned for enlightenment on the issue of "the Malay's" 'racial' makeup.

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21 In an insightful article in which he compares the commonalities between the American systems of government over the Indians and Moros, Gowing notes that several of the military officers who made their reputations through their parts in the pacification and administration of the Moros - Brigadier General George W. Davis, Major General Leonard Wood, Brigadier General John J. Pershing, Major Hugh Lennox Scott - began their careers in the "Indian Wars". See Peter G. Gowing, "Moros and Indians: Commonalities of Purpose, Policy and Practice in American Government of Two Hostile Subject Peoples," Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society, 8 (1980): 125-149.


23 Ibid., 684.
U.S. - BRITISH RELATIONS

The Americans’ initial steps on the road to colonial expansion were guided by what May refers to as the “European experience” in colonialism.²⁴ Acutely aware of their ignorance of the Philippines, as well as their inexperience in colonial rule abroad, the Americans realised that the only means of redressing these disadvantages would be to study the examples set by other nations with greater experience in and knowledge of the administration of overseas colonies. Arguing for the Americans’ need to reflect on the Dutch experience in Java, the journalist Theodore W. Noyes expressed this realisation (albeit rather awkwardly) in 1903:

America’s comparative inexperience in dealing intimately with Asiatic peoples and in grappling with and mastering for the highest use and benefit the conditions of soil and temperature which prevail under a tropical sun gives to all the pertinent precedents for the wisest solution of the Philippine problem an indefinitely multiplied value.²⁵

To these “pertinent precedents” the American public assigned great significance in the 1890s. They regarded the opinions of Europeans and Englishmen on colonial matters, such as the issue of whether the United States should acquire colonies, with great respect and even deference. Their familiarity with European colonialism and regard for the convictions of the British and Europeans on this matter were the results of several factors: the United States’ traditional “cultural dependence” on Europe; the personal links that existed - through marriage and social interaction - between the elite of Europe and the United States; the fa-

²⁴ May, Imperial Democracy, 87.
miliarity of many Americans - especially the well-off - with Europe, acquired through visits there; and the furtherance of this acquaintance through the trips to the United States of Britons and Europeans.\textsuperscript{26} It is worth mentioning that in 1913 “One hundred thousand Americans visited Great Britain...and twenty-nine thousand Englishmen returned the compliment.”\textsuperscript{27}

Of all the European nations with a background in colonialism, it was Great Britain that most impressed and interested Americans. After all, Great Britain maintained the greatest colonial empire of the period; it had strong cultural and historical links with the United States that were exemplified in their common language; and having established a presence in the Malay archipelago in the early nineteenth-century, it had experience in the governance of Malay peoples - a fact that was not lost on American policymakers still coming to terms, at the turn of this century, with their acquisition of the Philippines. More broadly, there were the factors that led to the imperialisms of Great Britain and the United States sharing a “virtually identical ideology”:

While late-nineteenth-century imperialism was a worldwide phenomenon and many nations reacted to very much the same stimuli, the tone and style and motives of British and American imperialism were particularly close. They had far more in common with one another than with those of Germany, France, Russia, or Japan. To an unusual degree the English-speaking powers shared a feeling of uncomfortableness with the drift of contemporary life which they hoped to exorcise by vigorous action at home and abroad; neither the Japanese nor the Germans shared this feeling. The Anglo-Americans viewed in nearly identical ways the economic problem posed, as they saw it, by overproduction at home

\textsuperscript{26} May, \textit{Imperial Democracy}, 87-94.
and the closing of markets abroad; the economic arguments for imperialism in less industrialized countries were rather different. All imperial powers assumed themselves to be superior to those they subdued, and all in one way or another considered themselves to be bestowing important benefits - security, prosperity, spiritual vigor - upon those they ruled. Still, the concept of "the white man's burden," as Westerners called it, particularly infested the United States and England. In addition, the racist sentiments underlying imperialism suggested a closer relationship between those two than between any other major powers. The British and American peoples were drawn together by their rationalizations for imperialism just as they were by the policy itself.  

B. Perkins believes that the British awareness of their allegedly common 'racial' or Anglo-Saxon heritage was the most important source of their "enthusiasm for the American cause [in the Spanish-American War] and for Anglo-American friendship." Given all these considerations, it is not surprising that between 1898 and 1905, American commentators in newspaper articles regularly held up British rule in Malaya as a model for their compatriots to emulate in their colonial experiment in the Philippines.

One such article is "Gives Encouragement" from the Manila Times from 1902. The piece examines in detail, among other things, the forms of government imposed by the British in the Federated Malay States, the economy of these States, their industries, and the limited similarities between them and the Philippines ("limited", because the "racial elements" in the different territories were held by the piece's author to be different). The article's subtitle - "The Success of the British with the Malay Shows What May Be Done Here - A Parallel Run" - shows that it sought to provide the Americans with an idea of the

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28 Ibid., 68.
29 Ibid., 42.
prosperity that potentially awaited them in the Philippines, given that their governance of the Filipinos was going to be conducted on the same "humanitarian lines" as those applied by the British in the Malay States:

Since a Philippine government now promises to be conducted on humanitarian lines as broad as those applied to the Peninsula although varying radically in the treatment [,] the successes recorded in the Peninsula may furnish at least partial forecast of what may occur in the Philippines when conditions there shall have become pacified.

Indeed, the civilising mission being undertaken by the British in the Federated Malay States was regarded by some American pundits as the most enlightened the Malays had been exposed to: As the Times article "Gives Encouragement" observes, "Of the various civilising experiments to which the Malays have been subjected since their contact with white influence, none surpasses in instructive value that yet developing in the Federated Malay States."

The American public's deep respect for the history and achievements of the British colonial empire is best illustrated by the inordinate attention that newspapers in the United States paid to the pronouncements of Englishmen on colonial affairs in the 1890s. No matter how insignificant or unqualified the commentators in question may have been, the American hunger for English perspectives on such matters was seemingly inexhaustible. As May demonstrates, the respect these newspapers displayed for English opinion of America's possible career as a colonial power could occasionally be comical:

On the question of whether the United States should acquire colonies, newspapers gave extraordinary coverage to statements by Englishmen. When Henry Norman, the editor of the London

30 "Gives Encouragement," Manila Times, 2 April 1902.
Daily Chronicle, published an article on the subject, its text was cabled to the United States and printed, as a full column or more, in the Philadelphia North American, the Chicago Inter-Ocean, and the Indianapolis Journal. Both the New York World and the Chicago Inter-Ocean gave first-page coverage to statements by Sir Charles Dilke and another M. P., Henry Howarth. The World justified this placement of the story by describing Howarth as "a leading authority on foreign politics." The New Orleans Times-Picayune, which in May 1898 reported comment on the Philippine question by no local citizen, gave a full column to an interview with Edward Potter, an obscure English businessman who happened to be passing through the city. The Chicago Tribune devoted comparable space to an interview with Amyas Northcote, the young son of a Conservative peer.31

During the first decade or so of their rule, Americans in the Philippines similarly took special notice of British perspectives on colonial affairs. Their attentiveness was most evident in the coverage that their newspapers such as the Manila Times, the Cabelnews American and the Philippines Free Press gave to British views on colonialism in general, the British civilising mission in Malaya and the various aspects of the American experiment in the Philippines. This coverage took a range of forms which can only be outlined here. There were reviews of works (fiction and non-fiction) by Englishmen and Americans that addressed the issues of colonialism in the tropics and native life in Malaya and the Philippines;32 appraisals and occasional reproductions of articles from British colonial newspapers such as the Straits Times, the Malay Mail and the Singapore Free Press dealing with different aspects of American rule in the Philippines;33 and

31 May, Imperial Democracy, 7-8.
32 For examples of such reviews, see "Tales of the Malayan Coast," Manila Times, 8 July 1899; "Problems Of The Tropics," Manila Times, 25 May 1900; "Landor Writes On Philippines," Cabelnews American, 23 July 1904.
33 For examples of such appraisals and reproductions, see "A British View," Manila Times, 4 September 1900; "The Boers and the Filipinos," Manila Times, 12 September 1901; "Java and the Philippines," Manila Times, 7 November 1901; "English View of Color Question" Manila
articles by American commentators that specifically discussed the relevance of British colonialism in general and British rule in Malaya in particular to the American colonial venture in the Philippines. The consideration American colonials typically showed British commentators during this period is nicely captured in the titles of several of these articles: “How Great Britain Governs Her Colonies”; “A British View”; “English View of Color Question”; “English Comment On Our Little War”.

The Americans’ self-education in colonialism consisted principally of their immersion in the writings of colonial commentators such as Benjamin Kidd, Alleyne Ireland and Archibald Colquhoun and in their examination of the different models of colonialism practised by Great Britain and the European nations. As already mentioned, the experiences of the British in Malaya and the Dutch in the East Indies were of particular interest to them. Although this interest of theirs endured until the end of their stay in the Philippines, it seemed to be particularly strong during the first decade or so of their governance, if the many articles on the British and the Dutch colonies in Southeast Asia which appeared in Manila newspapers during this period are anything to go by. The reaction of American policymakers to their nation’s acquisition of Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines was typified in Elihu Root’s first move following his appointment as Secretary of War in 1899. Entrusted with the task...
of subjugating and ruling over the new dependencies, Root buried himself in influential accounts of the history and government of the British Empire: "The first thing I did after my appointment," he wrote, "was to make out a list of a great number of books which cover in detail both the practice and the principles of...colonial government under the English law," and for the next few months he spent his spare time in reading them."\textsuperscript{35} General Leonard Wood similarly steeped himself in the standard colonial literature, because he is described by C. B. Elliot as "a student of colonial affairs, familiar with the theories and methods of other colonial powers, and experienced in administrative work."\textsuperscript{36}

In addition, American colonial agents were encouraged to visit the dependencies of the leading colonial powers. At least in the beginning of its rule in the Philippines, the American colonial government sought opportunities to bring together its bureaucrats and military officers and their British equivalents in Malaya. On their secondment to the Philippines, American military officers were occasionally instructed to visit the British territories in the Malay archipelago en route to the Islands and liaison with their British counterparts. In his memoirs, H. L. Scott mentions such a trip involving General Leonard Wood, Captain Frank R. McCoy and himself in 1902. Having been appointed commander of the American troops in the Philippines, Wood was requested by President McKinley to study "the colonial governments of England, Holland, France and Italy" on his way to the island group.\textsuperscript{37} This the three of them did,

\textsuperscript{35} As cited in Healy, \textit{US Expansionism}, 21.
stopping off in Naples, Rome, Venice, Bombay, Calcutta, Singapore, Batavia and Java, amongst other places, before finally arriving in Manila. The year after they paid a visit to Sandakan, British North Borneo and drank champagne with the officials in charge of the dependency, their "English cousins."\(^{38}\)

The high esteem in which the Americans held British rule in Malaya was reciprocated by the attention the British took in the Americans’ own efforts to establish their sovereignty in the Philippines. The British interest in the American colonial experiment is evident in many articles which appeared in newspapers from the Federated Malay States such as the *Straits Times* and the *Singapore Free Press* from 1898 onwards.\(^{39}\) An example of such an article - albeit a facetious one - is a brief, untitled piece which surfaced in the *Straits Times* in May 1898. At the time the future of the Philippines seemed uncertain, and to some British commentators the sale of the Islands to the British government appeared a distinct possibility. Written in response to a recent article in the *Malay Mail* which suggested that, in the event the Philippines came into the possession of Great Britain, Sir Frank Swettenham would make a suitable governor of the Islands, the *Straits Times* article went a step further. Noting that "there seems no immediate likelihood of Britain possessing the Philippines," since the Islands were probably going to fall under an American military occupation, the piece

\(^{38}\) Ibid., 276.


proposes that Swettenham be loaned to the Americans as their chief advisor on their newly acquired subjects. Swettenham's suitability for the position lay, of course, in his familiarity with "the Malay-speaking races":

If America is to protect the Philippines, then America will, no doubt, be much the better able to discharge her duties by having at hand someone familiar with the Malay-speaking races, and conversant with Asiatic administration. I am thus disposed to go one better [sic] my friends of the Malay Mail and to offer to America the loan of Sir Frank Swettenham.40

While made in jest, the claim that the Americans could benefit from the advice of a seasoned British colonial administrator such as Swettenham gives an insight into how British colonials conceived of their Anglo-Saxon brothers in the dawn of their rule in the Philippines: they were neophytes in the practice of colonialism who would do well to heed the example set by nations, such as Great Britain, with greater experience in the administration of overseas territories. The fact that the *Manila Times*, the main American newspaper in the archipelago, regularly publicised British observations and criticisms of the American venture in the Philippines shows that many Americans essentially agreed with this view. The relations between the British and Americans in the field of colonial endeavour was occasionally seen by the former to be analogous to that between a teacher and his pupil, or an adult and a child. The discrepancy between them, in terms of their knowledge of and experience in colonialism, was plainly invoked in a *Straits Times* article from 1904 which had originally appeared in the *China Mail*. Entitled "The Philippine Islands", the article (as its subtitle, "How Matters

Stand”, suggests) was an update for its British readers on the situation in the ar-
chipelago. Referring to the alleged discontent of Euro-Americans in the Philip-
pines over the failure of the colonial government to follow more closely the
British example in governing dependencies, the article takes a swipe at the
Americans’ presumption:

On all sides one hears grumblings and diverse criticism in the
Philippines due to the transitory condition of things in a country
where the new dominant power elects to pass over unheeded the
experience of other colonizing nations [namely, England] in order
to proceed on brand new lines of her own conception [sic]. It does
not surprise us at all. There are everywhere today smart sons who
can teach their papas many a new trick.  

HUGH CLIFFORD & THE PHILIPPINES

Given the current obscurity of Hugh Clifford, renowned colonial author-
ity and writer on Malaya, it is difficult for a modern reader to appreciate the
measure of his fame in the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-centuries. Yet, as
his biographer Harry A. Gailey points out, “There is overwhelming evidence
that Clifford’s work was welcomed by a large and educated critical audience.”

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40 Untitled, Straits Times, 14 May 1898.
41 “The Philippine Islands,” Straits Times, 26 August 1904.
42 Harry A. Gailey, Clifford: Imperial Proconsul (London: Rex Collings, 1982), 37. Clifford was
born into a prominent Catholic aristocratic family in England in 1866. In 1883, through the sup-
port of Frederick Weld, an older relative of his who was then the Governor of the Straits Settle-
ments, Clifford, at the age of seventeen, was able to secure a place in the Civil Service of the
Protected Malay States of Perak, Selangor and Sungei Ujong. Over the next three years he held a
number of administrative posts in Perak and Selangor: private secretary to Hugh Low, the Resi-
dent of Perak; collector and magistrate of the Bernam subdistrict in Kuala Kubu; and collector of
land revenue in Kuala Kangsar. In 1886 he participated in a diplomatic mission that would have a
profound impact on his life. Serving as the Governor’s interpreter, Clifford accompanied Weld
and his entourage of British officials on his state visit to the Sultan of Pahang. In the months fol-
lowing his trip, Weld, desirous of bringing Pahang’s reputedly great repositories of minerals such
as tin and gold under British control, decided to draw the state within the orbit of British influ-
ence in the Peninsula through the installation in it of a Resident who would act as an “adviser” to
the Sultan. Clifford was thus despatched to Pahang to negotiate a treaty with the Sultan that
The critical acclaim he enjoyed during the period can be gleaned, for instance, from the choice of one of his tales for publication in the one-thousandth issue of Blackwood’s Magazine. Considering that the issue featured the first instalment of Joseph Conrad’s Heart of Darkness, amongst other works of eminent authors, Clifford, as Gailey notes, “had every reason to be proud” of this accomplishment. Then there is the high praise he receives in an article, entitled “Students of Asia”, which had appeared in the Spectator and was reproduced in the Straits Times in early 1902. The piece consists of an appraisal of the insights that had been provided by several popular novelists - Rudyard Kipling, Joseph Conrad, Flora Annie Steel and Clifford himself - into “the peoples of India [Asia]”.

Ranking the authors in terms of their ability to shed “a flood of light upon Indian native society”, the article places Clifford second on the list, just beneath Kipling and above Conrad - a judgement that would surely surprise the modern reader. Predictably, Clifford’s knowledge of the Malays is seen to derive in the article from “his lifelong residence in the Malay Peninsula, his power of keen

would pave the way for the permanent stationing of a British official there. His success in this venture led to his appointment, at the age of only 20, as the first Resident of Pahang in early 1887. This marked the beginning of a connection with Pahang which, apart from Clifford’s brief and stint as the Governor of North Borneo in 1899, would endure until 1901 and see him occupy the positions of Resident (1887-1888), Superintendent of Ulu Pahang (1889-1895) and second British Resident (1896-1900, 1901-1903). It would also provide him with his most important experiences of Malay life and supply him with the material for the bulk of his stories. For accounts of Clifford’s life and career, see William R. Roff, “Introduction,” in Stories By Sir Hugh Clifford (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1966), Peter Wicks, “Change in Colonial Malaysia As Portrayed In The Stories of Sir Hugh Clifford” (paper presented at the Second National Colloquium of the Malaysia Society of the Asian Studies Association of Australia, James Cook University, Townsville, 29th to 31st August 1979; and Gailey, Clifford.

43 Ibid.
44 Ibid.
45 Hugh Clifford, C. M. G., Straits Times, 4 January 1902.
46 “We cannot quite class Mrs. Steel, or Mr. Joseph Conrad, who belongs to the group, though he writes of the Malays of the Far East, with Mr. Rudyard Kipling and Mr. Hugh Clifford, as possessed to the fullest degree of the revealing power.” Ibid.
observation, and his deep sympathy with the people...” Furthermore, Clifford’s fame was not confined to one side of the Atlantic. His renown in the United States at the turn of the twentieth-century can be gauged by the usually favourable reviews his works received in respectable American newspapers:

Further evidence of Clifford’s growing literary reputation can be seen in the hundreds of reviews of his books and stories. There was hardly a reputable newspaper or periodical in the world which did not carry reviews of his works. The Singapore Free Press, New York Times, St. Louis Post Dispatch, and even a newspaper from Duluth, Minnesota joined the Pall Mall Gazette, Spectator, Review of Reviews, and all the major English newspapers in taking note of Clifford, the author. Most of these reviews were laudatory, praising particularly the plots and the glimpse Clifford gave to the reader of life in a strange and alien land.\(^{47}\)

In light of his fame as an expert on Malaya and colonialism in general, it is not surprising that Clifford’s opinion on Philippine-related matters was sought by the British and American media following the United States’ intervention in the Islands in 1898. His right to comment on Filipinos and on the best method of governing them was neatly summed up in a Straits Times review of “Destiny of the Philippines”, an article of his which was published in Blackwood’s Magazine in 1903: “The Filipinos being of the Malayan race, Mr. Clifford’s long experience among the Malay of the Peninsula and the neighbouring islands renders him an authority on the subject.”\(^{48}\) During his convalescence in England between 1901 and 1903 from a bout of food poisoning he suffered while serving as the first Resident of Pahang in Malaya, Clifford not only had 15 articles or tales published in respectable journals such as Cornhill, Blackwood’s Magazine and

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\(^{47}\)Gailey, Clifford, 37-8.

\(^{48}\)“Mr. Hugh Clifford Discusses Filipinos,” Straits Times, 6 March 1903.
Living Age, but "also contributed articles on politics and histories of the Far East to Macmillan's Magazine and the North American Review." On his recovery in 1903, Clifford was approached and invited by Sidney Brooks, the editor of the North American Review, to visit the Philippines and write a sequence of pieces on the colony for the journal. Since Clifford had just been reappointed to the position of Resident of Pahang, Brooks's plan called for him to depart from England early and make a detour to the Philippines before proceeding to Malaya. Brooks believed that Clifford was "the man of all men to tell whether the Philippines are being properly run."

The project fell through when Clifford was appointed colonial secretary of Trinidad. However, by 1903 he had already written two articles on the Philippines, "The Story of Jose Rizal The Filipino" and "Destiny of the Philippines". Of the two pieces, "Jose Rizal The Filipino" deserves brief consideration for in it Clifford, through his depiction of Filipinos as members of "the Malayan race", provides a picture of "the Malay's" 'racial' nature which was to achieve its most elaborate expression in Saleh, his story of a hapless Malay prince who, driven to despair by his deracination from both English and Malay

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50 Gailey, Clifford, 35.
51 Ibid.
52 Ibid.
53 Hugh C. Clifford, "The Story Of Jose Rizal The Filipino: A Fragment Of Recent Asiatic History," Blackwood's Magazine 172, no. 1,065 (1902): 620-638. In early 1903 "Destiny of the Philippines" was discussed and partly reproduced in a Straits Times article ("The Philippines," Straits Times, 20 February) which, in turn, was republished verbatim in the Manila Times less than a month later ("Mr. Hugh Clifford Discusses Filipinos," Manila Times, 6 March). A review by Clifford of a book by Henry Parker Willis, entitled Our Philippine Problem, was reproduced
society, ultimately commits suicide by running amok. In contrast, “Destiny of the Philippines” is essentially a critique of the Americans’ decision to set up a democracy in the Philippines instead of an “altruistic autocracy” of the sort established by the British in India and the Malay States.

As its title suggests, “The Story of Jose Rizal The Filipino” is an account of the life of the Philippine national hero which appraises his accomplishments and emphasises his uniqueness as a Filipino/Malay. As well, it dwells on the be-nightedness of the Spanish regime in the Philippines and concludes by stressing the good fortune of the Filipinos in being delivered from “Spanish misrule” by the Americans, “men of the sturdy Anglo-Saxon stock”. Had Rizal only possessed the power to foresee the latter event, Clifford suggests, it would have brought him happiness “in the moment of his last supreme agony...” (638) (presumably just before he was shot dead by a firing squad in Luneta Park).

For Clifford, Rizal’s singularity, his very “genius” (623), lay less in his gift for languages or in the quality and range of his literary output - “respectable achievements”, (622) Clifford concedes - than in his transcendence of his Malayness. The Filipino “racial” character is portrayed as consisting of the usual

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54 Saleh originally appeared in the form of two novellas: Saleh: A Study in 1904 and Saleh: A Sequel in 1908. These proved to be the most popular of Clifford’s novels. In 1926 these parts were joined together and republished as A Prince of Malaya in the United States. For a good discussion of the book’s different reprints and Clifford’s renown, see J. M. Gullick, “Introduction,” in Hugh Clifford, Saleh; A Prince of Malaya (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1989). As Gailey observes, the late 1920s witnessed a resurgence of American interest in Clifford’s stories: “In the three years after 1926, four American publishers brought out collections of his earlier work. Clifford retained editorial approval and to each Sir Hugh added a new Foreword or Preface.” Gailey, Clifford, 42.

55 Clifford reiterated this criticism in “America’s Problem in the Philippines”.

collection of shortcomings that defined "the Malay" in Euro-British colonial writing: idleness, superstitiousness, fatalism, irresoluteness, etc. Such are the magnitude and ingrainedness of these constraints that Rizal's overcoming of them in itself constituted his greatest attainment. Considering the limitations he was born with, what is noteworthy about Rizal are not the books he wrote, according to Clifford, but the fact that he wrote at all:

The fact is that Rizal was a genius, not because he produced works of genius, but because, like Tennyson's "divinely gifted man," he "burst his birth's invidious bars"; and indeed it is barely possible to form a completely sane estimate of the value of his books as literature, so strong is the bias of wonder that their author should have been a scion of the Malayan race (623).

In surmounting his "racial" handicaps, Rizal was able to combine the best qualities of "the Malay" with those of "the European", and this made him a "freak":

Standing thus isolated, this brown man with the sensitive brown man's heart, yet with the logical mind and power of utterance that belong to the European, it must be confessed that he is to be regarded as a "freak" - an abnormal development in no sense typical of his people... (620)

It is worth noting that a number of the traits Clifford assigns to the Filipinos in "The Story of Jose Rizal" prefigure those he would associate with the luckless Saleh. To begin with, there is the deep-rootedness of the Filipino 'racial' character, which in the article is shown to consist of a bundle of flaws. The sheer inveterateness of their Malay nature was illustrated most graphically by the Spaniards' failure to leave any impression on it over the more than three hundred years they were in the Philippines: "After more than three centuries of Spanish rule and of Christianity the natives of the Philippines, true to the nature
of the Malayan race to which they belong, had preserved all their vices, all their characteristic limitations and ineptitudes, intact" (620).

Secondly, there is the Filipinos' inarticulateness. In the article they are repeatedly described, during the centuries of Spanish rule, as having been wordless, in the sense that they were unable to voice their complaints about the depredations of their colonial masters: "But, as a whole, the Filipinos were dumb - pathetically dumb" (630). The "helpless mass" of them were "impotent, suffering, and dumb...." (620). Although Clifford notes that their incoherence was due to their "lack of education" (620) and press censorship (630), the traditional association of dumbness with animality in Western culture indicates that the Filipinos' inarticulateness would have been interpreted by Clifford's readership as a sign of their savageness.\(^{57}\) It was his eloquence, amongst other attributes, that distinguished Rizal from his fellow Filipinos: "...Jose Rizal was a Filipino of the Filipinos, differing from his fellows only in that he possessed the intellect to formulate and the energy to voice their inarticulate thoughts."\(^{58}\) Revealing itself most obviously in moments of conflict and stress - precisely when eloquence is most required - the Filipinos' muteness would have prevented them from relieving themselves of their turbulent thoughts and emotions. In so inhibiting them, of course, it would have only heightened their excitement and distress and thus increased the likelihood of their running amok.

A third attribute shared by Filipinos and Saleh, Clifford's Malayan

\(^{57}\) For a more extended discussion of the Western association of muteness and incoherence with savagery, see Chapter 8.

\(^{58}\) Clifford, "The Story of Jose Rizal," 620-1.
prince, is the peculiar way in which they respond to a perceived injury or misfortune. Filipinos are portrayed as reacting to the injustices inflicted on them by the Spaniards in the allegedly characteristic Malay manner: an irregular and spontaneous resort to violence which, because of its worthlessness and mindlessness, is compared by Clifford to the actions of the stereotypical amok-runner and an “angry child”:

Now and again, maddened by a sense of gross injustice, some of them rose in abortive rebellion against their Spanish masters, displaying, ere the heavy hand of the white men fell upon and crushed them, all the savage inconsequence of the amok-runner and the stupid wantonness of an angry child.59

Lastly, there is the plasticity of the Filipinos’ “racial” character and, more importantly, their impulsiveness. It was a measure of Rizal’s greatness that, despite the pliability of his constitution, he did not allow himself during his years in Europe to change or “become denationalised through long contact with men of a sturdier stock” (622). Moreover, he was moderate in his political demands:

Come of a plastic folk, he yet succeeded in maintaining his racial identity intact amid the alien civilisations of Europe; his religion remained untouched by the spirit of modern scepticism; but, more wonderful still, this most anomalous of Asiatics was at once just and essentially moderate. Belonging to an oriental people, who are passionate and impulsive, and as a rule can see no step between an abstract ideal and a blood-stained attempt to attain it, Rizal persistently counselled legitimate agitation as the only line of action whereby the much-needed reforms might be secured (emphasis mine) (632).

Inarticulateness, ingrainedness and plasticity of ‘racial’ character, impulsiveness, immaturity and ineffectiveness of response to perceived injustice - these
are a few of the traits which Clifford assigns to “the Malay” in *Saleh: A Study* and *Saleh: A Sequel*. As we shall see, some of these are also the attributes which are ascribed to Filipinos in general in Euro-American colonial writing.\(^{60}\)

CONCLUSION

The insignificance of the early trade links between the Philippines and the United States meant that most Americans knew next to nothing about the Islands and their inhabitants in 1898. Nor were American military and civil officials in Washington and Manila able to readily redress this ignorance, for they were hampered by a variety of factors such as the dearth, inadequacy and comparative inaccessibility of the documents relinquished to them by the Spaniards. In the next Chapter, I discuss the processes through which such officials laboured to correct this ignorance and produce a ‘racial’ knowledge of Filipinos by naming them.

If the majority of Americans were unacquainted with their newly acquired possession and its inhabitants, they were more aware of the Malays as a ‘racial’ type. Through their readings of “any Eastern traveller or voyager” and Euro-British colonial writing, particularly from the mid- to late nineteenth-century, generations of educated Americans, like the Englishman Thomas De Quincey, would have acquired information relating to the Malays’ ‘racial’ makeup and their infamous proclivity for running amok. Confronted by the sheer unfamiliarity of Filipinos, it was on such bodies of writing that Americans

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\(^{59}\) Ibid., 620.
fell back in order to render their subjects intelligible. The appeal of such cor-
puses arose from a number of factors. In addition to the Americans’ unfamilari-
ity with Filipinos and the general deficiencies of the Spanish sources, there was
their inexperience in running overseas colonies, the contrasting experience of
the British in governing not only Malaya but the greatest colonial empire of the
period, and (written as it is in English) the easy accessibility of British colonial
writing. Given that Filipinos were popularly held to be so many ‘subraces’ of the
Malay ‘race’, and British colonial authorities and commentators such as Hugh
Clifford were considered to be the “experts” on the Malays, it is not surprising
that even before Americans were able to comprehensively study the Spanish
sources, they were already viewing their new subjects through the template of
British colonial writing on “the Malay”. This explains why less than a year after
the American forces arrived in Manila, Senator George G. Vest of Missouri
could already dismiss the inhabitants of the Philippines in an essay as “‘half-
civilized, piratical, [a] muck-running’ semi-savages” (emphasis mine). 61

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60 See Chapter 8.
61 Cited in Healy, US Expansionism, 245.
Chapter 4

“QUALIFICATIONS MOST NECESSARY TO RULE”: AMOK AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF FILIPINO AND AMERICAN IDENTITIES

Civilisation is man’s attempt to domesticate himself; and failure in this involves failure in all.¹

INTRODUCTION

The Americans’ ascription to the Filipinos of a tendency to embark on rampages did not arise principally from their exposure to amok assaults in the Philippines. Clear proof of that is their inordinate association of the behavioural pattern with the Muslim Filipinos, who made up only four percent of the entire population of the Islands in 1900.² Rather, it was the result of a drive to acquire information about the Filipinos that was then employed by the Americans to define their newly acquired subjects and extend their control over them. By charging the Filipinos with a ‘racial’ susceptibility to the amok impulse (amongst other failings), the Americans were able to distinguish them as savages, utterly bereft of the qualities most necessary for self-rule. The ascription was thus instrumental in creating the Filipino and American identities that the Americans exploited to promote and subsequently justify their occupation of the Philippines. It is an example of what Michel Foucault calls a “dividing practice” inasmuch as it permitted the Americans to divide themselves

from the Filipinos by objectivising them.\textsuperscript{3}

In this Chapter, I explore the role that the Filipinos' reputed susceptibility to the amok impulse played in the construction of Filipino and American identities. It is divided into three sections. In the first, I briefly discuss the Americans' acute realisation of their ignorance of the Filipinos and their subsequent attempts to remedy it. Aware that their successful governance of the Philippines hinged upon their knowledge of the archipelago and its inhabitants, the Americans began producing information about their subjects that was subsequently used to establish axioms about the Filipinos' differentness. In the second section, I examine the part that the discourse on amok played in the formation of those "ideas and principles". Subtly imputing an ensemble of negative attributes to the Filipinos, that discourse served to identify them as a primitive 'race'; in so doing, it differentiated them from their colonial masters, who were assigned with antithetical traits. In this way, that discourse was instrumental in creating the Filipino and American identities that the Americans exploited to justify their occupation of the Philippines. In the last section, I trace the process through which amok came to be closely associated with the Muslim Filipinos in American writing. That association was in part the result of the implication, latent in the authoritative 'racial' classifications of the late nineteenth-century, that the Moros were the most purely Malay of the various Malay 'subraces' in the Philippines. From this implication, the Americans

\textsuperscript{3} Michel Foucault, "The Subject and Power," in Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics, eds. Hubert L. Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow, with an afterword by Michel Foucault (1982; reprint, Brighton: The Harvester Press, 1986), 208.
concluded that the Moros were not only the most warlike and picturesque of all Filipinos, but also the most prone to run amok.

REDRESS OF IGNORANCE

Following the United States' acquisition of the Philippines through the Treaty of Paris in December 1898, the Americans realised that in order to effectively establish their sovereignty and manage the Filipinos, they would have to correct their unawareness of the Islands and its diverse inhabitants. If they were to control their new subjects, the Americans would have to gain a sound understanding of everything from their ‘racial’ characters to their histories and cultures. In short, what they needed were Facts About the Filipinos, as the title of a monograph published by the Philippine Information Society in 1901 triumphantly declares. However, as we saw in the previous Chapter, it was precisely such “facts” of which the Americans were in short supply.

For this reason, during the first decade of U. S. rule in particular, colonial officials plunged into a frenzy of epistemophilia as the call went up in both the United States and the Philippines for more precise information about the Filipinos. In 1899, in his review of Prof. Ferdinand Blumentritt’s writings on the Islands that appeared in American Anthropologist, Daniel Brinton, a prominent American ethnologist, commented that the successful administration of the possession depended on a sound knowledge of its peoples:

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4 Facts About the Filipinos (Boston: Philippine Information Society, 1 May 1901).
Now that the Philippine islands are definitely ours, for a time at least, it behooves us to give them that scientific investigation which alone can afford a true guide to their proper management. Here, as everywhere, man is the most important factor in the problem of government, and a thorough acquaintance with the diverse inhabitants of the archipelago should be sought by everyone interested in its development.\footnote{Daniel G. Brinton, “Professor Bumentritt’s Studies of the Philippines,” American Anthropologist 1 (1899): 122.}

In introducing B lenttritt’s corpus to his American audience, Brinton’s review was an early, modest step in the advancement of that “scientific investigation.”

In 1902 David P. Barrows, Chief of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes, stated that “In the establishment of order in these islands”,

\[\text{this government is attempting to rear a new standard of relationship between the white man and the Malay. The success of this effort, so full of possibilities for the future of life and intercourse in the Far East, will depend in a large measure on our correct understanding and scientific grasp of the peoples whose problems we are facing.}^6\]

In 1905 Fred Atkinson, Director of the Educational Bureau from 1900 to 1902, echoed Brinton and Barrow’s comments, explicitly observing that the smooth administration of the Filipinos depended on a proper understanding of them:

\[\text{The practical importance...of a thoroughly scientific study of the Filipino race - their physical characteristics, their manners, customs, laws, and languages - is not hard to see, for there can be no doubt that an understanding of the ideas and modes of thought of an alien people in a relatively low stage of civilization facilitates very considerably the task of governing them.}^7\]


\footnote{Fred W. Atkinson, The Philippine Islands (Boston: Ginn & Company, 1905), 228-239.}
The information about the Filipinos that these and other commentators sought was a form of "administrative knowledge" that the U. S. government in the Philippines required to establish and consolidate its rule. In order to function efficiently, that government had to know as much as it could about the Islands, and this necessity entailed the creation and refinement of a complete range of "empirical methods of investigation" that would enable it to generate information about a kaleidoscope of issues relating to the archipelago's natural resources and population. It was in this manner that the colonial government's power-relations with its native subjects produced "knowledge" about them. H. L. Dreyfus and P. Rabinow's discussion of "administrative knowledge" deserves to be quoted here at length:

The objective to be understood by administrative knowledge was not the rights of people, not the nature of divine or human law, but the state itself. However, the point of this knowledge was not to develop a general theory; rather, it was to help define the specific nature of a specific historical state. And this required the gathering of information on the state's environment, its population, its resources, and its problems...a whole array of empirical methods of investigation had to be developed or advanced to generate this knowledge. The history, geography, climate, and demography of a particular country became more than mere curiosities. They were crucial elements in a new complex of power and knowledge. The government, particularly the administrative apparatus, needed knowledge that was concrete, specific, and measurable in order to operate effectively. This enabled it to ascertain precisely the state of its forces, where they were weak and how they could be shored up.⁹

These "empirical methods of investigation" developed by the American colonial government consisted of the following (amongst others). One or more of the

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⁸ Dreyfus and Rabinow, *Michel Foucault*, 137.
⁹ Ibid.
religious orders in Manila, as well as the relatively few American officials proficient in Spanish such as Dean C. Worcester, were commissioned to collect and translate important European documents pertaining to the Philippines into English, as well as to prepare occasional monographs on local ethnic groups.\(^{10}\) Local scholars were hired to investigate the collections of historical material, relating to the Philippines (or *Filibiniana*), that were held in Philippine and overseas libraries and archives.\(^ {11}\) Libraries of material pertaining to a broad range of subjects including anthropology, British colonialism, and the ethnology, demography, geography, philology and history of the Philippines were established.\(^ {12}\) Circulars designed to generate inflows of information on diverse subjects relating to the Filipinos were disseminated.\(^ {13}\) Such leaflets were typically distributed among Americans and Filipinos who, because of their positions and special knowledge of the Philippines, could provide the state with the material it required. An example of such a pamphlet was the questionnaire prepared by Worcester to gather intelligence relating to the non-Christian minorities in early 1901. Based on John Wesley Powell’s *Introduction to the Study of Indian Languages*, it was sent to “every provincial governor and

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\(^{10}\) For illustrations of these modes in Barrows’s writings, see his “Report of the Chief of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes Ending August 31, 1902”, 682 and *Circular of Information: Instructions for Volunteer Field Workers* (Manila: Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes for the Philippine Islands, 1901), 4.

\(^{11}\) For an example of this practice, see John N. Schumacher, S. J., *The Making of a Nation: Essays on Nineteenth-Century Filipino Nationalism* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1991), 146.

\(^{12}\) For instances of such libraries, consider the collections built up by the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes under the aegis of D. P. Barrows, “Report of the Chief of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes,” 682.
municipal president in the Philippines,” and eventually drew “some nine hundred responses.” Another example was Circular of Information: Instructions for Volunteer Field Workers which was released by the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes in December, 1901. Like Worcester’s questionnaire, the Circular was devised to shed much-needed light on “the Anthropology of the Philippines”, and copies of it were similarly dispatched to “a large number of Filipinos and Americans whose stations and acquaintanceships in various parts of the Archipelago” would enable them to “supply the needed information”. By 1906 the volume of literature on the Islands had increased to such an extent that it moved Atherton Brownell, an acknowledged commentator, to marvel over the disparity between it and the continuing failure of the U. S. press to “set forth the true condition in the Philippines today”:

There has been no lack of literature devoted to the Philippines of recent years. Thousands of miles of newspaper columns have been printed; the Magazine files bulge and swell with discussions regarding them; the book-shelves in the libraries groan beneath their weight of knowledge; the “flimsy” of the anti-imperialist propaganda committee falls upon an unsuspecting public thicker than the leaves in Vallombrosa, and the government printing plants in Washington and Manila, unlike the mills of the gods, grind exceedingly fast.

The colonial government’s need for “administrative knowledge” led to the rapid emergence and growth during the period in question of commentaries on the Philippines’ diverse inhabitants. For instance, a survey of the Manila

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14 Ibid.
15 Barrows, Circular of Information, 4.
Times covering the first decade of the twentieth-century uncovers numerous pieces on such stereotypes as “the Filipino” and “the Moro”. Focusing as they typically did on the Filipinos’ ‘racial’ and cultural shortcomings, these expositions functioned to delineate the limits of their possibilities. Needless to say, these explications did not merely represent their subjects but actively constituted them and bestowed on them whatever objectivity they were deemed to have. Their subjects, far from pre-existing these commentaries, were produced by them. Following Goldberg, ‘racial’ knowledge such as the American discourse on “the Filipino” is not just “information about the racial Other, but its very creation, its fabrication.” The Americans’ production of knowledge about the racialized Filipinos established “a set of guiding ideas and principles” about them: “a mind, characteristic behavior or habits, and predictions of likely responses.” It created constructs of the Filipinos which helped the Americans increase their power over them and also underwrote the need for the Americans to remain in the Islands and prevent its peoples from sinking in the “slough of savagery”. David Goldberg’s comments on the implications of defining a group as the ‘racial’ Other are apposite here:

20 Ibid., 150.
Naming the racial Other, for all intents and purposes, is the Other. There is, as Said makes clear in the case of the Oriental, no Other behind or beyond the invention of knowledge in the Other’s name. These practices of naming and knowledge construction deny all autonomy to those so named and imagined, extending power, control, authority, and domination over them. To extend Said’s analysis of the “Oriental” to the case of race in general, social science of the Other establishes the limits of knowledge about the Other, for the Other is just what racialized social science knows. It knows what is best for the Other - existentially, politically, economically, culturally: In governing the Other, racialized social science will save them from themselves, from their own Nature. It will furnish the grounds of the Other’s modification and modernization, establishing what will launch the Other from the long dark night of its prehistory into civilized time.  

It was in the process of “naming” the Filipinos that the Americans began ascribing to them a tendency to run amok. In the next section, I explore the role that this attribution played in the creation of both the Filipino and American ‘racial’ Selves.

THE CONSTRUCTION OF FILIPINO AND AMERICAN IDENTITIES

The alleged tendency of Malays to run amok was appealing to the Americans because it functioned as an important element in the “system of differentiations” by which they objectified the Filipinos. It enabled them to create identities for themselves and the Filipinos which they then made use of to abet and absolve their denial of Philippine independence. Since in modernity, as D. T. Goldberg notes, “human identity and personhood” are primarily conceived

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22 Goldberg, *Racist Culture*, 150.
23 Michel Foucault, “The Subject and Power,” 223.
of in ‘racial’ terms, these identities were also ‘racially’ defined. In ascribing to the Filipinos the above tendency and other traits, the Americans rendered them intelligible by endowing them with a ‘racial’ character. In short, such ascriptions served to racialize the Filipinos. To demonstrate how the above tendency could be so deployed, we can discuss its attribution to the Filipinos in light of the “preconceptual elements” or processes on which the “overall coherence of racialized expression and the racist project” turns. According to Goldberg, these elements consist of the following: “classification, order, value, and hierarchy; differentiation and identity, discrimination and identification; exclusion, domination, subjection, and subjugation; as well as entitlement and restriction.” Of these processes, the first four - “classification, order, value, and hierarchy” - will be the most central to our discussion, since most of the others can arguably seen as their outcomes within the context of U. S. rule in the Philippines.

The Americans in the Philippines were, of course, not in the habit of assigning to themselves a constitutional propensity to embark on rampages. Their repeated ascription of such an inclination to the Filipinos hence functioned to identify a fundamental difference between themselves and their subjects. Because in modernity, as was noted above, social subjects are distinguished primarily along ‘racial’ lines, that difference was construed by the Americans to be ‘racial’ in nature. The ascription thus assisted in the classification of the Filipinos as a ‘race’, one profoundly distinct from the

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24 Goldberg, Racist Culture, 24.
Anglo-Saxon stock from which the Americans themselves reputedly derived. Since amok had for centuries been regarded in the West as a peculiarly Malay phenomenon, the alleged susceptibility of Filipinos to the amok impulse automatically marked them in colonial circles as a subdivision of the Malay ‘race’ (later in this chapter, I examine how this marking of the Filipinos was reinforced by F. Blumentritt and J. Montano’s contemporary ‘racial’ classifications of them). Regarding the Filipinos’ Malay constitution, while (as we shall see) some commentators believed that it had been modified by several centuries of Spanish rule, others such as Hugh Clifford thought otherwise: “After more than three centuries of Spanish rule and of Christianity the natives of the Philippines, true to the nature of the Malay race to which they belong, had preserved all their vices, all their characteristic limitations and ineptitudes, intact.”

Through their classification of and attempts to uplift the Filipinos, the Americans were able to impose an order of sorts on the sheer strangeness of their subjects. Their need to eliminate that strangeness and instill in the Filipinos “Anglo-Saxon ideas and methods” reflected, among other things, a concern with order that lies at the heart of modernity. Goldberg claims that this concern is expressed

through the domination of Nature by Reason; through the transparency of Nature to Reason in the Laws of Nature; through

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25 Ibid., 49.
the classification of Nature in rational systems of thought; and through the mastery of Nature, physical and human, by way of ‘design, manipulation, management, engineering.’

Goldberg’s claim is particularly relevant to our discussion in light of the colonial consensus at the turn of the twentieth-century that the Filipinos, as branches of the Malay tree, were closer to nature than were superior ‘races’ such as the Anglo-Saxons. Substitute “the Filipinos” for “Nature” in the above passage, and it would make an adequate summary of the American civilising mission in the Philippines. Paragons of reason and character, the Americans believed that they could dominate the irrational Filipinos through the sheer force of their example; through their numerous commentaries on the Filipino personality, they sought to lay bare its inner workings; through their classification of the Filipinos, they aspired to ascertain the ‘race’ of their subjects and hence establish their rung on the ladder of being; and having determined that the Filipinos were Malays, saddled with all the established Malay deficiencies, they endeavoured to transform their wards through a range of pedagogic practices in the fields of politics and education.

