A HISTORY OF PROTESTANTISM IN
/ LOO, BUGUIAS, BENGUET

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In Partial Fulfillment
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Charlie M. Cubalit
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We Hereby Approve the Thesis
Submitted By:

Charlie M. Cubalit

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Thesis Adviser

Date

CHED Reader

Date

Faculty Reader

Date

Academic Dean

Date

Faculty Reader

Date

President

Date
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ABSTRACT

This research was purposely conducted to know and understand how Protestantism came to Loo Valley, a barangay in Buguias, Benguet, located in the northern part of Luzon. This research sought to contribute to the basic informative needs of local churches in Loo, Buguias with regards to the beginning and development of the Protestant denominations from the 1950s to 2005. Since the Church of the Nazarene and the Lutheran Church were the earliest denominations to have reached the area, they were given a detailed discussion as to how they have reached the setting, and how they came in clash with the cultural norms and practices in the setting. Other denominations dealt with are the Fig Tree Christian Fellowship (affiliated with the Philippine Evangelical Holiness Church), Happy Family Overseas Ministries, Loo Valley Christian Assembly and Free Believers in Christ Fellowship.

This research partly described and interpreted the people’s worldview and how these Protestant denominations responded to it. The research adds material for evaluation and reference relevant to future plans of local missions and outreaches to places similar to this animistic area in the country.

Research methods used were basically historical, including oral interviews and available written materials.

This research builds a foundational work that will help keep the events in the past history of the Protestant churches here studied. The results of the data described, analyzed and interpreted allow readers to carefully consider necessary methods and means that may be adapted and applied to current outreaches, both local and abroad.
CHAPTER 1

THE PROBLEM

This research traces how Protestantism came to Loo, a barangay in Buguias, Benguet. Using the traditional methods of history, this research is a "description and interpretation of a cultural or social group or system"\(^1\) over time. I chose Loo to gather my data and to focus my inquiry because no one has ever conducted such a study in this particular place, and because the writer is a product of this very location, and one of its churches. Different denominations represented in the context are studied, especially as to how they responded and reacted to the culture and worldview of the place.

In every place where a society and community exist, there are stories yet untold, savored by time and people of the past who, without any thought of making a history of their own, worked and lived spontaneously as they thought they ought to and as they felt moved by the passion to move on and create, share their lives with others, and proclaim discovered truths and principles, without measuring the cost and without focusing on how much they lack or how much they have. Among the lowly, there have been remarkable figures. If not given the privilege to be recorded among the names of those who were known by scholastics, they were, at least, retained in the memory of the people who knew them and whom are known to them. Events as well are interlinked to these figures who made the story of a place. Impacts and changes are also made to be understood. Thus the basic question of inquiry that elicited this thesis is the question of "how" and "why" churches developed among the early Christian converts of Loo since Protestantism reached the barangay in the 1950s. Being a product of this Kankana-ey, Igorot community, I am one of the second generation Protestants

in Loo and thus feel that this endeavor would be beneficial to both the Church and to me, one who was honestly "uninformed" when it came to the history of the evangelical Protestant Christians in my own hometown. I see it as a privilege and honor to attempt such an endeavor.

In this thesis, I wish to describe how this story would reveal and unfold naturally the information necessary to evaluate and critique the beginning of Protestantism in Loo. I do not see this endeavor to be simply an informative one, but also an appraisal and an encouragement to and for those who are involved among the Protestants in the locality, as a testimony and a challenge for the next generation and for those who are yet uninformed regarding what and how the church developed in the locality, and as a starting part for scholarly work for me. This endeavor can also discover patterns of church growth and decline in a rural area, though this will not be the primary focus of my interviews or analysis of written records.

Loo Valley is a very strategic location in the municipality, having perfect geographic features. Being an accessible place, both secular and Christian activities are maintained with ease. During past years when town fiestas were still prominent for the people, Loo Valley was always the place where the municipality of Buguias held its programs and exciting activities. As my research has informed me, out from Loo Valley, local churches expanded

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2 Floyd T. Cunningham for example reasoned that both historical accounts and historians should be challenged to give attention to the importance and value of history for the Church, mentioning the Church of the Nazarene to which the author is affiliated, since any local church or the Universal Church is deeply rooted in every historical event and that history pertains to and points back to the very soteriological meaning of the Church's very existence, salvation in Christ Jesus. See "Telling the Story of the Church of the Nazarene: A Wesleyan Reflection on Church History," *The Mediator* 4 (October 2002): 1-14.

3 Town Fiestas were actually just adopted by the municipal officials from lowland practices. It was a municipal resolution passed from 1945 to 1947. Records reveal that there were no town fiestas during earlier times. Fiestas, being Spanish in origin, as a sign of their conquest, were not at all embedded among the people in the municipality. For historical background see William H. Scott, *The Discovery of the Igorots: Spanish Contacts with the Pagans of Northern Luzon* (Reprint, Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1998), and Anavic
and are continuously expanding, reaching out into the mountainous outskirts of the valley and into nearby barangays, even to other municipalities and other provinces, Mt. Province and Ilocos Sur. As I am informed, there are already a few missionaries from Loo being trained and sent to both local and international mission fields.