Obviously, in repeatedly imputing to the Filipinos a susceptibility to the amok impulse, the Americans were not merely stating a perceived fact about their subjects’ ‘racial’ character. On the contrary, the imputation possessed real value because it implied that the Filipinos were the members of an inferior

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28 Goldberg, Racist Culture, 3.
‘race’. In modernity, as Goldberg observes, the faculty of reason has traditionally been regarded as the deciding characteristic of humanity: “Self-commanding reason, autonomous and egalitarian, but also legislative and rule-making, defines in large part modernity’s conception of the self.”\(^{31}\) In claiming that the Filipinos were prone to plunge into frenzies, out of despair over some real or even imagined injury or misfortune, the Americans were thus suggesting that as a ‘race’ the Filipinos were like all Malays distinguished by their poor grasp of reason, by their lack of the discipline of rationally controlling their instincts and imagination.\(^{32}\) In effect, the Americans were implying that the Filipinos were less than fully human - certainly, less so than their more civilised American guardians.

Ultimately, then, the ascription to the Filipinos of a vulnerability to the amok impulse led to the construction of a hierarchy of ‘racial’ groups. The way in which it did so can be rehearsed at this point. First, that vulnerability was chosen as one of the biological characteristics which served as the criterion by which the Americans identified the Filipinos as members of the Malay ‘race’. Put baldly, the supposed fact that Filipinos ran amok immediately tagged them as Malays. In this manner, the Filipinos as Malays were represented as “having a natural, unchanging origin and status, and therefore as being inherently


\(^{31}\) Goldberg, *Racist Culture*, 18.

\(^{32}\) Ibid., 23.
different”\textsuperscript{33} from the Americans. Second, that vulnerability was negatively evaluated inasmuch as it functioned to demonstrate the Filipinos’ inherent irrationality and impulsiveness. Because reason is viewed as the distinguishing attribute of the social subject in modernity, the depiction of the Filipinos as being illogical and impetuous defined them as savages who were inferior to the Americans. From categorising the Filipinos as primitives or semi-primitives, it was but a short step to depriving them of their autonomy on the grounds that they lacked the necessary qualities for self-government and hence had to be carefully prepared for it by a superior ‘race’.

This step the Americans took in 1899. The typical rationale for their occupation of the Philippines is well articulated in an article, entitled “The Filipino Character”, which was published in the \textit{Manila Times} in November, 1901.\textsuperscript{34} The article consists largely of the reproduction of a piece that had appeared a short time before in the \textit{New York Tribune}. The \textit{Times} article begins by observing that the chief argument of the \textit{Tribune} piece dealt with the “merits of American occupation, and the imperative duty which devolves on the people of the United States to stand by the Philippines and elevate the Filipino people.” It goes on to assert that

Our control of these islands has become a trust, a guardianship in the interests of civilization and the progress of the world. To leave the Filipinos at this stage would be not only a culpable but a contemptible act, all the lamentations of the anti-expansionists to the contrary. If the Filipinos are “so childish in nature, so curiously compounded of civilization and savagery, so unstable and yet persistent in instability”, as is often claimed, then it is all


\textsuperscript{34} “The Filipino Character,” \textit{The Manila Times}, 19 November 1901.
the more reason why we should not desert them. *Had they been found stable and self-reliant, able not only to hold their own against other peoples but to control themselves, we might then consider with somewhat more respect the contention for giving them a form of self-government; but recent events have shown that as a people the Filipinos, even the best of them, are not possessed of the qualifications most necessary to rule, namely self-control, calmness, deliberation, judgement and stability* (emphasis mine).

The “recent events” in question was the ambush of seventy-four American military officers and soldiers by supporters of the revolutionary General Vicente Lukban in Balangiga, a town in Samar, the previous late September. The article’s appraisal of that event shows how the Filipinos were racialized in American writing; it clearly suggests that the barbarism allegedly demonstrated by the rebels in their ambush was characteristic of the Filipinos as a ‘race’. But what is particularly intriguing about the article are the qualities it claims the Filipinos had to develop before they could ‘qualify’ for self-rule: “self-control, calmness, deliberation, judgement and stability.” In asserting that the Filipinos were bereft of these attributes, the article of course intimates that as a ‘race’ they were impulsive, hot-headed, offhanded, injudicious and unstable. Revealingly, it was *precisely* the lack of “self-control, calmness, deliberation, judgement and stability”, amongst other characteristics, that the Filipinos and Malays in general were held to reveal whenever they periodically ran amok. In light of this, it is easy to see why British and American commentators took such a keen interest in the behavioural pattern: their interest had less to do with amok’s actual occurrence in the Malay archipelago and the Philippines than
with the fact that it functioned for them as the most striking illustration of Malay savagery.

Until the Filipinos assimilated the aforesaid qualities under the Americans’ benevolent tutelage, it was pointless for them to agitate for their independence, since they could hardly be granted autonomy when they were incapable of being autonomous, of governing themselves. Indeed, according to Woodrow Wilson, self-government was ultimately not for the Americans to give to the Filipinos. In a speech he delivered as the president of Princeton before the student body of Columbia University, Wilson remarked that self-government was not merely a constitution the U.S. could grant the Filipinos, but a quality they had to cultivate: “...we cannot give them self-government. Self-government is not a thing that can be ‘given’ to any people, because it is a form of character and not a form of constitution. No people can be ‘given’ the self-control of maturity.”36 Thus before the Filipinos could be awarded their independence, they first had to mature, and that entailed the taming of their ‘racial’ Self. As G. Stanley Hall remarked in 1910-11, “Civilization is man’s attempt to domesticate himself; and failure in this involves failure in all.” In making Philippine independence conditional on the Filipinos’ acquisition of self-mastery, what Vicente Rafael refers to as the “allegory of benevolent assimilation” envisioned

at least the possibility of the American occupation ending.\textsuperscript{37} However, because it held that the Filipinos could only obtain self-mastery “by way of an intimate relationship with a colonial master who sets the standards and practices of discipline” to mould their conduct, benevolent assimilation could “indefinitely defer its own completion, in that the condition for self-rule, self-mastery, [could] be made identical to the workings of colonial rule, the mastery of the other that resides within the boundaries of the self”.\textsuperscript{38} Hence the reluctance of early American commentators to provide even a rough time limit for their tutelage of the Filipinos:

The training of the present generation of Filipinos will, of necessity, be somewhat superficial, but the ground will have been broken and the improvement thereafter will be steady and sure. It seems to me useless to talk of ‘years’ in connection with such a task. To raise to even ordinary modern standards seven millions, and their increment, of people who have never been anything but a dependent Malayan colony will require time which may be better expressed in some larger unit, such as ‘decades’ or ‘generations’.\textsuperscript{39}

The reputed Filipino propensity to run amok was not only instrumental in the creation of a Filipino ‘racial’ identity: it also played an important role in the construction of an American colonial Self. Miles points out that in the process of depicting the Other, there is a dialectic in which the ascribed traits of the Other reflect antithetical traits of the Self:

...the process of representing the Other entails a dialectic of representational inclusion and exclusion. By attributing a

\textsuperscript{38} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{39} Shuster, “Our Philippine Policies,” 64.
population with certain characteristics in order to categorise and differentiate it as an Other, those who do so also establish criteria by which they themselves are represented.40

In attributing to the Filipinos a vulnerability to the amok impulse, the Americans were obviously implying that they were not similarly susceptible. Unlike the Filipinos, they were better able to control their instincts and passions. Because that vulnerability was commonly held to define the Filipinos as ‘savages’, in imputing it to their wards the Americans were in effect portraying themselves as ‘civilised’. Their civilisedness was seen to consist of the very qualities (amongst others) that the Manila Times article considered “most necessary to rule” and of which the Filipinos reputedly displayed a lack whenever they ran amok: “self-control, calmness, deliberation, judgement and stability”.

Although it was simply assumed that the average American in the Philippines possessed these and other laudatory traits, typically they were ascribed in print to those persons who, because of their pursuance of their nation’s civilising mission in the Philippines, were commonly regarded as the most ideal of Americans – the military and civil officials who saw service in the Islands. The attributes required of such administrators were enumerated by, amongst others, Hugh Clifford in “America’s Problem in the Philippines”, an article that was first published in Macmillan’s Magazine and later reproduced in the Manila Times in January 1907. The “successful administration of a tropical dependency”, he notes, rests upon the selflessness of its officials and on the recruitment of such officials

40 Miles, Racism, 38-9.
from the best men the governing nation breeds - that is to say, not in the brilliancy of their qualities, but in the soundness of their character, the purity of their public morals, their appreciation of the meaning of responsibility, and their sterling common sense.\textsuperscript{41}

Examples of the ascription of such qualities to American administrators are present in an article by William S. Washburn, U. S. Civil Service Commissioner, that was published in \textit{The Journal of Race Development} in 1910-11. Suggestively entitled "A Worthy Example of the Influence of a Strong Man Upon the Development of Racial Character", the article is a eulogy to the memory of a certain Edward Y. Miller, a one-time Governor of Palawan who died of accidental drowning in 1910.\textsuperscript{42} In it Washburn remarks that

In paying a tribute of respect to the memory of the late Governor Miller of Palawan, it is a pleasing duty to emphasize the fact that in character and career he was typical of a large number of splendid men who have manfully borne the white man's burden in the Philippines - some of whom will never see their own homeland. The exalted conception of duty of this high type of American has enabled him to justify his country's exercising administrative control over a dependent people for their benefit. With such conceptions of duty and service, backward races are being developed and are reaching higher levels of physical and social wellbeing.\textsuperscript{43}

It was the "exalted conception of duty" of officials like Miller, along with their other sterling qualities, that allowed the Americans to vindicate their occupation of the Philippines. Because the phrase "\textit{Strong Man}" implies on the part of such officials a capacity for violence, however, the article's title suggests that the occupation was based on something more than just the Americans' good intentions. The influence such officials exerted over the Filipinos derived

\textsuperscript{41} "America's Problem in the Philippines," \textit{Manila Times}, 31 January 1907.
ultimately from their ability to intimidate them through the sheer force of their characters (although the violence evoked is psychological in nature, the phrase also raises the possibility of its becoming physical should the moral suasion of the Americans prove unsuccessful - as indeed it did). This link between the Americans’ ‘racial’ character and instruction on the one hand, and their domination of the Filipinos on the other, is evident in Washburn’s description of Miller elsewhere in his article as a man who, “by temperament, force of character, and training, was fitted to rule as a benevolent despot in a land where ignorance, treachery and tribal enmities bound the inhabitants to barbarism” (emphasis mine).\(^4^4\) This link is even more apparent in an article by Col. James G. Harbord, entitled “Our Mohammedan Constabulary In Mindanao And Sulu”, which surfaced in the Manila Times in October, 1908.\(^4^5\) Harbord had set up the Philippine Constabulary Corps in the Moro Province following his arrival in Zamboanga city in Mindanao in early September, 1903.\(^4^6\) In the course of his article on the Constabulary, Harbord describes the qualities required of an American officer and the characteristics of his troops in these terms:

\begin{quote}
The successful American officer in command of a company of Moro constabulary needs to be brave, tactful, reserved and dignified, with good self-control. The Oriental generally, and particularly the Moslem Oriental, is dominated by his passions and impulses, and practices little or no self-control. There is no surer way of gaining ascendency over his character than by the demonstration of reserve and self-command, and no more certain
\end{quote}

\(^{4^3}\) Ibid., 375.

\(^{4^4}\) Ibid., 373.

\(^{4^5}\) “Our Mohammedan Constabulary In Mindanao And Sulu,” Manila Times, 13 October 1908.

\(^{4^6}\) By early 1904 the Constabulary consisted of 17 American or Christian Filipino officers and 353 enlisted men (a third of whom were Muslim Filipinos) in Moroland. Its main function was to maintain order. Gowing, Mandate in Moroland, 149-150.
method of forfeiting his respect than by giving way to passion, ranting or self-indulgence (emphasis mine).

With their uncanny knack for subduing their subjects through a “demonstration of reserve and self-command”, the “successful American officer” and American officials in general resembled no one so much as their fictional English counterparts, stationed in the Malay Peninsula, who are celebrated in the writings of Hugh Clifford. Like the Americans, Clifford’s fictional protagonists are as a rule endowed

with an almost unshakable self-confidence; with a conviction of their racial superiority, which enables them to rule men of a lesser breed with a calm strength, the force of which is more than Medic; with a fearlessness that seems to imply a complete absence of nerves; and above all, with a strong sense of justice, an innate love of fair play, and a sound common sense that are more than half the science of government.47

Like the Americans, as well, these protagonists are blessed with the ability to cow the natives solely through the strength of their personalities. The most striking evidence of this strength is the fact that several of them - Maurice Curzon in Prisoners of the Forest, Martin Halliday in “The Skulls of the Forest”, and Jack Norris in Saleh: A Prince of Malaya48 - manage to prevent Malays from running amok simply through the power of their presence. Take, for instance, how Jack Norris comforts the eponymous hero of Saleh following his endurance of a misfortune. When Saleh, shattered by the realisation that he is unloved by Alice Fairfax, totters “on the brink of that gulf into which from time

47 Hugh Clifford, “Rachel,” in Days That Are Dead (London: John Murray, 1926), 27.
to time a Malay, driven beyond the bounds of human endurance, plunges, seeking death amid the slaughter of his fellows”; he rushes to Norris’ London apartment in desperation. There Norris does nothing more than keep him company, sitting silently by his side and (literally) holding his hand, but it is enough to help Saleh withstand the amok impulse:

But for him [Saleh] too, the presence of the white man who understood, who needed no word of explanation, was a very tower of strength. Jack’s proximity, the sense of calm force and determination exhaling from him, were tonics that helped the sufferer to fight the rending struggle that was going on within him; wherefore Saleh relaxed the rigidity of his limbs, and his stare lost something of its fixed intensity.\(^49\)

ASSOCIATION OF AMOK WITH THE MUSLIM FILIPINOS

In the previous section, I examined the reasons why the Americans ascribed to the Filipinos a tendency to run amok. What remains to be accounted for in this chapter is their inordinate association of the behavioural pattern with the Muslim Filipinos. Why, out of all the ethnic groups in the Philippines, is it the Moros who are most closely linked with amok in American writing?

A possible reason for this connection is the occasional affiliation of the behavioural pattern with the Muslim Filipinos in nineteenth-century British colonial writing. An example of this is contained in a Straits Times article from 1883 that deals with a recent furamentado assault in Jolo, the principal settlement of the Spaniards and Americans on Jolo island in the Sulu archipelago. Referring to “three fanatical Sulus” who had managed to secretly

\(^{49}\) Clifford, Saleh, 95.
carry their weapons into the town, the article notes that they “ran amuck”,
killing and wounding six Spanish soldiers and officers before being shot or
bayoneted. Another illustration is to be found in a Straits Times article from
1886 that relates a fight that occurred on board the Bojeador, a Spanish gunboat,
between the vessel’s crew and three Moros off the coast of Balabac island, south
of Palawan. The article labels the fracas as “an amok”. Although such pieces
may have established a precedent that later colonial commentators followed, it
should again be noted that they appear in the British literature only occasionally,
and thus do not seem to be representative of nineteenth-century British accounts
of amok in the Philippines. In such accounts the behavioural pattern is by no
means always associated with the Muslim Filipinos. Indeed, in a Straits Times
article from 1846, it is said to be most frequently resorted to in the Philippines
by Chinese-Filipino mestizos. Rebutting the then common assumption that only
Muslim Malays run amok, the article claims that in the Philippines “the crime is
unhappily of more frequent occurrence especially amongst the Sanglays
(descendants of Chinese and Natives of the Philipines [sic])...”

A more likely reason in part for the Americans’ excessive alliance of
amok with the Muslim Filipinos were the examples set by the writers John
Foreman and Dean Conan Worcester. These commentators were extremely
influential in the late 1890s. According to Richard Welch, Foreman was one of
the British travel writers from whom the Americans derived what little they

50 Ibid., 96.
51 “Jottings From Sabah,” The Straits Times, 27 July 1883.
52 “Manila News,” The Straits Times, 15 September 1886.
“knew about the Filipinos and their aptitudes.”

Regarding Worcester, in a Manila Times review of his *The Philippines and Their People* from July, 1899, the book is described as “without doubt the most entertaining and instructive of the many volumes which have recently been published on this subject.”

Rodney Sullivan argues that the “point of departure” for Worcester’s volume was less his personal observation and experience, as he claimed, than Foreman’s publication. Now in the works of both writers amok is affiliated exclusively with the Moros. In Worcester’s book the behavioural pattern is on one occasion linked to a Muslim man who butchers women and children in the course of a rampage, while on another it is equated with the juramentado convention.

In Foreman’s *The Philippine Islands* amok is mentioned only once, in a definition of the juramentados: “This is the most dangerous sect of Mussulmans, for no exhibition of force can suffice to stay their ravages, and they can only be treated like mad dogs, or like a Malay who has run amok.”

Another significant reason why the Americans inordinately associated amok with the Muslim Filipinos was because they popularly viewed them as the quintessence of the Malay ‘race’ in the Philippines. In order to understand how

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58 John Foreman, *The Philippine Islands*, 2nd ed. (London: Sampson Low & Co., 1899), 158. In passing, it can be observed that in his definition of running amok, Sawyer similarly compares the amok-runner to a “mad dog”. See Frederick H. Sawyer, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines* (London: Sampson Low, Marston & Company, 1900), 169. For a discussion of the recurrence of the “mad dog” trope in British and American colonial writing, see Chapter 8.
the Americans reached this view of the Moros, we need to first consider the
theories by which they accounted for the natures and origins of the Islands’
diverse ethnic groups.

At the turn of the twentieth-century, the most authoritative ethnological
classifications of the Filipinos were those of Ferdinand Blumentritt, an Austrian
professor, and the Frenchman Dr. J. Montano. In his 1899 review of
Blumentritt’s writings on the Philippines, D. Brinton described him as “an
author who stands easily first among scientific writers upon them [the
Islands]...”59 The Encyclopaedia Britannica regarded Blumentritt as “the first
authority on the Philippines.”60 As for Montano, he was an accepted authority
on ‘racial’ differences and his classification of the Filipinos was adopted by the
first Philippine Commission in its report of 1900.61 Whereas Blumentritt
apparently never visited the Philippines,62 Montano did so in the course of a
scientific mission that took him through the Islands and the Malay Peninsula
between 1879 and 1881, spending two months and a half in Jolo during 1879-
1880.63

Briefly, Blumentritt and Montano differed somewhat in their ‘racial’
categorisations of the Filipinos. Blumentritt divided them into “tribes of the
Malay race, tribes of the Negrito or Aeta race, and mixed tribes of Malayan-

59 Brinton, “Blumentritt’s Studies,” 122.
60 Facts About the Filipinos, 9.
61 Report of the Philippine Commission to the President, 3 (Washington: Government Printing
Office, 1900-1901), 345.
62 This indicates that Blumentritt was mainly reliant on Euro-British travel writing and
ethnographies on the Malay archipelago and the Philippines for his knowledge of the Malays and
Filipinos.
Negrito origin". Montano, on the other hand, broke them up into the Negrito, the Indonesian and the Malay ‘races’. We can dispense with Montano’s “Indonesian” tribes, since it is his and Blumentritt’s accounts of the Malay migration to the Philippines that are of relevance to our discussion. Because Blumentritt and Montano essentially concurred on this issue, we can briefly consider Blumentritt’s explanation as it is summarised by David P. Barrows, Chief of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes, in his official report from 1902.

It should be mentioned that as V. Rafael notes, Blumentritt and Montano’s speculations regarding the prehistory of the Philippines have been “definitively discredited” by the “archaeological advances” of the 1960s.

Blumentritt accounted for the “peopling of the archipelago in terms of waves of migrations of different ‘races’” from the south. The first of these ‘races’ to reach the Philippines were the Negritos or Aetas; although their place of origin remained unknown, Blumentritt believed that they were the true aborigines of the Islands. Their relative shortness, “dark color and frizzly mops of hair”, and nomadic life, “neither living in villages nor building stable huts, but roaming through the mountains in small groups of a few families each”, marked them as “true savages”. The Negritos were then supposedly dispossessed of their land and driven into the “mountainous interiors” by “tribes

64 Report of the Philippine Commission, 345.
65 “Report of the Chief of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes”.
67 Ibid.
of primitive Malayans” that fanned out across the archipelago. The modern descendants of these tribes included the “Igorrotes”, the “Tinguianes”, the “Dadyags”, the “Calingas” and the “Ifugaos”. Barrows opines that these tribes were on a “similar culture plane with the primitive Malayan tribes of the Malay Archipelago, such as the Dyaks of Borneo and the Battaks of Sumatra.” These “primitive Malayans” were, in turn, succeeded and displaced by another wave of more culturally advanced Malays who, in time, would constitute the “seven great tribes of Christians” (the “Visayans”, the “Bicolans”, the “Tagalogs”, the “Pampangos”, the “Pangasinanes”, the “Ilokanos” and the “Ibanag”). When the Spaniards reached the Philippines, this later wave of Malay migrants were “already occupying the coastal plains and river valleys, having forced back into the interior the less cultured tribes which had preceded them.” The last of the pre-Spanish peoples to migrate to the Islands were the “Mohammedan Malays”, who first settled in the Sulu archipelago between 1300 and 1400 A. D.

The wave migration theories of Blumentritt and Montano carried two important implications. The first and most obvious derived from the tenet that the bulk of Filipinos were types of the Malay ‘race’. If the “predominant element in the population of the Philippines is unquestionably Malayan”, as Barrows concluded, then Filipinos and Malays necessarily shared the same ‘racial’ capacities and attributes. This implication was recognised and elevated

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69 Ibid.
70 Ibid., 681.
71 Ibid.
72 Ibid.
73 Barrows, _Circular of Information_, 4.
to a commonplace by colonial commentators during the American period. In
1900 Frederick Sawyer remarked that while Filipinos “differ little in physical
appearance from the Malays proper inhabiting the Peninsula, and although their
manners and customs are somewhat changed, their nature remains the same.
They retain all the inherent characteristics of the Malay.”\textsuperscript{74} In 1917 Arthur
Torrance made the same point in his dissertation, “The Philippine Moro: A
Study In Social and Race Pedagogy”: “Practically all the present typical
Filipinos are of Malay stock; they are as pure in blood and have the same
characteristics and instincts as any other Malays.”\textsuperscript{75} If Filipinos and Malays
indeed possessed identical capabilities and traits, then the former were
unavoidably as susceptible as the latter to that allegedly most Malay of
afflictions, a propensity to run amok. As Capt. John White, Col. J. Harbord’s
adjutant in 1903, remarked in 1928, Filipinos are largely of Malay blood, and
Malays are noted for the abandonment of their passions.\textsuperscript{76}

Popular as the above belief was, however, it was seriously qualified by
the second implication of Blumentritt and Montano’s theories: namely, that the
Muslim Filipinos were the most Malay of the various Malay ‘subraces’ in the
Philippines. Notwithstanding A. Torrance’s assertion that “Practically all the
present typical Filipinos...are as pure in blood...as any other Malays”, not all of
them were commonly seen by the Americans to have retained the purity of their

\textsuperscript{74} Sawyer, \textit{Inhabitants of the Philippines}, 210.
\textsuperscript{75} Arthur Frederick Torrance, “The Philippine Moro: A Study in Social and Race Pedagogy” (Ph.
D. diss., New York University, 1917), 3. For a similar assertion see Sawyer, \textit{Inhabitants of the
Philippines}, 21.
Malay ‘blood’. Take for instance Barrows’ “seven great tribes of Christians”. Not the first Malays to arrive in the Philippines, they had nevertheless been in the Islands long enough to have their Malay strain and temperament diluted and domesticated to a point through their intermarriages with other ‘races’ (i.e. the Negritos, Chinese and Spaniards) and through the Spaniards’ tutelage. Of the “Tagals”, F. Sawyer commented that they “are here and there modified by mixture with other races, and everywhere by their environment, for they have been Roman Catholics and subject to Spanish influence, if not rule, for upwards of three centuries.”77 In the Christian Filipinos, then, the Americans felt they were faced with a Malay ‘substrace’ that was already to an extent civilised. In 1905 Fred Atkinson recognised that the Spaniards were obliged to deal with Malay character more or less in its pure form, while we Americans have to do with this same character Latinized….We know that most of the natives, under the direction of their rulers, advanced from a state of comparative barbarity to one of at least semicivilization; that they gained many new ideas and learned various industries from the Spaniards; and became in large part Christianized.78

Later in The Philippine Islands, Atkinson spells out the extent of the Americans’ indebtedness to the Spaniards for transforming the Christian Filipinos:

The manners and customs of the Filipino people in general show signs of Spanish influence; and the more one studies them, - their history, language, and character, - the more convinced one becomes that the Spaniards accomplished a unique work in redeeming these races from barbarism and heathenism and teaching them the forms and manners of civilized life. Although much of what has been taught must be modified, yet because of

77 Sawyer, Inhabitants of the Philippines, 210.
the advancement made socially under their earlier masters our work has been made infinitely easier.\textsuperscript{79}

But if the Christian Filipinos were semi-civilised, what then were the "Mohammedan Malays"? Arriving as they allegedly did sometime after the thirteenth century,\textsuperscript{80} the Moros were the last of the Malay 'subraces' to reach the Islands, and thus had had the least time to weaken their Malay blood through intermarriage with the Negritos, Chinese and Spaniards. Moreover, out of all those 'subraces', the Moros had been the most successful in preserving their independence from the Spaniards. In light of these factors, it is not surprising that American commentators typically regarded the Moros as unregenerate Malays, the most purely Malay of the various peoples in the Philippines. This argument is spelt out in a speech, entitled "The Moro as a Factor in the Philippine Problem", that Colonel William C. Rivers, a former chief of the Philippine Constabulary, presented at the Lake Mohonk Conference in the United States in October 1915. In the course of his address, Rivers observed that

It seems to be a fairly prevalent belief that the Moro is a different sort of person altogether from the Filipino...I believe the accepted theory is that, while the wild man at the North is from an early wave of Malay immigration, the Moros at the South represents simply a later wave than the great body of Filipinos throughout the Islands. The latter, however, have been modified in some places by intermarriages with Chinese, Spanish and others to a degree that, of course, does not obtain with the uncivilized peoples. The Moro then is at present a wild Filipino who is a Mohammedan in religion.\textsuperscript{81}

\textsuperscript{79} Ibid., 275.
\textsuperscript{80} "Report of the Chief of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes," 681.
\textsuperscript{81} "Rivers On Moro Problem," \textit{Manila Times}, 2 December 1915. For a supporting comment see "How The Sultans And Dattos Run Things in Mindanao," \textit{Manila Times}, 23 February 1902.
Hence A. Torrance’s remark that as Malays the Christian Filipinos “generally are...not so pure as the Moros.” For Barrows “the Mohammedan Malay” could stand as “the type for the entire [Malay] race”, the Moros were the “true Malays of the Sulu Archipelago and Southern Mindanao.”

From the implication that the Muslim Filipinos were typical Malays, the Americans commonly drew a number of conclusions. Firstly, they deduced that the Moros were the most savage of all the Malay ‘subraces’ in the Philippines. This is why, in a Manila Times article devoted to an interview with a Mr. Townsend, the then school superintendent of Mindanao and Jolo, the Muslim Filipinos are ranked below the Igorrotes in the hierarchy of the Islands’ Malay ‘subraces’:

To the average person, it doubtless appears somewhat paradoxical to talk of educating the Moro. Most of us have been used to regard him as a savage just a little lower than the Igorrote, and still less fit for such training and development as the American school system in these islands provides.

Secondly, the Americans reasoned that because the Muslim Filipinos were quintessential primitives, they were consequently the most martial and picturesque of those ‘subraces’. The causal relation between the Muslim Filipinos’ savagery and their combativeness is evident in William Taft’s article, “The People of the Philippine Islands”, which appeared in The Independent in 1902. In his commentary on the Moros, Taft observes that

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82 Torrance, “Philippine Moro,” 63.
84 Barrows, Circular of Information, 8.
85 “The Education Of The Moro,” Manila Times, 26 October 1902.
86 For a commentary on the Moros’ perceived picturesqueness, see Chapter 7.
The Moro is much nearer the savage than the Christian Filipino...He is less nomadic than the American Indian and is given and does work in agriculture under the direction of his Datto. But he is warlike. Every Moro is armed with a sharp sword or knife, and fighting is about as normal to him as a peaceful life.\(^\text{87}\)

Thirdly, being a "comparatively pure race",\(^\text{88}\) it followed that the Muslim Filipinos inevitably possessed more fully than did the northern Filipinos the distinctive abilities and characteristics of "the Malay". And since the tendency to run amok had long been viewed as the definitive Malay attribute, a "peculiar and almost unique form of racial psychosis"\(^\text{89}\), the Americans concluded that it was the Moros who, out of all the Malay 'subraces' in the Philippines, were the most vulnerable to the amok impulse. Alluding indirectly to this susceptibility, Capt. J. White observed in 1928 that "The Filipinos, further from the pure Malay strain than the Moros, run amuck much less frequently."\(^\text{90}\)

**CONCLUSION**

In order to distinguish the Filipinos, the Americans established differences between themselves and their subjects. One such difference was the propensity they attributed to the Filipinos to run amok out of the despair occasioned by some injury or misfortune (real or imagined). Because in

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\(^{88}\) Torrance, "Philippine Moro," 64. For a supporting comment see White, *Bullets and Bolos*, 193-4.

\(^{89}\) "Amok," *The Straits Times*, 15 May 1895.

\(^{90}\) White, *Bullets and Bolos*, 294.
modernity the discourses of "human identity and personhood" are often 'racially' defined, such differences were perceived to be 'racial' in nature. The claim that the Filipinos were vulnerable to the amok impulse thus served to racialize them; it characterized them as a 'race' distinct from the Americans. Specifically, it marked the Filipinos as members of the Malay 'race', inasmuch as amok had been viewed by British writers as a "species of inherent savageness in the Malays" since at least the early nineteenth-century.

As the above reference to amok as a "species of inherent savageness in the Malays" suggests, the imputation to the Filipinos of a susceptibility to the amok impulse identified not only their 'race' but its character. It indicated that, like all Malays, they were ultimately devoid of those faculties and traits that were held to distinguish civilised 'races': reason, willpower, self-control, calmness, deliberation, judgement and stability, amongst others. This lack of the Filipinos' demonstrated their 'racial' inferiority and unfitness for freedom, since the Americans considered those faculties and traits as the "qualifications most necessary to rule". Simultaneously, because of the dialectic inherent in the process of representing the Other, the aforesaid imputation equally characterized the Americans' 'racial' Self by assigning to that Self characteristics that were the opposite of those attributed to the Filipinos. In intimating that the Americans were not prone like the Malays to embark on rampages, the imputation in effect suggested that they were in possession of the very faculties and traits of which the Filipinos were held to be bereft. It was on the basis of this possession and

91 Goldberg, Racist Culture, 24.
their commitment to regenerate the Filipinos "by teaching to them the benefits of labor and industry" that the Americans justified their denial of the Filipinos' independence.

Regarding the Americans' close association of amok with the Muslim Filipinos, the basis for it was lain partly by the classifications of F. Blumentritt and J. Montano. In stating that most of the "tribes" in the Philippines were branches of the Malay 'race', these theories suggested that the majority of Filipinos possessed all the capacities and traits that characterised the stereotypical Malay of British writing fame. However, this suggestion was seriously modified by the tenet that the Moros were the last of the various Malay 'subraces' to arrive in the Islands. If they were, then it followed that the Moros were the most Malay of all the Filipinos, for out of all of them, the Moros had had the least time to dilute their Malay stock through intermarriage with other 'races' and, moreover, had put up the stiffest resistance against the Spaniards. Being quintessential Malays, the Muslim Filipinos were accordingly not only the most warlike and picturesque of the Malay 'subraces' in the Philippines, but also the most prone to run amok.

Latent in the dominant 'racial' classifications of the day, these implications were evoked when Muslim Filipino men, individually and in small groups, began engaging in juramentado assaults against the Americans and their Christian Filipino auxiliaries in the southern Philippines around 1900. Such incidents were then held by the Americans to illustrate the Moros' peculiar

92 "Correspondence," Straits Times, 29 November 1845.
propensity to embark on rampages. However, before studying the effects of the conflation of amok with the *juramentado* convention, we need to examine in detail the convention itself. This I do in the next chapter.

\[93\] Atherton Brownell, “A Moro Experiment,” *The Outlook* 81, no. 17 (1905): 975.
Chapter 5

“A PASSPORT TO HEAVEN”: ¹ PARRANG SABBIL OR THE JURAMENTADO CONVENTION

Mohammed is supreme
In Jolo.
To kill Christians is their dream
In Jolo.
If in battle they should fall,
Warriors (sic) brave at Allah’s call
Heaven’s then vouchsafed to all,
In Jolo.

‘Juramentados’ run amuck
In Jolo.
And at killing try their luck,
In Jolo.
Vowing death to all who lie,
In their path, or...of eye
By Allah’s sword and curse to die
In Jolo.²

INTRODUCTION

“There has been no greater misunderstanding by Spaniards and Americans on any one Moro subject than on this - the juramentado question.”³

Made in 1913, Najeeb M. Saleeby’s observation pithily sums up the ignorance of and confusion over the juramentado convention that prevailed amongst colonials during the Spanish and American periods. His own case illustrates the

¹ The trope “a passport to heaven” comes from one of the earliest articles in the Manila Times that deals with the juramentado convention. See “Filipino Myths and Miracles,” Manila Times, 9 March 1900. Such colonial motifs occasionally reappear in modern Christian Filipino writing on the Muslim Filipinos. For instance, the aforesaid trope surfaces in a piece which was published in the Letters column of the Philippine Daily Inquirer in February 1995. See Sukarno D. Tanggol, “Pushed farther from Islamic ideals,” Philippine Daily Inquirer, 7 February 1995.
² “In Jolo,” Cablenews American, 7 February 1907.
extent of this misunderstanding. His interpretation of the convention differed from those of most American commentators: denying that it was merely the bizarre mode through which Muslim Filipino men escaped from their problems, he argued that its origins lay solely in the Moros’ “fierce patriotism”. Moreover, he claimed that the convention was not the Muslim Filipino version of jihad or holy war - an assertion that puts him at odds with modern authorities on the subject such as Cesar A. Majul and Thomas M. Kiefer.

Since 1913 not much has changed. Saleeby’s charge against the Spaniards and Americans can equally be levelled at present-day Filipinos, for despite the studies and discussions of the juramentado convention that have appeared since the early 1970s, the majority of them would still be unaware of its most basic aspects. Commonly viewing the convention through an interpretative grid that emerged during the American period, they would consider it to be virtually synonymous with amok as the behavioural pattern was conventionally perceived by the British and Americans, the only difference between the convention and amok being perhaps the convention’s obscure relation to Islam. They would thus typically regard the convention as a form of random and unforeseen homicide that was either unintelligible, the Moros’

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4 Ibid., 24.

peculiar method of suicide, or the fantastic offshoot of their benighted faith.

In this chapter, I aim to dispel the fog of "misunderstanding" that has traditionally surrounded the juramentado convention by providing an exposition on its various facets. Since much of this confusion emanates from the convention's equation with amok by writers at the dawn of American rule, I hope to unsettle that equation and bring out the differences between the two through a commentary on the convention. Inasmuch as the studies of Majul and Kiefer remain the most authoritative accounts of the convention, I rely on their works for much of my information pertaining to it.

In order to provide an idea of the convention as it was employed by the Muslim Filipinos against the Spaniards, Americans and Christian Filipinos, I begin this chapter with an excerpt from a letter, consisting of a description of three juramentado assaults in Jolo, sent by an American colonial official who visited the island to his senior in Manila early this century. After defining the term "juramentado" and describing the practice it denotes as a Muslim Filipino variant of jihad, I examine the convention's roots in the classical writings in Islamic law (fiqh) as well as its links to a form of holy war that emerged in Atjeh in the third quarter of the nineteenth century, namely "Atjeh-moord" or "Atjehnese murder". Having thus addressed the convention's genesis, I touch on another variant of jihad that was resorted to by the Muslim Filipinos against the Spaniards and the Americans. I then devote the remainder of this chapter to a

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discussion of several relevant issues, such as the ritual preparation young Moro men underwent to become juramentados, the likely motives behind their actions, and the connection between the convention and the general Tausug hostility to American rule.

"FANATICAL" ACTS

On the 14th March 1903, David P. Barrows, the founding head of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes, typed a report on board the coast guard steamer "Tablas" to the Secretary of the Interior in Manila. On a tour that would take in Jolo and Siassi, among other islands in the Sulu Archipelago, Barrows wrote to inform his superior of his arrival in Jolo town with his fellow travellers on the 11th and of recent events there. His companions were Najeeb M. Saleeby, his subordinate and chief-in-charge of Moro affairs, and A. Henry Savage Landor, an English travel writer whose account of their stopover would appear in his 1904 work The Gems of The East. The visit had been their first ever to the town.

Barrows’s missive begins with a discussion of three separate assaults, perpetrated by seven juramentados, which had occurred over the previous week in the town’s environs. The attacks had resulted in the injury and deaths of fifteen people, among them six of the juramentados. One of the earliest

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descriptions of such assaults by an American commentator, Barrow's account provides a useful insight into a range of issues relating to the juramentado convention - or parrang sabbil, as it is known to Muslim Filipinos - such as the juramentados' modus operandi, their choice of victims, and the ritual preparation they often underwent before embarking on their assaults. For these reasons it is worth citing at length:

Within the past week there has been a sudden increase in the trouble with juramentados. Since last Sunday, the 8th, 15 people, including six juramentados, have been killed or received serious wounds. Sunday morning three juramentados entered the market place, which, since the cholera has been located outside the walled town in a coconut grove between the village of Tulay and the outpost of Asturias. They killed a Filipino, terribly wounded another and a Chinaman. Two of these juramentados were killed and a third escaped. Tuesday morning a small detachment of Engineers with a guard were at the rock quarry at Datto Kalbi's place, a mile and a half up the beach from Jolo. They were approached by a Moro carrying a musket. He spoke in a friendly manner, saying "holloy-bugay" (friend). Immediately then he aimed his musket at the group and snapped it. When it did not explode he rushed upon them with a barong and killed one of the men of the Engineer corps. The first blow severed the clavicle and nine ribs along the back. Two more blows completely lopped off an arm and a limb, although the man was shot twice with 30 calibre revolvers, before he could strike himself a blow [sic]. This morning three juramentados again entered the market at about a quarter past eight, killed an East Indian merchant, wounded a Moro woman and her Filipino husband and killed two other Moro men. It happened that a small detachment of cavalary [sic] had just ridden out the gate [of Jolo town] for target practice and those juramentados having cleaned up the market charged this detachment. They were all killed by the revolvers of the troops without injury to the...soldiers but a Moro threw a barong about forty feet and wounded a cavalry horse in the shoulder.

These men had evidently prepared themselves for their fanatical act. Their heads were closely clipped, finger and toe nails pared well down and cleaned, hair from the arm-pits had been shaved away and their eye-brows also were shaved except one thin straight line of hair. Their bodies are being held for
possible identification, but none of the Moros who have so far been brought to the moruge [sic] admit that they know them. The statement is made that they come from the District of Look. The juramentado who killed the soldier on Tuesday was one of Datto Kalbi’s men. The three men who died this morning were all young. I should say that none of them were more than thirty years. They had their weapons concealed by sarongs and bundles of fruit which they professed to be bringing in for sale. The Commanding Officer on Wednesday forbade any Moros to come armed within the territory of a mile radius from Jolo. The authorities here are puzzled to explain the repeated occurrence of this trouble. There were four of these cases during last year: in January, February, June and October. Some importance is attached to the fact that this week is the first of the hadjij at which celebration all those who during the past year have returned from the pilgrimage to Mecca receive the title of hadjij or pilgrim. I am inclined to think that the Commanding Officer here, Colonel Wallace, is acting with great forbearance and if trouble occurs it would not come because he has acted intemperately.

As far as I can judge he has treated the Moros with tact and consideration and wishes to keep them friendly and at peace. The temptation of course is strong to stop this outrageous fanaticism by impressive acts of retribution upon the communities where those juramentados make their preparations and where it is fair to presume the people knew of the intentions of the juramentados if they do not sympathise with them.8

“Juramentado”, meaning one who has sworn an oath, was the name given by the Spaniards in the final quarter of the nineteenth century to Muslim Filipinos who engaged in a form of parrang sabbil, the Malay variant of jihad or holy war. The juramentado convention or parrang sabbil of colonial fame was essentially a form of ritual suicide resorted to by Moro men who, individually or in small groups, would visit a settlement largely made up of Christians and attempt to kill as many of them as possible before being slain. The first Muslim Filipinos to resort to the convention against the Spaniards were the Tausug, the
indigenes of Jolo, who did so following Governor-General Jose Malcampo’s successful military campaign on the island in 1876. After their entry into Moroland in 1899 the Americans, following the Spaniards’ lead, employed the term “juramentado” to denote both the convention and its practitioners who began assaulting them in Jolo at the turn of this century.

The doctrine of jihad came to figure so prominently in the Tausugs’ observance of their faith because of their ancient conflict with the Spaniards. The dissemination and development of Islam in the Sulu archipelago occurred against the backdrop of this fierce dispute. Although the proselytism of the religion in the region commenced several hundred years before the Spaniards appeared there in the sixteenth century, “much of the process of gradual Islamization” unfolded over the centuries that the Tausug were resisting the Spaniards’ attempts to bring the archipelago within the orbit of their control.9 Given the context in which Islam took root and grew in the region, it is easy to see how the Tausug understanding of the faith came “naturally to emphasise the militancy of the holy war, or jihad, against the non-believers.”10

ORIGINS OF PARRANG SABBIL IN “MOROLANDIA”

The genesis of the juramentado convention can be traced back to the Islamic doctrine of jihad. The word “jihad” in the Arabic language possesses

8 David P. Barrows to the Secretary of the Interior, 14th March 1903, Paper 18, “Correspondence and reports relating to the Moros” by Najeeb M. Saleeby and David P. Barrows, 1902-1912, Moro Ethnography, vol. 3, Otley Beyer Collection, Australian National Library.
10 Ibid.
several meanings: it can denote a “spiritual struggle for the good of Islamic society”, an “inner struggle against one’s evil inclinations”, and armed struggle.\textsuperscript{11} It is the meaning of “\textit{jihad}” as armed struggle that best sums up the \textit{juramentado} convention. The concept of \textit{jihad} arose at a time when the emerging Islamic state in the Arabian peninsula was perpetually at war with its non-Muslim opponents and was developed during the subsequent period of its expansion in the 7\textsuperscript{th} century A. D.\textsuperscript{12} Pointing out the efficacy of the \textit{jihad} concept for Muslims on the battlefield, F. M. Donner asserts that it has its roots in the traditional loyalty and solidarity of Arabian tribesmen:

\ldots clearly the knowledge that if one survived a battle he would receive booty, and that if he fell he would be rewarded with paradise, must have spurred faithful Muslims at least to greater efforts on the battlefield\ldots The concept of fighting to the death for one’s group was not essentially new to Arabia, however, for tribesmen had certainly fought and died for their tribes for many generations before the rise of Islam. What distinguished \textit{jihad} from such active tribal solidarity and loyalty as tribesmen usually displayed was not, then, the idea of fighting for one’s community, but rather the nature of the community for which one fought. \textit{Jihad} certainly facilitated the expansion and, perhaps, even the cohesion of the Islamic community, but is itself a product of the rise of Islam, not a cause of it - a product, to be exact, of the impact of the new concept of \textit{umma} [the community of believers] on the old idea that one fought, even to the death, for one’s community.\textsuperscript{13}

The \textit{jihad} concept was then codified as a tenet in the classical works in Islamic law (\textit{fiqh}) “and could be invoked whenever Moslems had to fight against

\textsuperscript{11} Peters, \textit{Islam and Colonialism}, 3.
\textsuperscript{12} Ibid., 6.
unbelievers or heretics.”

Related to the notion of jihad is the division of the surface of the world in early Muslim law into two halves: the Abode or Territory of Islam (dar al-Islam) and the Abode or Territory of War (dar al-harb). While the Territory of Islam encompassed that area in which Muslim sovereignty and Islamic law held sway, the Territory of War corresponded to the world outside Islam inhabited by communities of unbelievers. Since the establishment of Islam as the supreme ideology on this earth was a principal tenet of the Islamic state, relations between the two worlds were inevitably marked by conflict, for the dar al-Islam was “always, in theory, at war with the dar al-harb”. Yet despite the expansionist nature of the Muslim state, force was not the immediate option preferred by Muslims for the conversion of the heathen; rather, the first recourse was to proselytism and the offer of Islam as a substitute to battle or the payment of the jizya, the poll tax levied on non-Muslim societies existing within the Territory of Islam whose religions were tolerated. If in spite of these proffered alternatives, however, individuals or communities still refused to accept Islam or pay the jizya, the Muslim state was then obliged to declare upon them a jihad. “Thus the jihad, reflecting the normal war relations existing between Muslims and non-Muslims, was the state’s instrument for transforming the dar al-harb into the dar al-Islam”.

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14 Ibid.
16 Ibid., 53.
17 Ibid.
Jihad is normally a collective obligation.\textsuperscript{18} A duty that must be met by a community of believers, it is complied with when a requisite number of that community's members carry it out.\textsuperscript{19} "If nobody takes part in jihad, the whole community is guilty."\textsuperscript{20} However, according to R. Peters, when the Territory of Islam is invaded by its enemies, jihad ceases to be a collective commitment and becomes a personal duty.\textsuperscript{21} Individual Muslims are then required to assume a greater role in the defence of the faith. This means that even the classes of people who are exempt from the collective obligation to perform jihad - i.e., women and youths - must participate in the armed struggle if they are capable of doing so.\textsuperscript{22} Responsibility for the preservation of their territory may fall primarily on their local khalif or sultan, but if the latter fails to stem an onslaught by infidels, it becomes incumbent on every Muslim who is able to do so to participate in the resistance. Disagreeing slightly with R. Peters, Albert Hourani claims that jihad "was not an individual obligation of all Muslims, but an obligation on the community to provide a sufficient number of fighters."\textsuperscript{23}

Unaware that jihad can be an individual as well as a collective obligation, American colonials sometimes viewed the juramentado convention as a travesty of it, the result of the Moros' misapprehension of Islamic law. This

\textsuperscript{18} Peters, Islam and Colonialism, 12.
\textsuperscript{19} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{20} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{21} Ibid., 15.
\textsuperscript{22} According to Peters, the other classes that are exempt in early Islamic law from the collective commitment to carry out jihad are the "insane", "slaves", "the ill and handicapped", those "who do not possess the necessary means for an expedition", "the best lawyer (faqih) of a town", those "who do not obtain permission of their parents to partake in jihad", and debtors "who did not obtain permission of their creditors to partake in jihad". Ibid., 15 - 16.
\textsuperscript{23} Albert Hourani, A History of the Arab Peoples (London: Faber & Faber, 1992), 151.
perceived misunderstanding dramatically illustrated for them the Muslim Filipinos’ lamentable ignorance of that law. In their eyes, the assaults on American colonial officials and military men being perpetrated by individual or small groups of Moros in the Sulu archipelago and Mindanao were nothing more than acts of murder that were dignified with the title of “holy war”. Their opinion on the matter was well articulated by H. L. Scott, a military officer who served for many years in Jolo:

Although going juramentado singly is not according to the true doctrine of Islam, Sulu is a long way from Mecca, and even tradition becomes distorted when subjected to the vicissitudes of time and distance. The true doctrine of Islam sets forth the rite to the extent of the perpetration of a holy war in defense of the faith, and the whole nation is called out en masse by its rulers, and unbelievers are slaughtered wholesale. The individual cases of unauthorized killing are cases only of simple murder, but the ignorant and untraveled [sic] Moro does not look at it in that way. The moro name for the juramentado is magsabil, which means “to die for the faith.”

From the foregoing, it is easier to understand why the Tausug began resorting to the juramentado convention against the Spaniards in the mid-1870s, for it was during this period that there converged the necessary conditions for the emergence of an individual obligation to perform jihad. The time was one of a decline in Muslim Filipino power in the Sulu archipelago as the dominance they had long enjoyed there began to be whittled away from about the middle of the century by the Spaniards. The latter’s growing ascendancy in the region was attributable to a number of factors: their employment of Christian Filipino

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troops in military expeditions; the introduction of steam-driven gunboats in the late 1840s to waters formerly controlled by praus or native vessels; and the chronic inability of the local Muslim Filipino societies to bury their rivalries and feuds and unite in opposition against them.\textsuperscript{26} Important events in this ancient conflict were the Malcampo expedition to Jolo in 1876 and the treaty it resulted in two years later, in which the “Sulu Sultanate recognized Spanish authority and agreed to permit the establishment not only of Spanish forts in Muslim areas, but also the opening of Catholic missions.”\textsuperscript{27} It was in response to these steady gains made by the Spaniards in the Territory of Islam that young Muslim Filipino men, assuming the individual obligation to perform jihad, started carrying out juramentado assaults against them in the last quarter of the nineteenth-century. Considered in this context, the practice can be viewed as a defensive form of warfare engaged in by a people increasingly under siege. A. Hourani notes that after “the great expansion of Islam in the early centuries, and with the beginnings of the counterattack from western Europe, jihad tended to be seen in terms of defence rather than expansion.”\textsuperscript{28}

Yet if the roots of the juramentado convention lie ultimately in the classical works of Islamic law, the creation and characteristics of the practice seem to have been immediately inspired and influenced by a version of jihad which the Achehnese began employing in their war with the Dutch in the early 1870s. Known as “Atjeh-moord” or “Atjehnese murder”, it was carried out by

\textsuperscript{26} Ibid., 23.
\textsuperscript{27} Ibid., 24.
\textsuperscript{28} Hourani, History, 151.
individual men or groups of them whose motives, modus operandi and preparation for armed struggle were remarkably similar to those of the Muslim Filipinos who took part in *parrang sabbil* against the Spaniards and the Americans. Through the assassination of an infidel, the lone Atjehnese, like the *juramentado*, aimed to achieve salvation: "Through the murder of a kaffir (an unbeliever), an Atjehnese man hoped to gain paradise."\textsuperscript{29} Like the *juramentados*, as well, the Achehnese who participated in *jihad* against the Dutch consisted, in the words of the renowned Dutch scholar S. Hurgronje, of "fanatics" who

fortified by the assurance of their teachers that any one who fell in a war against infidels would go straight to heaven, eagerly went to their death, and of assassins who pretended to be friendly so as to help the cause by gaining admission to some camp and there plunging into slaughter.\textsuperscript{30}

J. Siegel quotes a description of a typical case of *Atjeh-moord*, penned by the former Dutch Resident Jongejans, which could have been written about a

*juramentado* assault by any Spanish or American official:

> The murders are simply carried out. The perpetrator goes to a place where he knows he will find a European - a military encampment, a bivouac, a station. He waits. When a European passes he runs at him and does him in. He himself is usually captured or killed.\textsuperscript{31}

Majul observes that both the ritual preparations undergone by the Moro and the Achehnese *mujahids* entailed the use of amulets and white attire and involved the reading of the *Hikajat Prang Sabil* (*Fighting in the way of Allah*), of which


several published versions exist. According to J. Siegel, the latter work is commonly ascribed to Teungku Muhammed Hadji Pante Kulu, an adherent of the most important leader of the Achehnese War, Teungku Tjhik diTiro (Muhammed Saman).

The Hikajat tells of man’s journey from the donja (world) to the achirat (afterworld). It begins with the conventional ‘In the name of God,’ announces that this is ‘the story of the command to fight the Holy War,’ and then cites the Koran.

With its descriptions of the delights of paradise that awaited them, the Hikajat was read to mujahids by religious officials in order to fortify them in their decisions to fight and die in the path of God:

The blessings of God are unlimited for those who serve,
Who fight the prang sabi.
To those He gives Paradise full of light,
Seventy heavenly princesses.
More than can be counted He gives...

You will get a new face, a young one...
God will give you wealth and life...

Each day you get food brought on rows of trays.
The form is the same, but the taste different.
Delicious indeed is the food that never ceases to come.

To die and face the ‘Angel of Death’ is terrifying, but

...to die as a sjahid [a martyr in the holy war] is nothing.
It is like being tickled until we fall and roll over...
Then comes a heavenly princess,
Who cradles you in her lap and wipes away the blood,

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31 Siegel, Rope of God, 82.
32 Majul, Muslims in the Philippines, 356.
33 Siegel, Rope of God, 74.
34 Ibid., 74 - 75.
35 Quoted in Ibid., 75.
Her heart all yours.
And there are others who stand there, aligned as in war.
They do not go home, but await the fall of their husbands -
They see their husbands fall and rush off -
And with a wave of spicy scent they become visible.
If the heavenly princesses were visible, everyone would go to fight the Dutch. 36

That the Moros were apparently influenced in their development of the juramentado convention by the example of the Achehnese in their resistance against the Dutch should not be surprising. For centuries there had been a lively trade in merchandise, information and ideas between the different ports in the Malay archipelago. The news of the Achehnese armed struggle against the Dutch would have been relayed to Muslims throughout the region, such as the Tausug, soon after it commenced by sailors, merchants, pilgrims and religious officials who would have thereafter maintained the flow of intelligence relating to the conflict. At a time when the balance in the Moros' ancient conflict with the Spaniards was tipping in favour of the unbelievers, the recent assumption by many Achehnese of an individual obligation to perform jihad against the Dutch could hardly have failed to make an impression on them. Moreover, in terms of Islam North Sumatra had been the centre of the archipelago for five centuries. 37

From there, foreign ulamas had regularly fanned out to the different states in the region to spread the faith and to encourage and oversee its teaching amongst believers. The presence and instruction of such learned men amongst the Muslim Filipinos would have only bolstered them in their recourse to jihad. A

36 Quoted in Ibid., 82.
rough idea of the numbers of such ‘ulamas in the southern Philippines at the turn of the twentieth century is provided by Landor in his autobiography: “I found in the most remote parts of the Sulu Archipelago Mahomedan priests and missionaries from Arabia, Asia Minor, Afghanistan, and even from far-away Bokhara, showing praiseworthy enterprise on the part of preachers of the Koran.” Landor remarks that a certain Sherif Afdul, the chief adviser of the powerful Datu Piang of Cotabato, came from “far-away Bokhara” in South Africa.

TWO FORMS OF PARRANG SABBIL

According to Kiefer, parrang sabbil assumed two basic forms in Jolo. The first form, the juramentado convention proper, was that practised by the assailants discussed by Barrows in his report. This version of jihad was apparently only performed by men. Kiefer observes that it has occurred “only occasionally” since the end of World War II. It was this variant which achieved notoriety amongst colonials and, subsequently, Christian Filipinos through Spanish and in particular American colonial writing.

The second form of jihad seems to have been less often recognised as such by the Spaniards and the Americans. It related to any Tausug, male or

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37 Anthony Reid, The Contest for North Sumatra: Atjeh, the Netherlands and Britain, 1858 - 1898 (Singapore: University of Malaya Press, 1969), 1.
39 Ibid., 40.
41 Ibid., 109.
female, who was killed innocently “in battle with a non-Moslem”⁴² who was perceived to pose a threat to the Tausugs’ religion and independence. Hence the Tausug who fought and died in the many wars with the Spaniards would have regarded themselves and been regarded by other Tausugs as sabbils (these wars began with the Spaniards’ intervention in the Sulu archipelago in the sixteenth century and continued as a result of their subsequent attempts to establish their sovereignty in the region). Unlike juramentados, persons who participated in a collective form of jihad did not undergo an elaborate ritual preparation; however, in offering up their lives in combat with the unbeliever, such persons automatically became sabbil.⁴³ This variant of parrang sabil was manifested in the various military strategies, such as “large pitched battles”, “occasional skirmishes” and cotta or fort warfare,⁴⁴ that were employed at different times by the Tausug against the Spaniards and the Americans between the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-centuries.

A notable example of the cotta warfare that the Tausug waged against the Americans is offered by the Battle of Bud (Mount) Dajo. Bud Dajo is an extinct volcano located outside of Jolo town. In early 1906 about a thousand Tausug assembled on the mountain in response to the imposition of the cedula or registration tax⁴⁵ in the Sulu district the year before. Soon their numbers were

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⁴² Ibid.
⁴³ Ibid., 109.
⁴⁴ Ibid., 110.
⁴⁵ The cedula tax was imposed in each district of the Moro Province by Legislative Council Act No. 5. The tax was an “annual tax of one peso from every male person between the ages of 18 and 55 inclusive, whether native born or alien, excepting U. S. soldiers and sailors, foreign diplomatic officers and (temporarily) members of non-Christian tribes other than Moro ‘tribes’.”
augmented by others opposed to equally unpopular colonial policies such as the anti-slavery law. During the several months that the Tausug were ensconced on Bud Dajo, they converted it into a stronghold, fortified its crater and built cottas on its slopes. American officials, the Sultan of Sulu and several of the principal datus or headmen repeatedly advised the rebels to surrender, but without success. In time the protesters “reportedly began raiding friendly villages, burning houses and buildings (including the Army target range at Jolo)”.46 Their continued presence on the mountain constituted a threat not only to American dominance in the region but to the traditional authority of the Sultan and some of the datus. Determined to break their resistance, in early March Gen. Leonard Wood sent a body of 790 Army and Constabulary troops to Jolo. Final attempts to induce the Tausug to either submit or send down their women and children again proved fruitless. Beginning on 6th March, the Battle of Bud Dajo lasted for two days and in the end Col. Joseph Duncan, commander of the American forces, needed only half of the men despatched to vanquish the various Muslim Filipino positions dispersed across the mountain. With 21 dead and 73 wounded, the casualties of the American forces were comparatively low, in line with those it traditionally sustained from military encounters in “Moroland”. In contrast, of the 1,000 Tausug gathered on the mountain, at least 600 were killed.47

Information exists which demonstrates that the Tausug regarded their

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46 Ibid., 160.

47 Hamilton Wright, “the only newspaper correspondent who saw and photographed the fight,” put the figure closer to a 1,000. See “Not A Wanton Massacre,” *Manila Times*, 16 June, 1906.
opposition to the U. S. force as a version of *parrang sabbil*. In a *Manila Times* article published soon after the conflict, Hamilton Wright, allegedly the only journalist present at the battle, records that when soldiers rushed the volcano’s crater, “Out poured the Moros, *with white rags upon their heads (a consecration of the hadjis [religious officials])*” (emphasis mine).48 The battle was one of the most dramatic occasions in which Muslim Filipino women and children, as well as men, participated in armed struggle against a colonial force and its Christian Filipino auxiliaries. Wright claims that the “women rushed with them [the men], cursing and handling the bolos.”49 Their determination to fight to the death was vividly illustrated by a young boy and woman’s suicidal onslaughts on the soldiers:

A Moro boy, apparently eleven or twelve years old, swift and supple, limber, and lean as a deer, charged with drawn bolo upon six of our men, and fell within two feet of them. A woman made a charge and fell pierced with bullets.50

A number of Americans were killed and wounded by Tausug who, lying amidst the corpses, feigned death in order to strike at them one last time, and even when dying, the Tausug slashed the soldiers viciously with their weapons, “hoping to get in one death-blow as they drew their last breaths.”51

Majul points out that, over time, the name “*juramentado*” has come to denote in Philippine popular culture not only both forms of *parrang sabbil*, as well as their exponents, but also acts which appear unrelated to *jihad*. For

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48 Ibid., 5.
49 Ibid.
50 Ibid.
51 Ibid.
instance, the term has been used in this century to designate Muslim Filipinos who, instead of killing themselves, seek death by assaulting Christian Filipino law enforcement agents, as well as Moros who murder someone in the course of a rampage - “run amok”, in other words.\footnote{For Majul's discussion of the various meanings “juramentado” has come to signify, see his “Two Take on the Juramentado,” 1696, and Muslims in the Philippines, 353.} In particular, Majul highlights and criticises in his writings the frequent conflation of the juramentado convention with amok in the twentieth-century. Kiefer would agree with Majul in his criticism of this conflation, but he would probably claim that while Tausug who attack law enforcement agents may not be, strictly speaking, juramentados, they are sabbil, since they regard themselves as such and are so viewed by other Tausug. M. Espina provides evidence that, already in the late nineteenth-century, the term “juramentado” was being colloquially used in Jolo and Mindanao (presumably by Spaniards and Christian Filipinos) to denominate the perpetrators of a range of unlawful behaviour:

\[\ldots\text{in Jolo and Mindanao as well they always name in that manner [as “juramentados”] many who in reality are not. Every time that some band of Moro thieves, more or less numerous, commits one or several murders, by robbing the unwary who wander into the forests, every time that a gambling party held in the cogon grass ends in tragedy, and every time that a crime occurs amongst the wicked population of the imprisoned, the deported...from the prison, outside the confines of the public square, between thickets and fences, they blame the incident on the juramentados.}\footnote{Miguel Espina, Apuntes Para Hacer Un Libro Sobre Jolo (Manila: Imprenta y Litografia de M. Perez, hijo, 1880), 341.}

RITUAL PREPARATION OF THE JURAMENTADO

Barrow’s comments on the juramentados’ peculiar appearance - heads
shaved, body-hair removed, finger and toenails "pared well down and cleaned" -
brings us to the ritual preparation they usually underwent before embarking on
their assaults. Although American commentators regularly asserted that Moro
men were shanghaied by their leaders into becoming juramentados, Kiefer's
study of parrang sabbil as it was practised by the Tausug in the mid-to late
1960s suggests that they freely chose their fate. Prior to his becoming a sabbil, a
Moro had to fulfill certain requirements. Firstly, he had to gain the consent of
his nearest relatives, "specifically his parents and siblings, as well as the
community headman and the highest ranking religious leader in his mosque."54
Persons who failed to obtain the consent of their parents to participate in jihad,
it should be noted, were exempted from the collective obligation to join in
armed struggle.55 "Ideally, permission would also be obtained from the sultan
although, in practice, this was not always possible. However, there were no
sanctions against a person who did not ask permission."56 Following the
commission of his attack, the juramentado's religious and political superiors
would normally conceal from the Spaniards and the Americans his identity and
the reason/s for his act. In a letter he sent to Barrows on April 1 relating to the
juramentado assaults that had occurred in Jolo in March, Saleeby mentions that
on learning of such attacks by their men, chiefs were "invariably in sympathy
with the people in this matter and withhold every evidence that may help to

54 Kiefer, "Parrang Sabbil," 114.
55 Peters, Islam and Colonialism, 16.
56 Kiefer, "Parrang Sabbil", 114.
detect the causes or the instigator of the crime.\textsuperscript{57}

The second requirement a Moro had to meet in order to become a juramentado was the ritual preparation of his spirit and body for entry into paradise. Most of this would be carried out under the guidance of one or more panditas on the evening before the sabbil performed jihad.\textsuperscript{58} The importance of the panditas' role in the armed struggle against the unbelievers was noticed by Espina:

The Pandita is a sort of political-religious parish priest or minister who is entrusted with the duty of celebrating marriages. Accompanied by the Iman or coadjutor, he also provides religious rituals, circumcisions, preaches holy war, consecrates the fanatics who swear to die killing Christians and preserves the tradition of another life sensual and eternal.\textsuperscript{59}

Throughout the night, the panditas would read to the sabbil relevant passages from the Koran and the Hikajat Prang Sabil and recite epic ballads (langkit parrang sabbil) which celebrate the achievements of previous sabbil against the infidels.\textsuperscript{60} The ablution he underwent was identical to the way in which a corpse is made ready by the Tausug for burial. Thus his body would be bathed by panditas "in the same manner as they would a corpse: three times facing east, three times facing west, and three times on his back. Dirt would be removed from the anus and other bodily orifices to insure complete ritual purity."\textsuperscript{61}

\textsuperscript{57} David P. Barrows to the Secretary of the Interior, 14\textsuperscript{th} March 1903, Otley Beyer Collection.
\textsuperscript{58} Majul, Muslims in the Philippines, 356.
\textsuperscript{59} Espina, Un Libro Sobre Jolo, 45.
\textsuperscript{61} Kiefer, "Parrang Sambil", 113.
Several of the other procedures in the ceremony were enumerated by Major C. E. Livingston in a monograph he put together in Jolo in 1915:

The Juramentado is prepared by the priest, is purified, bathes, cleans his nails, has his eyebrows shaved, has string wound around his testicles, and wears a clean white sarong. The string round the testicles, is not, as is sometimes said, for the purpose of giving such pain to the juramentado that frenzy will overcome the human fear of death; but it is wrapped around the large vein of the penis, so as to render the juramentado immediately after death ready for the pleasures peculiar to the Mohammedan paradise.\(^{62}\)

Since the Tausug clothe corpses in white for burial, the juramentado's "white sarong" clearly represented his burial shroud.\(^{63}\) Having already performed his ablution the evening before, the juramentado would be buried in the bloody clothes he was wearing at the time of his death. While Livingston correctly observes that the sabbil's penis was often bound, he fails to mention that it was often tied tightly in an upright position and that the other end of the string or cord was wrapped around his neck.\(^{64}\) Regarding this curious procedure, Ewing speculates that it was "thought to enable him [the sabbil] to fight on after having received many wounds."\(^{65}\) Regarding it, however, as a "reflection of the masochistic and quasi-sexual attitude" which formed in large measure the foundation of parrang sabbil in the southern Philippines, Keifer argues that the procedure symbolised the unity in the sabbil of "two otherwise disparate roles”

\(^{62}\) Major Charles E. Livingston, "Constabulary Monograph of the Province of Sulu" (Jolo: 1915), 148, Paper 1, Moro Ethnography, vol. 1, Otley Beyer Collection.

\(^{63}\) Majul, Muslims in the Philippines, 356.

\(^{64}\) J. F. Ewing, "Juramentado: Institutionalized Suicide Among the Moros of the Philippines," Anthropology Quarterly, 28 (1955): 150.

\(^{65}\) Ibid.
in Tausug culture, the man of piety and the man of action.\textsuperscript{66}

The appeal and significance of \textit{parrang sabbil} to the Tausug is precisely that it combines in a single institution both these different role ideals. In situations where Islam is seen as menaced by an external threat - and this has included most of Tausug history since they became Moslems - the religious power of men of God may acquire a wider political significance which it might not otherwise have. And conversely, the virtues of the man of violent action - bravery, fortitude, willingness to die, and all the rest - may acquire a religious meaning which might otherwise be condemned. To die in the path of God is the perfect form of altruistic behavior to the Tausug because it combines two otherwise contradictory values in a higher synthesis.\textsuperscript{67}

Following his ritual preparation a \textit{juramentado} would typically conceal his weapon, usually a \textit{kris} or \textit{barong}, in his sarong or in a bundle of items he was carrying, as did three of the assailants discussed by Barrows, and travel to a Christian settlement such as Jolo town. On entering the settlement or on encountering a group of Christians in its environs, he would whip out his weapon and proceed to kill as many unbelievers as he could before he was himself murdered. Sometimes, on striking his first victim, the \textit{juramentado} would cry out "Bismallah" ("In the name of God"), but he would not repeat the call when assaulting his other victims.\textsuperscript{68} Occasionally, as well, he would yell out to any Muslims in the area to keep clear of him.

In light of the mixed genders and ethnic backgrounds of the victims of the \textit{juramentados} described by Barrows - Christian Filipinos, Chinese, Americans, an "East India merchant" and Moros (one of them a woman) - it may seem that \textit{juramentados} were indiscriminate in their violence. Most

\textsuperscript{66} Kiefer, "Parrang Sabbil," 113 - 114.
\textsuperscript{67} Ibid., 122 - 123.
present-day Filipinos would probably believe as much, as a result of the frequent conflation of amok with the *juramentado* convention in Philippine popular culture since the turn of the twentieth-century. The truth is, however, that *juramentados* usually targeted only male Spanish and American colonial agents and Christian Filipinos. Given that they were performing *jihad* against unbelievers who were their enemies, it would have been absurd for them to deliberately and consistently murder fellow Muslims. Kiefer observes that if any Muslims were killed by *juramentados*, “it was said that the amount of [the assailants’] religious merit was decreased or entirely eliminated.”

The Tausug engaged in *parrang sabbil* only against the members of ethnic groups that were considered to be their “military and religious enemies”.

This is why they rarely assailed the Chinese who lived in Jolo and the Europeans who put into the island’s ports “at various times during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries...” Although *juramentados* occasionally injured and killed Moros and women in the course of their rampages, they usually avoided harming them. Referring to the murder of Muslims by *juramentados*, John P. Finley, the one-time governor of Zamboanga, wrote in 1911 that “Such an act rarely occurs.”

According to early Islamic law, unless they actually fight against Muslims, women and children cannot be murdered by Muslims partaking in *jihad*. In this context it is interesting to consider H. L. Scott’s assertion that, among

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68 Ibid., 150.
69 Ibid., 112.
70 Ibid., 111.
71 Ibid.
American colonial officials, it was widely believed that no woman had ever been assassinated by a juramentado in Jolo town:

...it is said that no woman has ever been killed in Jolo by a juramentado...[a] possible explanation of...[this]...mystery is that woman was held to be an inferior creature in Islam, and it may be that her death could not be influential in helping one to paradise.\textsuperscript{74}

It should be noted that when Lieut. W. H. Rodney was killed by a juramentado while walking with his young daughter just outside the town gate in April 1911, a witness to the incident, Col. H. B. McCoy, was quoted as saying that the Moro made no attempt to harm the child: “Lieut. Rodney had seemed to think that the child was being attacked and shielded her with his body but the Moro was after him and did not make an effort to kill the child.”\textsuperscript{75}

In time, it appears that the sabbil’s ritual preparation came to be conducted less often and more covertly. As early as 1888, Espina claimed that panditas were no longer willing to supervise the preparation of sabbils for fear of being blamed for their assaults:

There are no longer any panditas or sherifs who dare to prepare the devout for martyrdom, for the fear of being held responsible cools their religious ardour. The juramentados, even the real ones, do not prepare themselves with prayers, place ligatures on themselves, dress themselves in white, or parade themselves before the crowds from their settlements.\textsuperscript{76}

While Espina’s claim was premature, since American commentators described panditas partaking in the ritual preparation of sabbils, such preparations may

\textsuperscript{73} Peters, \textit{Islam and Colonialism}, 21.
\textsuperscript{74} Scott, \textit{Some Memories}, 320.
\textsuperscript{75} “Unable to Aid, They Watched Crazed Moro Slash Rodney to Death,” \textit{Manila Times}, 26 April 1911.
well have become less formal and more clandestine over time. J. Montano, who visited Jolo on a scientific mission on behalf of the French government in 1879-1880, commented that such preparations, involving as they did many individuals and procedures, could not always be kept secret from the Spanish authorities, especially when there was money to be made from the sale of information to such authorities relating to impending juramentado assaults. He added that almost always the Governor of Sulu was given notice of the imminence of such attacks, although he remained ignorant of their precise date of occurrence.\textsuperscript{77} Allowing for Montano’s likely exaggeration about the extent of the Governor’s awareness, it is clear from the records that the Spaniards in Jolo town were occasionally alerted by native allies to the approach of juramentados and Moro assailants in general.\textsuperscript{78} In 1897, for example, 3 Spanish officers and their soldiers from the camp of Sungut in Mindanao were able to surprise and capture 28 “juramentados” who came from settlements situated around Lake Lanao. The men, who had been planning to attack a military convoy, “had their bodies tied up as the juramentados commonly do on the eve of combat.”\textsuperscript{79} In the late 1920s Scott remarked that the sabbil were forgoing the traditional ritual preparation undergone by their predecessors because of all the unwelcome attention it drew:

> Nowadays however all this ceremony must be dispensed with for

\textsuperscript{76} Espina, \textit{Un Libro Sobre Jolo}, 341.
\textsuperscript{77} Quoted in Ibid., 339.
\textsuperscript{78} For examples in \textit{El Comercio} of instances in which the Spaniards in the town were warned of the advance of juramentados, see “Pascos por el Sur,” 12 July 1897 and “De Jolo,” 22 May 1897.
\textsuperscript{79} “En Mindanao,” \textit{El Comercio}, 17 April 1897.
the publicity gained during the preparations tend to thwart the gruesome plot and they hide their purpose often for days while watching their opportunity.  

MOTIVES OF THE SABBIL

A person’s motives for becoming a sabbil are a complex mixture of the religious and the personal. The reasons he offers in public are typically religious ones: he wishes to engage in armed struggle against the unbelievers for “the greater glory of God, the community and his own soul.”  

It was probably the recital of such inducements that revolted a Spanish correspondent when he tried to interview a juramentado who was incarcerated within the Queens Tower of Jolo in 1884. One of three sabbils who had attempted to enter the town undetected, the juramentado was captured by several soldiers on guard, while his companions escaped. As the correspondent wrote of their meeting in his letter to a Manila newspaper,

I had an opportunity of seeing him in custody and asking him several questions, in replying to which he displayed repulsive fanaticism, and affirmed that if not released and allowed to fulfill his oath he would be glad of being put to death as soon as possible.  

Yet such religious motives frequently coexist with personal ones. Kiefer points out that the variety of catalysts for an individual’s decision to commit ritual suicide can be wide indeed, ranging from a resolve to hurt his relatives to

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80 Scott, Some Memories, 314.
81 Kiefer, “Parrang Sabbil,” 114.
82 “Manila News,” Straits Times, 6 October 1883. It should be mentioned that the day after the juramentado’s apprehension, another juramentado, believed to be one of his companions,
a gamut of personal difficulties and injuries. The commission of acts of spite against one’s relations, known as pagjuruh, is partly institutionalised amongst the Tausug, and suicide in the shape of parrang sabbil is for them a major form of pagjuruh. As for personal difficulties, they are said to include marital disputes, failure in “love or financial affairs” and “grief at the death of a child....” The endurance of an affront, in particular one which cannot be easily redressed, coupled with the feeling of intense shame it generates, can prompt a person to seek redemption through parrang sabbil. Scott described the alleged reasoning through which a Tausug decided to engage and die in armed struggle against the infidels in these terms: “When therefore he [the Moro] is overtaken by misfortune or any disappointment in his life on earth the Moro is apt to say to himself: ‘Why should I live around here like a rat in the jungle? I will go to Jolo and kill a Christian and go straight to paradise.” The variety of inducements that could encourage the Moros to become sabbil during the Spanish period was noted by Espina:

The hatred of race, the instructions of a mandarin;...the desire to distinguish themselves in the eyes of their relatives and to avenge injuries bequeathed to them, all these and many other causes today yield up contingents of sabil or juramentados. Abuses, injuries and scorn send Moro Malays crazy and impel them to kill until death: the affront of a datu or gentleman, the attempt to disarm them forcibly (the greatest insult they can endure) drive even the most gentle and cowardly of them to rage and heroism.

managed to wound an officer and two soldiers from the garrison of the Queen’s Tower when they were returning to the town from a reconnaissance.

84 Ibid., 114.
85 Ibid.
86 Scott, Some Memories, 314.
87 Espina, Un Libro Sobre Jolo, 341.
Yet why does a Tausug who is labouring under difficulties or an injury he has sustained become a sabbil instead of committing a more prosaic form of suicide? Why this desire to shake off his mortal coil with such a bang? Most obviously, because suicide is prohibited by the Koran. Yet Kiefer suggests that he also engages in jihad in order to avoid wasting his death. In offering up his life in armed struggle, he will at least gain some “religious merit” for his actions and ensure that his name will be covered in glory. The wish to die in a dramatic manner, one which will win the admiration of all who learn of it and be immortalised in legend and song, is typically Tausug.88

During the Spanish and American periods, at least, parrang sabbil may have also been resorted to by Tausug who had seriously contravened Islamic law or Tausug customary law through the commission of some crime such as parricide or incest.89 Faced with the prospect of being seriously penalised or killed by the relevant Tausug official, such persons may have rejected these disgraceful fates and opted instead to die the glorious death of a sabbil.90 Contrary to the opinion of some colonial commentators, though, it does not seem that Tausug authorities had either the right or the power to force such persons to perform jihad as recompense for their crimes. Kiefer states that all his informants “denied that it was ever possible for a headman, or even a sultan, to force a criminal to commit sabbil against his will.”91

89 Ibid.
90 Ibid.
91 Ibid.
"PUBLIC GRIEVANCE OR INJUSTICE TO THE TRIBE"92

The fact that Muslim Filipino men became juramentados for personal as well as religious and political reasons during the American period naturally drew the attention of colonial commentators. Seizing this as proof that the juramentado convention was not an expression of Moro hostility to American rule, the majority of writers dismissed the convention as merely the peculiarly Moro form of suicide, the means by which Moro men commonly escaped from the anger, shame and despair occasioned by some injury or misfortune. They refused to concede that sabbils could be actuated by a variety of coexisting motives. Their emphases on different dimensions of the convention, as well as their assumption that these dimensions were mutually exclusive, led the debate over the issue of the convention’s meaning into a dead-end from which it has yet to emerge.

Yet not all American commentators believed that the juramentado convention arose predominantly from "some domestic trouble". Others, albeit a minority, argued that the typical colonial perception of the convention was a misunderstanding that stemmed from an ignorance of its political and religious elements. The latter pundits were usually those with the greatest experience in the southern Philippines and knowledge of Muslim Filipino society and culture.

92 The subheading derives from the following assertion, allegedly made by A. H. Savage Landor, in the course of a meeting with President Roosevelt in the mid-1900s: "But juramentados are not so common as some have represented. They are generally the result of some public grievance or injustice to the tribe, when one or more men sacrifice their lives for revenge on behalf of their fellows." See "A. H. Savage-Landor Reassures President About the Philippines," Manila Times, 7 June 1905.
such as Saleeby and Livingston. Although they may have differed over the issue of whether the convention’s origins were primarily political or religious in nature, they concurred that it was not merely the spectacular manifestation of a mental illness. For instance, Livingston defined the convention as a version of holy war and distinguished it from amok on this basis:

> There seems to be a misunderstanding among most foreigners as to the precise meaning of juramentado....The Amok is not inspired by religion but from desperation or grief becomes suddenly murder mad [sic]. Except in a few cases where the juramentado, refused aid from the priest, has attempted to prepare himself for the Jihad, the demarcation is distinct.

On the other hand, Saleeby disagreed with this interpretation of the convention, preferring instead to see it as the outcome of a “fierce patriotism” that sent the sabbil into a rage:

> “Juramentados” are not religious fanatics. Not one juramentado in ten could say his prayers or knew the doctrines of his creed....The juramentado is not actuated by a religious feeling. It is fierce patriotism that excites his rashness and provokes his craziness. A juramentado’s state of mind during the execution of his purpose is a condition of frenzy or temporary insanity closely allied in its nature to that of being amuck. A man who runs amuck in a manner avenges himself and his personal grievances, but the juramentado avenges his people and his chief. His chief’s call for vengeance rings in his ears and he immediately comes forwards as the hero and avenger of the datuship and gets ready for his treacherous fray. No one, however, faces death without religious wakening and fear, and the reckless juramentado can not advance towards his grave without performing the last rites of his creed. He would not otherwise be allowed to proceed even if he wanted to. Religion plays a secondary role in this case and no blame can attach to the juramentado’s creed.

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93 Regarding Saleeby, Peter Gowing asserts that he “knew more about the Muslim Filipinos than any other person in the Government...” Gowing, Mandate in Moroland, 112.
94 Livingston, “Constabulary Monograph,” 143.
95 Saleeby, Moro Problem, 24-25.
The relation between the juramentado convention and Tausug feelings about Spanish and American imperialism is exemplified in Saleeby’s discussion of the assault that occurred in Jolo's market on 14th March. Immediately after it, Saleeby began an investigation into the incident. In particular, he was intent on discovering the men’s identities and where they came from. On completing his inquiry at the day’s end, he shared his findings with Barrows and Colonel W. M. Wallace, the Military Governor of Jolo in 1902. Subsequently, however, he must have felt it necessary to properly record his discoveries, for on April 1 he wrote a letter to Barrows in which he again rehearsed them. His results are germane to our study, for they show that the three juramentado assaults which occurred in Jolo and its environs between the 8th and the 14th were the dramatic expressions of a pervasive Tausug hostility toward the Americans:

I found out that afternoon that the whole island was in a state of fear and disturbance and very hostile at heart. The naval survey of the shores of the islands [sic] and the census of the people seemed to them to be evident signs of some ulterior motive the Americans have. They thought that the Americans intend to fight them and tax the people and raise the customs. The chiefs that were hostile to the Sultan accused him of treachery and thought he was going to sell the country to the Americans. The people and the secondary chiefs distrusted the Americans and were afraid and very suspicious of every move, action or word. The country has been in a state of anarchy ever since the war between the Sultan and Datu Kalli-bigan. The people are in a distressing condition. Cholera caused many deaths. The ignorance of the people is extreme, and their patience was taxed to the last limit. Then they resorted to juramentado acts to give vent to an accumulating and exasperating [sic] angry sentiment.

The points I emphasized were that the sentiment was general. All datus and chiefs and the people were in sympathy with it; that it indicates a hostile attitude and a grave error or

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96 See David P. Barrows to the Secretary of the Interior, 14th March 1903, Otley Beyer Collection.
grievance that should be corrected.\textsuperscript{97} Hence it was against the backdrop of a widespread Tausug resentment against the Americans that the three \textit{juramentado} assaults in Jolo’s environs took place. Saleeby does not explain the link between the cholera outbreak and the Tausugs’ distrust of the Americans. However, Kiefer has uncovered evidence that the Tausug considered the epidemic - which was rampant in eastern Jolo - to be proof that the Americans were poisoning their water.\textsuperscript{98} The outbreak was only one of several recent events - the others being the naval survey and the census - which confirmed the Tausugs’ worst suspicions of the Americans - namely, that they intended to “fight them and tax the people and raise the customs.” Subsequent events in the archipelago were to prove the Tausugs’ suspicions justified.

**HABITUS AND THE \textit{JURAMENTADO} CONVENTION**

Obviously, from this point in time it is impossible to determine precisely why individual Moro men chose to become \textit{sabbils} during the Spanish and American periods. Such men were invariably killed in the course of their rampages; although, on the very few occasions they were captured, they were sometimes interviewed by colonial officials, the records of such interviews are now extremely rare and fragmentary.\textsuperscript{99} Moreover, such men were not in the

\textsuperscript{97} Ibid., 39. For supporting evidence of Saleeby’s findings, see Landor, \textit{Gems of the East}, 173-175.

\textsuperscript{98} See Kiefer, “Parrang Sabil,” 112.

\textsuperscript{99} For examples of newspaper references to such interviews, see “Manila News,” \textit{Straits Times}, 6 October 1883 and “General Arrolas Let Gunboats Go ‘Juramentado’,” \textit{Cabinetnews American}, 15 December 1911. For examples of newspaper references to inquiries, conducted by American
habit of leaving documents behind explaining their actions. Nor is the available 
literature on the juramentado convention from that epoch fully enlightening. 
Muslim Filipino interpretations of the convention are scarce; as a result, the 
bulk of that literature is made up of colonial accounts whose authors, typically 
being governmental officials and travel writers, were hardly disinterested in 
their inquiries into the convention. Given the difficulty of obtaining a Moro 
perspective on the convention from that period, how can we gain a sense - 
however rudimentary - of its meaning without drowning in the quicksand of the 
juramentados' subjective intentions?

We can do so, I argue, by considering the juramentado convention in 
relation to Pierre Bourdieu’s theory of “habitus”. In his Outline of a Theory of 
Practice, Bourdieu provides several definitions of “habitus”. 100 Habitus is 
variously the “organizing principle” of the actions of agents (18), a “system of 
dispositions” (82), and a “community of interests” (35). It is the “strategy-
generating principle enabling agents to cope with unforeseen and ever-changing 
situations...” (72), a “socially constituted system of cognitive and motivating 
structures” (76). Its origin, nature and the functions of its elements are explained 
in this passage:

The structures constitutive of a particular type of environment (e.g. the 
material conditions of existence characteristic of a class condition) 
produce habitus, systems of durable, transposable dispositions, 
structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, 
that is, as principles of the generation and structuring of practices and 
representations which can be objectively “regulated” and “regular”

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100 Pierre Bourdieu, Outline of a Theory of Practice (1977; reprint, Cambridge: Cambridge 
without in any way being the product of obedience to rules, objectively adapted to their goals without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary to attain them and, being all this, collectively orchestrated without being the product of the orchestrating action of a conductor (72).

The aptness of the term “dispositions” as a signifier of the components of habitus stems from its ability to capture the meanings encompassed by the notion of habitus. The word expresses firstly “the result of an organizing action, with a meaning close to that of words such as structure; it also designates a way of being, a habitual state (especially of the body) and, in particular, a predisposition, tendency, propensity, or inclination” (214).

Bourdieu’s description of habitus as a “structured structure”, inclined to operate as a “structuring structure”, nicely captures its distinctive character: it is a product which itself possesses the capacity to engender and organise other products such as “thoughts, perceptions, expressions, actions....” (95). Habitus is the outcome of the structures typical of definite “material conditions of life” and “pedagogic action” (63). Examples of the structures “characteristic of a determinate type of conditions of existence” are “the sexual division of labour, domestic morality, cares, strife, tastes, etc” (78). Regarding “pedagogic action”, the most obvious manifestation of it is an educational system, but in societies where such a system is not clearly institutionalised, it is exerted anonymously and pervasively by “a whole group and a whole symbolically structured environment, without specialized agents or specific moments....” (87). In such societies, the habitus is mainly appropriated by children not through pedagogic models but through their copying of adult conduct: “The child imitates not
‘models’ but other people’s actions” (87). Hence an institutionalised educational system and the imperceptible assimilation of proper adult behaviour and the beliefs that underpin it represent the two poles of the process through which a society’s habitus is communicated to children:

Between apprenticeship through simple familiarization, in which the apprentice insensibly and unconsciously acquires the principles of the “art” and the art of living - including those which are not known to the producer of the practices or works imitated, and, at the other extreme, explicit and express transmission by precept and prescription, every society provides for structural exercises tending to transmit this or that form of practical mastery (88).

The equivalence of the modes of production of habitus gives rise to the homogenisation of the dispositions and interests that constitute it. Once implanted in an agent’s body in the form of a mental disposition, a scheme of perception and thought (15), habitus becomes for that agent the “basis of perception and appreciation of all” their “subsequent experience” (78). The result of history, habitus “produces individual and collective practices, and hence history, in accordance with the schemes engendered by history” (82). As an example of this, Bourdieu notes how the political instability which has been characteristic of life in Kabylia (in Algeria) has effectively reproduced itself by engendering the habitus needed to deal with such conditions:

...the political insecurity which perpetuates itself by generating the dispositions required in order to respond to war, brawling, robbery, or vengeance (reqba) was doubtless the basic reason why men were valued as “rifles”, i.e. not only as a labour force but also as fighting power: the value of the land lies only in the men who cultivate and also defend it (60).

From our viewpoint, the value of Bourdieu’s theory of habitus lies in the fact that it enables us to understand the objective meaning of practices without
having to content ourselves with the subjective motives of their individual performers. The attempt to comprehend the significance of "ordinary practices" through an analysis of the aims of agents is inherently problematic, for not only are such aims normally multiple and obscure, but they do not even constitute the real source and significance of such practices. In order to arrive at the final cause of practices and grasp their actual intentions, we need to address the habitus that produces such practices and makes them "immediately intelligible and foreseeable" by naturalising them (80). This approach makes the inquiry into the purposes of agents unnecessary:

This practical comprehension obviates the 'intention' and 'intentional transfer into the Other' dear to the phenomenologists, by dispensing, for the ordinary occasions of life, with close analysis of the nuances of another's practice and tacit or explicit inquiry ('What do you mean?') into his intentions. Automatic and impersonal, significant without intending to signify, ordinary practices lend themselves to an understanding no less automatic and impersonal: the picking up of the objective intention they express in no way implies 'reactivation' of the 'lived' intention of the agent who performs them. 'Communication of consciousnesses' presupposes community of 'unconsciouses' (i.e. of linguistic and cultural competences). The deciphering of the objective intention of practices and works has nothing to do with the reconstitution, unnecessary and uncertain, of the personal singularities of an 'intention' which is not their true origin (80).

Examined in the light of Bourdieu's theory of habitus, the apparent tendency of Moro men to perform the juramentado convention for a range of reasons during the American period becomes more intelligible. Briefly, it can be regarded as one of the dispositions of the habitus that acted within the Muslim Filipinos as the "organizing principle of their actions...." It was the product of the "structures characteristic of the material conditions" of their existence and of the pedagogic practices or, more generally, "structural exercises" at work in
their societies. Examples of the more notable of these material conditions were the Moros’ ancient conflict with the Spaniards and the unsettled economic and political circumstances it created in the southern Philippines for roughly three hundred years; the absence from their social formations of a judicial apparatus endowed with a monopoly of physical or even symbolic violence and the existence, in its the place, of processes of adjudication involving the judgement or arbitration of community headmen; the consequent readiness of Moros, when faced with a dispute, to solve it by direct confrontation with its source “either through litigation or through violence”; and the importance amongst them of self-pride and its corollary, the fear of “losing face”. These and other conditions generated a habitus within the Muslim Filipinos which included, amongst its elements, a disposition which inclined young Moro men to resort to the juramentado convention for a range of purposes. This disposition and others were gradually instilled in the Muslim Filipinos by their earliest upbringing and education. Examples of this process are provided by Gowing in his discussion of the ways through which social control is achieved amongst the Moros:

An important feature of social control is the inculcation in the young of the values and mores of the society. From childhood the Moro learns the socially acceptable and unacceptable patterns of behavior, habits, customs, and traditions of his people. He learns them from his approving or disapproving parents, older siblings, peer group and the community at large.  

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As well, a society's values and beliefs are communicated through its "folklore, observed taboos, and common sayings." As an illustration of such sayings, Gowing cites the following which exemplify the fundamental importance of courage and pride in the Moro hierarchy of values:

It is preferable to see the whiteness of your bones due to wounds than to whiten your heel in running away from battle.
Death is preferable to being put to shame.  

While colonial commentators were wrong in holding that the juramentado convention is not a form of jihad, they were probably right in claiming that it was resorted to by Muslim Filipino men for personal reasons - for instance, to reclaim a self-respect lost through the endurance of an insult or misfortune. However, this probability does not constitute the knockdown blow against the convention that such commentators believed it did for it does not refute the fact that, for all the protests of such pundits to the contrary, the Moros commonly perceived the convention to be a type of parrang sabbil. This is because the impartial meaning of the convention surpassed its personal meaning for its exponents. The intelligibility, foreseeability and objectivity the convention possessed in the eyes of Muslim Filipinos was the result not of their individual motives for engaging in it, but of the homogeneity of their habitus:

So it is because they are the product of dispositions which, being the internalization of the same objective structures, are objectively concerted that the practices of the members of the same group or, in a differentiated society, the same class are endowed with an objective meaning that is at once unitary and systematic, transcending subjective intentions and conscious projects whether individual or collective.

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103 Ibid.
104 Ibid., 96.
105 Ibid., 81.
CONCLUSION

The differences between the juramentado convention and amok, as the latter was typically conceived of by the British and Americans, should now be more evident. Recall that amok was commonly regarded by the British and Americans as a form of unexpected and indiscriminate slaughter that was either inexplicable or intelligible as the Malays’ peculiar mode of suicide. In contrast, the juramentado convention was one of the two forms of parrang sabbil or jihad performed by the Muslim Filipinos, in particular the Tausug, in the southern Philippines. Unlike amok, which is mentioned in European travel writing from at least the sixteenth century, the convention only emerged in Jolo in the mid-1870s, and it did so in response to principally two contemporary developments: the growing Spanish ascendancy in the Sulu archipelago, and the holy war the Atjehnese began waging against the Dutch in the early 1870s. The Moros resorted to the convention against the Spaniards and Americans most frequently when the relations between them were particularly poor.

All these facts indicate that the convention was a form of civic resistance couched in a religious idiom. It was a sensitive barometer of the Moros’ disquiet over the colonial interventions in their regions, and the more perceptive of colonial commentators perceived as much. Saleeby observed that “the juramentado is a forerunner of hostilities and an evil sign of the times.”

Referring to the three juramentados who went on a rampage in Jolo’s market,

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106 Saleeby, Moro Problem, 25.
Landor noted that this “occurrence produced a good deal of uneasiness among the Sulus, and the Americans feared that these murders were only the preliminary of serious trouble. They were”\textsuperscript{107}

Moreover, unlike amok, the convention was not an unforeseen manifestation of violence - at least from the perspective of its practitioners. Moros did not spontaneously “turn juramentado”, as the stereotypical amok-runner was believed to surrender to the amok impulse. Rather, they usually chose to commit ritual suicide, and before becoming sabbils, they normally had to observe a number of formalities, the most famous of which was their preparation for death by a pandita. Although over time it apparently became more difficult for aspiring sabbils to heed these formalities, because of the attention they increasingly attracted from colonial authorities and their informers, some sabbils were still complying with these procedures during the American period, as the accounts of Barrows and Livingstone (amongst others) attest. Finally, unlike amok, the convention was not a form of indiscriminate slaughter. All those not associated with the Spanish and American forces in the southern Philippines - such as the Chinese who lived there and the Europeans who occasionally visited its ports - were not harmed by sabbils. As for infidel women and children, unless they are literally fighting against Muslims, Muslims performing jihad are prohibited from killing them by Islamic law. While occasionally women and other Muslims were injured and killed in juramentado assaults, the records demonstrate that in the majority of such incidents the

\textsuperscript{107} Landor, Gems of the East, 171.
sabbils specifically targeted Spanish, American and Christian Filipino men.
JURADOS Y JURAMENTADOS

EL DATO.—Yo, señor, soy leal a América. Palabra de moro. Lo juro por el zancarrón de Mahoma. Ya no usted, ni siquiera llevo kris.

EL SECRETARIO.—Lo eres, honorable Datto; no necesitas jurar. Pero esos que van armados ¿son también leales? ¿Han jurado ya alguna vez?

EL DATO.—¡Ay, no, señor! no han jurado, pero tampoco se han juramentado todavía.

This cartoon appeared in the Manila newspaper La Vanguardia on 3 September 1910. Entitled “Jurados y Juramentados” (“Oaths and Juramentados”), it shows a conversation between Datu Mandi, a pro-American Muslim leader from Zamboanga, and Secretary of War Jacob M. Dickinson, who toured the Philippines in the second half of 1910. Mandi and Dickinson are discussing the loyalty to the United States of the armed Moros passing in the background. A copy of this cartoon, containing an English translation of its Spanish legend, is to be found in the collection of General John J. Pershing’s personal papers held in the Library of Congress. The English translation reads as follows:

OATHS AND JURAMENTADOS

THE DATU: I, sir, am loyal to America. The word of a Moro. I swear it by the thigh of Mohammed. You see I do not even carry a kris.

THE SECRETARY: Thou art, honorable Datu. Thou does not need to swear. But those who are armed, are they also loyal? Have they ever sworn?

THE DATU: Oh, no, sir! They have not sworn, but neither have they gone juramentado yet.
Chapter 6

"STRATEGIES OF DOMINATION": THE DEPLOYMENT OF THE AMOK/JURAMENTADO CONVENTION NEXUS

Why does the Moro run amuck? Only very recently have American [sic] in the Philippine Islands found out the reason. In nine cases out of ten it is not on account of religion, nor yet to punish his enemies, but because he is unable to get a wife.  

INTRODUCTION

American writing on the amok/juramentado convention nexus emerged and flourished during a period of intermittent conflict between the American forces and the diverse Muslim Filipino ethnic groups in Mindanao and the Sulu archipelago. Yet despite this many American commentators, especially from about 1903 onwards, were remarkably reluctant to investigate the juramentado convention’s possible links to their government’s ongoing efforts to extend its control over Moroland and the Moro resistance they engendered. Rather than entertain the likelihood that the convention was in some way a response to the American incursion into the Abode or Territory of Islam (dar al-Islam), they preferred to see it as a form of deviance, the roots of which lay in the interaction between the Muslim Filipinos’ ‘racial’ character, their benighted faith, and the barbarism of their societies. On learning that Moro men were capable of becoming juramentados for personal as well as religious and political reasons, such pundits seized on this

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fact and cited it as proof that the *juramentado* convention was not an expression of Moro hostility to American rule at all, but merely the peculiarly Moro form of suicide. For them the convention’s personal dimensions nullified its religious and political ones. This view is embodied in a *Manila Times* article from August 1911, consisting of a letter to the newspaper from a colonial resident in Mindanao. Referring to the “few cases of murder” that had occurred on the island within the past year, three of which had allegedly been perpetrated by *juramentados*, the correspondent observes that the cases

> do not indicate in any sense a rebellious spirit against American control. We have here in Mindanao a class of people, the Moros, who are a combination of Malay and Mohammedan and who have been trained from time immemorial to believe that human life means nothing. The three cases of *juramentados* have been suicides; they merely selected that means of ending their own unhappy lives.  

The assertion that the Moros “are a combination of Malay and Mohammedan” suggests that they blended the reputed savageness of the former with the fanaticism of the latter and hence were predisposed, by both their ‘race’ and religion, to commit such alleged acts of barbarism as *juramentado* assaults.

In this chapter, I explore the reasons why American commentators were often bent on separating the *juramentado* convention from the broader Muslim Filipino resistance to U. S. rule in Moroland. Specifically, I examine the strategies for which the discourse on the amok/*juramentado* convention nexus was deployed between roughly 1899 and 1914. I end my history at 1914 for two reasons: by then

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the American discourse on the amok/juramentado convention nexus had already emerged and assumed its distinctive features; and the Battle of Bud Bagsak on Jolo island in that year marked the end of serious Muslim Filipino resistance against the Americans. I argue that, following the accidental conflation of amok with the juramentado convention by the likes of J. Foreman and Dean C. Worcester in the 1890s, that discourse served principally to depoliticize the convention. The blending of amok with the convention in that discourse resulted in the medicalization and individualization of the convention which, in turn, neutralized it in colonial eyes as a form of dissent. Furthermore, insofar as the convention is occasionally portrayed in that discourse as the offshoot of certain supposedly unenlightened features of traditional Moro “society”,⁴ that discourse functioned to subtly denigrate the Moros’ diverse societies and thus justify the American attempt to intervene in Moroland and break down their political systems.⁵ Given that amok was commonly viewed by colonials in the early twentieth-century as a “homicidal mania”,⁶ its fusion with the juramentado convention enabled commentators to claim that the Moros’ performance of the convention was symptomatic, not of their

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⁴ There is no such thing, of course, as a Muslim Filipino “society”. However, the Americans were typically blind to the differences between the various Moro societies. In order to faithfully represent their common understanding of those societies, in this chapter I occasionally imitate the mode in which they normally referred to them.

⁵ Three approaches to this end considered by colonial authorities in Moroland are summarised in “Three Moro Theories,” Manila Times, 3 December 1913.

⁶ “Amok In Province Wellesley,” Straits Times, 14 May 1903. For similar references to the behavioral pattern in the British literature, see “Sixth Criminal Assizes, 1887,” Straits Times, 26 November 1887 and Frank A. Swettenham, “Faulty Composition,” in The Real Malay: Pen Pictures (London: John Lane, 1900), 232.
antipathy to the American presence in Moroland, but of their "sick" minds and societies.

To illustrate the extent to which the discourse on the juramentado convention was medicalized during the American period, I begin with a brief discussion of the anthropometric measurements of three dead juramentados taken by A. Henry Savage Landor in 1903. I then outline the history of U. S. rule in the southern Philippines until about 1914 and summarise the main American rationales for it. This history consequently serves as the backdrop to my analysis of the discourse on the amok/juramentado convention nexus. If we are to discern the strategies for which that discourse was deployed between approximately 1899 and 1914, we need to be aware of its external conditions of existence, the political and economic factors by which it was incited.

LANDOR & CRIMINAL ANTHROPOLOGY

Sometime after his arrival with David P. Barrows and Najeeb M. Saleeby in Jolo on March 11, 1903, A. Henry Savage Landor conducted anthropometric measurements on the corpses of three of the seven juramentados who had thrown the town and its environs into turmoil over the previous week. Although Landor's description of the bodies and its accompanying illustration of measurements are not representative of Euro-American writing on the juramentado convention, they do

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Landor appears to have been the only writer who carried out such measurements on the corpses of juramentados.
provide a striking example of how that writing was already racialised at its birth at the turn of the twentieth-century:

I had an opportunity of measuring three of these juramentados - when they were dead - and they interested me greatly. As a type they all three bore marked characteristics of criminal lunacy, and I firmly believe that the sheriffs or priests select these weak-minded fellows who are murderously inclined, and play upon their credulity until they reduce them to a condition of wild frenzy and incite them to commit murder.

These men had square faces, very flattened skulls, and low foreheads, cheek bones low down in the face, and so prominent that when in profile they nearly hid the excessively flat noses; weak and small receding chins, and the square-fingered, stumpy, repulsive-looking hands typical of criminals - as cruel hands and heads as I have ever examined, the animal qualities being extraordinarily developed. Their repulsive appearance was also somewhat enhanced by the hair of the head being shaved clean, and the moustache and eyelashes removed so as to leave a mere horizontal tiny strip of black hair. The teeth had been freshly filed and stained black; the hair of the arm-pits pulled out, and the nails of the fingers and toes trimmed very short.

The measurements of these types may be of some interest to criminologists, and I therefore give them in full.8

The appearance of the juramentados - their shaved heads and faces, filed and stained teeth, and trimmed nails - suggests a degree of preparation which hardly squares with Landor's claim that they had been reduced by their panditas to a "condition of wild frenzy" even before committing their attacks. Clearly, these assailants were more than merely "weak-minded fellows" who had suddenly and

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helplessly surrendered to their murderous inclinations before the residents of Jolo
town.

With Landor’s description and measurements, we are a long way indeed
from Spanish references to random violence in the Philippines. They bear the
unmistakable impress of criminal anthropology, the discipline established by Cesar
Lombroso, an Italian physician, in the 1870s. That Landor was influenced by
criminal anthropology is hardly surprising, for according to Stephen Jay Gould, it
was “the subject of discussion in legal and penal circles for years. It provoked
numerous ‘reforms’ and was, until World War I, the subject of an international
conference held every four years for judges, jurists, and government officials as
well as for scientists.”9 Criminal anthropology was founded on a “specific
evolutionary theory based upon anthropometric data.”10 Lombroso’s theory claimed
that criminality is not “an ‘unnatural’ sin, nor an act of free will, but the sign of a
primitive form of nature within an advanced society.”11 Human beings in their
genetic makeup bear the seeds of their evolutionary past, but only in criminals and
the members of other “inferior” groups — i.e. women — do these seeds grow, causing
such persons to behave “as a normal ape or savage would....”12 Criminals are thus
atavists — “reversions to more primitive stages of evolution” whose actions are

10 Ibid., 124.
12 Gould, Mismeasure of Man, 124.
viewed as unlawful and wicked in civilized societies. Their atavism was held to be writ large on their anatomy - hence Landor’s focus on the phrenology and hands of the juramentados, which he explicitly likens to those of bestial criminals: “as cruel hands and heads as I have ever examined, the animal qualities being extraordinarily developed.” Underpinning Lombroso’s theory was the assumption that the “natural inclinations of savages” and even animals are criminal. This explains why Landor accounted for the criminality of the juramentados in terms of their “animal qualities”.

Landor’s depiction of the dead juramentados as “weak-minded fellows”, bearing the “marked characteristics of criminal lunacy”, suggests that it was only sabbils and not the Tausug in general whom he regarded as throwbacks to an ancestral past. This impression is seemingly reinforced by the relatively good opinion he apparently had of the Muslim Filipinos. For instance, in a meeting he had with President Theodore Roosevelt in 1905 in which they discussed Landor’s adventures in the Philippines, Landor apparently remarked that “On the whole, the Moros...are the best people the Americans have in the Philippine Islands” and proceeded to explain why. However, for all his words of praise for them, the evidence suggests that Landor ultimately regarded the Muslim Filipinos as savages - the finest of the diverse Malay ‘subraces’ in the Philippines, perhaps, but savages

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13 Pick, Faces of Degeneration, 120.
14 Gould, Mismeasure of Man, 124.
15 “A. H. Savage Landor Reassures President about the Philippines,” Manila Times, 7 June 1905. For another account of the interview, see Landor, Everywhere, 76-9.
nonetheless. For instance, it is revealing that virtually all the individuals whose anthropometric measurements he took in the Philippines were members of “non-Christian tribes” (the “Tagbanouas”, “Batacs”, “Apurahuanos”, “Cagayan-Malays”, Tausugs and Bajao Samals). The thought of carrying out such measurements on F. Blumentritt’s “seven great tribes of Christians” or, better yet, on the Islands’ colonial residents apparently never occurred to him. It seems that if the dead juramentados were in Landor’s eyes biological throwbacks, they were so by virtue of not only their criminality but their ‘race’.

Landor’s description and measurements nicely exemplify how the colonial discourse on amok became medicalized and racialised during the American period. Later in this Chapter I address these trends and examine the impact they had on colonial perceptions of the juramentado convention and of Muslim Filipino resistance in general. However, to understand the diverse strategies for which these developments were deployed, we first need to familiarise ourselves with the circumstances from which they emerged.

**AMERICAN RULE IN MOROLAND 1899-1914**

The first American troops to arrive in the southern Philippines did so in 1899. Two battalions of the 23rd Infantry relieved the Spanish garrison of Jolo town in late May, while another two companies of the same Infantry entered Zamboanga
city in Mindanao in late November. The advent marked the commencement of U. S. rule in the southern Philippines which would endure until the abolition of the Department of Mindanao and Sulu in February 1920 by Act No. 2878 of the Philippine Legislature.

The American interlude in Moroland can be divided into three phases: the military occupation between 1899 and 1903, the establishment and governance of the Moro Province between 1903 and 1913, and the reorganization of the Province into the Department of Mindanao and Sulu in 1914 and its increasing ‘Filipinization’ until its demise in 1920. During the period of military occupation Moroland was ruled by a number of military officers. Following the setting up of the Moro Province, it was administered by three governors: Generals Leonard Wood (1903-6), Tasker H. Bliss (1906-9), and John J. Pershing (1909-13). With the metamorphosis of the Province into the Department of Mindanao and Sulu, the region was governed by a civilian, Frank W. Carpenter.

Military Rule (1899-1903)

The outbreak of the Philippine-American War on Luzon in early 1899 made it imperative for the Americans to neutralize the Muslim Filipinos as a threat to

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17 In 1920 the management of Moroland was taken over by the Department of the Interior of the Insular government (by then mostly dominated by Christian Filipinos). The Department administered the region through its Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes. W. K. Che Man, *Muslim Separatism: The Moros Of Southern Philippines And The Malays Of Southern Thailand* (Manila: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1990), 52.
their sovereignty over the southern Philippines. Of real concern to them was the possibility that the Moros would be enticed into an alliance with General Emilio Aguinaldo’s revolutionary forces in Luzon and the Visayas. Such an association would have vastly complicated the Americans’ efforts to extend their sway over the Philippines, for it would have presented them with armed resistance in not only the northern and central provinces but also in Mindanao and the Sulu archipelago. Following the War’s onset, both Emilio Aguinaldo and his cousin, Baldomero, who was in charge of the “Southern Region” of the Philippine Republic, made overtures for such a coalition to Jamal-ul Kiram II, Sultan of the Sulu sultanate.\(^{19}\) It was the prospect of such a bloc forming that prompted Major General Elwell Otis to dispatch troops from Luzon to the Sulu archipelago even before the Spanish soldiers in the latter region had been retired entirely to Spain.\(^{20}\)

To prevent such an alliance, as well as secure Moro acknowledgment of the United States’ dominion over the Sulu archipelago, Brigadier General John C. Bates negotiated a treaty with the Sultan over July and August of 1899 which was provisionally confirmed by President William McKinley in October (a number of similar but unwritten agreements were entered into with leading sultans and datus

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\(^{18}\) Ibid., 48.


\(^{20}\) For instance, in January President Aguinaldo sent a letter to the Sultan in which he assured him of his “friendship, consideration and esteem” and pledged that the Philippine Republic would “respect absolutely the beliefs and traditions of each island in order to establish on solid bases the bonds of fraternal unity demanded by our mutual interests.” The Sultan did not reply to these proposals. Quoted in Ibid.
in Mindanao). The gist of the Bates Agreement was that the Muslim Filipinos recognized the United States’ sway over the archipelago and promised to “help suppress piracy and arrest individuals charged with crimes against non-Moros.” In return the United States pledged to respect the Moros’ religion and customs, the Sultan’s authority to manage the internal affairs of the sultanate, his rights and responsibilities and those of his datus. The Agreement achieved its purpose: between May 1899 and July 1903 no significant military confrontations occurred between American troops and Muslim Filipinos in the Sulu archipelago.

However, this is not to suggest that relations between the American forces and the Muslim Filipinos in Moroland were devoid of conflict during this period. The first juramentado assaults on American servicemen occurred at this time in the Sulu archipelago. As we saw in Chapter 5, in his letter to his superior in 1903, David P. Barrows referred to four such attacks that had occurred around Jolo town the previous year. Such incidents appear to have been the extreme expression of widespread Moro suspicion of and anger over a variety of American activities such

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21 The President was unable to unreservedly ratify the Agreement because the existence of slavery in Moroland “could not be recognized by the United States”, and because of “the right of Congress of the United States, under the Treaty of Paris, to disapprove or annul the agreement altogether.” See “Bates Agreement,” Manila Times, 19 November 1902.

22 Che Man, Muslim Separatism, 46-47.

23 Gowing, Mandate in Moroland, 77.

24 According to a Straits Times article from 1902, such attacks may have begun as early as 1900. Conflating amok with the juramentado convention, it defines “amok running” in the following terms: “While many people will recognize the expression, there are few who know its real significance as pertaining to the Moros. In 1900, reports frequently came from the 23rd Infantry, the 28th, and 40th volunteer regiments of Moros “running amok.” Since the departure of these regiments for the States, reports from their successors, the 17th Infantry and 15th Cavalry, have frequently referred to the same class of Moros.”

“Amok In The Philippines,” Straits Times, 18 December 1902.
as their naval survey of Jolo, the census they took of its inhabitants, their opening of schools and refusal to surrender runaway slaves. The Moros correctly interpreted these activities as signs of the Americans’ ultimate intention to bring the archipelago within the orbit of United States control. Moreover, in 1901 Panglima Hassan, a powerful district chief in Jolo, led his followers in armed resistance against the American forces on the island. Concerned by the threat the American occupation posed to his authority and those of the Sultan and datu, and believing that “resisting foreign domination was a sabiullah (struggle in the name of Allah),” Hassan employed the concept of jihad to inspire his men.

In Mindanao, the most serious clash that took place during this period was the Battle of Bayan in Lanao in May, 1902. The Battle was the culmination of the entry of an American exploratory expedition into the southern shore of Lake Lanao and the skirmishes it sparked off between the Muslim Filipinos of the area and American troops. The Moro fighting force was made up of the retainers of the Sultan of Pandapatan and the Datu of Binadayan and warriors from neighbouring settlements such as Bacolod, Butig, Paigoay, Maciu and Dirimuid. Following an assault on their three cotas or forts by the 27th United States Infantry and the 25th Mountain Battery, the Battle ended with the deaths of between 300 to 400 Muslims and 10 Americans.26

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25 Che Man, *Muslim Separatism*, 47.
Moro Province (1903-1913)

With the abatement of the Philippine-American War in 1901, military officers such as Generals Leonard Wood, Adna R. Chaffee and George W. Davis began to push for the abrogation of the Bates Agreement on various grounds. Foremost among the latter was the incompatibility such officials perceived between the Sultan’s authority in the sultanate and the United States’ complete sovereignty over the archipelago, but other important reasons were certain allegedly pernicious features of Muslim Filipino society and culture such as concubinage and polygamy, slavery, despotism, piracy, and the absence of law and order. It was reputedly the interplay of such features that was responsible for the sheer misery and precariousness of life in Moroland and the chaos that had reigned there since time immemorial.

In light of the popularity of the theme of the anarchy of Moro society in American writing, it is worth briefly noting that a minority of colonial commentators asserted that whatever anarchy existed in the southern Philippines was the *result* of the Spanish and American interventions in the region. For instance, the anonymous author of an informal report on the “unsettled conditions” prevailing in Jolo in 1913 virtually put them down to a decade of American rule on the island:

The Moros know that we can defeat them under any and all circumstances; but they would rather die than suffer what they consider ill-treatment and injustice. It is ridiculous to say that the malcontents of Jolo are only a small section of the population - born outlaws and cattle thieves. The outlawry and
cattle stealing are the result of many years of unsettled conditions. There is more of both today, after ten years of American rule, than there was in 1900 and 1901 when the Moros were practically governing themselves.27

The existence of slavery in a United States possession was made much of by commentators and seen as an affront to a nation that had abolished the institution in 1865.28 The American consensus on these perceived shortcomings of Moro society and culture, as well as the change in policy they necessitated, was captured by Thomas F. Millard in a 1908 Washington Post article. Reflecting on the history of the American administration in Moroland, Millard, under a subheading revealingly entitled “Governed By Crude Laws”, remarks that

As time passed and the Americans came gradually to learn something of the country and conditions in the interior, a state of affairs was revealed which was rightly judge [sic] to be inconsistent with the policy of our government. The mass of the people were practically under the domination of the datus, who exercised almost absolute power in the localities which they governed, and who frequently used this power to defraud and oppress their subjects. The laws were crude and their administration barbaric. There was no definite land tenure, nearly all the domain being held by the datus and their favorites [sic]. Slavery and polygamy existed. Except for a few Jesuit schools in the garrison towns, which taught the children of Filipino and Chinese residents, the people were being left in intellectual darkness.29

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29 The piece was reprinted in the Mindanao Herald. “Millard’s Article On Mindanao,” Mindanao Herald, 16 May 1908.
If these and other evils accounted in large measure for “the Moro’s” barbarism, then his redemption entailed their abolition. In his annual report for the War Department in 1902, General Davis numbered the elimination of piracy, slavery and polygamy among the aims of the United States in Moroland:

...the purposes of the United States in Moro lands...is understood to be to civilize the inhabitants and develop the country, to abolish piracy, slavery, and polygamy, all of which are now practiced in the Sulu islands or waters, to establish schools for education of the Moro youth, and to turn his bloody spears and krises and campilans into utensils of industry. 30

Gowing comments that the above passage “constitutes an excellent statement of the American mandate in Moroland.” 31 Indeed, he accepts the thesis that the Americans’ replacement of their policy of non-interference in Moro affairs with one of direct rule was in part a consequence of their revulsion from the depravity and disorder of Moro society. “Army authorities were generally unhappy with the non-interference policy because certain features of Moro society - judicial procedures, slavery, the ‘tyrannical’ relationship of the datus to their followers - offended their American sense of justice and good order.” 32 The argument that the Muslim Filipinos had, in effect, to be rescued from their own society and culture was thus instrumental in endorsing the Americans’ change in policy. The Americans’ indignation over the deficiencies of Moro society was a “convenient entry into the moral arena” and “was used as a moral stick with which to beat”

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30 Quoted in Gowing, *Mandate in Moroland*, 69.
31 Ibid., 69.
32 Ibid., 319.
Islam and the Moros.\textsuperscript{33} However, for all the outrage that usually marked their references to Moro "piracy, slavery and polygamy," occasionally a commentator revealed the real political concerns that underlay the official rhetoric about the Americans' moral mandate in Moroland. In a 1902 \textit{Manila Times} article,\textsuperscript{34} one such writer concedes quite gleefully that the question of the existence of slavery in the southern Philippines, then being debated in Congress, was nothing more than an excuse being used by the colonial administration to justify the opening up of the "Moro country" (to American political influence and business interests). By disguising its real agenda as a crusade for "Freedom" and "Liberty," the piece observes, the administration had cleverly disarmed its opponents both at home and overseas of all possible criticism:

\begin{quote}
Whatever the outcome of the Washington pronunciamento regarding the prohibition of slavery in Mindanao, there is no question as to the shrewd stroke dealt by the administration. The prospect of trouble with the unruly natives in that region has been more or less present and pressing, and it was certain that if a war ensued at any time, that the anti-administrationists would, on any possible ground, denounce it as inhuman and barbarous. In fact it has been one of the delicate problems here how to open up the Moro country without making ourselves liable to such charges. Now, however, this can be accomplished under the banner of Freedom and Liberty, and with a clear conscience. The cry of "No slavery!" is a slogan with which any administration could freely and confidently engage in any war, and the authorities at Washington have evidently recognised and taken advantage of this... The administration, therefore, enters upon the possibilities of conflict with no fear of the recriminations and denunciations which came as a result
\end{quote}


\textsuperscript{34} "The Administration's Diplomatic Move," \textit{Manila Times}, 17 August 1902. While reading this editorial and other passages cited in this dissertation from the \textit{Manila Times}, it is worth recalling Michigan congressman Edgar Wekes' comment, made in the House of Representatives in 1902, that the newspaper "is the best representative of American interest and American opinion published in the Philippine islands." "Compliments To The Times," \textit{Manila Times}, 22 April 1902.
of the somewhat questionable negotiations proceeding the outbreak of the Philippine insurrection. It knows that, whatever happens, it will have behind it approval and endorsement. *If we are compelled to kill a few hundred Moros (which is altogether unlikely to occur) we shall be waging warfare in a righteous cause and the people at home will perform be unable to lift their voice...*(emphasis mine)

As the above passage indicates, not all the Americans’ reasons for extending their dominion over the Moros were as elevated as their official rhetoric suggested. While formally their change in policy tended to be vindicated by the claim that they were positively obliged to transform Muslim Filipino society and culture and impose order on native chaos, it was also driven by a desire to promote the development of the southern Philippines’ natural resources. The richness of those resources, as well as the potential opportunity they provided the colonial government, American capital and immigrants, were leitmotifs in American writing throughout the American interlude in Moroland. Commentators agreed that before the “great natural wealth and latent resources of this southern archipelago [Moroland]” could be properly developed, a number of problems had to be resolved: “public sanitation, labor supply, transportation, telegraph and postal communication, bringing the wild tribes under the influence of government,

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improving the political and industrial conditions among those already under government influence..." And perhaps the most serious of these difficulties was that of security, which remained a source of concern until at least 1913. As a Manila Times article noted in 1908, following the murders of the geologist Harry M. Ickis and a Constabulary soldier by two Moros in Surigao province in northeastern Mindanao, "...a dangerous condition exists in many districts in the Moro country. And it cannot be said that we are giving the country good government until we have established that primary requisite of government - security." The greatest threat to the security of both American and native in Moroland was held to be those Muslim Filipinos who were unable to accept the sovereignty of the American administration. Their neutralization was hence required if American businessmen were to invest in the region and the bulk of peace-loving Moros were to “till the soil for [themselves] or labor for others...[namely, “American interests”]." According to a 1904 Cabelnews American article, it was the recalcitrance of the Muslim Filipinos that constituted the only obstacle to the permanent settlement of Americans in Mindanao. “Every person returning from Mindanao has been loud in the praises of the island, and the

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of the Moro Province for the Fiscal Year ended June 30, 1913 (Zamboanga: 1913), 4-9; “The Making of Mindanao,” Philippine Free Press, 14 November 1914.
37 “Security In Moroland,” Manila Times, 4 June 1908. Ickis and his guard were killed while conducting a geological survey in Surigao.
38 “Pershing To Mindanao,” Manila Times, 9 November 1909. By 1910 the overwhelming majority of plantations in Moroland were owned by foreigners. Of 97 holdings consisting of 100 hectares or more, 61 were owned by Americans, 19 by Europeans, 12 by Christian Filipinos and Moros and 5 by Chinese. Gowing, Mandate in Moroland, 222.
only drawback that has been offered to its permanent settlement has been the problem involved in the attitude of its people [the Moros] toward the government."³⁹

Although the Bates Agreement was formally abrogated by President Theodore Roosevelt on 2nd March 1904, it was effectively nullified by the steps American military officials took to extend their government’s control over Moroland following the establishment of the Moro Province in 1903. The organic act of the Province outlawed slavery - an enactment that was reinforced by Legislative Council (L. C.) Act No. 8, which defined slave-holding and slave-hunting and enjoined their punishment.⁴⁰ Settlements in Mindanao and the Sulu archipelago containing “civilized” residents (i.e. Christian Filipinos, Chinese, Americans and other foreigners) were organized into municipalities in which those residents usually secured the elected offices. Regions inhabited by Moros and other non-Christian minorities were separated by ethnicity into “tribal wards” which were overseen by a local headman acting under the personal supervision and direction of a district governor.⁴¹ By L. C. Act No. 5, every male between the ages of 18 and 55 was required to pay a cedula (or registration) tax of one peso every year.⁴² Through this legislation, as well as the imposition of export-import duties and vessel

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⁴⁰ Gowing, Mandate in Moroland, 132. The Province was administered by its Governor and a Legislative Council made up of a Secretary, a Treasurer, an Attorney, an Engineer and a Superintendent of Schools.
⁴¹ Ibid., 113-4.
⁴² Ibid., 123.
registration fees, the Muslim Filipinos were made to participate in the financial maintenance of the Province.\textsuperscript{43} L. C. Act No. 142 set up "tribal ward" courts to address civil and criminal cases involving only Moros and members of other non-Christian minorities.\textsuperscript{44} These courts were officiated over not by sultans and \textit{datus} but by the "district governors, district secretaries as \textit{ex officio} justices and such auxiliary justices (usually Army or Constabulary officers) as were needed..."; furthermore these courts, unlike their Muslim Filipino equivalents, did not inflict costs on litigants and the fines they collected were channeled into the provincial treasury.\textsuperscript{45} In addition, hospitals, schools and dispensaries on the Western model were built, Christian immigration from the populous northern provinces was encouraged, and agriculture and commerce were developed.\textsuperscript{46}

For many Muslim Filipinos, these measures posed a collective threat to the Abode or Territory of Islam (\textit{dar al-Islam}). The Americans' policy of direct control and its rationales offended their pride and sense of independence as well as reflected adversely on their societies. The payment of the \textit{cedula} and other taxes was not only onerous but, in their eyes, tantamount to their conversion to Christianity and a graphic acknowledgment of their subjection by the Americans. Referring to the \textit{cedula} in a letter to General Leonard Wood in 1905, Major Hugh L. Scott observed that "the question of sovereignty seems in their minds to be mixed

\textsuperscript{43} Che Man, \textit{Muslim Separatism}, 48.
\textsuperscript{44} Gowing, \textit{Mandate in Moroland}, 131.
\textsuperscript{45} Ibid., 131.
\textsuperscript{46} Gowing, \textit{Muslim Filipinos - Heritage and Horizon} (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1979), 36.
up in it. Many have said ‘This is tribute to the Americans and I would rather throw ten dollars in the mud’. The whole thing is most unpopular...’ Even in the mid-1960s, Thomas Kiefer relates, there were still older men in Jolo who “refused to walk on the government road” built with the money raised from such a tax for fear of being transformed into non-believers. Moreover the outlawing of slavery, the organisation of Moroland into municipalities and tribal wards, and the creation of tribal ward courts endangered the politico-economic structure of their societies. Insofar as they stripped the sultans and datus of their ancient prerogatives to possess slaves, rule over their communities and adjudicate disputes and criminal cases, these legislative acts undermined their power and authority. Whereas traditionally Muslim Filipino chiefs had enjoyed the right to try and to punish the most serious of crimes, these acts prohibited them from judging even trivial misdeeds. In addition, it prevented them from collecting fines for offences - one of the major sources of their revenue. Furthermore, the Moros disliked the opening of their lands to foreign settlers and business interests and viewed the Americans’ establishment of a public school system as a veiled attempt to disseminate Christian teachings and values amongst them.

49 Gowing, Mandate in Moroland, 146.
50 Ibid.
The fact that their administration was not interested in converting the Muslim Filipinos to Christianity was frequently cited by the Americans as proof that the Moro resistance they encountered was not inspired by the *jihad* doctrine. Believing that a *jihad* is fought only for religious reasons - for instance, when the Islamic faith of a community is directly threatened - the Americans refused to accept that their attempts to establish their sovereignty in Moroland and reconstruct the local Muslim Filipino societies were *in themselves* sufficient causes for the Moros to partake in *jihad*. This is because in societies such as those of the Muslim Filipinos where the religious and the political are intertwined, a *jihad*, according to R. Peters, can be waged for “perfectly secular reasons”:

> Historical research...has proved that the wars of the Islamic states were fought for perfectly secular reasons. In a society where politics are entirely dominated by religion, there is no articulate distinction between politics and religion and political aims will always be represented as religious aims.\(^{51}\)

Despite the fact, then, that the Americans were not interested in proselytising, the Moros’ struggle against their intervention in Moroland still acquired “a religious dimension in that their aims, their justifications and their appeals for support” were “expressed in religious terms.”\(^{52}\)

The Americans’ gradual revocation of the Bates Agreement generated a number of uprisings in Mindanao and the Sulu archipelago from 1903 onwards

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\(^{52}\) Ibid., 6.
which culminated in the Battle of Bud Dajo on Jolo in 1906. The most important of these can be mentioned briefly. General Wood’s outlawing of slavery and introduction of the “tribal ward” courts prompted Panglima Hassan to again summon his fighters and challenge the authority of the Moro Province government on Jolo in mid-October of 1903. A series of skirmishes between Hassan’s forces and government troops followed until he was killed in an engagement atop Bud (Mount) Bagsak in March 1904. Hassan, it should be noted, remains a popular hero in contemporary parang-sabil epics recounted on Jolo. According to Jose Rodriguez, he is known as “Hassan the Fearless” to every Tausug schoolboy and his “story has been told and re-told in many a Moro home.”

In Lanao the Battle of Bayan in 1902 had failed to thoroughly quell the rebellious elements in the region. Attacks on Christian Filipino settlements and government soldiers, especially in the areas of Taraca and Maciu, continued throughout 1903 and 1904. In 1904 the second of two military expeditions to the territory surrounding the Taraca River led to the destruction of several cotas or forts and the deaths of many Moros. This restored an uneasy calm to Lanao.

Also in 1904, the introduction of the anti-slavery law similarly led Datu Ali of Kudarangan in upper Cotabato to attempt to raise an insurrection against the Americans in Cotabato. In March General Wood led a campaign to Kudarangan

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53 The Battle of Bud Dajo is dealt with in Chapter 5.
54 Gowing, Mandate in Moroland, 157.
where he succeeded in demolishing Ali’s main cota, forcing him to resort to
guerilla warfare for the next seven months. In late October Ali and his warriors
were ambushed by Capt. Frank R. McCoy and his troops at their hideaway near
Simpetan in the interior of Mindanao. In the fight that followed, Datu Ali and
several hundred of his men were killed.57

In early 1905 Datu Pala, a friend of Panglima Hassan’s who had withdrawn
to British North Borneo following Hassan’s death, returned to Jolo and called for a
jihad against the Americans. As with Hassan and Datu Ali, Pala seems to have been
immediately inspired in his resistance by the passing of the anti-slavery law. In
April his fighters “began firing at night” into Jolo town and “raiding nearby
settlements.”58 The next month Datu Pala was defeated and killed following a
series of clashes between his men and General Wood’s soldiers near Mount
Talipao.59

**Pershing’s Disarmament Campaign**

The prospect of disarming the Muslim Filipinos had been contemplated as
early as Wood’s term as Governor. In a letter to him in 1904, William Howard Taft,
then Secretary of War, had opined that “My own impression is that you will never

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57 Che Man, *Muslim Separatism*, 49.
58 Gowing, *Mandate in Moroland*, 49.
59 Ibid.
succeed ultimately in the Moro country unless you disarm the Moros.”60 The idea was not acted upon because it was felt that its implementation would prove too costly, given the great store the Muslim Filipinos placed on possessing weapons. However, the continuing insecurity of conditions in Moroland and the obstacles it was raising for the territory’s commercial exploitation led General John J. Pershing, on his appointment as governor in 1909, to reconsider the issue.

The subject attracted much attention in the pages of the Manila Times and the Cablenews American in 1911. The disarmament of the Moros was seen to be “as necessary from the humanitarian standpoint as it is expedient economically.”61 Revealingly though, in the above newspapers it was American planters and business interests, not Muslim, Christian or tribal Filipinos, that were commonly portrayed as being most at risk from the unsettled situation in the south.62 The murders of Lieutenant W. H. Rodney and a Sergeant Michaelis by alleged juramentados in Jolo and Parang respectively in mid-1911 were widely regarded as the catalyst for Pershing’s issuance on September 8, 1911 of Executive Order No. 24, prescribing the disarmament of the Muslim Filipinos in the Moro Province.63 The Order was welcomed warmly by Manila’s press; the disarmament of the Moros, they

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61 “A Word From Davao,” Manila Times, 8 July 1911.
62 For example, see “The Moro Situation,” Manila Times, 8 July 1911.
63 For newspaper articles dealing with the deaths of Rodney and Ferguson, see the following from the Manila Times: “Unable to Aid, They Watched Crazed Moro Slash Rodney to Death,” 26 April 1911; “The Jolo Crimes,” 29 April 1911; “Government May Disarm Jolo Moros,” 4 May 1911. In one piece, Executive Order No. 24 is described as “the result of considerable discussion among the officials of the district following the murder of Lieutenant Rodney and Sergeant Ferguson several months ago.” “Jolo Moros Ordered To Give Up Arms,” Manila Times, 29 September 1911.
remarked, would bring an end to *juramentado* assaults and allow the commercial
development of Moroland:

...once the Moro is disarmed, so that the possibility of murderous raids is
reduced to a minimum, the future of Mindanao is assured. Many a willing
dollar has been turned away from this rich region because of the savagery of
the natives and the constant fear that race troubles might any day sweep
away the results of investment. Many a pioneer has cast his lot somewhere
else through dread of the untamed savage of the Mindanao wilds. The
disarming of the Moro will not eliminate murder. It will not turn every
outlaw into the path of peace, but it will take from him the tools of his trade
and the temptation to sin. The "juramentado," the robber, the loafer, may
not be wiped out, but his number will be lessened. Any measure which tends
to help the public order, helps also in material development.64

General Pershing’s disarmament campaign met with resistance in Lanao and
Cotabato, but such opposition was defused before it could become organised and
significant. In Lanao around 4,000 firearms, including high-powered rifles, were
collected from both recalcitrant Moros and those desirous of the payment for
surrendered arms offered by Pershing. In Cotabato Datu Alameda, an outlaw leader
from Pedatan, resisted the campaign, but in the end he was driven into the interior
of Mindanao.65

On Jolo General Pershing encountered far stiffer resistance. In early
December, 1911 more than a thousand Muslim Filipinos, including women and
children, retired to Bud Dajo where they fortified their positions. Through
negotiations with General Pershing, most of them eventually abandoned the

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64 "More On Mindanao," *Manila Times*, 20 November 1911. For other articles which make similar
points, see "Moros And Their Weapons," *Manila Times*, 3 October 1911 and "Juramentados of
65 Gowing, *Mandate in Moroland*, 238.
mountain, although roughly three hundred of the most determined stayed. Having encircled the mountain with his troops, General Pershing prepared for an assault on the Moros' positions on December 12. However, on December 11 he was instructed to call it off by Governor-General Newton, who was worried by the possible embarrassment that a massacre of Muslim Filipinos could cause the incumbent Republican party in the United States. Changing tactics, General Pershing decided to simply wait patiently at the foot of the mountain and prevent the Moros from leaving it until their supplies ran out. The strategy worked and by Christmas most of them had surrendered.66

However, this did not signal the onset of peace on Jolo. In early 1913 the Moros of Lati Ward, who had been involved in the Battle of Bud Dajo seven years before, took on the government forces in two brutal cota clashes. Confronted with the arrival of more and more government reinforcements, the Moros withdrew to Bud Bagsak with virtually all the inhabitants of the Ward, numbering from six to ten thousand people.67 Following several months of negotiations between the Moros and the government, it was agreed that if the all Moros returned to their homes and surrendered their arms, the government would withdraw its soldiers from the area. Although the majority of the Moros abided by the agreement, a number of authorities including Datu Sahipa, Datu Jami and Naqib Amil and their supporters refused to do so, declaring they would never surrender. On June 11, 1913 General

66 Ibid., 236-7.
67 Ibid., 239.
Pershing commenced his assault on the mountain. Lasting five days and resulting in between five hundred to two thousand Moro deaths, the Battle of Bud Bagsak effectively marked the end of serious Muslim Filipino resistance against American rule in Moroland. ⁶⁸

EFFECTS OF THE AMOK/JURAMENTADO CONVENTION CONFLATION

Medicalization and individualization of the juramentado convention

It was thus against a background of periodic hostilities between the American forces and the Muslim Filipinos in Moroland that colonial commentators took up and debated the issue of the juramentado convention. The conflation of the convention with amok in their accounts had a number of effects. Most generally, it ascribed to the Moros a ‘racial’ identity. Their supposed susceptibility to amok, that allegedly “peculiar and almost unique” Malay “form of racial psychosis” ⁶⁹ effectively identified them as a branch of the Malay ‘race’. In addition, because that conflation led to the inordinate association of amok with the Muslim Filipinos in American writing, it ended up distinguishing them as the most Malay of the Philippines’ Malay ‘subraces’ (a notion that was always implicit in the ‘racial’ classifications of F. Blumentritt and J. Montano).

⁶⁸ Che Man, *Muslim Separatism*, 50-1.
More specifically, the fusion of amok with the *juramentado* convention resulted in the medicalization of the latter. Given that amok was typically regarded by colonials at the turn of the twentieth century as a “homicidal mania”, it led to the popular colonial belief that the convention was a spectacular manifestation of mental illness. This idea is embodied in a 1916 *Manila Times* article by Frederic J. Haskin, entitled “Philippine Problems”, devoted to a discussion of the difficulties faced by the colonial government in Mindanao and the Sulu archipelago. In his extended commentary on the *juramentado* convention, Haskin defines it as a “distressing seizure”: “The men of Sulu were particularly fanatical, even for Malays, and particularly liable to the distressing seizure known as going ‘juramentado’.” Haskin’s suggestion that the convention was a sort of sudden attack that periodically gripped Tausug men is reinforced by his depiction of the *juramentados* who performed *jihad* against the Spaniards as a bunch of maniacs: “Juramentados grew more and more frequent, always being seized with their mania in the midst of a group of Spanish soldiers.” It was not the Moros’ devoutness or wish for independence but their ‘racial’ character, Haskin implies, that accounted for their willingness to fight and die in the path of Allah:

The militant Mohammedan creed assures the joys of Paradise without the tortures of purgatory to any believer who dies in battle with infidels. *The Malay is more or less racially liable to be overpowered by the beauty of this conception on short notice*, when he draws his kris and starts for paradise at once (emphasis mine).

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71 For another reference to the *juramentado* convention as a “mania”, see Frank G. Carpenter, *Through the Philippines and Hawaii* (New York: Doubleday, Doran & Company, 1928), 207.
The Muslim Filipinos were thus typical Malays who, because of their ‘racial’ limitations - i.e. their impulsiveness, hotheadedness, offhandedness, injudiciousness and instability - were prone to be suddenly overwhelmed by the illusory appeal of the Islamic doctrine of jihad. Similarly, in 1931 Fred D. Burdett and Percy J. King’s conflation of amok with the juramentado convention led them to portray the juramentados who sometimes entered Jolo town as frenzied madmen and to misrepresent the nature of their assaults:

In the walled city of Jolo - when Uncle Sam’s soldiers were not there to keep the peace - a Moro would occasionally run amok. Armed with a kris and blood mad, he would kill anything on sight. Women and children, as well as men, who unluckily crossed the madman’s path, were mutilated or butchered outright with an inhuman ferocity almost beyond belief.

The insinuation that juramentados normally killed women and children in the course of their rampages is simply incorrect. As we saw in Chapter 5, ordinarily they targeted only American servicemen and their Christian Filipino auxiliaries and avoided harming fellow Muslims, women and children.

The idea that the juramentado was a plain lunatic was criticized by Hugh L. Scott, governor of the Sulu archipelago from 1903 to 1906, in his autobiography Some Memories Of A Soldier. Scott’s criticism appears in the course of his

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72 Early in the twentieth-century a prominent Dutch psychiatrist, Dr. F. H. van Loon, interviewed a man in Aceh who had unsuccessfully attempted to commit Ateh-moord or Acehnese murder, the Acehnese version of parrang sabbil, against the Dutch. He concluded that the man did not appear to be insane. What is interesting about the case, however, is not van Loon’s diagnosis, but the fact that he conducted the interview at all. See James T. Siegel, The Rope of God (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), 82-3.

exposition on the juramentado convention. Alluding to a famous occasion in the late nineteenth century when 400 juramentados allegedly attacked Jolo town and were all killed by its Spanish garrison while attempting to storm its walls, Scott remarks that the juramentados could hardly have all been insane at the time (Scott's awareness of Frank Swettenham's writings on amok is, of course, only another indication of the sway that British colonial “experts” on the Malay archipelago held over their Euro-American counterparts in the Philippines):

Governor Frank Swettenham of the Malay States considered that it is insanity that causes a Malay to run amuck, but it cannot be that four hundred Moros could all go insane at once. And as a further disproof of the theory, women go insane among us, but Moro women never go juramentado.\(^{74}\)

The obverse of the opinion that the juramentado convention was a display of madness was the belief that displays of madness were exhibitions of the convention. In time acts of frenzied, homicidal behavior engaged in by Filipinos in general came to be colloquially described by colonials and Filipinos alike as cases of “juramentado”. Hence in 1911 a “crazy Filipino” who dashed through the Escolta, Manila’s “principal business street”, “cutting himself with a bolo as he ran” and not attempting to “harm any of those who met or followed him,” was branded in a Manila Times article a “juramentado”.\(^{75}\) The tendency to label such

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\(^{74}\) Hugh Lenox Scott, Some Memories Of A Soldier (New York: The Century Co., 1928), 315. The Moros in question were almost certainly not juramentados but plain sabbils.

\(^{75}\) “Juramentado Terrorizes The Escolta,” Manila Times, 6 June 1911.
disturbed individuals as "juramentados" continues to the present-day, as a study of Manila newspapers from the post-Second World War period demonstrates.\textsuperscript{76}

Haskin's medicalization of the \textit{juramentado} convention, as well as Landor's anthropometric measurements of the \textit{juramentado} corpses, show the extent of the influence on Euro-Americans of the period of the biomedical comprehension of "deviance". In a statement that reminds one of Landor's representation of the dead \textit{juramentados} as atavists, R. Moran observes that

During the last 100 years the biomedical understanding of crime has defined criminal deviation more and more in terms of illness. With the absence of moral guilt, the definition of the criminal offender has changed from someone who has \textit{done} bad (morally guilty conduct) to someone who \textit{is} bad or defective.\textsuperscript{77}

P. Conrad and Joseph W. Schneider deem the medicalization of deviance to be "part of a larger phenomenon that is prevalent in our society: the individualization of social problems."\textsuperscript{78} They argue that it has become increasingly common for us to "look for causes and solutions to complex social problems in the individual rather than in the social system."\textsuperscript{79} Because it normally diagnoses diseases in individuals, biomedicine has played a notable role in this process of individualization. Concentrating as it does on the sick individual, the biomedical approach usually ignores his social circumstances, and thus fails to take account of the links that may

\textsuperscript{76} See Chapter 9 for a list of articles in \textit{Taliba} (a Manila newspaper) which fused cases of frenzied, homicidal behavior with the \textit{juramentado} convention between 1966 and 1972.
\textsuperscript{78} Ibid., 250.
\textsuperscript{79} Ibid.
exist between his ailment or "deviancy" and those circumstances. It overlooks the possibility that certain deviant behaviors may be "symptomatic of social conditions..." 80

This trend toward the individualization of social problems is evident in the marked inability of many colonial commentators to consider the *juramentado* convention in relation to the Muslim Filipinos' contemporary social situations - one of the most important features of which was clearly the ongoing American attempt to subjugate them. Instead, such pundits conveniently chose to regard the convention as nothing more than a product of the Moros' personal problems. This view was nicely articulated by W. T. Townsend, the Division Superintendent of Mindanao, in a *Manila Times* article from March, 1903, entitled "Row With Moros". 81 The "row" in question was the "present disturbance among the Moros of Jolo" - an allusion to the three *juramentado* assaults on the island, as well as the general unrest they betokened, that Barrows dealt with in his letter to the Secretary of the Interior. In the article Townsend offers his opinion on this agitation and the "prospect of serious trouble" with the Tausug. Referring to an earlier *Manila Times* piece that had described *juramentados* as "religious fanatics", he notes that on inquiring into the matter, he had come to the conclusion that the convention was nothing more than the curious method through which the Tausug free themselves from the turbulent emotions aroused by their domestic difficulties:

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80 Ibid.
81 "Row With Jolo Moros," *Manila Times*, 31 March 1903.
I see from the account of the affair at Jolo as published in the Times that the juramentados are to blame for the trouble. It is also stated that they are religious fanatics. Well, I used to think so too, but from such personal investigation I have made and from information I have obtained from other sources I am convinced that in nine cases out of ten not religion, but some domestic trouble with suspicion and jealousy behind it, is at the bottom of the rage of the Moro who runs amuck....This is the explanation of how the juramentado affairs were so numerous in Spanish days as compared with our regime. Our soldiers are warned on pain of heavy punishment to avoid giving offense through too friendly relations with Moro women.

Ironically, though, elsewhere in the article Townsend reveals that “domestic trouble” alone could not have been the sole force driving the Joloano juramentados, for he observes that the disturbance in Jolo was the result of two factors: Tausug hostility to the American presence on the island (“I think the present unrest has had its beginning in racial antipathy and objection to our presence among them”), and the “general policy” the Americans were pursuing concerning the “form of government in the Moro country”. As we saw in the previous section, this policy consisted in part of the destabilization of the traditional indigenous political structure:

As you may know, we have broken down to some extent the feudal form of government which generally prevailed and substituted a tribal or independent state by encouraging the dattos to break away from their sultan or overlord and become independent.

This policy had been successful insofar as it had “divided and weakened the opposition which the Moros” might have shown against the Americans, but it had also contributed to the disorder prevailing in Jolo, for there was now “no central authority sufficiently powerful to regulate the various dattos and tribes and be held
responsible for acts of lawlessness which they commit.” Townsend, then, was willing to admit a link between the Tausugs’ discontent on the one hand, and the Americans’ presence on the island and their alterations to the Tausug political system on the other, but he refused to concede a connection between the Tausugs’ discontent and the activities of the juramentados. Instead, he regarded the two as contemporaneous but completely separate phenomena.\(^2\)

The intimation that the Muslim Filipinos were the hapless victims of their personal problems brings us to an important implication of the biomedical understanding of deviance. Viewing an object of concern as an “illness” “introduces an element of compulsion into the cognitive reality of the phenomenon. The ‘sick’ are neither criminal nor morally responsible for their ‘disease.’ However, as sick people, they are both obligated and entitled to be helped.”\(^3\) Despite the “ring of humanitarian concern”\(^4\) possessed by the concept of compulsion, it holds a negative inference for any persons intent on asserting their understanding of and control over their reputedly deviant behavior. P. Conrad and J. W. Schneider observe that compulsivity “denotes that the individual ‘cannot help it,’ since the behavior is caused by forces beyond his or her control. Compulsivity, in effect,

\(^2\) In passing, it should be noted that even if, as Townsend implies, juramentado assaults were common in the Spanish period because Spanish soldiers regularly violated Muslim Filipino women, his apparent faith in the superior discipline of American soldiers was sadly misplaced, for as the records demonstrate, assaults by sabbils on American servicemen continued until they were finally withdrawn from the southern Philippines.

\(^3\) Joseph R. Gusfield, foreword to Deviance and Medicalization, vii.

\(^4\) Ibid.
removes motivation or cause from the will and locates it in the body or mind."\textsuperscript{85} In short, it suggests "helplessness and loss of control that is itself an unflattering self-portrait to which many object."\textsuperscript{86} The negativity of this suggestion stems from the importance that has traditionally been assigned to reason and self-control in the definition of the social subject in modernity. As we saw in Chapter 4, "Self-commanding reason, autonomous and egalitarian, but also legislative and rule-making, defines in large part modernity's conception of the self."\textsuperscript{87} The centrality of reason and self-discipline in the modernist understanding of human identity, P. Conrad and J. W. Schneider observe, has meant that the conduct of persons held to be bereft of these attributes is perceived to be illogical and driven by an irresistible impulse which is itself a malady:

In Western society, moderation and control are important moral values. To be immoderate, excessive, and "out of control" is to be potentially deviant, regardless of the effects of one's behavior. Extreme immoderation is viewed as irrational behavior. Our rational orientation to the world makes understanding of such conduct difficult and puzzling. This quasimedical conception becomes then an explanation for the "puzzle" of immoderate and irrational conduct: the behavior is caused by a compulsion, which is itself an illness.\textsuperscript{88}

The medicalization of the juramentado convention led to the introduction of "an element of compulsion into the cognitive reality of the phenomenon."\textsuperscript{89} It

\textsuperscript{86} Gusfield, foreword, vii.
\textsuperscript{88} Conrad and Schneider, "Medicalization of Deviance," 273.
\textsuperscript{89} Gusfield, foreword, vii.
effectively removed "motivation or cause from the will" of juramentados and located it in their regressive genetic makeup (in Landor's case) or troubled minds. It convinced many commentators that juramentados were "sick" or troubled individuals who were compelled to assault Americans and Christian Filipinos by forces that were beyond their control and understanding. This is clear from F. J. Haskin's description of the juramentados "always being seized with their mania in the midst of a group of Spanish soldiers" (emphasis mine). "Mania" signifies, among other things, "a state of mind in which there is a loss of control over emotional, nervous, or mental processes." In applying the term to the juramentados, Haskin bizarrely implies that as a group they were distinguished by their habit of abruptly losing their self-control and being overwhelmed by insanity whenever they were surrounded by Spanish servicemen. In so implying, Hoskin, like Burdett and King, glosses over the deliberation that normally marked every stage of a Moro's transformation into a juramentado, from his decision to become one, through the ritual preparation he commonly underwent, to his planning of his assault and finally his choice of victims. In addition, Haskin ignores the fact that regardless of the personal motives of individual juramentados, typically the juramentado convention was objectively understood by Muslim Filipinos to be a form of jihad.

90 Conrad and Schneider, "Medicalization and Deviance," 273.
The consequences of medicalizing the juramentado convention are also apparent in an article by W. E. Musgrave and A. G. Sison which appeared in the Philippine Journal of Science in August 1910. Musgrave and Sison were from the Department of Clinical Medicine in the Philippine Medical School in Manila. In their article they refer to the juramentado convention as a "disease" that is identical with or similar to "running amok" (336). They describe the convention and amok as "real tics modified by a coexistent mimic habit", and distinguish them from "directly and exclusively mimic habits" such as the mali-mali of the Philippines (335). While mali-mali was closely related to the convention and amok, it differed from them in terms of the natures of their pathologies. Whereas mali-mali was a "mimic psychosis" (339), a form of "uncontrollable mimicry" (336), the convention and amok were autogenetic - i.e. self-generated - their distinguishing feature being an "autospasm" (336).

From our perspective, Musgrave and Sison's opinions on mali-mali are less interesting than their perceptions of the juramentado convention. In their definition of the term "amok", they characterize the behavior it commonly denotes and the juramentado convention as impulsive tics (335) belonging to the same class of tics as Gilles de la Tourette's disease:

Amok is a Malay word and translated means a frenzied desire to murder. It is a neuro-psychosis belonging in the group with Tourette's disease, and

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should be classified with the tics, at least to the extent that the spasm in both
"running amok" and "juramentado" may be autogenous and may exist
entirely independent of any outside influences. The attacks are brought
about in two ways. In one it is preceded by days of melancholic stufation
in which the patient becomes morose, gives up work, and avoids his fellows.
In other instances, and particularly in "juramentados," the attacks are
brought on by religious rites, incantations, music, dancing, and other
methods of psychic stimulation similar to the war dance used by the
American Indians. In either case, when a sufficient frenzy is reached, the
afflicted person suddenly runs into a crowd of soldiers or other people, or
through the streets of a town, and with his kris, or among the Moros of the
Philippines, with his barong, kills whoever may come in his way regardless
of age, sex, race, or any other of the usual considerations of affection or
fear. One of these patients will charge into a company of armed soldiers
with the same recklessness as into a group of defenseless women or
children. The fanatic is either killed on the spot, or the attacks last from a
few hours to days and usually are terminated by exhaustion or suicide. This
disease occurs almost entirely among men (emphasis mine) (337).

Musgrave and Sison's assertion that the juramentados' "attacks" may be
"autogenous and may exist entirely independent of any outside influences" is
seemingly qualified, if not contradicted, by their claim that such "spasms" are
"brought on by religious rites, incantations, music, dancing, and other methods of
psychic stimulation". Given their view of the juramentado convention as a "neuro-
psychosis", it is not surprising that they refer to juramentados as "patients". In their
eyes, juramentados were not sabbils but "sick" individuals whose "disease"
impelled them to embark on rampages. The notion of compulsion that underpins
this interpretation induced Musgrave and Sison, as it did Haskin, Burdett and King,
to misrepresent the average juramentado assault as an explosion of indiscriminate
fury: "One of these patients will charge into a company of armed soldiers with the
same recklessness as into a group of defenseless women or children." In fact, as has
been noted several times now, juramentados were not normally indiscriminate in
their violence. The real sting in Musgrave and Sison's interpretation of the
juramentado convention lies in the "etiological factor" which supposedly underlies
all tics and spasms: "They are expressions of degeneracy" (335). Approvingly, they
cite Charcot's judgment that the "tic" is a "psychic disease in a physical guise, the
direct offspring of mental imperfection" (335), as well as Meige and Feindel's
related observation on the commonness of "mental infantilism" amongst tic
sufferers:

Meige and Feindel call particular attention to the practically constant
"mental infantilism" as a feature in the character of the patient suffering
from tic. Mental infantilism is evidenced by inconstancy of ideas and
fickleness of mind, reminiscent of early youth, and unaltered with the
attainment of the years of discretion (336).

Juramentados, then, were not sabbils but mere tic sufferers who were distinguished
by their "mental infantilism". Interestingly, the deficiencies that reputedly
characterized such cretinous individuals - "the inconstancy of ideas and
fickleness of mind" - were also held to be characteristic of savages in socio-cultural
evolutionism.93

The trend toward the medicalization and individualization of the
juramentado convention posed a problem for commentators who were sensitive to
and willing to recognize its religious and political dimensions. In order to reconcile
this trend with their own interpretations of the convention as a form of jihad, such
commentators commonly drew a distinction between "normal" and "abnormal"
performances of the convention. Hence a “normal” performance was one in which the juramentado was clearly instigated by religious and political reasons, whereas an “abnormal” performance was one in which the juramentado was held to have been prompted by personal motives (i.e. the urge to restore his tarnished honour). In newspaper articles dealing with the latter case, the alleged inauthenticity of the performance is pointed to by the placing of the term “juramentado” within ironic quotation marks (‘juramentado’).\footnote{94}

An example of this distinction is provided by two Mindanao Herald articles from 1907 and 1909. The 1907 article, revealingly entitled “Not An Ordinary Juramentado,” relates the case of a Muslim Filipino who “ran amuck” in Jolo and wounded three soldiers of the 4\textsuperscript{th} Cavalry.\footnote{95} His “extraordinariness” derived from the personalism of his motives: the article notes that “although a ‘juramentado’ he was not of the ordinary kind but had a private grievance. His wife he claimed had ‘put dirt on his face’ and he took that means of wiping it off.” As for the 1909 piece, it deals with a Muslim Filipino who assaulted a Spaniard and a Chinese man with his kris in Cotabato town in Mindanao, wounding the former and killing the latter.\footnote{96} In his trial the Moro confessed to the crime, “stating that he had no intention to kill any special person but had sworn to kill any infidel he might meet”.

\footnote{93}{See Chapter 8}\footnote{94}{The growing currency of the view that the juramentado was not a sabbil but a disturbed individual during the period in question led to the increasing insertion of the term within such marks in newspaper articles.}\footnote{95}{“Not An Ordinary Juramentado,” Mindanao Herald, 13 April 1907.}\footnote{96}{“Court At Cotabato,” Mindanao Herald, 27 March 1909.}
Because he had avowedly sought to murder an unbeliever, the man’s act is described in the newspaper as "a pure case of 'juramentado'". ⁹⁷

"Sickness" of Muslim Filipino society

As noted earlier, it was commonly held by colonial commentators that the juramentado convention was not a barometer of Moro hostility to U. S. rule but merely the bizarre consequence of the juramentado's personal problems. It was allegedly only his endurance or perceived endurance of an injury or misfortune that drove a Moro man to seek redemption by becoming a juramentado. In short, the convention was simply the Moro variant of running amok. Now, occasionally such injuries and misfortunes were portrayed in the literature as the outcomes of the purportedly backward features of traditional Muslim Filipino society: Islam, despotism, slavery, debt-bondage, concubinage and polygamy (they were never represented as having been caused by any aspect of the American administration in Moroland, significantly enough). For instance, it was an article of faith for some pundits that the convention was resorted to by Moro men who, having fallen into debt and been taken into slavery, wished to end their lives without violating the Islamic injunction against suicide. ⁹⁸ The Muslim Filipinos may thus have been predisposed, because of their ‘racial’ limitations, to run amok."turn" juramentado in response to life’s vicissitudes, but they were frequently pushed over the edge,

⁹⁷ Convicted of murder, he was sentenced to hang.
some commentators suggested, by the sheer brutality of their lives. The virtue of this portrayal was that it annulled the religious and political dimensions of the juramentado convention and reduced it to the periodic product of a barbaric Muslim Filipino society. In doing so, it not only strengthened the claim that the convention was not indicative of a greater Moro opposition to U. S. rule but generally legitimated the American civilizing mission in Moroland. If Muslim Filipino men were regularly being driven to become juramentados by the structural deficiencies of their society, then it followed that only the elimination of those deficiencies would bring to an end juramentado assaults and deliver the Moros from their servitude to their leaders. Hence, for example, the commonplace that juramentados were nothing more than slaves, desirous of ending their unhappy lives, functioned in the early 1900s to support the growing calls for the abrogation of the Bates Agreement on the grounds that the existence of slavery in a U. S. possession was incompatible with the U. S. Constitution and an affront to common decency.

The manner in which commentaries on the juramentado convention operated, from time to time, to implicitly denigrate the Muslim Filipinos’ societies can be briefly illustrated with a few examples.

The juramentado convention was believed by some pundits to be the grotesque offshoot of Islam - to be exact, the perverted Moro version of it. An

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98 For an illustration of this belief, see “Amok In The Philippines: How It is done in Sulu,” Straits Times, 18 December 1902.
example of this view is provided by an article, entitled “The People of Jolo,” which appeared in the Straits Times in 1906. This perception of the Tausugs’ “half savage state of Mahomedanism unchecked through centuries has bred in most of them a desire to attain heaven and four wives, as promised to those who die killing Christians” (emphasis mine). This perception of the juramentado convention was not confined to the Americans. A variant of it was expressed by a Muslim from Constantinople, Es-sid Mouhamed Wedjih El-Kilani Zeid, who spent two and a half months in the southern Philippines in 1914. Supposedly a secretary to “the Sheik Ul Islam, or supreme titular spiritual head of all Mohammedans,” Es-sid Mouhamed was invited by a number of Muslim Filipino datus to visit Mindanao and Jolo and “report on the status of Mohammedanism there.” Initially Americans residing in Moroland feared that he “was a new prophet, a new El Mahdi, come to lead the hordes of Mindanao in a holy war,” but their concerns were unfounded, for his views of the Moros proved to be as patronizing as their own. Asked by a Manila Times reporter what he thought of the juramentado convention, Es-sid Mouhamed replied, in words that could have been coined by a colonial writer, that

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100 For similar observations see “The Moro Problem,” Cablednews American, 11 March 1906; “Don’t Trouble the Moros,” Cablednews American, 5 Apr. 1908.
101 Gowing, Mandate in Moroland, 279.
102 “May Solve Dread Moro Problem For All Time,” Manila Times, 2 April 1914.
“It is not a religious custom. It *is a procedure which comes from their* [the Moros’] *savage lives.* The men who know their religion, the men who have made pilgrimages to Mecca, are the men arrayed against this custom. Education spells the end of the juramentado. He who destroys one soul, destroys all souls, says the Koran. He who understands his Koran, never goes juramentado” (emphasis mine).\(^{103}\)

Clearly, the thesis that the *juramentado* convention was a product of the Moros’ distorted variant of Islam worked to deny that the convention was a form of *jihad.* However, it also delegitimated the general Moro resistance to the American presence in Moroland, for it implied that that resistance arose from and was being sustained by the Moros’ misunderstanding of the Koran, not any valid concern on their part over the threat posed to *dar al-Islam* by U. S. rule. Ironically, the constant reiteration of this thesis in American writing only proved that, for all the admonitions of colonial authorities, a significant number of Muslim Filipinos plainly *did* regard opposition to the American administration as a “struggle in the name of Allah”.

The way in which the discourse on the amok/*juramentado* convention nexus could be deployed to support U. S. policy in Moroland is evident from a *Sulu News* article from 1911.\(^{104}\) The piece appeared only two months after Pershing’s issuance of Executive Order No. 24, prescribing the disarmament of the Muslim Filipinos in

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\(^{103}\) Ibid. For a more extended discussion of Es-sid Mouhamed’s visit and the opposition to it of some Moro leaders, who feared that he would be a financial burden and meddle in their religious affairs, see Gowing, *Mandate in Moroland*, 279-80.

\(^{104}\) Soon after its publication the piece was reproduced in the *Mindanao Herald* and the *Cableneros American.* See “Juramentados of Moroland Confuse Jihad Injunction,” *Cableneros American*, 11 November 1911. The *Sulu News* was founded on the 30th June 1911 by the Superintendent of Schools as part of its educational program. The newspaper was discontinued on the 31st December 1911 after a fire destroyed its press. Gowing, *Mandate in Moroland*, 218.
the Moro Province. Consisting of a detailed attack on the prevailing Muslim Filipino notion that the juramentado convention was a form of parrang sabbil, the article's title and subheading sum up (albeit awkwardly) its thrust and strategy: "Juramentados of Moroland Confuse Jihad Injunction. Sulu News Article Quotes Koran To Show Misconcept (sic) of Sulu Fanatics". Since the newspaper was printed in the "Moro vernacular", the article was clearly aimed at a Tausug audience. That the Tausug commonly regarded the convention as a type of jihad is frankly conceded by the Cabelnews American in its preface to the article:

The last issue of the Sulu News contains an article...which it is hoped will bring home to the Moros of Sulu land the iniquity of the practice of going juramentado. At the present time many of them still believe that the practice is sanctioned by their religion. This, however, is a grievous mistake and is based upon a misconcept [sic] of the holy war proclaimed by Muhammad during his lifetime. The article shows by quotations from the Koran, and from the body of traditions held by the Muhammadans to be almost equal to the Koran in sanctity, that the juramentado violates the fundamental principles of the Muhammadan religion and makes himself a qualified candidate for a long residence in the Muhammadan gehenna [hell] (emphasis mine).

The article's flawed argument can be summarised quickly. Quoting selectively from the Koran and Islamic law, the article claims that although the Sacred Book enjoins the performance of holy war against unbelievers, jihad "must not be confused with the practice of the juramentado" for several reasons. Firstly, the Moros were the only Muslims in the world who observed such a convention. Given the laxness with which they followed the five pillars of Islam, it was the height of effrontery for them to create a custom which was unknown to other Muslims. Secondly, in
assaulting Americans and Christian Filipinos without any warning or attempt at parley, they were violating traditions in Islamic law which enjoined such precautions. Thirdly, in killing “whomever he can, young and old, weak and helpless, men, women and children, even Muslims,” the “juramentado” breached traditions which prohibited the slaying of women, children and fellow Muslims. Lastly, in ambushing his victims, the juramentado was merely an “assassin”, for the jihad obligation can only be fulfilled by a “large body of men” in war. But if the juramentado was not a sabbil, what then was he? Obviously, an amok-runner:

[It] is wrong to call a juramentado a maysabil (from Arabic sohil, ‘path,” i.e. of God) for his act differs in no wise from that of an ordinary maniyu, amuk, and no one is foolish enough to assert that running amuck is following in the “path of God.” A juramentado is a murderer and should be punished as such.

Not just any murderer, though, for the juramentado was prone to fits of fury which entitled him to be labelled a “maniac”:

It is a great misfortune for the Moros that occasionally some of their number go mad and become juramentados. News of such deeds travels far and many people, both in the Philippine Islands and else where [sic], are thereby led to

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105 The deficiencies in this argument can be enumerated briefly. Firstly, it is not true that the Moros “were the only Muslims in the world who observed such a convention”. As I have already remarked, in their development of the convention the Muslim Filipinos appear to have been immediately inspired and influenced by a variant of jihad which the Achehnese began employing in their conflict with the Dutch in the early 1870s. The convention was simply one of the two Moro versions of jihad, a form of armed struggle that has been resorted to by many Muslim communities throughout the world since its origin and development in the Arabian peninsula in the sixth and seventh centuries. Secondly, the Moros could hardly be obliged or expected to warn or attempt to parley with the Americans when it was the latter who had sparked off hostilities between them by intervening in Moroland. Thirdly, as I have noted repeatedly, juramentados were not typically indiscriminate in the course of their assaults: usually they did avoid harming women, children, fellow Muslims and foreigners uninvolved in their conflicts with the Spaniards and Americans. Fourthly, the assertion that jihad can only be performed by a “large body of men” in war is incorrect. While jihad is normally a collective obligation, when the Territory of Islam is invaded by its enemies, it ceases to be a collective commitment and becomes a personal duty.
believe that all Moros are murderers and apostate Muhammadans. Your industry, your loyalty, and other virtues, are all obscured by the frenzied crimes of a few maniacs.

By extirpating the *juramentado* cancer from their society, the Tausug would “show to all the world’’ that they were dutiful followers of the Prophet. Nonetheless, if their international reputation was not a sufficient enough enticement for the Tausug to cease performing the convention, there was another factor to be considered, which the article broaches in its conclusion:

You do not know when some misguided person will run amuk (*juramentado*), or who he will be. He may be your own father, or brother, or son, and in his madness, he may kill you or some member of your family. What, then could be a better protection against amuks than to forbid every one to carry arms? If the amuk, when the murder-madness comes upon him, has no arms at hand, the search for weapons will cause delay and may permit of his capture, or even recovery from the obsession, before he actually commits any crime (emphasis mine).

What begins as and consists largely of an attack on the popular Tausug belief that the *juramentado* convention is a form of *jihad* thus ends with a justification for the Tausugs’ disarmament. According to the piece, the widespread availability of arms among the Tausug meant that they were eternally at the mercy of any “misguided person” who might unexpectedly succumb to the urge to run amok. Given the renowned susceptibility of the Muslim Filipinos to that impulse, this clearly was a prospect that eternally threatened every Tausug. In light of this prospect, it was actually in the best interests of the Tausug themselves to surrender their weapons to the American administration. The very ludicrousness of its logic indicates that the
article was designed to propagandize Pershing’s disarmament campaign, instituted a mere two months before and then underway in Moroland.

In 1913, Pershing gave a twist to the old colonial conviction that the *juramentado* convention was the consequence of failed love affairs when he linked it to the practices of concubinage and polygamy in Muslim Filipino societies. In his annual report for that year as the governor of the Moro Province, Pershing claims basically that because of their power and wealth, *datus* held a monopoly on the women of their communities. Because Moro parents considered their daughters “an asset upon which to realize as much as possible”, they naturally were inclined to accept any offers of marriage from their *datus*. The consequences of this “system” were for Pershing obvious:

The result of the system is that many a man, unable to bid against wealthy *datus* for the hand of the woman of his choice, is denied the privilege and the natural right of having a wife. It is from this class of Moros that usually come the “amuks” and “juramentados”, nine out of ten of whom determine upon this course because of disappointment or frustrated purpose in obtaining a mate. Many instances might be cited where a young man has fulfilled his agreement to work for parents a year or two years or even longer to pay for the daughter, only to find himself denied the girl entirely, or to learn that a higher price is demanded. The Moro often runs amuk against his enemies as an act of war, but the principal cause is as above stated. The relation of the amuk and juramentado to polygamy is fully established.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁶ Note the assertion in a 1911 *Cablenews American* article that “gambling losses and disappointment in love” are the “commonest causes” of amok/juramentado assaults. “General Arohlas (sic) Let Gunboats Go ‘Juramentado’,” *Cablenews American*, 15 December 1911.
Although Pershing concedes that “the Moro” runs amok/“turns” *juramentado* “against his enemies as an act of war” *often*, he undercuts this concession with the remark that “nine out of ten” Muslim Filipinos become amok-runners/*juramentados* “because of disappointment or frustrated purpose in obtaining a mate”. Once again, we have an account in which the *juramentado* convention is depicted not as a reaction to the American incursion into Moroland, but as purely the routine product of certain benighted features of traditional Moro society. This point was not lost on the author of a summary of Pershing’s report which appeared in the *Cablenews American* in 1914.108 The article’s title, emblazoned across the page in capital letters, insinuates that polygamy was the source of both the *juramentado* convention and of the Moro resistance to U. S. rule in general: “POLYGAMY, ROOT OF MORO TROUBLE IN PHILIPPINES.” The article opens in this manner:

> Why does the Moro run amuck? Only very recently have American [sic] in the Philippine Islands found out the reason. In nine cases out of ten it is not on account of religion, nor yet to punish his enemies, but because he is unable to get a wife.

> The matter has intimately to do with the practice of polygamy in the islands. Feudal chieftains known as datus and other wealthy Moros buy up the women.

Essentially, then, Muslim Filipino men resorted to the *juramentado* convention against the Spaniards and Americans because they were unable to obtain wives. This silly interpretation of the convention can serve as the fitting apotheosis of the American tendency to individualize both it and the greater Moro opposition to their presence in Moroland.

CONCLUSION

Between approximately 1899 and 1914 the discourse on the amok/juramentado convention nexus was deployed for three main purposes. Firstly and most basically, through the conflation in it of amok with the juramentado convention, that discourse functioned to define the Muslim Filipinos in colonial eyes as a ‘race’. Although the literature on the vulnerability of Filipinos to the amok impulse identified them as members of the Malay ‘race’, the aforesaid discourse typically distinguished the Moros as the most Malay (and hence most savage) of the various Malay ‘subraces’ in the Philippines.

Secondly, the discourse on the amok/juramentado convention nexus served to nullify, at least in colonial eyes, the juramentado convention as a form of dissent against the American effort to bring Mindanao and the Sulu archipelago within the orbit of the United States’ sovereignty. The fusion in it of amok with the juramentado convention promoted the individualization and medicalization of the convention in colonial writing, and these trends, in turn, led to the mystification of the convention’s religious and political dimensions. Detached from its historical context, which was marked by the intermittent hostilities between the Muslim Filipinos and American forces in Moroland, the convention increasingly came to be regarded by colonial authorities as less a form of jihad than as a kind of “illness” which graphically illustrated the Moros’ ‘racial’ limitations. According to Frederic J. Haskin, Fred D. Burdett and Percy J. King, W. T. Townsend, and W. E. Musgrave
and A. G. Sison, the convention was not a cultural practice that Muslim Filipino men chose to perform but a seizure, a madness, a frenzy, a disease to which they helplessly succumbed as a result of diverse etiological factors. Their assumption that such men were compelled to perform the convention removed the motivations of these men from their wills and located it in their disturbed minds or retrograde ‘racial’ character.

Thirdly, the discourse on the amok/juramentado convention nexus also worked to subtly disparage the different Muslim Filipino societies present in Moroland. It did so by occasionally depicting the convention as the periodic product of certain features of traditional Moro society: despotism, slavery, debt-bondage, concubinage and polygamy. While “the Moro” may have been poorly equipped, because of his ‘racial’ makeup, to cope with his impulses and life’s vicissitudes, it was often these customs, some writers implied, that ultimately drove him to run amok/”turn” juramentado. The implications of this thesis were clear: the convention was the symptom of a “sick” society, and juramentado assaults would only cease if that society was transformed. Not surprisingly, the need for the elimination of these practices made up an important plank in the American platform in Moroland; indeed, it constituted the official justification for the Americans’ replacement of a policy of non-interference in the region with one of direct control in the early 1900s - a shift in approach that was marked by their abrogation of the Bates Agreement. Lastly, the aforesaid discourse did more than
legitimate the Americans’ subjugation of the Muslim Filipinos in broad terms; from
time to time it also operated to advance specific strategies, as when it was used to
promote John J. Pershing’s disarmament program soon after its introduction in
1911.
Chapter 7

“IMAGINATION’S FLIGHTS”: A BARTHESIAN TEXTUAL ANALYSIS OF A COLONIAL DESCRIPTION OF JOLO

Still, it is only natural for the traveller to write of the bizarre and the picturesque.¹

INTRODUCTION

This is the first of two chapters which counters the seeming naturalness of Euro-American colonial writing on amok in the Philippines through an exploration of their signifying practices and dimensions of political meaning. Although the apparent absence of a traditional indigenous literature on amok makes this body of writing, by default, our most significant source of information on the subject for the American period, it has received surprisingly little critical scrutiny. This oversight has reinforced the popular and enduring assumption that the aforesaid corpus simply reflects amok as it was periodically resorted to by Filipinos during that epoch. It reveals the obliviousness of scholars to the possibility that such expositions were produced in response to, not so much the reality of amok in the Philippines, as to previous descriptions of the subject and the “codes and other conventions governing them.”² What has been ignored as a result of this omission is the political subtext that underpinned the Euro-American colonial fascination with the syndrome.

To redress this oversight, this chapter investigates the processes through which the Muslim Filipinos or “the Moro” is constructed as an amok-runner in Euro-American colonial writing. It does so by subjecting a brief reference to the behavioural pattern by an acknowledged colonial commentator to a mode of textual analysis developed by Roland Barthes. By analysing the process through which the behavioural pattern is manufactured as a motif in a specific depiction, this chapter aims to create a greater awareness of not only the sort of rhetorical and linguistic practices which produced amok as an artifact in other accounts from the same corpus, but also the “political commitments that inhere in these textual” practices. By meticulously identifying the various connotations evoked by the cultural codes that traverse the reference, this chapter will reveal the “historically produced styles - (the) grammars, rhetorics and narrative structures” - which characterise Euro-American expositions on amok, as well as their “dimensions of political meaning”.

INTERPRETIVE STRATEGY

The interpretive strategy employed in this chapter to dissect a colonial reverie on amok is that utilised by Roland Barthes in his semiotic analyses of Balzac’s tale S/Z and of Poe’s story Valdemar. More recently, it has been deftly

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5 Fortin, “Notes on a Terrorist Text,” 192.
wielded by Alfred J. Fortin to expose the conservative political subtext which underlies a statement on terrorism made by Jeane K. Kirkpatrick, the political scientist and former U. S. ambassador to the United Nations. From our perspective, the suitability of Barthes’ mode of inquiry lies in its capacity to reveal the linguistic practices which stealthily function behind the linear organisation or surface of a “readerly text” to produce its meaning. By unearthing the linguistic and rhetorical dimensions of the abovementioned works, Barthes is able to demonstrate that their meanings derive less from their fidelity to a reality that “pre-exists and exceeds” them, than from certain historically produced signifying practices that operate within them. Barthes’ textual strategy enables us to approach Euro-American commentaries on amok from a fresh angle, for it allows us to shift the focus of our attention away from the traditional scholarly concern with the entwinement of the syndrome with juramentado to the modes of representation which mediated the colonial understanding - and, by implication, our own - of the behavioural pattern. Moreover, it permits us to transform our discursive position in relation to these texts from a passive into an active one, for the unearthing of the codes which manufacture their values makes us no longer their mere recipients but their deconstructors: “...the goal of literary work (of literature as work) is to make the

8 “The readerly text purports to be a transcript of a reality which pre-exists and exceeds it, and it tightly controls the play of signification by subordinating everything to this transcendental meaning.” See Kaja Silverman, The Subject of Semiotics (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 243.
9 Ibid.
reader no longer a consumer, but a producer of the text.”

Fortin makes the point that Barthes’ approach is better understood as a “loose interpretive inquiry” than as a methodology:

Thus it would be wrong to label his work a methodology and in doing so imply that he was searching for some foundational model or master code for the understanding of written texts. Nietzsche, Lacan, and Derrida, Barthes admits, have convinced him of the paradoxes and uniqueness of each text, as well as the “indifference of science” to meaning.

The ideology of a “readerly text” reveals itself through connotation. The connotations of such a text are emitted by codes which can be defined as systems of signification insofar as they couple “present entities with absent units”. A code “represents a sort of bridge between texts. Its presence within one text involves a simultaneous reference to all of the other texts in which it appears, and to the cultural reality which it helps to define – i. e., to a particular symbolic order...” Codes for Barthes are “so many fragments of something that has always been already read, seen, done, experienced; the code is the wake of that already.” In order to locate these secondary messages in a text, Barthes first segments the text into the different blocks of signification or lexias in which its codes reside. These fragments can be of any size, but for more convenient examination, they need only consist of between one to four meanings. Having decomposed the text into its various lexias, Barthes then

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10 Barthes, S/Z, 4.
12 Ibid.
13 Silverman, Semiotics, 237.
uncovers the "migration of meanings, the outcropping of codes, the passage of citations"\textsuperscript{17} in these fragments in order to reveal the codes that constitute the text, the cultural voices that utter it. The codes under which Barthes subsumes all the connotations he meticulously identifies in \textit{S/Z} are five in number: the symbolic; the hermeneutic; the semic; the proairetic or narrative; and the cultural. The symbolic code serves to express eternal antitheses, while the hermeneutic code works to articulate and unravel enigmas; the semic code operates to distinguish places and characters, the proairetic or narrative codes, the set course of occurrences.\textsuperscript{18} Although all of these codes are clearly cultural, the "voices from other texts"\textsuperscript{19} which Barthes specifically includes under the category of "cultural codes" consist of "the numerous codes of knowledge or wisdom to which the text continually refers. The cultural codes are references to a science or body of knowledge...."\textsuperscript{20}

The colonial reference to amok which is subjected to a Barthesian textual analysis in this chapter was penned by John Foreman and features in the 1906 edition of his classic \textit{The Philippine Islands}.\textsuperscript{21} Curiously, the reference is absent from the 1890 and 1899 editions of the work. The explanation for this puzzle is suggested by the generically coded nature of the reference itself. The absence of such formulaic descriptions of amok from the Spanish literature

\textsuperscript{15} Silverman, \textit{Semiotics}, 239.
\textsuperscript{17} Ibid., 14.
\textsuperscript{18} Silverman, \textit{Semiotics}, 241.
\textsuperscript{19} Ibid., 12.
\textsuperscript{20} Ibid., 20.
demonstrates that the genre exemplified by Foreman’s reference began to emerge in colonial writing on the Filipinos only after the American occupation.

The reference’s fitness for examination derives from its sheer evocativeness and from the status Foreman enjoyed at the turn of this century of being the Englishman most knowledgeable about the Philippines.22 Foreman was a “fellow of the Royal Geographical Society who lived intermittently in the archipelago for eleven years, between 1880 and 1896, as the agent for an English machinery firm.”23 His record of his sojourn, the “most influential British study of the Philippines in the nineteenth century”,24 was one of the few travelogues of the period which not only focused on the Islands and its inhabitants but was readily accessible to an English-reading audience. Foreman’s fame as an authority on the Philippines rested on his professedly intimate knowledge of his subject matter and of the “most reliable historical records”, as well as on his “personal acquaintance” with Spaniards, the American Peace Commission which participated in the Treaty of Paris of 1898, and key players in the Filipino-American War - an assortment of Filipino revolutionaries, American colonial administrators and military officials.25 Moreover, his reputation as an informed colonial commentator has endured for

21 John Foreman, The Philippine Islands, 3rd (1890; reprint, New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1906), 150.
24 Ibid.
25 Foreman, Philippine Islands, vii.
much of this century. Foreman’s description of Jolo town, as well as the reference to a stereotypical amok incident it contains, are paraphrased and quoted respectively in Sixto Y. Orosa’s *The Sulu Archipelago and its People*, while comments about *juramentado* which appear elsewhere in his work are cited by J. Franklin Ewing in his study of the Muslim Filipino convention.26

Foreman’s reference to amok appears in a chapter devoted to the Muslim Filipino inhabitants of the Sulu Archipelago and Mindanao entitled “Mahometans And Southern Tribes”. The reference itself is brief and features in a reverie on the “general aspect” of Jolo town, the main colonial settlement on Jolo island of first the Spaniards and later the Americans in the Sulu Archipelago. The reverie may seem superfluous, since the four paragraphs preceding it already provide a detailed depiction of the town’s buildings, layout, water supply system and fortifications; but to regard it as such would be to miss the ideological function it serves. Like all descriptions, it represents “an interruption in the syntagmatics”27 or linearity of the chapter’s narration. It marks the section in the chapter “at which, in the most ‘natural’ way possible, an ideological competence may be inserted: that is, the narrator’s knowledge of the system of dominant values, rules, laws, etc. which governs his society.”28

Through connotation, the reverie clandestinely conveys to the reader ideological

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28 Ibid., 155.
information that was current during the American period about a wide array of subjects, from “the Moro’s” alluring primitiveness to the rightness and precariousness of the American civilising mission in the Sulu archipelago. The cultural codes evoked by the reverie thus make it a suitable site for our attempt to uncover the sort of conventions and signifying practices which constituted amok as an artifact in post-1898 colonial writing.

First quoting the passage in its entirety, this chapter will then segment it into numbered blocks of signification for analysis. To proceed:

[1] The general aspect of Sulu (Jolo) is cheerful and attractive. [2] The day scene, enlivened by the Moro, passing to and fro with his lithe gait, in gay attire, with the *barang* in a huge sash, [3] and every white man, soldier or civilian, carrying arms in self-defence, [4] may well inflame the imaginative and romantic mind. One can hardly believe one is still in the Philippines. [5] At night, the shaded avenues, bordered by stately trees, illuminated by a hundred lamps, present a beautiful, picturesque scene which carries the memory far, far away from the surrounding savage races. [6] Yet all may change in a trice. [7] There is a hue and cry; a Moro has run *amok* - his glistening weapon within a foot of his escaping victim; the Christian native hiding away in fear, and the European off in pursuit of the common foe; there is a tramping of feet, a cracking of firearms; the Moro is biting the dust, [8] and the memory is brought abruptly back from imagination’s flights to full realization of one’s Mahometan entourage.29

[1] The general aspect of Sulu (Jolo) is cheerful and attractive.

A. The clichedness of lexis [1]’s description of “Sulu (Jolo)” marks it as an emission from the cultural code of Euro-American writing on the Sulu archipelago. In that corpus the peculiar charm of Jolo town - an exotic colonial outpost, inhabited and visited by a rich mix of ‘races’, incessantly plagued by

29 Foreman, *Philippine Islands*, 150.
juramentado attacks - is a common theme.\textsuperscript{30} The triteness of the lexis thus already hints to the reader that the depiction of Jolo town it opens will consist essentially of a regurgitation of the motifs and images which circulate in other colonial depictions of the settlement.

B. The grouping of the signifiers “cheerful” and “attractive” around the proper name “Sulu (Jolo)” signals the laying of the first bricks in the construction of the town's identity. Together, these signifying units connote secondary messages or \textit{semes} relating to the settlement which comprise a constellation of affirmative attributes such as pleasantness, orderliness, neatness, picturesqueness, industriousness... These semes make up a “synonymic complex whose common nucleus we sense even while the discourse is leading us toward other related signifieds...”\textsuperscript{31} If the tentative attachment of these secondary messages to the proper name “Sulu (Jolo)” is to be fastened, then they must traverse it more than once.\textsuperscript{32} Through his/her literary competence the reader knows, on reading lexis [1], that it will be succeeded by a portrayal of the town in which the qualities of “cheerful” and “attractive” initially associated with it will be elaborated on.

[2] The day scene, enlivened by the Moro, passing to and fro with his lithe gait, in gay attire, with the \textit{barong} in a huge sash,


\textsuperscript{31} Barthes, \textit{S/Z}, 92.

\textsuperscript{32} The process of creating the personality of the settlement can hence be likened to that involved in the creation of a character in a realist novel as it is described by Barthes: “When identical semes traverse the same proper name several times and appear to settle upon it, a character is created.” Ibid., p. 67.
A. The typification of Jolo’s Muslim Filipinos as “the Moro”, together with the signifier “passing to and fro with his lithe gait”, invoke the cultural code of late nineteenth-century sociocultural evolutionism. The typification implies that whatever physical, social or psychological attributes may be assigned to “the Moro” in the passage are meant to be understood by the reader as being peculiar to the Moro ‘race’ (Jolo’s colonial and Christian Filipino inhabitants are equally typified in the passage). The signifier “passing to and fro with his lithe gait” operates on two levels here. While on one level it works to underline the fidelity of Foreman’s sketch of “the Moro”, with the very triviality of its information signifying “reality” and so attesting to the sketch’s accuracy, on another level it connotes bestiality. The signifier echoes a colonial commonplace of the time that the pronounced liseness and general physicality of ‘natives’, such as the Moros, reflected their close proximity to animals. This is why Saleh, the Malay protagonist of Hugh Clifford’s novel, Saleh: A Prince of Malaya, is told by an English youth that he is widely regarded as a veritable whiz in the pool and in the gym:

He was only saying the other day how beautifully you swim and how clever you are in the gym. He says you can do things on the bar at the first try which it takes English boys years and years to learn. 

B. The signifier “in gay attire” generates and thus stabilises the connotation of picturesqueness first activated in lexis [1]. This secondary message carries especially strong resonances in Euro-American writing on the Muslim Filipinos,

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33 Hugh Clifford, Saleh: A Prince Of Malaya (1926; reprint, Singapore: Oxford University Press)
where the adjective most frequently applied to the Moros is indeed "picturesque".\textsuperscript{34} Their picturesqueness was seen to derive in that corpus from their perceived primitiveness. For colonials whose knowledge of the diverse inhabitants of the Philippines was usually derived from texts, and whose dealings with them were on the whole limited to Christians, the proud and brightly clothed Moros - the most famous of the non-Christian minorities - possessed a profound exoticness and charm. In contrast, those who were better acquainted with the Islands' population were likely to regard other ethnic groups as being equally - and sometimes even more - romantic.\textsuperscript{35} The strangeness and allure of the Muslim Filipinos was most graphically embodied in their appearance, especially in their dress, which was often compared favourably with the reputedly dull semblance of the Christian Filipinos. Clothes symbolised culture for colonials, and thus the distinctive garbs of their subjects were seen to represent the relative civilisedness and benightedness of the different ethnic groups to which they belonged. "He has become sadly dull, limp, and

\textsuperscript{34} Examples of this theme are legion. See, for instance, Hugh Lenox Scott, \textit{Some Memories Of A Soldier} (New York: The Century Co., 1928), 275; and Anderson, \textit{Hawaiian Islands and the Philippines}, 338, 342-8.

\textsuperscript{35} For instance, the following caption, accompanying a photograph of a Kalinga couple (entitled "A Typical Kalinga Couple"), appears in an article by Dean Conan Worcester which surfaced in the \textit{National Geographic Magazine} in 1913: "These people are the Peacocks of the Philippines. They revel in the brightest colors and bedeck themselves in large figured, gaudily colored cotton fabrics..." (my emphasis). See Dean C. Worcester, "The Non-Christian Peoples of the Philippine Islands," in \textit{National Geographic Magazine}, 24:11 (November 1913), 1192. Describing the different ethnic groups that were going to be exhibited at the forthcoming St. Louis Exposition, Merton L. Miller, the Acting Chief of the Ethnological Survey, wrote of the Bagobos that, "From the point of view of dress they are the most interesting people in the islands of whom we have knowledge". See Merton L. Miller, \textit{Report of the Acting Chief of the Ethnological Survey for the Year Ending September 1, 1904} (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1905), 569.
civilised”36 - the assessment is Hugh Clifford’s, one of the most important of the early Residents of the Malay States, of the changes which twenty years of “British Protection” had wrought on the condition of the West Coast Malay, but it might have been coined by Clifford’s counterparts in the Philippines about the impact which almost 350 years of Spanish colonial rule had had on the Christian Filipino. The latter’s “somewhat monotonous semi-civilised cream muslins and dark cottons”37 hence graphically illustrated for colonials the emasculation and domestication by the Spaniards of the Christian Filipinos’ original savageness. In the absolute foreignness of Muslim Filipino attire, in contrast, commentators believed they espied a key signifier of the Moro’s primitiveness, his “truculent, untamed state.”38

C. The sheer incongruousness of a barong in a “huge sash” with European standards of dress means that any reference to these items will reiterate the sense of picturesqueness or primitiveness which has traversed the name “Moro” enough times now to be considered a primary trait of its personality. “Barong”, the name of the fighting sword of the Suluano Moros, sparks off the secondary messages of truculence and a capacity for violence. In doing so, it suddenly injects the first discordant notes into a sketch of “the Moro” which until this point has been singularly upbeat, enumerating as it has been the more innocuous features of the type’s quaintness as his peculiar manner of walking and

38 Clifford, “The East Coast,” 3.
distinctive garb. The prominence of the barong, and of the secondary messages it connotes, is only heightened by the emphasis placed on the great size of its sash, since the sash cannot be imagined without the weapon being tucked conspicuously into it, standing out in relief against it. This emphasis on the sash’s largeness simultaneously endows it with a materiality which allows it to serve as another of the seemingly inconsequential details in the passage which implicitly confirm the veracity of the narrator’s musing. The irony of this textual strategy is that Foreman could have never seen Moros carrying barongs or, indeed, any other weapons within the walls of Jolo, since the Muslim Filipino visitors to the town were expressly prohibited from doing so by both its Spanish and American occupiers. The anomalous presence of a barong-carrying Moro in the passage highlights both the hold that Orientalist images of the Muslim Filipinos had over colonial authors, and the readiness of such authors to titillate their Euro-American readership with pictures of the bizarrely attired and ominously armed Moro.

[3] and every white man, soldier or civilian, carrying arms in self-defence,

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39 This measure was designed to minimise the danger that the town’s colonial residents faced from juramentados. A forerunner of it was introduced by the Spaniards in around 1878 even before the colony’s defensive works were completed between 1881 and 1882; Muslim Filipino visitors were required to leave their arms at certain checkpoints located at disembarkation points and in avenues before entering the town’s market. See Miguel Espina, Apuntes Para Hacer Un Libro Sobre Jolo (Manila: Imprenta y Litografía de M. Perez, hijo, 1888), 360. For an interesting account of the security precautions taken by the Spaniards at the tail-end of the nineteenth century, see Dean Conan Worcester, The Philippine Islands And Their People (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1898), 186-7. During the American period, Moros were not permitted to carry arms inside the settlement without written authorisation from the Governor. See Scott, Some Memories, 278.
A. The reference to “every white man”, armed in response to an unspecified threat posed to him by “the Moro”, composes the second term of an antithesis which is central to the organisation of Foreman’s passage: “the Moro”/“every white man” (or “the European”, as the latter term is referred to in lexis [7]). The opposition is a variant of the manichean allegory regarded by A. R. JanMohamed as the principal trope of colonialist discourses. JanMohamed defines the allegory as “a field of diverse yet interchangeable oppositions between white and black, good and evil, superiority and inferiority, civilisation and savagery, intelligence and emotion, rationality and sensuality, self and Other, subject and object.”

The antithesis ensures that all the information about “the Moro” and “the European” that emerges in the passage will do so in relation to each other. Thus the personality of “the Moro”, as it is developed in lexis [2], is defined in terms of what the type is not, the traits he lacks. The attributes attached to the type - bestiality, primitiveness, a capacity for violence, belligerence - surface in relation to and derive their value from their antitheses - humanity, civilisedness, peacefulness, and temperateness. These positive characteristics may be overtly assigned to “the European” and his civilising mission in Jolo later in the passage, but they are already present here “through their absence.”

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41 Silverman, Semiotics, 265.
42 Ibid., 266.
43 Ibid.
B. The reference to the measure taken by Jolo’s colonials against the unnamed danger they face from Muslim Filipino visitors - the necessity for which is underlined by the fact that it was adopted by “every white man, soldier or civilian” - achieves three effects. Firstly, it confirms the semes of belligerence and a capacity for violence that are initially linked with “the Moro” through their evocation by “barong” in lexis [2]. Secondly, through the assertion that the town's Europeans bear arms “in self-defence”, it achieves a “historical displacement of aggression”⁴⁴ from these soldiers and civilians onto the Moros, who are subtly portrayed as the instigators of the conflict between them. Thirdly, insofar as it suggests that “the Moro” does pose a threat to “every white man”, the reference thematizes “the Moro” in a manner that signifies the existence of an enigma. The reference thus sets in motion the text’s hermeneutic code, prompting the reader to ask such questions as “Why do Jolo’s colonials carry arms in self-defence?” and “What threat do the settlement’s Moros pose them?” If the text is to guarantee its own survival⁴⁵ - i.e. ensure that it is read - it will have to delay the answering of such questions in order to keep the reader in suspense.

C. The greater number of signifiers assigned to “the Moro” than to “every white man” in lexias [2] and [3] indicates that the former personifies the town’s “day scene”. This relation can be accounted for by the fact that, throughout the American occupation of Jolo, the Muslim Filipinos were only permitted to

⁴⁵ Shlomith Rimmon-Kenan, *Narrative Fiction: Contemporary Poetics* (London and New York:
frequent Jolo town in the daytime. In order to ensure the safety of its European
and Christian Filipino residents in the evening, the Americans ordered that all
Moro visitors to the town would have to leave before six at night:

The town is surrounded on the landward side by a high wall,
loop-holed for defense, and having three gates. The central gate
was kept open from six in the morning until six at night, when it
was closed and locked with all Moros outside. 46

[4] may well inflame the imaginative and romantic mind. One can hardly
believe one is still in the Philippines.

A. The signifiers “the imaginative and romantic mind” and “one” (as well as
“the memory” in lexias [5] and [8]) illustrate Foreman’s use of the third-person
form. In enabling Foreman to detach himself from the narrator’s reflection on
Jolo and the reverie it inspires, the form allows him to project his own
perspective (or that of colonial authors in general) on the town as a universal
one. The separation of the utterances in the passage from any particular speaker
gives them an impersonal force 47 suggestive of authority. It implies that the
consciousness portrayed as being transported by Jolo’s “general aspect” would
be that of any of the passage’s readers were they only physically present in the
settlement. In assuming this perspective, the reader imaginatively inserts
him/herself into the town as an observer, confronted by the romantic spectacle
of fantastically attired and armed Moros, gun-toting colonials and Christian
Filipinos strolling along the town’s “shaded avenues”. The reader also becomes

Routledge, 1983), 123.
46 See Scott, Some Memories, 278. This precaution was apparently already in effect in 1903.
See 8 May 1907 article in the Cabelnews American, entitled “Wounded by Moro Amuck”, which
refers to an order stipulating that “no strange Moros shall be allowed inside the walls of Jolo
town after 5 p.m.”
susceptible to the ideological information stealthily conveyed in the passage, likely to internalise an account of the settlement which in fact is highly conventional and partial.

B. Through their invocation of the romantic, the sketches of the outlandish Moro and the armed colonial are designed to whet the reader’s appetite for exoticism. Like the other illustrations of Jolo’s marvelousness in the passage, these portraits serve to provide the reader with the “thrill of ‘escape’” which Western audiences have traditionally looked for in travelogues. 48 Yet, as our analysis of the codes which constitute “the Moro” and “the European” suggests, the ability of these figures to “inflame the imaginative and romantic mind”, to imaginatively transport their observers out of the Philippines, stems less from any intrinsic interest they possess, than from their very clichedness and the reader’s “encyclopedic competence.” 49 The power of these stereotypes resides in their evocativeness, their capacity to refer to the innumerable other texts in which they are “cited or in some way recycled.” 50 The reader foreseen by the passage must, in turn, possess the relevant semiotic and literary competency to be able to recognise these figures as stereotypes which he has encountered in other texts and of which he has grown fond. The “imaginative and romantic

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mind” in question must thus be one familiar with the sort of texts in which these stereotypes or their variations - i.e. the colourful native, the sword-wielding Moor - appear, with a memory of other texts similar or related in genre, theme, or story.\(^5^1\) It is because the Moros of Zamboanga elicited for Hermann Hagedorn (the colonial essayist and biographer of Gen. Leonard Wood) a complex of stock images and figures from European writing on the Middle East, that he concluded at the turn of this century that the town was “a setting for the Arabian Nights”\(^5^2\).

\[5\] At night, the shaded avenues, bordered by stately trees, illuminated by a hundred lamps, present a beautiful, picturesque scene which carries the memory far, far away from the surrounding savage races.

A. The personification of Jolo’s “day scene” in “the Moro” is counterpoised in this lexis by the close association of its “evening scene” with the European presence on the island. The description of the town is thus structured in terms of an antithesis - “day scene”/“evening scene” - which forms a subset of the passage’s principal opposition, “the Moro”/“the European”. In the absence of the settlement’s Muslim Filipino visitors in the evening, its trees, streetlights and avenues, as well as their arrangement, can become for the narrator symbols of the qualities of American civilisation and of the beneficence of its rule in the Sulu archipelago. The signifiers “shaded avenues, bordered by stately trees”

\(^5^1\) Ibid. As an example of the Orientalist images that Foreman’s description of “the Moro” would have conjured up for his readers, consider Ludwig Deutsch’s painting The Emir’s Guard on the next page. The Guard’s forbidding array of weapons, their conspicuousness and the colourfulness of his attire are all evocative of the picturesque Moro as he is typically depicted in American colonial writing.

suggest such semes as civilisedness, tranquillity, order, and purpose which either repeat or link up with the connotations implicitly associated with "the European" in lexis [3]. "Illuminated by a hundred lamps" recalls, of course, the frequent employment of light as a symbol by colonials to signify the transformative effects of their civilising mission on the unenlightened natives who inhabited the "dark corners" of the earth. The brightness produced by Jolo’s "hundred lamps" only accentuates the utter benightedness of the "surrounding savage races" - the Muslim Filipinos, Chinese and Arabs living in the different settlements located outside the town's walls. The signifier "surrounding", denoting as it does the encirclement of Jolo by "primitive races", connotes the danger besetting the American presence on the island, and may summon forth for the reader an image of the town as a lone beacon of enlightenment, set amidst a dark, swirling sea of native chaos.

B. Just what Jolo’s evening scene and the connotations it evokes are supposed to put the reader in mind of is not mentioned in lexis [5]. Barthes would regard the text’s silence on this point as an instance of "jamming", the hermeneutic element which, in acknowledging the insolubility of a proposed enigma, is meant to induce in the reader intense speculation. 53 By encouraging the reader to mull over the sort of reminiscences or images that the contemplation of the town’s evening scene is meant to conjure up, the text greatly contributes to the reader’s dynamic involvement in making it signify. 54 The question of what the

54 Rimmon-Kenan, *Narrative Fiction*, 129.
reader is meant to be reminded of is, for our purpose, less important than the fact that the positive connotations aligned with the town’s evening vista - and thus with the American presence in Jolo - are portrayed as being completely incompatible with the “surrounding savage races”.

[6] Yet all may change in a trice.

A. Under the cover of depictions of Jolo’s day and evening scenes, the revelation of the enigma that was established in lexias [2] and [3] has been delayed for two sentences. In this lexis the mystery’s existence is proposed and its disclosure is clearly imminent.

[7] There is a hue and cry; a Moro has run amok - his glistening weapon within a foot of his escaping victim; the Christian native hiding away in fear, and the European off in pursuit of the common foe; there is a trampling of feet, a cracking of firearms; the Moro is biting the dust,

A. The threat perennially posed by “the Moro” to “every white man” and “the Christian native” in Jolo is here finally revealed: that of his suddenly running amok. Yet the figure who is described as doing so does not quite resemble the amok-runner or pengamok as he is famously portrayed in Euro-British writing on Malaya. Admittedly, lexis [7] and several of the commentaries on amok contained in that corpus share the same basic narrative or proairetic sequence. The phases of “the Moro’s” assault, as well as the sequence in which they unfold - the initial uproar, the attack itself, the attempted escape of the potential victims, the pursuit, and ultimately the slaying, of the amok-runner - imitate
those of the typical amok attack as it is described in such expositions.\textsuperscript{55} However, the identification of the “native hiding away in fear” as a “Christian”, together with the insinuation that only the Christian Filipino and European residents of Jolo - and not its Muslim Filipino visitors - are the assailant’s intended victims, reveal that “the Moro” is not an amok-runner at all, but a \textit{juramentado}. For such information would be superfluous if “the Moro” was indeed a \textit{pengamok}, since amok-runners are notorious for being indiscriminate in their choice of victims, whereas \textit{juramentados} usually did attempt to avoid causing harm to their fellow Muslims during the course of their attacks on Christian infidels.

B. The description of the narrator’s reverie on a conventional amok attack as one of “imagination’s flights” suggests that what “the memory” is portrayed as recalling is an “intertextual frame” - a stereotyped situation contained in the Euro-American literature on the Muslim Filipinos which has been “recorded by our encyclopedia”.\textsuperscript{56} That such a frame constitutes the climax to a train of thought inspired by a reflection on Jolo’s “general aspect” only shows how hackneyed references to amok had become in that literature by 1906.\textsuperscript{57}

C. Given that Jolo’s Christian Filipinos were prohibited by the Americans from

carrying firearms in the town,\textsuperscript{58} the signifier "the Christian native hiding away in fear" seems to be nothing more than an accurate portrayal of their usual response to \textit{juramentado} attacks. However, the typification of the Christian Filipinos as "the Christian native" encourages the reader to interpret their reaction as an illustration of the general helplessness of \textit{all} Christian Filipinos before the depredations of the more warlike Moros. Connoting in this manner the seme of helplessness, the signifier would have possessed a special resonance for Foreman's colonial audience in the Philippines, for it would have reminded them of an argument that was regularly employed by American commentators in the first decade of this century to support their government's continued retention of the Moro Province or \textit{Morolandia}: namely, that the withdrawal of the U. S. presence from the Province would leave its Christian Filipino minority at the mercy of the territory's more numerous and aggressive Muslim Filipinos.\textsuperscript{59} This claim was frequently made by such commentators in the context of their debate with Filipino nationalists over the future of the Province. Although the dispute began soon after the U.S. occupation of the Philippines, it was enflamed by a campaign that was inaugurated by the Zamboanga Chamber of Commerce around July, 1905 to establish a separate territorial government for "the Moro

\textsuperscript{58} Landor, \textit{Gems of the East}, 198.

country.” Increasingly disturbed by unceasing Filipino calls for independence, the American settlers and businessmen who comprised that Chamber sought to secure their commercial interests in Morolandia and preserve it for their future exploitation by transforming it into a “large American colony.” A neat formulation of the argument for Morolandia’s retention was delivered by Brig. Gen. Tasker H. Bliss, Governor of the Moro Province, in the course of his oration at the opening ceremonies of the Zamboanga Industrial and Agricultural Fair in February 1907:

In view of all this it should not be necessary to warn my Filipino friends to beware of those among you who preach misleading notions of liberty and independence. We must concern ourselves with the conditions of the moment and not those of a remote future. Without the protection of a powerful government which guarantees life, security of property and the sanctity of your homes, - without these, I say, what hope of liberty and independence have the 50,000 Filipinos in this Province against 450,000 Moros and Pagans.

The signifier’s echo of this argument is, of course, only strengthened by the neighbouring signifier, “the European off in pursuit of the common foe.”

[8] and the memory is brought abruptly back from imagination’s flights to full realization of one’s Mahometan entourage.

A. The reverie suddenly concludes by leaving the reader, imaginatively present in Jolo, with a heightened appreciation of the danger he is in of being unexpectedly attacked by his Muslim Filipino attendants, because it invokes two

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central tenets of the American cultural order in the Philippines: that “the Moro” is essentially treacherous, and that he is prone to “run amok” or “turn juramentado” at any moment. In slyly recalling these ideological imperatives, lexis [8] justifies them. The evocation of these colonial commonplaces through connotation only confirms their veracity, since the stealth with which they are raised transforms what are biased assumptions about the Moros into seeming truisms. Needless to say, both clichés have long been incorporated into the Christian Filipino vision of the Muslim Filipinos.

CONCLUSION

Through a Barthesian textual analysis of Foreman’s passage, this chapter has attempted to explore the processes by which Muslim Filipinos are constructed as amok-runners in Euro-American commentaries on the behavioural pattern, as well as the political subtexts that underlie these commentaries. Generally, it confirms what has already been demonstrated in the earlier chapters of this dissertation: the marked association of the Muslim Filipinos with amok in post-1898 colonial writing is due to the frequent conflation in that corpus of the behavioural pattern with the juramentado convention. More specifically, this chapter has shown that the construction of the Moro amok-runner in the Foreman passage is organised by the symbolic antithesis “the Moro”/“the European” - a variation of the “manichean allegory” ubiquitous in colonialist discourses - and its subset, Jolo’s “day scene”/“evening

scene”. Only after “certain culturally coded and symbolically opposed semes”
are attached to the names “the Moro” and “the European” are the “proairetic

The antithesis between “the European” and “the Moro” is developed
The description of the settlement’s “day scene” aligns opposing combinations of
traits to the town’s colonials and Muslim Filipino visitors which subtly define
them as adverse ‘racial’ types. The endowment of “the Moro” with the attributes
of bestiality, primitiveness, a capacity for violence and truculence
simultaneously assigns the antitheses of these characteristics to “the European”.
The description also convey’s “the Moro’s” allure, establishes the type’s ‘racial’
inferiority vis-à-vis “the European”, and implies that “the Moro” is responsible
for the hostility between them. The passage’s coyness over the threat “the
Moro” poses “the European” lays the groundwork for the establishment of its
central enigma, the resolution of which constitutes the passage’s dénouement. In
contrast, the representation of the settlement’s “evening scene” serves mainly to
delay the revelation of that enigma and evoke the enlightenment and
beneficence of the U.S. civilising mission on the island. The appeal of that
mission is made all the more affecting by the evocation of its sheer
precariousness through references to “the Moro’s” barong, the security measure
adopted by Jolo’s colonials, and the encirclement of the town by “savage races.”

63 Silverman, Semiotics, 267.
The structuration of the reader in the passage is greatly influenced by the universal perspective projected in it. In imaginatively placing the reader in Jolo as an observer, this perspective suggests that the passage is merely a record of the reader’s impressions of the town’s day and evening scenes and of the train of thought they would naturally inspire. In doing so, this perspective mystifies the way in which the passage is designed to instill and confirm in the reader certain ideological information relating to the American sense of mission in the Sulu archipelago. Certainly, the successful transmission and reinforcement of this information depends on the reader being made to identify with the settlement’s colonial residents and approve of their mission civilisatrice on the island. The passage works to achieve this identification through its definitions of “the Moro” and “the European”, as well as through the reproduction of an amok attack sequence reminiscent of the many expositions on the phenomenon to be found in Euro-British and Euro-American colonial writing.

The political agenda of the passage - and of the bulk of the expositions on amok it represents - is neatly summed up in the moral drawn by Foreman from a story he recounts in his book, concerning an alleged juramentado who attempted to kill the Spanish Governor of Panay (an island in the Visayas region) in the late nineteenth-century:

It has often been remarked by old [colonial] residents, that if free license were granted to the domesticated natives, their barbarous instincts would recur to them in all vigour. Here was an instance.64

64 Foreman, Philippine Islands, 152.
Chapter 8

“LIKE A MAD DOG”: THE PERCEIVED SAVAGENESS OF “THE MALAY” IN EURO-BRITISH AND EURO-AMERICAN COLONIAL WRITING

‘Oh the touchiness of these Malays!’ groaned Rolain….‘Why didn’t he talk to me about it instead of brooding over his trouble? When a man broods on things like that, they get out of proportion.’

INTRODUCTION

In both Euro-British colonial writing on the Malays and in its Euro-American equivalent on the Filipinos, the amok-runner or pengamok is often compared to a “mad” or rabid dog. The comparison is couched in the form of two similes: the first claims a correspondence between the fates of an amok-runner and an infected dog, whereas the second asserts a similarity between the violence of their respective rampages.

For over a hundred years, in the course of its odyssey through two colonial corpuses, the “mad dog” trope appeared in novels, newspaper articles, medical papers, at least one Ph.D. dissertation, memoirs, travelogues and scholarly accounts of the Malay archipelago. Not long after the U.S. occupation

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1 Henri Fauconnier, The Soul of Malaya (London: Elkin Mathews and Marrot, 1931), 221.

For illustrations of the trope’s presence in Euro-American writing, see John Foreman, Philippine Islands, 2nd ed. (London: Sampson Low, Marston & Co., 1899), 158; Frederick Sawyer, Inhabitants of the Philippines (London: Sampson Low, Marston & Company, 1900), 169; “Wounded By Moro Amuck,” Cablesnews American, 8 May 1907; “Sultan of Sulu in
of the Philippines in 1898, it began to circulate in Euro-American writing on the Filipinos as well, first surfacing perhaps in John Foreman’s *The Philippine Islands* from 1899. The figure of speech appears in Foreman’s brief definition of the *juramentados*: “This is the most dangerous sect of Mussulmans, for no exhibition of force can suffice to stay their ravages, and they can only be treated like mad dogs, or like a Malay who has run amok.”

In its transposition from the Euro-British to the later Euro-American literature, the figure of speech underwent a subtle but significant modification: from being linked with all Malays, it came to be exclusively associated in the Philippine context with the Muslim Filipinos or “Moros”. In particular, the trope became entwined with the figure of the *juramentado*, who in turn was transformed into the archetypal amok-runner in the Euro-American imagination. Although in theory it was recognised by American commentators that both the Christian Filipinos and Muslim Filipinos, being members of the Malay “race”, were equally prone to run amok, in only one text in the Euro-American corpus - Frederick H. Sawyer’s *The Inhabitants of the Philippines* - is the figure of speech applied to the “Filipino” amok-runner. After 1900 it is invariably the *juramentado* whose violence and eventual death, at the hands of American and Christian Filipino soldiers, are compared in the literature to those of a “mad dog’s”.

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3 Foreman, *Philippine Islands*, 158.
The curious modification of the “mad dog” trope in the first years of this century reflects the impact, on Euro-American thought, of the Americans' initial exposure to the juramentado convention, as well as the commencement of hostilities between their forces and the Muslim Filipinos in “Morolandia”. Indeed, the exclusive association of the figure of speech with the Moros can be regarded as the impress left on it by these events. For it was during this period that juramentados, either individually or, less commonly, in groups, began assaulting American soldiers and their Christian Filipino auxiliaries. The juramentado convention drew even greater attention when the main theatre of conflict shifted from Luzon to the southwestern Philippines, following the surrender of the main guerilla armies in the Philippine-American War in 1902. The tension which had been simmering between different Muslim Filipino groups and the American forces, soon after the latter’s entry into “Moroland” in 1899, reached boiling point when the U.S. government abrogated the Bates Agreement in 1904, sparking off major military confrontations between them which only came to an end with the defeat of the Moros in the Battle of Bud Bagsak in 1913. Given the apparent connection of the juramentado convention to the Muslim Filipino resistance of the period, it is not surprising that colonial commentators sought to downplay the dimension of political meaning seemingly inherent in the convention by likening its exponents to “mad dogs”.

In this chapter, I argue that the power of the “mad dog” trope derives not only from the luridness and violence of the image it summons forth of a crazed

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4 Reynaldo C. Ileto, *Pasyon and Revolution: Popular Movements in the Philippines, 1840-1910*
Malay, but also from the reigning mid-nineteenth- to early twentieth-century beliefs it evokes about “the Malay’s” primitiveness. These ideas originated in nineteenth-century sociocultural evolutionism⁵ and were well articulated by, amongst others, Herbert Spencer in the chapters “The Primitive Man - Emotional” and “The Primitive Man - Intellectual” from The Principles of Sociology.⁶ Together, these beliefs came to profoundly shape the colonial vision in Malaya and the Philippines of both “the Malay’s” alleged propensity to run amok and the violence he resorted to when he did so.

In order to uncover these now lesser known ideas, I analyse the foundation for the perceived similarity between the stereotypical amok-runner and a rabid dog. First I touch on the nature of rabies and the notoriousness it has enjoyed through the centuries. Then I delineate the basic phases of the pengamok’s condition and of rabies in a dog, as they were commonly understood by Europeans, and note their reputed resemblances. Finally, I recover the negative opinions of “the Malay’s intellectual and moral characters which frequently informed descriptions of the stages of his “homicidal mania”.⁷ Since space is limited, I shall not provide a summary of the tenets of sociocultural evolutionism.

To avoid confusion, before proceeding to analyse the perceived analogy

⁷ Swettenham, Real Malay, 232.
between the amok-runner and a mad dog, I should mention briefly just which conception of the *pengamok* is under consideration in this chapter. This is necessary because colonial commentators during the nineteenth- and early twentieth-centuries occasionally disagreed over the characteristics of amok. That said, it can be noted that between approximately the mid-nineteenth- and early twentieth-centuries, there emerged from the writings of several European physicians in the Malay Archipelago, an idea of amok’s basic characteristics which gradually developed into the colonial consensus on the subject in British Malaya and later the Philippines.\(^8\) This idea is represented in an influential paper by John D. Gimlette which appeared in the *Journal of Tropical Medicine* in 1901. In his article, Gimlette enumerated the four features which reputedly distinguish the classic amok pattern. R. Winzeler summarises them thus:

1. A sudden paroxysmal homicide in the male, with evident loss of self control.
2. A prodromal period of mental depression.
3. A fixed idea to persist in reckless homicide without any motive.
4. A subsequent loss of memory after the acts committed at the time.\(^9\)

With the exception of the fourth characteristic, Gimlette’s interpretation of the amok syndrome roughly resembles the traditional European understanding of rabies in a dog - in particular, the ‘furious’ or agitated form of the sickness - with the first three features corresponding roughly with certain similar stages in the dog’s condition. In light of this approximate correspondence, Gimlette’s

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\(^9\) Ibid., 107.
interpretation can serve us as a convenient model of the colonial idea of amok which prevailed amongst colonials in Malaya between roughly the mid-nineteenth- and early twentieth-centuries, and in the Philippines during the first decades of this century.

**NATURE AND INFAMY OF RABIES**

"Rabies", also known in the past as "hydrophobia",\(^{10}\) derives from the Latin word *rabere*, meaning "to rave".\(^{11}\) The term denotes a sickness of mammals which is caused by the invasion and multiplication of the rabies virus (encephalomyelitis) in the central nervous system of the victim.\(^{12}\) The virus is transmitted to human beings and animals through the bite or scratch of an infected animal in whose saliva it is present.\(^{13}\) Once deposited in the tissues of the new victim, the virus can begin its "cycle of infection and multiplication."\(^{14}\) The traditionally close association of rabies with the dog in all parts of the world is due to the fact that, of all animals, it is the dog that "is most likely to spread the infection to human beings."\(^{15}\) More than 90 per cent of rabies cases, David A. Warrell estimates, "result from bites by the domestic dog."\(^{16}\) Rabies, as well as its vectors of transmission to human beings, have been dealt with by

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\(^{13}\) Bisseru, *Rabies*, 385.


\(^{15}\) Ibid.

\(^{16}\) Warrell, "Rabies in Man," 34.
writers since at least the fifth-century B.C. Rabies assumes two main forms: ‘furious’ or agitated rabies and ‘dumb’ or paralytic rabies. Although both types of the infection are the outcome of an “acute inflammation of the central nervous system”, in furious rabies “the brain itself is predominantly affected” by the virus, “whereas in the rarer paralytic or dumb form it is the spinal cord which is chiefly involved.” In animals these forms progress through basically the same three phases: the early or prodromal, the excitative or agitated, and the dumb or paralytic. The essential difference between these forms lies in the ascendency of their respective phases: in furious rabies the excitative phase preponderates, whereas in dumb rabies the main symptom is paralysis. Hence in dumb rabies the excitative phase is either “extremely short or absent and the disease progresses quickly to the paralytic phase.” It is the excitative phase of furious or agitated rabies in a dog which has won the sickness its notoriety and which figures in the “popular conception of the ‘mad dog’.”

That rabies was present in Malaya and the Philippines in the mid-nineteenth- and early twentieth-centuries is suggested by the attention it received in the contemporary local press. Articles on the disease’s epidemiology occasionally appeared in newspapers like The Straits Times and El Comercio in

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17 Ancient Greek and Latin authors who engaged with the disease in their writings include Democritus, Aristotle, Asclepius, Virgil, Ovid and Plutarch. Aristotle, for instance, observed in the fourth-century B.C. that “dogs suffer from madness which puts them in a state of fury and all animals which they bite when in this condition become also attacked by madness”. See Bisseru, Rabies, 25.


20 Ibid.

21 Ibid.

the nineteenth-century. The infection would have caught the imagination of colonials who resided in these territories for the same reasons that it has traditionally inspired terror in people the world over. These reasons are summed up by Warrell:

In all parts of the world rabies has had a hold on the human imagination out of all proportion to its incidence. This is explained by the frightening and painful way in which the infection is spread to man - usually by a vicious bite from a mad dog - by the discomfort, risks, and uncertainties associated with traditional treatment after the bite; and by the unpredictable and sometimes very long incubation period before the disease declares itself. Dog-bite victims may have to endure a wait of several years before they can feel reasonably sure that they have escaped the threat of rabies. Finally, the disease itself is terrifying and agonizing. Death after a few days of intense suffering is almost inevitable.

In contrast, Susan Sontag attributes the ancient fear of rabies primarily to the perception that it dehumanises its victims:

The most terrifying illnesses are those perceived not just as lethal but as dehumanizing, literally so. What was expressed in the rabies phobia of nineteenth-century France, with its countless pseudo-cases of contamination by animals newly turned 'bestial' and even of 'spontaneous' rabies (actual cases of rabies, la rage, were extremely rare), was the fantasy that the infection transformed people into maddened animals - unleashing uncontrollable sexual, blasphemous impulses - not the fact that it was indeed, until Pasteur's discovery of a treatment in 1885,
invariably fatal.\textsuperscript{25}

Soon after their occupation of the Philippines in 1898, the Americans began investigating the causes and incidence of rabies in their newly acquired possession.\textsuperscript{26} Of course, long before all these colonials encountered the sickness in their respective overseas settlements, they would have become aware of it through its prevalence in their own countries of origin. For instance, rabies was not eliminated from the United Kingdom until 1903; and throughout the nineteenth-century in Great Britain, “the local newspapers, the veterinary journals, and the \textit{British Medical Journal} all carried frequent reports of the appearance of mad dogs and the death and disaster which followed their passage.”\textsuperscript{27}

The stereotypical amok-runner was frequently compared to a mad dog - to be specific, one suffering from the ‘furious’ or agitated form of the infection - because the stages of his condition were considered to be analogous, in virtually every respect, with those of the dog’s sickness. At this point, we can begin to tease out the grounds for the perceived analogy between these stages.


\textsuperscript{26} The first study of rabies in the Philippines to appear during the American period seems to have been a paper by F.W. Dudley and E.R. Whitmore, entitled “The Prevalence of Hydrophobia in the Philippine Islands”, which Dudley presented at the third meeting of the Philippine Islands Medical Association on February 28, 1907. For a review of this paper and the others that were delivered at the meeting, see “Hydrophobia Caused 140 Deaths,” \textit{Manila Times}, 1 March 1907. Three years later the paper was reprinted in \textit{The Philippine Journal of Science}, no. 5 (1910): 455-461. For a critique of Dudley’s and Whitmore’s thesis relating to the prevalence of rabies in the Philippines, see “Hydrophobia Unknown in Manila,” \textit{Manila Times}, 12 November 1909.

\textsuperscript{27} Kaplan, “The World Problem,” 9.
GROUND FOR RESEMBLANCE BETWEEN AMOK-RUNNER & RABID DOG

First Phase of their Conditions:

Following the incubation of the rabies virus in the animal, the early phase of agitated rabies in a dog is marked by a change in its temperament and behaviour. This alteration is noted in an article, entitled “What The Doctors Say”, which appeared in The Manila Times in 1902. Designated to publicise the latest medical information about the disease, the article discusses a recent lecture given by M. Guerin, the head of the laboratory at the Pasteur Institute, on the symptomatology of rabies in the dog. It records Guerin’s criticism of the popular misconception - one which prevails to the present day - that the initial stage of the infection was characterised by outbursts of furious madness:

It is a general belief that rabies is characterized at the outset by a paroxysm of fury; that the animal suffering from it becomes all of a sudden furious, and that, suddenly seized by an irresistible instinct, it thinks nothing of biting and tearing all who approach it, even the persons of whom it is fondest.

This belief was dangerous, according to Guerin, because it made people complacent around dogs which, while not displaying this “paroxysm of fury”, might already be infected with rabies and could transmit the virus to them “by a caress or by licking as surely as by a bite.” The sure sign that a dog was contaminated with rabies was when it changed its “humor”:

At the outset of rabies a dog changes its humor; it becomes melancholy, sombre, uneasy and taciturn; it seeks solitude,

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29 Ibid.
30 Ibid.
obscurity and silence; it lies down more than usual, is less attentive and less vigilant. When called, it raises its tail, but remains in its corner; and fixes its eyes upon its masters with a melancholy expression.31

Such a dramatic alteration in temperament and behaviour is not only manifested by mad dogs: human beings infected with the rabies virus undergo a similar transformation. Early symptoms of the disease in human beings include “Restlessness, depression, a feeling of tension, a sense of foreboding, nightmares or inability to sleep, and lack of concentration.”32

Now a similarly profound change in his temperament and behaviour was said to be experienced by “the Malay” prior to his running amok. This gradual permutation would be triggered by his realisation that he had been, or was being plagued by, one or more of life’s difficulties such as an injury or misfortune. Such an infelicity, it is important to note, could be either real or imagined. Thus in Camping and Tramping in Malaya, Ambrose B. Rathbone observes that “Amuck-running is generally the outcome of brooding over some actual or fancied wrong...”33 In Malay Sketches, Frank A. Swettenham notes about a Malay who had run amok that it was “quite possible that the man was suffering under the burden of some real or fancied wrong which, after long brooding, darkened his eyes and possessed him with this insane desire to kill.”34 Even when the genuineness of “the Malay’s” infelicity was conceded, the gravity of his misfortune was often subtly questioned, while the ferociousness and

31 Ibid.
33 A. B. Rathbone, Camping and Tramping in Malaya (1898; reprint, Oxford University Press, 1981), 234.
34 Frank A. Swettenham, “Amok,” in Malay Sketches (London: John Lane, 1895), 43.
randomness of the response it elicited from him was always considered to be disproportionate and roundly condemned. The sorts of reasons why “the Malay” allegedly ran amok, as well as the common colonial verdict on the reaction they evoked, are intertwined in this passage by Robert Percival, drawn from his 1805 account of the Malay population in Ceylon: “When a Malay has suffered any injury or grievance, real or imaginary, and ever so slight, the most dreadful thirst for revenge appears to take possession of his whole soul.”

A lengthier example of the colonial view of amok’s origins is contained in a passage in Arthur Frederick Torrance’s 1917 Doctoral dissertation, “The Philippine Moro”, of which the following is an extract:

The typical amok is usually the result of circumstances which render it [this “homicidal mania”] more desperate and, given the same psychosis, might equally well be perpetrated by men of another race. The motive may often appear inadequate from the point of view of a European, but to the Moro it is sufficient to make him weary of life and anxious to court death. Briefly, moods which might not improbably drive a man of another race to commit suicide cause a Malay to run amok, killing all whom he may meet, until he himself is slain.

In the passage, Torrance explicitly equates amok with the juramentado convention and “the Moro” with “the Malay”: “The act of Juramentados or running amok was for a long time considered a special characteristic of the Moro.” In interpreting amok as the Malay form of suicide, he invokes an explanation which was highly popular “amongst non-medical analysts” of the phenomenon in the latter part of the nineteenth-century. Torrance’s

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37 Ibid., 29.
explication of amok is a confusing mixture of even-handedness and subtle criticism. On the one hand, he twice concedes that "given the same psychosis", the "moods" and "circumstances" which impel "the Moro"/"the Malay" to run amok would probably drive "a man of another race" to kill himself. On the other, he cites elsewhere in the passage the growing conviction amongst colonials that the source of amok is "simple madness" whose exciting causes seem to be "mental disorder or racial jealousy...and hatred...rather than religious ecstasy" - a melange of derangements and moral failings to which "the European" as a racial type was not ordinarily held to be susceptible in colonial settings. Moreover, Torrance implies that if the "motive" of amok "might not improbably drive a man of another race to commit suicide", that man would in all likelihood not be a European, since such a cause may "often appear inadequate" from his viewpoint. Torrance's confusion over amok's origins is due to his conflation of the phenomenon's underlying and exciting causes, as is shown by the diversity of all the etiological factors he cites in the passage: "simple madness", "mental disorder", "racial jealousy", "hatred", "psychosis", "circumstances" and "moods". His reference to the frequent triviality for Europeans of amok's causes brings us to the issue of what colonials would have typically made of the peculiar manner in which "the Malay" often responded to life's vicissitudes.

As alluded to earlier, "the Malay's" apprehension of and reaction to environmental stimuli were believed to be frequently irrational and inadequate. After all, he was capable of conjuring up injuries or misfortunes he had
sustained out of thin air; when he did not imagine such difficulties, he regularly misconstrued their significance; and even when his sense of grievance was justified and his assessment of the problem accurate, the ferocity and indiscriminateness of his reaction were always considered to be excessive. What was demonstrated by his repeated inability to distinguish real from fancied wrongs, as well as trivial from serious ones, and frame responses appropriate to life's adversities, was the primitiveness of his intellectual character. This primitiveness consisted of the rudimentariness of his ratiocinative powers, his incapacity for reflective thought, and his "relative rigidity of belief" - the unlikeliness of the "associations of ideas" he formed, relating to his having endured a misfortune, being changed upon reflection. 39 "Mental evolution," both intellectual and emotional, according to Spencer,

may be measured by the degree of remoteness from primitive reflex action. The formation of sudden, irreversible conclusions on the slenderest evidence, is less distant from reflex action than is the formation of deliberate and modifiable conclusions after much evidence has been collected. 40

"The Malay's" inclination to conclude that he had been wronged "on the slenderest evidence", coupled with his inability to modify this conclusion once it had been reached, manifested in the eyes of colonials the proximity of his intellectual mental evolution to "primitive reflex action".

The transformation in "the Malay's" constitution and conduct consisted basically of his falling into a state of depression which was distinguished by his sullenness, his withdrawal from society and his brooding over his actual or

fancied wrongs. Regarding the *pengamoks* he had examined, Thomas Oxley, a Singapore physician, comments in his influential medical report of 1845 that "Those about them have generally told me that they appeared moping and melancholy a few days before the outbreak."\textsuperscript{41} These symptoms were allegedly also shown by Filipinos who ran amok during the first decade or so of American rule in the Philippines. In 1910 W. E. Musgrave and A. G. Sison, in their study of *mali-mali* in the territory,\textsuperscript{42} remark of amok-attacks that they are "preceded by days of melancholic stupefaction in which the patient becomes morose, gives up work, and avoids his fellows."\textsuperscript{43} In an 1893 article, W. Gilmore Ellis, the medical superintendent of the Government Insane Asylum in Singapore, refers to the mental state into which "the Malay" was plunged by his consideration of his real or imagined problems by the indigenous name "*sakit-hati*":

> There is a peculiar condition of mind the Malay is liable to, to a greater or lesser extent, in which he sits down and broods over his wrongs, or supposed wrongs, with revengeful feelings, to which the name of 'sakit-hati', literally heart-sickness, is given.\textsuperscript{44}

Describing this "peculiar condition of mind" as a "proneness to chronic disease of feeling", Oxley attributes it to "a want of moral elasticity" on the part of Malays, which "leaves the mind a prey to the pain of grief, until it is filled with a malignant gloom and despair, and the whole horizon of existence is overcast

\textsuperscript{40} Ibid., 54.
\textsuperscript{43} Ibid., 337.
\textsuperscript{44} Ellis, "Amok of the Malays," 336.
with blackness..."45 By “want of moral elasticity”, Oxley means that the Malays lacked the willpower and inner strength (possessed by a “civilized man” like himself, of course) that would have given them the resilience to withstand life’s adversities without being overwhelmed by the powerful emotions they produced.

“The Malay’s” frequent failure to check the rising wave of feelings - anger, sorrow, shame, despair - that was generated by his contemplation of his genuine or imagined problems and which ultimately swamped his mind, forcing him to embark on a killing spree, revealed his helplessness before his instincts and emotions. This belief in “the Malay’s” subservience to his sentiments reflected the manner in which the moral character of primitive man was premised" by social evolutionists and, following their lead, colonial commentators “on a direct, unmediated expression of internal passionable nature...”46 “The Malay’s” repeated inability to control the emotions engendered by perceived injuries and misfortunes, and to resist the call of his instincts in general, boded ill for his capacity to control not only his brute instincts, but also the “forces of nature that impinged upon” him “from outside.”47 It left him eternally at the mercy of life’s vagaries and ensured that his existence, like that of the “better” savage’s, was “always ‘in but unstable equilibrium, liable to be easily upset by a touch of distress, temptation, or violence,’ and to become ‘the worse savage life, which we know by so many dismal and hideous examples.’”48

45 As cited in Ibid., 330.
46 Stocking Jr., Victorian Anthropology, 225.
47 Ibid., 227.
48 E.B. Tylor as cited in Ibid., 223.
“The Malay’s” impressionability is commonly portrayed in colonial writing as deriving from his legendary obsession with his dignity. This “concentrated, never-absent, self-respect”\(^{49}\) of his was regarded by colonials as a distinguishing feature of his racial personality. His extreme touchiness and readiness to seek revenge if slighted is neatly described by Frank Swettenham in his essay “The Real Malay”:

A Malay is intolerant of insult or slight; it is something that to him should be wiped out in blood. He will brood over a real or fancied stain on his honour until he is possessed by the desire for revenge.\(^{50}\)

It was his notorious hypersensitiveness about his honour which was said to periodically cause “the Malay” to imagine insults or misfortunes where none existed, or, where they did exist, to overstate their gravity and respond to them incommensurately. Yet far from being peculiar to “the Malay”, in the writings of socio-cultural evolutionists, this almost pathological sense of honour and the willingness to defend it are depicted - as “vanity” and “vengefulness” - as the characteristics of other savage races.\(^{51}\) Reflecting the prevailing recapitulationist theory that “the childhood of the white race was a counterpart to primitivism or savagery on the evolutionary scale”, these attributes are presented in such writings as telling signs of the non-white’s primitiveness, for they are held to

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manifest his racial immaturity, his mental and emotional affinities with “white male children or adolescents.” Hence “the Malay’s” state when brooding over his real or imagined wrongs is likened by Ellis in his article to that of “a bad-tempered child sulking and having occasional outbreaks of wrath.” Not surprisingly, Ellis and other colonial commentators viewed the allegedly dramatic drop in the incidence of amok attacks in Singapore during the late nineteenth-century as proof that, through the beneficence of British rule, the “more civilized Malays” were developing a “better control over their impulses.” The negative emotions aroused in “the Malay” by his endurance of life’s problems - emotions which were further stirred by his brooding over them - resembled the rabies virus in the way they matured over time and in their noxiousness. Like the virus, these feelings passed through an “incubation period” before being finally released through an orgy of violence. Like the virus, as well, they operated slowly but relentlessly, undermining “the Malay’s” “counter motives and checks” before ultimately collapsing these bulwarks against his instincts and engulfing his psyche. The image of a primitive “Malay” consciousness being swamped by a tidal wave of emotions is implicitly invoked by a number of colonial commentators and physicians in their writings on amok.

51 Stocking Jr., Victorian Anthropology, 225.
54 Ibid., 326.
55 To be sure, the time these emotions took to “ripen” was shorter than that taken by the rabies virus; colonial observers typically claimed that the prodromal period of the amok syndrome normally endured for only a few days, whereas the incubation period of the rabies virus in human beings lasts for “between 6 weeks and 3 months”, although some of more than 1 year have been recorded. See Kaplan, “Rabies,” 7.
56 As cited in Winzeler, “Amok,” 111.
One such physician was F.G.H. van Loon, a Dutch psychiatrist who conducted research on the phenomenon in the Netherlands Indies during the 1920s. In an article from the period, van Loon concludes that “the Malay” mind was distinguished by its vulnerability to “all kinds of emotional complexes”:

One of the chief points of difference between his mind and the psychic structure of the Westerner is the readiness with which all kinds of emotional complexes, especially affects, may flood and entirely occupy his consciousness, so that all counter motives and checks are wiped away, and the affect completely rules thought and action.  

Together, the “counter motives and checks” referred to by van Loon - presumably consisting of countervailing arguments, the reason and willpower - appear to operate in the human psyche like a sluice, regulating and protecting the consciousness from the ebb-and-flow and occasional sudden floods of emotions. If the rudimentariness of this floodgate in “the Malay’s” mind was demonstrated by the “readiness” with which it was “wiped away” by waves of passion, the greater sturdiness and efficiency of its equivalent in “the Westerner’s” psychic structure indicated his more developed ratiocinative powers and habits of self-control.

Second Phase of their Conditions:

The second stage of furious rabies in a dog is the excitative phase. Sometimes lasting several days, it is characterised by the restlessness of the mad dog, the unexpectedness of its viciousness, and the randomness of its attacks on animals and human beings. During this phase, the mad dog often leaves the
home of its master and wanders for a great distance - "sometimes covering fifty
kilometres in a day" — setting upon whatever animals and human beings it may
meet in the course of its travels:

It [a rabid dog] appears indifferent to what happens on its route,
but if it meets another dog, no matter what its size, he rushes
straight at it, without barking or growling, and bites it, always on
the side of the head. It does not worry its victim, but after giving
two or three bites, passes on and resumes its march. Then it goes
up to other animals: cats, sheep, cows or horses, and if of a surly
temper does not hesitate to attack mankind. 59

The suddenness and indiscriminateness of the mad dog's assaults on
animals and human beings mirrored perfectly, for colonials, the unexpectedness
and randomness of the amok-runner's violence. The unforeseenness of an amok
attack was a salient feature of the phenomenon because it left "the Malay's"
unsuspecting family and friends, as well as passersby, entirely unprepared for
his violence. Oddly enough, the period of prodromal depression he was said to
undergo was apparently not normally interpreted by those around him as an
omen of his impending slaughter. Instead, for all the changes in temperament
and behaviour he was supposed to display, when "the Malay" finally did embark
on his rampage, he usually caught everyone around him by surprise. Far from
showing any sign of emotional or psychological disturbance, he could appear
normal, even be in good spirits and conversing with his family and friends,
when he suddenly and inexplicably went berserk. In an 1849 article from The
Straits Times, it is this very feature - the unexpectedness of an amok attack - that

57 As cited in Ibid., 110-111.
59 Ibid.
is singled out as “the most deplorable feature” of the phenomenon:

The most deplorable feature of this fiendish paroxysm is, that its victim, has often been known, whilst in the act of friendly conversation with his most intimate associates, and even during the interchange of jocular observations with them, to have suddenly risen and seizing his kriss stab every body, without reference to either age or sex, kindred, friends or foes - who may have the misfortune, at the moment, to be within his reach. \(^{60}\)

The randomness of the amok-runner’s fury was the second feature of his actions that both intrigued and horrified colonials. Just as a mad dog, in the excitative phase of furious rabies, leaves its home and, in the course of its wanderings, attacks animals and human beings indiscriminately, so too did the amok-runner, “suddenly and without apparent cause”, seize a weapon and embark on a rampage, “killing and wounding all who come in [his] way regardless of age or sex, whether they be friends, strangers, or his own near relatives.” \(^{61}\) More so perhaps than its unexpectedness, it was the sheer aimlessness of the amok-runner’s slaughter - his utter imperviousness to the age, sex, consanguinity and innocence of his victims - that baffled, repelled and morbidly fascinated colonials.

Yet in perceiving an analogy between the indiscriminateness of the amok-runner and a mad dog’s violence, colonials actually misrepresented the agitated phase of rabies in a dog, for they exaggerated the randomness of its attacks on human beings. The truth is that, unlike the stereotypical amok-runner, a mad dog does not normally attack human beings it knows, such as its master. \(^{62}\)

\(^{60}\) "Correspondence," *Straits Times*, 25 September 1849.

\(^{61}\) "Malay Sketches," *Straits Times*, 20 November 1895.

\(^{62}\) Haig, "Rabies in Animals," 58.
This point is partly made in the *Manila Times* article discussed earlier. It states that, prior to setting off on its wanderings, a dog in the excitative phase of rabies may bite some of the residents of its home, selecting those “who are in the habit of teasing it”, such as “children and servants”\(^{63}\), but more commonly it “leaves the house before it bites any one.”\(^{64}\) It was only when the dog returned from its wanderings, according to the article, that its master and the other inhabitants of its home were in real danger of being attacked:

> But it sometimes happens that - and the case is frequent - at the end of thirty-six or forty-eight hours the animal returns to the house. Then it is that, having lost all sentiments of gratitude, it will throw itself upon its master, in a last paroxysm, as though to complete its fell work.\(^{65}\)

A. Haig, a present-day authority on rabies, goes even further in challenging the widespread belief in the indiscriminateness of a mad dog’s aggressiveness, arguing that although such a dog should be treated with great caution when it returns home, even then it is not likely to attack its master unless an attempt is made to restrain it:

> Even at this advanced stage [the furious phase] of the disease they [rabid dogs] recognize their masters and seem to be calmed by their voices. While they seldom attack those they know, they may nevertheless snap at hands and arms if any attempt is made to restrain them, and so must be treated with great circumspection even by their owners.\(^{66}\)

Of all the phases of the amok syndrome, it was the “sudden paroxysmal homicide”\(^{67}\) engaged in by “the Malay” which most graphically illustrated for

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\(^{64}\) Ibid.

\(^{65}\) Ibid.

\(^{66}\) Haig, “Rabies in Animals,” 58.

\(^{67}\) Winzeler, “Amok,” 107.
colonials the primitiveness of his moral and intellectual characters. The suddenness and randomness by which it was characterised exemplified what for Spencer and his colleagues was the "fundamental trait" of savage races: their impulsiveness - both intellectual and emotional. "The Malay's" impetuousness consisted essentially of his immediate gratification of a strong and inchoate urge to commit violence without any thought for the significance of his actions or their likely consequences and repercussions. For colonials it typically symbolised the antithesis between "the Malay's" savage state and what John Turnbull Thomson, in another context, refers to in his 1864 memoirs of his sojourns in Malaya and Singapore as the "nature of the educated European; with his moral training, his intellectual cultivation, and his power of self-control". "The Malay's" impulsiveness revealed, more strikingly than any of his other practices, his utter lack of those attributes which were believed by Spencer to distinguish the "civilised man": reflective activity, a sophisticated consciousness, and providence or the exercise of foresight, amongst others:

The cardinal trait of impulsiveness implies the sudden, or approximately-reflex, passing of a single passion into the conduct it prompts; implies, by the absence of opposing feelings, that the consciousness is formed of fewer representations; and implies that the adjustment of internal actions to external actions does not take account of consequences so distant in space and time.

"The Malay's" indiscriminate violence in the course of his rampage was considered by commentators to mark his retrogression to a lower stage of

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69 Thomson, Life In Malayan Lands, 55.
70 Spencer, "Principles of Sociology," 72.
evolution. But whether it signalled for them a change in his ontological status from that of a human being - albeit a savage one - to that of a beast (as did the onset of madness in a European in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries) is another question, the resolution of which depends on the commentator one has in mind. Favourably comparing the "Philippine Malays" with the "average negro of Western Africa, the Carib of Central America, the Sinhalee of Ceylon", William G. Palgrave, an English writer who visited the Philippines in the mid-nineteenth century, concluded that

in bodily formation and mental characteristics alike ["Philippine Malays"] may fairly claim a place not among the middling ones merely but almost among the higher names inscribed on the world's national scale; and though not exactly a superior are eminently an estimable, pre-eminently an amiable race.\(^7\)

Spencer himself did not regard the Malays or "Malayo-Polynesians" in their natural state to be among the "lowest races" of primitives such as the "Andamanese, Tasmanians, Fuegians, Australians..."; instead, he classified them as a "partially civilized" race.\(^7\) While the Malays for Spencer were not bereft of all the traits that distinguished the true savage - i.e. they were imitative\(^7\) - they did display characteristics that were symptomatic of semi-civilised races such as an inquiring nature, a mature reserve (as opposed to the "childish mirthfulness" typical of the "lowest races") and a non-impulsiveness.\(^7\)

Regarding the Malays' non-impulsiveness, Spencer observed that of the scattered societies inhabiting the Eastern Archipelago, those in which the

\(^{71}\) Palgrave, "Far-Off Eden Isles", 17-19.
\(^{72}\) Ibid., 58.
\(^{73}\) Ibid., 81.
\(^{74}\) Ibid., 57-81.
Malay-blood predominates, do not exhibit this trait [impetuosity]. The Malagasy are said to have ‘passions never violently excited;’ and the pure Malay is described as not demonstrative.75

That “the Malay” was undemonstrative was already a commonplace in early nineteenth-century colonial writing, but Spencer’s assertion that he was dispassionate may seem paradoxical, given the notoriousness of “the Malay’s” supposed propensity to run amok in that literature. However, this paradox dissolves when it is remembered that “the Malay” was believed to abandon his normal restraint and succumb to the “demoniacal impulse”76 to run amok only after he had sustained (or believed he had sustained) an infelicity of some sort. In the way his usual composure was counterpoised by occasional fits of fury, “the Malay” in fact resembled for Spencer certain aborigines of North America like the Dakotahs and the Creeks: “[In] Spite of their usually unimpassioned behaviour, the Dakotahs rise into frightful states of bloody fury when killing buffaloes; and among the phlegmatic Creeks, there are ‘very frequent suicides’ caused by ‘trifling disappointments’”.77 But not all commentators were so (relatively) positive in their assessments of the Malays. Against Spencer’s comparatively benign view of them as a partially civilised race must be set the constant association, in colonial writing, of both the stereotypical amok-runner and “the Malay” in general with animals through imagery such as the “mad dog”. If “the Malay” in his normal state was not deemed by colonials to be a

75 Ibid., 57.
76 “Correspondence,” Straits Times, 25 September 1849.
77 Spencer, “Principles of Sociology,” 53.
member of the “lowest races”, his surrender to the impulse to run amok, at least, manifested for many of them his headlong descent to the level of a beast:

Once that a Malay is under the influence of this most dreadful of human passions, he falls to the level of a brute; his reasoning powers forsake him entirely, and with glaring eye and foaming mouth, he directs his rage indiscriminately against all around him. Like the wounded tiger, he seems to thirst only for blood; and it is only when overpowered by numbers, and not till several have fallen victims to his unrestrained fury, that his blood stained creese is wrenched from his grasp, and he is rendered incapable of doing further mischief.78

Third Phase of their Conditions:

The third and final stage of furious rabies in a dog is known as the paralytic phase. As its name suggests, the phase is marked by the onset of a paralysis which gradually affects the dog’s muscles. In the end the dog collapses, “paralysis supervenes...and the animal...dies from respiratory failure or from the paralysis of some other vital function”.79 However, it was not this stage of the dog’s disease that was held to correspond with the last stage of the amok-runner’s condition; rather, it was the end that frequently awaited a mad dog, while in the excitative phase of its sickness, that was considered to match the amok-runner’s typical demise. Just as a wandering mad dog was commonly shot dead to prevent it from spreading its deadly infection through further attacks on animals and human beings, so too was the amok-runner often gunned down by colonials and their native conscripts at the height of his rampage. The similarity of the fates of the amok-runner and a mad dog is neatly encapsulated

78 Bengal Civilian [C. W. Kinloch], *Rambles in Java and the Straits in 1852* (1853; reprint, Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1987), 135.
in J. Foreman's condemnation of the juramentados: "This [the juramentados] is the most dangerous sect of Mahometans, for no exhibition of force can suffice to stay their ravages, and they can only be treated like mad dogs, or like a Malay who has run amok".  

RESEMBLANCE BETWEEN "THE MALAY" AND THE DOG

In this paper, I have explored the grounds for the analogy between the stereotypical amok-runner and mad dog that is regularly drawn in Euro-British and Euro-American colonial writings on Malaya and the Philippines. I have demonstrated that this correspondence arose out of the similarities that were held to exist between the stages of the pengamok's condition and the phases of furious rabies in a dog. What warrants brief speculation at this point is whether the putative resemblance between these stereotypes was the offshoot of a greater perceived analogy between "the Malay" and the common dog.

In the abovementioned literatures, the condition of domesticity and qualities of obedience, loyalty and affection that have historically been associated with the dog in Western culture do not feature prominently in assessments of "the Malay". For instance, the closest "the Malay" seems to come to being depicted as "obedient" in such writings is in occasional, passing comments in which his reputed reserve appears to be taken as a sign of his submissiveness, as in the following assertion by the nineteenth-century German anthropologist Ferdinand Blumentritt: "The main features of Filipino character

80 Foreman, Philippine Islands, 140.
are quiet docility and ambition..." 

However, the stereotypes of "the Malay" and the dog did seem to have at least two traits in common, and they can be touched on here. The first was their indolence. The dog's popular reputation for unproductiveness had its counterpart in the myth of the lazy Malay. The second and more interesting characteristic they shared was their inarticulateness. Already suggested by his renowned impassiveness, "The Malay's" muteness was most graphically illustrated by his curious inability or unwillingness to express to his family and friends - and thereby alleviate - the gnawing pain he would endure over his real or imagined difficulties. This idiosyncratic trait of his assumes an even greater significance when it is remembered that one of the three attributes that has traditionally distinguished humans from animals in Western culture is speech. It is this view of articulate speech as a distinctive human characteristic that accounts for a peculiar observation made by the European protagonist of The Soul of Malaya about his Malay servant. Because his servant is "babbling" at him, the protagonist imagines he is conversing with a "friendly dog": "His babble soothed me. I had the sensation of talking to a friendly dog. One need not enquire whether the dog's ideas are very coherent."  

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81 As cited in Facts About the Filipinos (Boston: Philippine Information Society, 1901), 14.
83 The other two attributes are reason and religion, according to Keith Thomas. See his Man And The Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England 1500 - 1800 (London: Penguin Books, 1984), 32-44.
84 Fauconnier, Soul of Malaya, 182.
While the abovementioned condition of domesticity and qualities of obedience, loyalty and affection may not be usually assigned to “the Malay” in the literature, they do appear to circle around the figure of the native with whom colonials in Malaya and the Philippines would have had the most contact: the male house servant. Although a discussion of the role and features of this enigmatic figure - typically mute, loyal and impassive - in colonial writing is beyond the bounds of this paper, it is worth commenting briefly on how the prospect of the trusted Malay servant, succumbing to his primitive impulses and unexpectedly running amok, seems to lie occasionally at the heart of the intense colonial anxiety over the amok syndrome. For example, in his 1805 account of his visit to Ceylon, Captain Robert Percival concludes his description of amok, as it was resorted to by the island’s Malay inhabitants, with the statement that “At present it is very uncomfortable for Europeans to be as much afraid of their servants and attendants as of a mad dog.”\(^{85}\) This fear was the inevitable result of the Europeans’ conception of their Malay “servants and attendants” as savages. For if “the Malay” was indeed a primitive, it followed that the Europeans could never be sure that the fidelity, trustworthiness and sheer sanity of their Malay help was not simply a veneer of civilisedness which they were capable of suddenly discarding under the weight of intense emotions.\(^{86}\)


\(^{86}\) While this uneasiness over the reliability and loyalty of the native servant may have been a product of the colonial period in Malaya and the Philippines, it has not been confined to that interlude. For instance, a form of this anxiety is plainly expressed by an Australian character in “Adobo”, a short story by Robert Drewe which deals with the various travails of expatriate life in the Philippines. Discussing with her husband, Cullen, the danger posed to them by their live-in housemaids, Margaret, plainly ignorant of what any colonial would have known - only Malay men
In highlighting “the Malay’s” savagery, the belief in the proneness of even domesticated natives to lose their wits subtly underwrote the colonial civilising mission. Ironically, however, the constant emphasis on “the Malay’s” strange tendency to run amok inadvertently raised questions about the very beneficence and effectiveness of that mission. The mere fact of amok’s continuing existence under colonial rule not only undermined British and American claims to have introduced order to their possessions; it also cast a shadow over the repeated assurance given by British and American colonials that they were dutifully bringing about the moral and spiritual upliftment of their benighted subjects - what Hugh Clifford called “England’s vast reformatory work in Asia...”\(^{87}\) For if these improvements to Malay society and “the Malay” ‘racial’ character were indeed being made, why then were the Malays still running amok? It is this contradiction which must account primarily for the curious willingness of many British colonial commentators during the mid- to late nineteenth century to claim, without real evidence, that despite the commonness of the amok syndrome amongst Malays, amok assaults had become quite rare in their settlements in Malaya.\(^{88}\)

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\(^{87}\) Clifford, *Saleh*, 54.

CONCLUSION

The popularity of the "mad dog" trope amongst Euro-British and Euro-American colonial pundits was due, in large measure, to its ability to efficiently connote a range of ideas relating to "the Malay's" intellectual and moral characters which affirmed his primitiveness. These beliefs came to animate commentaries on amok because the syndrome had been, since at least the early nineteenth-century, the most obvious manifestation for Euro-British travellers to the Malay Archipelago of "the Malay's" savagery. The phenomenon's characteristics reminded commentators and colonials in general of the position "the Malay" occupied on the Great Chain of Being, situated somewhere between the highest rungs held by the civilised races and the lower ones taken up by the more intelligent and complex of animals. "The Malay's" inferior place on the Chain was basically determined by his constitutional inability to repress his "immediate impulsive" responses. More specifically, this incapacity consisted of his powerlessness to "control the forces of nature" that both bore directly upon him from his environment and were internal to him. Examples of his failure to constrain and modify the "stimuli of his external environment and internal nature" were to be found at every step of his painful transformation into an amok-runner.

The precise location of "the Malay's" place on the Great Chain seems to have been uncertain. While Palgrave and Spencer, for instance, saw "the Malay"

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89 Stocking, *Victorian Anthropology*, 227.
90 Ibid.
91 Ibid.
sitting on the same rung as that occupied by other semi-civilised races, some colonials in Malaya and the Philippines appear to have been less confident about his state of advancement. Yet whatever the colonial consensus in these territories may have been on the issue of “the Malay’s” civilisedness, the one point on which most such colonials would have agreed, during the period in question, was that his surrender to the “homicidal mania” of amok marked his spectacular regression to a bestial condition. It was a reversion they vividly captured in their writings through their use of tropes which linked the pengamok to various beasts, most notably a mad dog.

92 “Amok in Province Wellesley,” Straits Times, 14 May 1903.
Chapter 9

"ANATOMY OF AMOK": THE MUSLIM FILIPINOS AND THE POLICY OF INTEGRATION

Jolo, Sulu, Jan. 13 - Lt. Col. Salvador Olivenza, Sulu PC commander, said today he would utilize Muslim religious leaders in minimizing amok cases in Sulu.

He said he would use these leaders in a massive educational campaign aimed at destroying common beliefs that had tended to incite Muslims to become "juramentados."^2

INTRODUCTION

While amok was inordinately associated with the Muslim Filipinos during the American period, since World War II it has come to be linked more often in Philippine popular culture with Filipinos in general. This is shown by a survey of the reports of amok assaults which appeared in Manila newspapers such as The Daily Mirror, The Manila Times and Taliba from 1960 to 1972. Although in them Moros continue to be represented as amok-runners and such assaults, whether performed by Muslims or Christians, continue to be occasionally described as juramentado attacks, typically the assailants referred to bear Christian names and their rampages are said to have occurred in Christian-dominated regions.^2 Nonetheless, if amok has come to be affiliated more closely with non-Muslim Filipinos since the 1940s, this development has

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not led to the attenuation of its traditional ties to the Moros in Philippine popular culture. The ongoing existence of these ties is illustrated by a number of articles which surfaced in a range of Philippine magazines between the mid-1950s and late 1960s.

The seven articles in question deal with amok and the juramentado convention in different ways.\(^3\) In a full five of them the two are in one way or another conflated.\(^4\) Moreover, in four of them illustrations of the juramentado appear.\(^5\) Given that the juramentado has been commonly regarded as an amok-runner by Christian Filipinos since the American period, the figures in these illustrations can with justice be regarded as variants of the amok-runner/juramentado stereotype. The recurrence of this stereotype - albeit in diverse forms - in five magazine pieces over fourteen years exemplifies the influence that American colonial writing continues to exert over modern Christian Filipino perceptions of the Moros. To paraphrase Edward Said, the authors and illustrators of the articles could write and draw what they wrote and drew, in the way they did, because a still earlier tradition than theirs provided

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Illustration of a *juramentado* from Jose F. Rodriguez's article, "For Allah Almighty". The enlightenedness and sympathy which mark Rodriguez's account of the *parang sabit* epic of Panglima Hassan, who led uprisings against the Americans in 1901 and 1903, is seemingly reflected in the unsensational depiction of the *juramentado*.

*(Saturday Mirror Magazine, 11 December 1954)*
Illustration of a *juramentado* from Ibrahim Jubaia's piece, "The Facts Behind This Juramentado Myth". Note the demonization of the sabbil.
(Saturday Herald Magazine, 2 December 1961)
them with a "vocabulary, imagery, rhetoric, and figures" with which to write and draw. From our viewpoint, what is particularly interesting about the articles is the curious relation they bear to the events that incited them.

The period in which the articles were published was marked by the rapid worsening in relations between Muslims and Christians in Mindanao and the Sulu archipelago. These relations had normally been fraught with tension because of the policies pursued by first the Spanish and American administrations and, later, the Commonwealth government in these regions; however, they quickly deteriorated when, soon after World War II, the Philippine government resumed the implementation of the policy of integration which the Americans had introduced to Moroland and which the Commonwealth government had subsequently promoted. A notable feature of the policy was the government’s extensive resettlement of Christians from Luzon and the Visayas in Mindanao which, over time, led to the dispossession of Moro lands by Christian migrants, as well as local and overseas business interests, and reduced the Muslim Filipinos to a minority in some parts of the island in which they had traditionally predominated. These and other developments resulted in outbreaks of violence between Muslims and Christians which escalated in the late 1960s and finally erupted into war between the Moros and the national government in 1972. The articles in question, published as they were between the closing stages of the Kamlon Rebellion in Jolo in the

mid-1950s (see below) and the establishment of the Muslim Independence Movement (M.I.M.) in Mindanao in May 1968, were thus neatly framed by key events in the Moro-Christian conflict in Moroland.

Yet although the articles surfaced against the backdrop of the troubles in the southern Philippines, the majority of them provide only an inkling of this turmoil, so curiously oblique are their relations to it. While some of them refer to the specific incidents in the conflict by which they were inspired, others do not; and those that do allude to such episodes, do so only briefly. Most of the articles do not analyse the origins and phases of the unrest and discuss possible solutions to it, but instead consist of expositions on amok and the juramentado convention. Just why these phenomena received such coverage during this period is not readily apparent; to take the convention, as was noted in Chapter 5, Kiefer asserts that it has been practised only occasionally since the end of World War II.9 Although Moros who die in the course of fighting the Philippine constabulary and military continue to be regarded and regard themselves as sabbils, the number of those who undergo the ritual preparation to become a juramentado has apparently diminished substantially. The appearances of the articles, at a time of growing hostilities between Muslims and Christians in Moroland, inevitably implied that the juramentado convention and amok were mysteriously but fundamentally linked to the discord and that a proper understanding of these phenomena would somehow render it intelligible.

8 Ibid., 217.
I argue that most of the articles suggest the existence of an analogy between the amok/juramentado convention nexus and the Muslim-Christian conflict. In other words, they imply a similarity between the origins and natures of that nexus and conflict. Insofar as they do, of course, they grossly misrepresent the true roots and character of the unrest in Moroland. In his articles on amok ‘Quijano de Manila’ or Nick Joaquin, one of the Philippines most famous writers, makes this analogy explicit. Joaquin asserts a likeness between the aforesaid nexus and disturbance in order to discredit the newly born Muslim secessionist movement and Muslim militancy in general. Parrying Moro claims that their depressed condition has been the result of decades of maltreatment and exploitation at the hands of Christian colonial and Filipino governments, business groups and migrant communities, Joaquin contends that they have only themselves to blame for their predicament. Specifically, echoing the Americans, he argues that the Moros’ situation has been brought about by the backwardness of their faith, the tyranny of their ruling class, and the deleterious attributes these factors have engendered in them over the centuries.

In what follows, I first summarise the historical context in which the magazine articles in question emerged. This entails a brief history of the origins and course of the Muslim-Christian conflict in the southern Philippines. Following this, I interpret the illustration of the first of Joaquin’s pieces, then focus on the pieces themselves in order to reveal the presuppositions that sustain the analogy he discerns between the amok/juramentado convention nexus and Moro militancy.
THE POLICY OF INTEGRATION AND ITS EFFECTS

The migration of Christian Filipinos to Moroland commenced towards the end of the Spanish interlude. The period witnessed the substantial resettlement of Christians from the Visayas region on the north coast of Mindanao. By 1898 the Muslim Filipinos had already become a minority among the island’s three main groups. R. J. May notes that at the time the “population of Mindanao was estimated at just over 500,000, of whom 30 per cent were listed as Moro, 20 per cent as ‘wild tribes’, and 50 per cent as ‘civilised persons’ - that is, Christian Filipinos, nearly all of whom were migrants from the Visayas.”

The relocation of Christians to Mindanao from both Luzon and the Visayas was strenuously promoted by the American and Commonwealth administrations as they pursued a policy of integration. “Between 1903 and 1939 migration added 1.4 million to the population of Mindanao, most of the migrants settling around Davao and along the north coast.” The program was popular with these governments because of a number of “economic and security problems” the nation was facing. One of these was the presence in the Sulu archipelago and Mindanao of a substantial population of non-Christian groups and foreigners which was seen to pose a potential threat to the nation’s solidarity. Foremost among the former were the Muslim Filipinos, who had long

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11 Ibid.  
enjoyed close ties with adjoining states in the Malay archipelago, but there was also a colony of Japanese settlers which had been in Davao since 1904. A second problem was the increasing overpopulation of the northern and central islands and the “serious socio-economic and political” dilemmas it was creating. In this regard, the resettlement scheme was meant to ease the growing pressure on land in the north and lead to the upliftment of Mindanao’s indigenes by exposing them to the “example of the more industrious and technologically advanced rural immigrants.” Thirdly, the island’s rich and largely untapped natural resources attracted companies, land-hungry settlers and government officials eager to exploit them for not only the nation’s benefit but their own. Lastly, the program was regarded by some as a subtle means of defusing the Moros’ traditional resistance to the national government. There was a conviction that over time this resistance would decline as the Muslim Filipinos were gradually swamped by successive waves of Christian migrants.

During World War II the resettlement of Christians in the south was basically discontinued. Nonetheless, in the years immediately after it, the program was revived and the subsequent decades witnessed a substantial increase in the movement of migrants to Mindanao:

By 1948 the population density of Mindanao had moved from 5 persons per square kilometre in 1903 to 29 persons. This movement accelerated during the 1950s and 1960s, encouraged by a series of government-sponsored colonisation programmes and by improvements in road networks and health and other

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13 Ibid.
14 Ibid.
16 Ibid.
government services. Of seven provinces which more than doubled their populations between 1948 and 1960, six were in Mindanao (the exception being the province of Rizal, which surrounds Manila) and 1970 census data reveal that this pattern of migration was maintained during the 1960s.\textsuperscript{17}

As noted above, until 1939 the majority of the migrants were resettled in locales in which Muslims were scarce, such as northern Mindanao and the environs of Davao. From 1948 onwards, however, they began to move into areas in which Muslim and tribal communities had long been present, such as Bukidnon, Zamboanga del Sur, Agusan and Cotabato.\textsuperscript{18} While the territory in which the migrants settled may not have been occupied, it was frequently under the "customary ownership of Muslim and indigenous tribal groups."\textsuperscript{19} In the contests over the rights to land which increasingly ensued, the Moros were at a decided disadvantage, being easy prey for foreign companies and Christian Filipinos who, acquainted with the intricacies of Philippine land laws and registration procedures, were able to procure titles to Muslim land, often with the connivance of corrupt local governmental officials. Firms and migrants could usually bank on such officials being on their side, since most of the "non-elected offices in Muslim areas" were held by Christians.\textsuperscript{20} When the Muslim Filipinos retaliated, they found that they were up against not only Christian migrants and foreign business interests but also the "predominantly Christian

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\item[17] Ibid., 216-17.
\item[18] Ibid, 217.
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Philippine Constabulary."

These were not the only developments which confirmed the Moros’ worst fears of a Christian Filipino administration. The national government’s policy of integration seemed to be based on the premise that certain of the Muslims’ distinctive traditions, such as polygamy and their political system, were to be either eradicated or tolerated only for as long as it took them to wither away under the civilising influence of Christian rule. Thus the Moros "were granted exemptions from Philippine law having to do with marriage and divorce, but the exemptions were deliberately legislated as temporary." As well, the national government not only declined to recognise a successor to Sultan Jamil-ul Kiram II of Sulu when he died in 1936, but also refused to acknowledge the "civil titles held by Moros and valued by them as expressive of their traditional social system." In rejecting the authority of the various sultans and datus in Moroland, the government was attempting to break their hold over their subjects and instill a democratic ideal amongst the Muslim Filipinos; but in doing so, it only ended up antagonising not just the Moro ruling class but the common folk as well, who regarded its bypass of their leaders as yet another illustration of its disrespect for their customs.

The cumulative effects of the national government’s policy of integration resulted in the emergence of a Muslim Filipino nationalism in the late 1960s. This sentiment, according to May, was made up of two elements: a

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21 Ibid.
22 Ibid.
23 Gowing, Muslim Filipinos, 177.
“rising ethnic militancy” borne from injustices endured; and a resurgence of Islam in the southwestern Philippines in the 1950s which itself reflected the religion’s contemporary global renewal.25 Islam’s revival in the Philippines was manifest in such developments as the creation of Islamic societies like the Ansar el Islam, the increase in the attendance at Islamic schools and the construction of mosques in Mindanao and Sulu.26 During the 1950s, Islamic teachers from different countries visited the region to acquaint the Moros with the latest innovations in Islamic thought, and their presence there encouraged the establishment of closer ties between the Muslim Filipinos and their coreligionists overseas. “Frequently under the sponsorship of Muslim politicians, more Filipino Muslims began studying in the Middle East, attending Islamic conferences, and making pilgrimages to Mecca.”27 These connections enabled the Muslim Filipinos to compare their own adverse situation with those of fellow Muslims in the wider Islamic world who, they realised, commonly wielded the reins of power in regions like the Middle East and Southeast Asia.28 They also encouraged the formation of a collective identity on the part of the Moros which further strengthened their resolve to resist the threats posed to their communities by Christian migrants, business interests and the national government and to struggle for equality and justice - within both their own

24 Ibid.
26 Ibid.
28 Ibid., 181.
societies and the Philippine nation.\textsuperscript{29}

The first major uprising against the national government’s policy of integration since the War occurred in Jolo in early 1951. Known as the Kamlon Rebellion, it was named after a village head in Jolo who was renowned for his guerilla activities against the Japanese, his religiosity and his financial contributions to the building of his local mosque (he was said to be a \textit{Hadji}, an appellation that is only awarded to those who have made a pilgrimage to Mecca).\textsuperscript{30} Among the factors that caused Kamlon and roughly 300 of his followers to take up arms were their fears over Jolo’s growing “Christianization” (reflected in the spread of “religious missions and secular institutions which promoted Christian culture”) and certain changes on the island “which tended to benefit the Christian immigrants rather than the natives.”\textsuperscript{31} Kamlon and his men fought sporadically with government soldiers over several years before they surrendered for the last time in 1955.\textsuperscript{32}

The event which brought the conflict between the Moros and the

\textsuperscript{29} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{32} The Kamlon Rebellion consisted of three phases. From 1951 Kamlon and his supporters battled with government troops until a cease-fire was arranged between himself and the Secretary of National Defence, Ramon Magsaysay, in July, 1952. Only a week later, however, Kamlon and his followers, accusing the government of duplicity, took to the hills and resumed their struggle. In November of that year, Kamlon and a number of his men surrendered and were sentenced to life imprisonment, but on the recommendation of a general they were awarded a land grant consisting of approximately 12,000 hectares in Tawi-Tawi. In 1953 Kamlon and his adherents for the third and last time took up arms when he was charged with violating his parole. From 1954 the government conducted military operations in Jolo which involved the use of the Jolo Task Force (JOTAF) and the Sulu Air Task Group (SATAG). Kamlon surrendered in September, 1955 and was incarcerated until President Marcos pardoned him in 1968. For a detailed account of the Rebellion, see Tan, \textit{Filipino Armed Struggle}, 114-17.
national government to a head took place in late March, 1968. The "Corregidor Incident" or "Jabidah Massacre" were the names given to the reputed slaughter, by Philippine Army soldiers, of between 28 to 64 Muslim Filipino recruits who had been part of a larger contingent undergoing training in guerilla warfare on Corregidor island outside of Manila Bay - "reputed", because much about the incident (if not its occurrence) remains a mystery. 33 It seems that as part of a top-secret scheme, codenamed 'Operation Merdeka', the unit had been preparing for military operations in Sabah which were designed to strengthen the Philippines' claim to the island. 34 The question of why its Moro trainees were slain generated a good deal of speculation at the time and remains unresolved. One theory holds that it was for mutinying in protest over not being paid for months, while another claims that it was for rebelling over the likelihood of their having to fight fellow Muslims in Sabah (allegedly it was only after their training had commenced that the recruits were informed of their mission's purpose). 35 Whatever the real reason may have been, military authorities, conscious of the repercussions that would flow from the exposure of the scheme, supposedly ordered the liquidation of the entire contingent. Apparently only one trainee survived the massacre, and his revelation of it to Manila's press created an outcry and resulted in a dramatic worsening in the

33 Che Man, *Muslim Separatism*, 74.
34 The Philippines' claim to Sabah was first advanced by President Diosdado Macapagal in 1962. It is founded on the territory's previous incorporation within the Sultanate of Sulu's orbit of influence.
Philippines' relations with Malaysia and Sabah. It also shocked and infuriated the Muslim Filipinos and convinced many of them that any further attempts to improve their situation through negotiations with the government would be futile.

Two months after the "Jabidah Massacre" and in direct response to it, Datu Udtog Matalam, a former governor of Cotabato, founded the Muslim (later Mindanao) Independence Movement (M. I. M.). His goal was the creation of an Islamic state, free from the Philippine Republic, that would encompass Mindanao and Sulu. Although the M. I. M. was largely confined to Cotabato, Matalam's call for independence struck a chord with many Muslim Filipinos. His sentiment was shared by the circle of Muslim academics and students in Manila - such as Nur Misuari of Sulu and Abul Khayr Alonto of Lanao del Sur - who would soon comprise the core of the Moro National Liberation Front (M. N. L. F.). With the secession of Moroland as their goal, around this time began planning anti-government activities.

In 1970 and 1971, the provinces of Cotabato and Lanao del Sur in Mindanao were plunged into chaos as the violence between Muslims and Christians accelerated (through in-migration, Christians had been in the majority in these provinces since 1948). The failure of the national government's policy of integration was starkly evident in the fighting between armed Muslim and Christian bands which totally disrupted life in these regions, leading to the

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36 Ibid., 192.
37 May, "Philippines", 218.
38 Gowing, Muslim Filipinos, 192.
exodus of thousands of civilians, the closure of numerous schools and the disturbance of the economy.\textsuperscript{39} Faced with an opposition that consisted of Christian vigilantes, politicians and the Philippine Constabulary, the Muslim Filipinos, outnumbered and outgunned, regularly emerged second-best from military encounters. Naturally, such defeats only further fuelled their determination to achieve independence. Only a month after President Marcos declared martial law in September 1972 (allegedly in part to solve the Muslim crisis), the Moros launched the opening salvo in their war with the national government when several hundred rebels conducted a major attack in Marawi City, the capital of Lanao del Sur, in which they assaulted the local Philippine Constabulary headquarters and temporarily occupied the Mindanao State University campus.\textsuperscript{40}

By the early 1970s, Muslim-Christian relations in Mindanao had sunk to their lowest point ever. This is shown by the popular perceptions they had by then formed of each other. For many Muslims, the Christians were just the latest in a line of colonial invaders. For instance, in a paper prepared by the M. N. L. F. for the Islamic Foreign Ministers’ Conference in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia in 1974, the Christians are described as “colonial predators.”\textsuperscript{41} For many Christians, the Muslims were the prisoners of an unenlightened faith whose conservatism and superstitions had kept them in the Dark Ages and were the causes of their malaise. This Christian view is epitomised by the following

\textsuperscript{39} Ibid., 193.
\textsuperscript{40} Ibid., 196.
\textsuperscript{41} Quoted in Ibid., 207.
extract from a letter which was sent to an eminent Muslim politician in 1972 by
a "Commander X", a member of an infamous Christian group known as the
"Ilaga" ("rats") which at the time was terrorising Muslim communities:

If the Muslims in the Philippines are poor and backward it is
because of their wrong religion and ideology, Islam. You will
understand the meaning of what I am saying by just seeing the
difference in progress between a Christian and Muslim Filipino.
This holds true with regard to their communities. The entire
nation would have been united, peaceful and progressive were it
not for the mistake of the Muslims in resisting the
implementation of the Cross in Mindanao at the time of the
arrival of the Spaniards. You and your people should not
compound your grievous historical mistake by clinging on to the
religion that has only brought poverty, ignorance and darkness to
you and your communities.\textsuperscript{42}

The popularity of the "Commander's" Orientalist vision of Islam and the
Muslim Filipinos is well illustrated by its elaboration in Nick Joaquin's
representations of traditional Moro society and culture.

**NICK JOAQUIN AND THE "ANATOMY OF AMOK"**

"Quijano de Manila" is the pseudonym of Nick Joaquin, a renowned
Philippine writer. Over a week in July, 1968 two articles of his, both entitled
"Anatomy Of Amok", were published in the *Philippines Free Press*, a
prestigious Manila magazine in which he was then employed. They were the
results of a "fact-finding" mission he had made to the cities of Marawi, Iligan
and Zamboanga in Mindanao, and Jolo (as well as a few neighbouring
settlements) in the Sulu archipelago to discover the causes of the latest turmoil
there and explain them to his magazine's predominantly Christian Filipino
audience. The articles surfaced just four months after the "Jabidah Massacre" and two months after the establishment of the M. I. M.; at the time, the furore over the former event had barely subsided and the nation’s media were still coming to terms with the emergence of the Moro secessionist movement. Although the articles refer to these occurrences, it was the latter campaign against which they were chiefly directed.

Joaquin’s thesis is embodied in the illustration from his first article. It shows a wiry man, shirtless and bald, who is waving a kris menacingly; staring directly at the reader, he looks as if he is about to assault him/her. His mouth is wide open, as if in a cry of rage, and on his chest is written, in bold print and capital letters, the statement “The Muslim Problem”. Underneath the illustration sits the caption, “WILL IT COME TO THIS?”

The principal significations evoked by the illustration can be noted briefly. The man is a depiction of the amok-runner as he has been typically conceived of by Christian Filipinos for much of this century (that he is a pengamok is immediately established by the title of Joaquin’s articles, “Anatomy Of Amok”). While the message on his chest, the oversized kris he wields and his malong (the top ends of which are raised conspicuously) readily identify him as a Muslim Filipino, the man’s baldness indicates that he is a juramentado, for juramentados were known to shave off all their body hair before sallying forth to attack their colonial and Christian Filipino foes. In short, the man is the stereotypical amok-runner/juramentado - the spectre that has

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42 Quoted in Ibid., 42.
Illustration of a *juramento* from Nick Joaquin's article, "Anatomy of Amok: What's Behind The Folk-Dance And Calendar-Art Myth Of Picturesque Morolandia". (Free Press, July 1968)
haunted the subliminal cultural consciousness of Christian Filipinos since the American period. His frenzied mien evokes (and so buttresses) the cliché that, whether driven by religious fanaticism, an injury or misfortune, during the performance of his assault he is indubitably a madman. This link between the stereotype and insanity is reinforced by certain items in the illustration which resemble recurring elements in the European iconography of the insane. The man’s furious expression recalls the ancient connection in Western culture between anger and madness: “The passion commonly identified with madness is anger. A relationship between the two states goes back at least as far as Seneca’s De ira and other classical works which characterized anger as a short madness.”43 His kris parallels the “staff of madness” that often accompanies the madman in medieval and Renaissance depictions of lunacy.44 And like the figure of Rakewell in the eighth and final plate of A Rake’s Progress, William Hogarth’s famous portrait of confinement from the eighteenth century, the man is both bald and partly unclothed. By the seventeenth century, S. Gilman remarks, the “idea of nakedness” had “…become a symbolic reference for the nature of madness.”45

The statement inscribed on the man’s chest, “The Muslim Problem”, encompasses the Muslim-Christian conflict as well as a melange of its recent occurrences and trends: the “Jabidah Massacre”, the birth of the Moro

45 Ibid., 54.
secessionist movement, the growing Muslim militancy, in particular, and the
doings of Muslim Filipino activists in Manila. In referring collectively to these
incidents and general movements as "The Muslim Problem", the statement
already prefigures the hostile position Joaquin takes on the Moro secessionist
movement and Moro militancy in his articles. In functioning as a symbol of the
general crisis in Muslim-Christian relations, the amok-runner/juramentado
stereotype grossly mystifies it, for the stereotype implies that the aforesaid
occurrences and trends were equivalent to amok/juramentado assaults in terms
of their characters and origin.

Concerning the meaning of the question posed by the caption, "WILL IT
COME TO THIS?", "IT" is obviously "The Muslim Problem", while "THIS" is
the prospect of all the Moro men in Mindanao and the Sulu archipelago (if not
the entire Philippines) running amok/turning juramentado against their Christian
Filipino neighbours. For all its bizarreness, this fantasy of the Muslims suddenly
falling into a collective insanity is merely a variant of the enduring belief,
popularised during the American period, that they pose an eternal threat to all
Christians. Since that period, it has been a commonplace amongst Christians
that because of a variety of factors - his reputed susceptibility to run amok/turn
juramentado, his unenlightened faith, his possession of weapons and his famous
martial spirit - every Muslim man is liable at any moment to embark on a
rampage against them. Thus Vic Hurley, in a passage in which he estimates the
distribution of Moro "warriors" in Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago in 1904,
remarks in his 1938 history of the Philippine Constabulary that "They [the
Moros] had some 34,000 official warriors in the field, but every man capable of bearing a kris was dangerous." This chimera of the Muslim Filipinos one day falling into a collective frenzy even serves as the central theme of a novel, F. P. Stuart’s *The Pledge of Piang* from 1943; set in World War II, it relates the adventures of two American boys, the sons of military officers, who manage to thwart the attempts of Japanese fifth columnists in Mindanao to incite the Moros to run amok/turn *juramentado* against the Americans stationed there. Ultimately this illusion about the Muslim Filipinos derives from the confluence in American writing of two traditions: Euro-British writing on the Malays and the European ‘Orientalist’ literature on Islam. In the former tradition, as we have seen, much emphasis is placed on the alleged tendency of the Malays to run amok. This theme was perhaps ideally articulated in 1803 by a certain Sydney Smith who, showing a gift for hyperbole, expressed his fear of an uprising by an entire “race” of raving Malays stretching all the way from Calcutta to the Caucasus: “We cannot help thinking, that one day or another, when they are more full of opium than usual, they [the Malays] will run a muck from Cape Comorin to the Caspian.” On the other hand, in the Orientalist literature on Islam, it is the threat of holy war that is the source of great concern. In a letter he wrote to his Mission Superior from Tamontaka in Mindanao in 1889, the Jesuit missionary Jacinto Juanmarti observed of the Moros that “...one

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of the main bases of their religion is the holy war, that is, the extermination of
Agreement, similarly remarked that “According to the original mandate of their
prophet, the [Moros] were told to kill all unbelievers, unless such a slaughter
should interfere with their own advantages.” Commenting on the negative
images of “the Arab” that commonly feature in Western newsreels or news
photos, Said observes that “Lurking behind all of these images is the menace of
jihad.” Since the twelfth century, R. Miles remarks, the doctrine of holy war
has exemplified for Europeans the aggressive means through which Islam
spreads itself:

Thus Islam was portrayed as founded on, and as spreading itself
by means of, aggression and war, and as permitting and
encouraging polygamy, sodomy, and a general sexual laity. It was
argued that Islam reproduced the idea of the holy war against all
non-Muslims, in the course of which the latter would be either
brutally murdered or enslaved.

The aptness, for Joaquin, of the stereotypical amok-runner/juramentado
as a symbol of the Muslim secessionist movement and Muslim militancy can be
 teased out from his articles. In what follows I focus on exposing the assumptions
that underpin the relationship Joaquin perceives between the amok/juramentado
convention nexus and “The Muslim Problem”.

48 Henry Yule and A. C. Burnell, Hobson-Jobson. A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words
and Phrases, and of Kindred Terms, Etymological, Historical, Geographical and Discursive, ed.
William Crooke (1889; reprint, Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1968), 22.
49 Jacinto Juanmarti to the Mission Superior, 16 October 1889, Jesuit Missionary Letters From
51 Said, Orientalism, 287.
The first article, subtitled “What’s Behind The Folk-Dance And Calendar-Art Myth Of Picturesque Morolandia”, is an account of Joaquin’s visit to Marawi and the adjoining settlements of Bacolod Chico and Taraka in Lanao del Sur in Mindanao. Essentially, in it descriptions of certain unattractive features of these localities - their lack of public infrastructure, the dilapidated condition of Mindanao State University (M. S. U.), the shabbiness of downtown Marawi, the filthiness of its lakeside market, the dangerous overcrowding on the passenger boats plying Lake Lanao, amongst others - alternate with and serve as the basis for Joaquin’s reflections on what he regards as the deficiencies of Muslim Filipino society and culture. The headings of his sketches of Marawi and Taraka - “Dunghill on the Lake” and “Dunghill on the River” respectively - exemplify his impressions of these Moro communities.53 Interspersed among these depictions and considerations are the supporting comments of the Muslims whom he consulted on this leg of his trip: Dr. Mamitua Saber and Abdullah (“Abbie”) T. Madale from M. S. U., and Sultan Omar Dianalan, the mayor of Marawi City.

While seemingly few facets of Moro society and culture escape Joaquin’s criticism, those which he considers to be the fundamental causes of the depressed conditions in these places consist of basically the Moros’ benightedness, as it is exemplified in their insularity, sectarianism and religion, and the corruption and tyranny of their ruling class (if Joaquin is indebted to American colonial writing for the motif of the amok/juramentado convention

53 “Folk-Dance And Calendar-Art Myth,” 69 & 70.
nexus, he is equally beholden to the Orientalist literature on Islam and the Middle East for his images of traditional Moro society and culture). It is primarily these shortcomings, according to Joaquin, and not the policy of integration followed by successive national governments in Moroland, which lie at the heart of "The Muslim Problem". Inasmuch as they had yet to address these faults, the Muslims were still more than a hundred years behind the Christians in terms of the reformation of their society and culture:

Maybe what's wrong with Morolandia is that it has had neither revolution nor reformation. The Christian Filipino had both simultaneously in the 1890s; but the Muslim still have to rise against - and above - cult and caste. If the current secessionist movement is the start of such a revolt, then the Muslim are today where their Christian brothers were in mid 19th century...(my emphasis) (3).

Prevented by their unenlightenment and unquestioning loyalty to their politicians from addressing the underlying causes of their predicament, the Muslims, it seems, have always existed in a state of dumb passivity and despair. By the late 1960s, though, their desperation was presumably becoming unbearable, for it was now driving them, like so many amok-runners, to seek relief from it (just why the Muslims began awakening from their torpor at this time, when they have apparently been exploited by their leaders since time immemorial, is one of many inconsistencies in Joaquin's argument he conveniently overlooks). Instead of addressing the real causes of their dilemma, however, the instigators of the secessionist movement were engaging in reckless militancy against the more offended than offending - the national government, business interests, their Christian neighbours. From Joaquin's viewpoint, the
movement was nothing more than a tragically misguided attempt on the Moros’ part to free themselves from their misery - a misery which in the end arose from the faults of their own faith and societies and to which they too readily acquiesced.

Remarks about their helpless resignation to their fate, such as the following, are sprinkled across both articles: “Passivity underlies the [Muslim] culture like the soft mud that surfaces whenever the rains wash away what passes for roads around Lake Lanao. Worse than the muck is the resignation to it” (69). In both articles, Joaquin makes a point of citing the comments of his informants that recent rallies, instigated by “Muslim students” from Manila, to protest against “The Jabidah Massacre” and the secessionist movement had drawn a lukewarm response from local Moros. Hence he records his impression that Dr. Saber, amongst other Muslims, “regarded all this about Corregidor and secession as a bigger fuss in Manila than in Morolandia” (69). The fact that the movement was being fuelled by the very psychological and emotional condition which purportedly drives Malays to periodically run amok meant that it was about as spontaneous and irrational as a typical amok assault - and ultimately would be as ineffectual.

In the article, Muslim Filipino society and culture are regularly designated as “Magian culture” - a term Joaquin derives from Oswald Spengler.⁵⁴ In The Decline of the West the term is basically synonymous with “Arabian Culture” which Spengler compares unfavourably with “Western
Culture”. From the following passage, one could be forgiven for assuming that the term was shorthand for the growing affinity in recent decades between Philippine Islam and its counterparts in the Middle East and Turkey and the changes this had wrought on the former. Noting the impact of the Moros’ connection with the Islamic world on mosque architecture in Moroland, Joaquin observes that

The mosques [in Marawi] of yesteryear were in the Buddhist multi-roofed style. The onion dome signifies Morolandia’s increasing rapport with the Arab world and the Byzantine (or Magian) culture. One mosque in Zamboanga City is said to have been patterned after the Santa Sophia of Byzantium.55

However, his mention of “Byzantium” indicates that the Magian “culture” in question is not to be found in present-day Turkey but is, instead, an Orientalist fantasy of Islam and “Arabic Culture” as they have allegedly existed in the Middle East since time immemorial. Given Joaquin’s assumption that Islam, like a fly frozen in aspic, has survived the several hundred years that have elapsed since the fall of Byzantium unaltered, it is not surprising that he believes that the religion in the Philippines is intrinsically conservative and closed. Concerning the Moros’ burgeoning links with the Islamic world, insofar as these bonds were revitalising their faith, he would have presumably disapproved of them, viewing them as an impediment to the Muslims’ integration into the Philippine nation.

The imperviousness of Philippine Islam to outside influences is

55 “Folk-Dance And Calendar-Art Myth,” 3.
suggested by the analogy Joaquin draws between “Magian culture” and a “cave” or “cavern” - another Spenglerism. As the connotations of the latter terms - “isolation”, “darkness”, “claustrophobia” - suggest, the analogy is meant to evoke the sense of suffocation that the Moros’ “Magian culture” eventually inculcates in them. As the article’s opening sentence runs, “Squalor, not glamour, encrusts the cave of the Muslim South” (3). The impenetrability of Philippine Islam is also indicated by the reputed absence from the normal Moro nipa hut of windows. This lack serves to evoke the Muslims’ supposed insularity and bigotry which have been two of the main reasons for their failure to assume their proper place in the Philippine community:

Morolandia is a small window on the outside world, or no windows at all. Integration is a problem not only because the Christian turns his back but because the Muslim is turned in on himself, a condition expressed by the blind sides his houses offer to the world. If he peeks out at all, it’s from behind a small timid window (3).

Providing the Muslims with the knowledge they need to perceive the reality of their situation, the M. S. U. and its affiliate schools represent so many windows on the Moro “cave”:

Although predominantly Christian, the M. S. U. is a window opened in the Muslim cave and its opening other windows all over Morolandia, through extension and community schools in Sulu, Cotabato and both Lanaos (69).

Examples of the villainy and despotism of Muslim politicians are supplied mostly by Dr. M. Saber and A. T. Madale. So numerous are these that the article constitutes a relentless indictment of both Islam and the Moro elite. For instance, Joaquin relates Saber’s complaint that a long promised...
road" between Iligan and Marawi remains unbuilt because the funds made available for it were pocketed by local politicians (69). To take another example, he comments on how the annual pilgrimage to Mecca is milked by crooked officials, to the great detriment of pilgrims:

Graft and politics, too, make a circus of the pilgrimage. The concessions to organize a pilgrimage are farmed out among political favorites. The pilgrims, mostly unlettered folk, pay whatever is demanded, believing all trip expenses will be covered. But they starve, sicken and die on board ship; are held up at ports; are stranded abroad; while the organizers sit back at home and count their profits. Abbie spoke of the kin of a Muslim politico who made enough on just one pilgrimage to buy a fleet of buses (70).

The brutalising effects of local governmental corruption of this sort on almost every aspect of Moro life are described in great and vivid detail. It is toward the end of his article, after he portrays the lack of amenities in and sheer wretchedness of Taraka, that Joaquin draws a clear connection between amok and the secessionist movement: “One [in Taraka] was at the very roots of amok; and the secession threat has the quality of amok” (71). Preferable to the Moros’ traditionally “quiet...desperation” was the initiative and “creative anger” (71) against their politicians displayed by Sultan Dianalan and A. T. Madale:

This kind of anger is what must be roused among the Muslim masses, for it’s the one alternative to amok, which is not anger at all but despair - a despair exploding from the cave of the rigid society. Amok is an outburst of claustrophobia; and the secession threat can be read as a frantic signalling to the government in Manila for more windows (71).

Joaquin’s second article, subtitled “A Rage Of Poverty Grows From The Poverty Of Rage”, was published a week after the first and deals with his travels to Iligan and Zamboanga in Mindanao and Jolo in the Sulu archipelago. Since
the article is essentially a restatement of Joaquin’s thesis in the first article, it can be dealt with briefly. In it reappear the “Magian cave” motif and the usual roll call of Muslim social and cultural shortcomings: benightedness, lassitude, sectarianism, insularity and the oppressiveness and covetousness of their politicians. Here Said’s description of an Orientalist illusion of Islam that gained wide currency in modernization theory in the 1960s is apposite. As in Joaquin’s first article, in his second Philippine Islam is depicted as existing in a “kind of timeless childhood, shielded from true development by an archaic set of superstitions, prevented by its strange priests and scribes [read ‘Moro politicians’] from moving out of the Middle Ages into the modern world.”

The second article is structured in terms of the comparisons Joaquin draws between the progressiveness of Christian Iligan and Zamboanga on the one hand, and the backwardness of Muslim Marawi and Jolo on the other. These contrasts are supplemented with snippets of his conversations with his informants: in Iligan, its mayor, Camilo Cabili; in Zamboanga, its mayor, Joaquin Enriquez, Jr. and Attorney Asasad K. Usman; and in Jolo, Prince Ahgan Kiram, the son of Princess Tarhata, and Juharia Asama, a statistician from the office of the Commission on National Integration. Joaquin’s consideration of the anomaly in the development of these communities leads him to assign the blame for the depressed conditions in Marawi and Jolo to, once again, the Moros’ unenlightenment and their politicians’ rapacity and despotism. Dismissing the Muslims’ claim that their economic backwardness was the result

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56 Said, Orientalism, 28.
of the prejudice, negligence and malfeasance of successive national governments, he lays the blame for it squarely on their own shoulders. Targeted, as well, in the article is the supposed preferential treatment the Muslims had received in the provision of land and employment from the government in its well-meaning but misguided attempt to hasten their assimilation into the nation. Far from benefiting them, this reputed positive discrimination in favour of the Moros had in Joaquin’s opinion only spoiled them, for in feeding their image of themselves as victims, it had confirmed them in their apathy and provincialism and so enabled them to avoid addressing the true causes of their predicament. Tyrannised by their “mind-set, their ‘ulama, and their wild-eyed political leaders into resisting the West and progress,” to quote Said, the Muslims were practising a form of apartheid against their more modern Christian neighbours:

> Our integration problem is the reverse of that in the United States. There, the problem is getting the white majority to abolish their apartheid against Negroes. Here, our problem is to get the Muslim minority to abolish their apartheid against the modern world. But special treatment of them as a minority helps preserve the wall of apartheid.

The article’s subtitle sums up Joaquin’s view of the nature and source of “The Muslim Problem”. The word “Rage” in the phrase “A Rage of Poverty” echoes the analogy drawn in the first article and in its illustration between Moro militancy and the fury of the amok-runner/juramentado. The phrase thus signifies the reputed frenzy, akin to that of a pengamok/juramentado’s, to which the Muslims were currently being driven by the insufferableness of their

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57 Ibid.
58 “Rage Of Poverty,” 70.
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We are always so fearful of making the Muslim angry, but we may in time realize that it’s the best thing we can do for them; that we should shock them, we should outrage them, if only to develop in them a critical temper (72).

CONCLUSION

Sympathetic and enlightening articles on the Muslim Filipinos have traditionally been rare in Manila’s popular press. Normally, it is only when crises take place in their always thorny relations with Christians in the southern Philippines that the Moros seem worthy of attention. Unfortunately, the opportunities provided by such crises to analyse in detail those relations have
not always been taken advantage of by commentators. Instead, they have regularly employed such opportunities to offer yet more commentaries on amok and the juramentado convention or both, as when they conflate the two. While such expositions undoubtedly titillate readers with their descriptions of apparently bizarre behaviours, they hardly enhance their audience’s understanding of the Muslim-Christian conflict. Rather, they only strengthen the link between the amok/juramentado convention nexus and the Moros that was forged during the American period, for on the few occasions that the Moros enter the consciousness of most Filipinos, it occurs because they are connected to that nexus. Moreover, such commentaries positively encourage readers to perceive an analogy between that nexus and the Moro struggle for equality (note the frequent appearance in the aforesaid articles of the amok-runner/juramentado figure).

This analogy is rendered explicit in Nick Joaquin’s articles. It is prefigured by the illustration of the first article, which represents “The Muslim Problem” in the daunting figure of the stereotypical amok-runner/juramentado. In confounding the supposed origins and nature of the amok/juramentado convention nexus with those of Moro militancy, Joaquin mystifies the true causes of the Muslim-Christian conflict in the southern Philippines for his mostly Christian audience. As well, he deprives the Moros of any basis for protest and shifts the blame for the conflict from its real aggressors to its victims.

Holding that the Muslims were becoming radical for essentially the same
reasons that they run amok/turn juramentado, Joaquin suggests that the roots of their militancy lay in a collective despair over their depressed conditions. However, he denies Moro claims that those conditions were the result of the policy of integration pursued for decades by colonial and national governments in the southern Philippines. Instead, he attributes them to the Moros themselves. Drawing upon Orientalist notions of Islam and ‘Oriental despotism’, he specifically ascribes those conditions to the benightedness of Islam, the tyranny of Muslim leaders, and the ensemble of negative traits (instilled in the Moros over the centuries by their faith and political systems) that have dulled their powers of ratiocination and left them passive. For these reasons Joaquin dismisses the Muslim push for autonomy as an irrelevance, concocted by a minority of ambitious and mischievous Muslim activists in Manila, for only when the Moros renounce their religion and overthrow their politicians, he infers, will their situation change. Finally, Joaquin’s intimation that the typical amok assault and Moro militancy share the same basic character enables him to dispute the legitimacy of the latter as a response to the Muslims’ plight and reject it as an irrational and “hence hopelessly eccentric” gesture. Moro militancy was doomed to failure - not by Christian Filipino intransigence, it seems, but by its very nature.

59 Said, Orientalism, 287.
Chapter 10

CONCLUSION

Criticism is a matter of flushing out...thought and trying to change it: to show that things are not as one believed, to see that what is accepted as self-evident will no longer be accepted as such. Practising criticism is a matter of making facile gestures difficult.¹

For all its seeming naturalness, then, the contemporary Filipino perception of amok is not the consummation of previous diligent and impartial attempts to define the behavioural pattern. Rather, as my analyses of its descent and emergence have shown, it is the product of struggles that have occurred between the Americans and Filipinos and later Christian and Muslim Filipinos from 1898 to the present day. The renown of amok during this period, amongst colonials and Christian Filipinos alike, derives not from any inherent property it possesses but from the range of significations, relating to the Moros in particular, that it has evoked, as well as from the diverse strategies for which it has been deployed.

The “flushing out” of the aforesaid perception shows that, contrary to received opinion, the Spaniards neither fused amok with the juramentado convention nor closely associated it with the Muslim Filipinos. Indeed, their perception of the behavioural pattern seems to have been strikingly at odds with those of the British and Americans. Although the Spanish corpus does contain descriptions of forms of random violence that to a modern reader appear amok-like, such descriptions differ significantly from the references to and
commentaries on the behavioural pattern that feature in Euro-British and Euro-American colonial writing. The discrepancies between the Spanish cognition of arbitrary homicide and the British and American comprehension of amok seem to have been due to the diverse criteria they employed in constructing identities for themselves and their subjects. Whereas the British and Americans differentiated themselves from their subjects primarily by the standard of ‘race’, the Spaniards did so by the yardstick of religion. Essentially, the Spaniards in the Philippines had a premodern mind-set which led them to explain and structure “the nature of the material world...and relations between people” through religion. Consequently, it was mainly in terms of religion that they organised their representations of the various ethnic groups in the Islands. Since Islam has traditionally been viewed by Christians as the “negation of Christianity”, the Moros’ faith made them, out of all the ethnic groups in the Philippines, the quintessence for the Spaniards of the Other, and their alleged negative traits served to mirror for the Spaniards their own positive attributes. Because the Spaniards already held their fundamental dissimilarity from the Muslim Filipinos to be religious in nature, it was unnecessary for them to attribute their ancient foes with additional ‘racial’ characteristics, such as a tendency to run amok, that served as markers of difference. It was probably for this reason that the Spaniards, unlike the Americans, did not habitually ascribe the Moros with such a tendency and treat it as a sign of their ‘racial’ inferiority.

3 Ibid.
The references to and expositions on amok that emerged and proliferated in colonial writing after 1898 did not simply mirror its occurrence in the Philippines during the American period. The inordinate association of the behavioural pattern with the Muslim Filipinos, who made up only four percent of the entire population of the Islands in 1900, is proof of that.\(^5\) Rather, they were ultimately the products of the Americans’ drive to define the Moros so as to project their control over them. Power, as D. T. Goldberg observes, “is exercised epistemologically in the dual practices of naming and evaluating.”\(^6\) The need to justify their presence in the Philippines and secure their authority over its inhabitants with the minimum use of force obliged the Americans to name their subjects - i.e, construct a body of knowledge about the Filipinos that, in assigning them with ‘racial’ characters supposedly illustrative of their limitations, would legitimate and extend the Americans’ restriction of their possibilities: “Good racial government...requires information about racial nature: about character and culture, history and traditions, that is, about the limits of the Other’s possibilities.”\(^7\) This requirement was particularly pressing for the Americans because of their profound ignorance of their newly acquired possession and its diverse ethnic groups (their ignorance only reflected the general unawareness of the Islands that prevailed in the United States at the turn of the twentieth-century. Although familiar with the Euro-British literature on

\(^4\) Ibid., 18.
\(^7\) Ibid.
the Malay archipelago, educated Americans of the period were apparently oblivious of Spanish colonial writing on the Philippines).

Hence soon after their intervention in the Philippines, the Americans began creating 'racial' natures for their subjects. For their information about the Muslim Filipinos, they drew from three main sources: the Spanish literature on the Moros, its Euro-British counterpart on the Malays, and Orientalist writing on Islam and the Middle East. From the first corpus the Americans appropriated material relating to, amongst other things, the Moros' histories and societies, as well as their performance of the juramentado convention. Already acquainted with Euro-British accounts of the Malay archipelago, the Americans now returned to it to examine more closely what the British, the acknowledged experts in the art of colonial administration, had to say about their Malay subjects and the best method of governing them. Although in the end the Americans decided not to follow the British lead in the Malay Peninsula and introduce a form of indirect rule in the Philippines, they were greatly influenced by British descriptions of the Malays; indeed, it was largely through the interpretative grid of such descriptions that they apprehended the Filipinos. It was also from Euro-British sources, not Spanish writing, that the Americans imbibed their ideas about amok. Conflating amok with the juramentado convention, they concluded that the two phenomena were either related or identical. Naturally, the Americans' impressions of the Moros - specifically, of their religion and political systems - were coloured as well by European writing on Islam and the Middle East in general, from which they took motifs of Islam
and of Islamic societies as being benighted, backward, insular, exotic, sectarian, despotic, corrupt and violent. These features were considered to be "rooted in the character of Islam as a supposedly false and heretic theology." The convergence of these literary traditions in American writing produced an understanding of amok and the juramentado convention that came to enjoy a wide currency amongst colonials and Christian Filipinos during the American period. As my analysis of Nick Joaquin's articles demonstrates, it is an understanding that continues to modify Christian Filipino perceptions of the Muslim Filipinos today.

The conflation of amok with the juramentado convention was deployed during the American period for two central purposes. The first was the construction of opposing identities for the Muslim Filipinos and, by implication, the Americans themselves. Just as the tendency to run amok was treated by the British as a defining trait of "the Malay", so was the conflation employed by the Americans in their fabrication of a Moro 'racial' character. The Moros' alleged propensity to run amok/"turn juramentado" served for the Americans as one of the attributes - most of which were negatively evaluated - that distinguished the Muslim Filipinos as members of the Malay 'race'. This propensity was commonly held to be the outcome of the interplay between 'racial' and cultural factors: although the Moros were inclined to embark on rampages because of their flawed 'racial' makeup, often they were driven to do so by their benighted faith and political systems. This alleged propensity proved useful to the

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8 Miles, Racism, 18.
Americans in their efforts to differentiate themselves from the Muslim Filipinos. In defining the latter as ‘impulsive’ and ‘irrational’, their religion and political structures as ‘unenlightened’ and ‘oppressive’, the Americans were, of course, tacitly defining themselves as ‘deliberate’ and ‘logical’, their own faith and mode of governance in the Philippines as ‘enlightened’ and ‘humane’. In so identifying the Moros, the Americans were thus simultaneously characterising themselves as harbingers of progress who had come to the southern Philippines to save the Moros from themselves, from their own nature and societies, and lead them to modernity.

The second fundamental purpose for which the aforesaid conflation was deployed during the American period was the discrediting of the juramentado convention as a Muslim Filipino response to American imperialism. In equating amok with the convention, the Americans in effect attached to the convention the train of images, ideas and connotations that is linked to amok in Euro-British writing. Perceiving the convention through the template of Euro-British accounts of amok, they depicted it as a form of indiscriminate slaughter or as a method of homicide against Christians that Moro men engaged in out of despair over their injuries or misfortunes. Exploiting the fact that such men became sabbils for a variety of reasons, the Americans commonly focused on and highlighted their personal motives for performing the convention in order to gloss over its political and religious dimensions. Representing the convention in this manner, the Americans were able to deny that it reflected a widespread Moro discontent with their regime in the southern Philippines and dismiss it as
the preferred mode of suicide of disturbed individuals from primitive cultures.

A comparison of American and Filipino depictions of amok shows that since the first decades of the twentieth century, the behavioural pattern has come to be more closely linked with Filipinos in general, although it continues to be inordinately associated with the Muslim Filipinos. As we saw in Chapter 9, between at least the mid-1950s and the late 1960s a number of articles dealing with amok and the juramentado convention appeared in Philippine magazines. While ultimately incited by the growing Muslim-Christian conflict in the south, the articles are distinguished by their curious failure to address that conflict directly. Admittedly, they do not engage with the behavioural pattern and the convention in a homogeneous manner; while some of the articles conflate the two phenomena, others differentiate between them and provide relatively sympathetic and enlightening accounts of the convention. However, inasmuch as they do focus on amok and the convention, instead of on the conflict by which they were instigated, the articles not only failed to provide their predominantly Christian audience with much needed insights into the nature and origins of that conflict, but actually misrepresented that conflict by establishing the stereotype of the juramentado/amok-runner as a symbol of Muslim militancy.

Of the articles that equate amok with the juramentado convention, the most notable are the pieces by Nick Joaquin. His argument is incarnate in the stereotype of the juramentado/amok-runner that graces the frontispiece of his first article. For the building-blocks of his argument, Joaquin appropriated a
number of themes and images from Orientalist literature and from Euro-American colonial writing. Weaving these themes and images together, Joaquin constructed a thesis which in his articles serves to mystify the contemporary emergence of the Moro secessionist movement and of Moro militancy in general by identifying their causes and character with those of amok.

Hence Joaquin suggests that the Muslim Filipinos were becoming militant in the late 1960s for essentially the same reason that the stereotypical juramentado/amok-runner embarks on his rampages. Contrary to the claims of Moro activists, “The Moro Problem” was not the result of the oppression and injustice the Muslim Filipinos had endured at the hands of Christian business interests, politicians and migrants over the decades (facts which Joaquin ignores). Rather, Joaquin claims, it was a product principally of their backward religion, of the chronic corruption and tyranny of their elite, and of certain traits these factors had instilled in them over the centuries. Islam may have rendered the Moros picturesque, but it had also inculcated in them a bigotry, insularity, conservatism, passivity and submissiveness to authority that had prevented them from throwing off the shackles imposed on them by their faith and ruling class. Now in despair over their situation, yet hindered by the aforesaid traits from addressing its root causes, the Muslim Filipinos were engaging in militancy against innocent parties, such as the national government, in a reckless and vain attempt to escape from their plight. In this manner, Joaquin insinuates that their militancy was marked by the same attributes of impulsiveness, indiscriminateness and irrationality that distinguish the homicidal behaviour of
the stereotypical *pengamok/juramentado*.

The attractiveness of this argument for any Christian Filipino, saddled with the usual prejudices against Muslims, is obvious. Joaquin's ascription of the causes of the Muslim-Christian conflict to Islam, the Moro elite and certain cultural attributes of the Moros enables him to misrepresent that conflict's origins and blame the Moros entirely for their depressed condition. It allows him to conveniently overlook the roles that various Christian colonial and Philippine governments, commercial interests and migrant communities have played in dispossessing the Moros of their land and depriving them of their political rights. It also permits him to place the burden for resolving the disturbances in the south solely on the shoulders of Muslims, for only when they revolt against their politicians and either abandon their religion or subject it to the cold light of reason, he implies, will they be able to liberate themselves from their (self-inflicted) condition and compete on equal terms with their Christian rivals. As for the analogy Joaquin draws between amok and Muslim militancy in general, it enables him to deny that the latter movement was a legitimate expression of Moro resistance against Christian domination, for it posits that the movement was distinguished by the same irrationality that characterises the “demoniacal impulse”. In so doing, of course, the analogy functions to demonstrate that the complaints about their situation and calls for greater autonomy of Muslim Filipinos were unworthy of consideration.

The conflation of amok with the *juramentado* convention continues to have repercussions for both Christian and Muslim Filipinos today. Most
obviously, it has prevented Filipinos from gaining a proper understanding of the
convention and of *jihad* in general as it has been practised by the Moros against
the Spaniards, Americans and Christian Filipinos. Many Filipinos would still
believe, in spite of the efforts of C. A. Majul and T. M. Kiefer, that amok and
the convention are identical and that the *juramentado* of colonial times was
nothing more than a crazed amok-runner, driven to a frenzy by a personal injury
or misfortune. More sadly, there is evidence that the conflation, along with other
factors, has similarly encouraged a misperception of the convention on the part
of Muslim Filipinos. It seems that the negative image of the *juramentado* as a
deranged *pengamok*, coupled with an ignorance of both the convention and the
*jihad* doctrine in Islamic law, have led some Moros to refuse to regard the
convention as a form of *jihad* altogether. Apparently only fuelling their
devaluation of the convention has been the “increasing exposure” of Muslim
Filipinos since the 1960s to “the preaching of a Middle Eastern version of
Islam” which possesses “negative attitudes toward some of the traditional or
culturally-based [Moro] beliefs and practices, including the parang sabil act and
epics.”

Together, these factors have caused some Muslim Filipinos to reject the
convention and disassociate it from *jihad* - much as the Americans did, ironically.

An example of this is provided by a piece, entitled “Misconceptions
about Islam”, which appeared in the Letters column of the *Philippine Daily

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9 Gerard Rixhon, “The Parang Sabil Epic of the Tausug Revisited: Exploring Various Levels of
Discourse,” 11.
Inquirer in February, 1995. It was written by Esmael U. Acob in response to “insinuations against Muslims and Islam” which had surfaced in the Manila media in the period leading up to Pope John Paul II’s visit to the Philippines in that year. Predictably, rumours that Muslims were involved in a plot to assassinate the Pope had resuscitated among Christian Filipinos the commonplace that “killing Christians” was for Muslims “a passport to heaven” - an allusion to the juramentado convention which, as we saw in Chapter 5, appears in a Manila Times article from 1900. Challenging a correspondent’s recent assertion in the newspaper that “killing a Christian will make a Muslim closer to Allah”, Acob, like many another Muslim Filipino authority before him, found it necessary to briefly explain the jihad doctrine for his mostly Christian audience:

Regarding jihad - “holy war,” not “sword,” as Noel G. Rigor wrote (PDI, 1/13/95) - it comes in different forms. To control one’s self so as not to commit what has been forbidden is the greatest among them. Armed struggle is just one of its lesser forms and may be warranted only if grievous sins against Islam are being done, such as (1) if the Ka’abah in Mecca is being destroyed, (2) if the Mosque of the Holy Prophet in Medinah is likewise being destroyed. So jihad cannot in any way be equated with the term “juramentados.”

Acob correctly notes that “an inner struggle against one’s evil inclinations” and armed conflict are two of several forms of holy war. However, in his zeal to debunk the commonplace that every Muslim is a potential killer of Christians, he defines the preconditions for the onset of jihad too narrowly (he does so, of

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course, because it enables him to sever the links between the juramentado convention and jihad. While the destruction of the Ka’abah and the Mosque of the Holy Prophet by Christians may well prompt Muslims to engage in armed struggle against them, these are not the only circumstances that will do so. As we saw in Chapter 5, according to Islamic law Muslims are required to perform jihad when the Abode of Islam (dar al-Islam) has been invaded by infidels and their leaders have failed to stem the onslaught. Faced with such a threat, it becomes incumbent on every Muslim who is able to do so to join in the struggle. At the least, Muslim communities are obliged to supply an adequate number of fighters for the resistance. This, I argue, is precisely the situation in which the Muslim Filipinos increasingly found themselves in the southern Philippines following the Malcampo campaign on Jolo island in 1876. Confronted with the growing intrusion into their territories of Spaniards, Americans and Christian Filipinos who were intent on subjugating them, altering their societies, and (in the case of the Spaniards) converting them to Christianity, the Moros responded by obeying the injunctions of the Koran to defend their faith and communities. This they did most dramatically by assaulting the interlopers, either individually in the form of the juramentado convention or collectively in open combat (while the former was apparently only performed by men, the latter was occasionally engaged in by women and children). To thus claim, as Acob does, that jihad “cannot in any way be equated with the term ‘juramentados’”, is to effectively agree with the Americans that the juramentado convention was not a Muslim Filipino variant of jihad, but merely the fantastic method through which
disturbed Moro men circumvented the Koranic prohibition of suicide.

Meanwhile, the motif of amok and stereotype of the amok-runner or pengamok continue to periodically surface in Filipino and non-Filipino creative writing. In a footnote to Chapter 8 I touched on the treatment of the motif by the Australian author Robert Drewe in his short story collection *A Cry In The Jungle Bar.* Two of the more interesting recent interpretations of the motif are to be found in George Fox’s *Amok* and James Hamilton-Paterson’s *Ghosts of Manila.* In Fox’s *Amok* the influence of American colonial writing is hinted at by the definition of the phrase “running amok” presented in the book’s jacket:

The phrase “running amok” widely entered the English language at the turn of the century, when it was used to describe the frenzied, homicidal fury in battle of some Filipino rebels against the American military occupation of their homeland. However, in the original Malay, amok is a noun.

In the novel the stereotype of the pengamok merges with the archetype of the Wild Man whose origins date back to ancient times. In place of a Malay, a Filipino or a Muslim Filipino amok-runner we find a Japanese straggler from WWII, armed not with a kris but a samurai sword, who terrorises a small expatriate community and Ilocanos in the Cagayan valley in Luzon before being killed. Possessing many of the attributes that have traditionally been associated

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12 For an example of a recent work by a Philippine author which conflates amok and the amok-runner with the juramentado convention and the juramentado respectively, see Ninotchka Rosca’s *Twice Blessed* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1992), 93 & 99.
13 Another story in the same collection, “The Nameless Nightclub,” contains brief references to the juramentado convention. See pages 235 and 244.
with the Wild Man in Western thought, he is solitary, typically mute, hirsute, gigantic and licentious. Indeed, Hayden White’s sketch of the Wild Man sums up the straggler admirably:

…the Wild Man is conventionally represented as being always present, inhabiting the immediate confines of the community. He is just out of sight, over the horizon, in the nearby forest, desert, mountains, or hills. He sleeps in crevices, under great trees, or in the caves of wild animals, to which he carries off helpless children, or women, there to do unspeakable things to them. And he is also sly: he steals the sheep from the fold, the chicken from the coop, tricks the shepherd, and befuddles the gamekeeper. In medieval myth especially, the Wild Man is conceived to be covered with hair and to be black and deformed. He may be a giant or a dwarf, or he may be merely horribly disfigured, rather like Charles Laughton in the American movie version of The Hunchback of Notre Dame. But in whatever way he is envisaged, the Wild Man almost always represents the image of the man released from social control, the man in whom the libidinal impulses have gained full ascendency.16

Similarly, in addition to the aforesaid attributes he shares with the Wild Man, the straggler is depicted as being eternally present, prowling along the boundaries of the valley’s expatriate and Ilocano communities. As well, he lives in the nearby forest and sleeps in caves. Moreover, he is cunning: he steals food from a local Chinese store, occasionally pillages local farms, and regularly outwits and kills his pursuers. Regarding White’s remark about the Wild Man doing “unspeakable things” to “helpless” women, it is amusing to note that the straggler is described in like terms by a prostitute from the brothel he frequented during the War: “Every few months he would come here like a crazy animal,” she sobbed, “force us to do terrible things!”17

Ghosts of Manila, which is set in that city in the early 1990s, is the more

16 Ibid., 166.
17 Fox, Amok, 97.
stimulating of the two novels, for it is far more critical in its reproduction of the amok motif. John Prideaux, one of its central characters, is an Englishman in his forties who is in Manila to conduct research for his anthropological dissertation on the "concept of amok".\textsuperscript{18} A noted journalist and documentary filmmaker in the 1970s, he had walked away from a possible career in England as a producer of documentaries, in disgust over the mediocrity of television, and drifted into academia as a mature-age student. His choice of topic and interest in the culturally-sanctioned "ways in which a person breaks"\textsuperscript{19} was clearly influenced by his own turmoil over his marriage breakup and his abandonment of his career as a journalist and filmmaker. Having already acquainted himself with the standard works in his field - "his van Wulffen-Palthe, Yap, Caudill & Lin, Hirst & Woolley and much else"\textsuperscript{20} - in Manila he supplements his theoretical knowledge of amok with interviews with Filipinos. Over the course of the novel, his commitment to his dissertation increasingly falters under the weight of his personal problems and certain unsettling experiences he undergoes in that city. By the end of it, his problems and experiences lead him to despair over the possibility of ever being able to know oneself, much less other human beings and cultures:

Over the months his conviction had grown that it was impossible to say anything very useful about another society or, indeed, about anybody at all. He remembered the awful rows with Jessie [his ex-wife] which had so often pretended to centre around some semantic nicety. He remembered also the bleak insight that even as he searched scrupulously for the right nuance he was actually

\textsuperscript{18} Hamilton-Paterson, \textit{Ghosts of Manila}, 51.
\textsuperscript{19} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{20} Ibid., 11.
taking pains to conceal what he meant, though he didn’t necessarily know what that was. We were dreamers, blanks to ourselves. And if we were blanks to ourselves how could another person be any clearer? *If it became impossible to understand one’s own wife, what serious chance was there of understanding a culture whose cradle tongue one didn’t speak? It was beyond absurdity.* In a moment of nearly exuberant gluiness Prideaux toyed once more with the notion of changing the subject of his thesis. A new title suggested itself: *Determined Mistranslation. The Myth of Intercultural Understanding and the Fiction of Interpersonal Communication* (emphasis mine).

Prideaux’s realisation reflects unflatteringly on the traditional recklessness with which the bulk of his real-life, fellow Western writers have commented on amok. In light of their usual ignorance of the diverse languages in the Malay archipelago and Philippines and consequent dependence on the Western corpus for virtually all their information, one is inclined to wonder whether, to paraphrase Prideux, it has been possible for them to “say anything very useful” about the behavioural pattern.

As the works of Drew, Fox and Hamilton-Paterson suggest, the motif of amok and the stereotype of the amok-runner will continue to grip our imaginations for some time to come. In the hope of loosening that grip, if not of breaking it entirely, I have demonstrated in this dissertation that contrary to popular assumption, the colonial and Christian Filipino perceptions of amok in the Philippines *do* have a history. I have basically “described that-which-is by making it appear as something that might not be, or that might not be as it is.”

History, Foucault points out, “serves to show how that-which-is has not always been; i.e., that the things which seem most evident to us are always formed in

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21 Ibid., 272.
the confluence of encounters and chances, during the course of a precarious and fragile history.” In analysing the descent and emergence of the Euro-American and Christian Filipino discourses on amok, I have shown that those discourses are not as self-evident as has been believed; to take just two examples, the behavioural pattern and the amok-runner have not always been conflated with the juramentado convention and the juramentado respectively, and the Moros’ reputed tendency to run amok/“turn” juramentado has not always served as a sign of their cultural backwardness. While these conflations and alleged propensity of the Muslim Filipinos’ were indeed “formed in the confluence of encounters and chances,” this confluence has largely gone unnoticed by generations of Filipinos and non-Filipinos who, confident in their knowledge of amok and serenely unaware of its lowly beginnings, have routinely associated the behavioural pattern with the Moros. By revealing the “precarious and fragile history” of the aforesaid discourses, the “network of contingencies” from which they emerged, I hope that in time it will become more difficult for such an association to be made and for the other “verities” in those discourses to be reproduced. Before we can undo “the things which seem most evident to us”, we first have to understand the processes through which they came to be. As Foucault observes about the self-evidentness of “forms of rationality”, “since these things have been made, they can be unmade, as long as we know how it was that they were made.”

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23 Ibid., 37.
24 Ibid.
25 Ibid.
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1 Between 1902 and 1915 the *Cablenews American* underwent several name changes: from the *Manila American* it became the *Manila Cablenews*, then the *Cablenews*, and finally the *Cablenews American*. For clarity's sake, in this dissertation I refer to the newspaper only as the *Cablenews American*. 
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