The Municipality of Buguias rests in the northern part of Benguet Province, approximately 333 kilometers from Manila going north, and 85 kilometers north of Baguio City. It is two to three hours travel by car from Baguio if one takes the Halsema road, the road commonly used by both commuters and vegetable dealers. The municipality ranks as fifth in geographical size in the province of Benguet with its total land area of 21,279 hectares. Buguias is “rugged and mountainous” in topography and, according to the government’s profile, its “basic feature of the central region consists of the Loo Valley, which bisects the municipality from north to south following the Agno River.”

The population growth of the municipality as noted in the 1995 Census of Population and Housing registered at 3.44 %, or 1.08 %, higher than the national growth rate of 2.36 %. The latest recorded census as of 2000 reveals that Loo Valley was the most populated among Buguias municipality’s rural barangays, with a total headcount of 3,613 or around 10.9 % of the total population of the municipality. The barangay is comprised of eight sitios: Loo Proper, Modayan, Lanas, Taba-ao, Pan-ayaoan, Babanga, Pusong and Tugtugyon, each name

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Bagamaspad and Senaida Hamada-Pawid, *A Peoples’ History of Benguet Province* (Baguio City: Baguio Printing & Publishing Company, 1985), 312. Fiestas in Buguias municipality were being held annually and were the center of attraction and excitement of the local people during those years until 1995, the year when Fiesta stopped due to lack of funds. See “Buguias Ecological Solid Waste Management Plan, Municipality of Buguias,” in *Demographic Profile, Buguias, Benguet*, 2002. See also Appendix I.

bearing stories and legends of its beginning. Kankanaey is the vernacular language spoken by the people, though, by the 1950s, they were able to understand the Ilocano language due to the trade and commerce happening between them and the people of the lowlands, and the “gold and pigs trade” in the earlier centuries.

This research will devote a portion regarding the history of the locality, basing it upon oral tradition as well as written accounts. Of course, respondents were carefully chosen. For the local history, I consulted people I might regard as “proper” and “credible” enough to refer me to various documents, and they often referred me to a person “who could tell the story of its beginning.” It would be a small contribution for me if ever I could produce at least a few pages of the locality’s history.

This endeavor deals with Loo as a case study for the development of Protestantism in a Philippine community. The research is also to be considered a methodological test of Protestantism, and as an evaluation of Protestantism in a Filipino context. Reminiscing about the past may lead to an understanding of the church as a whole, the people of the context or even the Cordillerans themselves, and their worldview, which permeates the context. Partly, as this research goes, it deals with cultural and social struggles between the Protestant church and the people of the context who somehow affected directly or indirectly the course of Protestantism’s growth or decline. Nevertheless, it is not the main focus of this study, since this topic requires a more detailed research to be conducted. The Lutheran Church was one of

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6 See Barangay Development Plan, Loo, Buguias, Benguet, 1993-2000. So far, this is the latest I was able to consult from the files of the Municipality.

7 This story which I often overheard among old folks while I was growing in the locality was about the trades that have happened in the earlier times wherein the settlers from the highlands, in their need to practice rituals for their paganic religion, were often in need of pigs and chicken. As I was told, since the earlier settlers have not much skill yet in raising pigs and chicken, they were compelled to exchange gold for pigs among the people in the lowlands who speak Ilocano. Scott substantiates this in The Discovery of the Igorots, 183, mentioning that in the eighteenth century, “the main commerce between the highlands and lowlands was always gold in one direction and livestock and manufactured goods in the other.”
the first denominations to enter Loo, followed quickly by the Church of the Nazarene. While
the Lutherans may have been the earliest, they did not make Loo the center of their work.
Instead, Abatan was strategically chosen. Loo became just one of the outstations of Abatan
until a congregation was finally organized. In contrast, the Church of the Nazarene made Loo
Valley its base center, where the mother church is located.

For some, this research will provide some guidance toward a more effective way of
communicating the Christian gospel. This issue forms one component of this paper’s
conceptual framework. In the Philippines, ethnic groups live with a worldview and
philosophy that consequently hinders the growth toward excellence in cultural aspects such
as literacy, business, politics, and even Christian living. Communicators of the gospel
message need to understand first what disease the society possesses in order to offer the
appropriate cure. When “contextualization” came to prominence, Rodrigo Tano wrote a book
about its importance in the Philippines. Tano believes that an uncontextualized message
hinders the communication of the gospel and, consequently, the effectivity of the message
itself. 8 Did the early evangelical Protestant missionaries in Loo seek to contextualize or to
demolish things that they considered “abominable and diabolic” in symbols and meaning?
Answers to this question give light as to how the Protestant local churches in Loo presented
the gospel and whether they carried through until now these positions related to culture.

I will endeavor to understand how the context or the expected gospel recipients
responded to Protestantism and why and how Protestantism reacted to the culture. The people
in Loo believed in spirits and deities. Christianity’s gospel did not have to struggle to prove
the existence of God. Buguias society in the 1950s when the Christians arrived, was deeply
pagan. As historian Martin Lewis notes regarding the earlier American times in Buguias, the

place was "thoroughly pagan." Yet it is apparent that the Protestants faced difficult issues relating to the locality's worldview and culture. To put it simply, the dawning of Protestantism in Loo took place amid pre-Christian religions, or, namely, animism, to which these religious groups responded rigorously to the extent of sacrificing familial affections.

The context also will be necessarily studied in this research. While Loo can be a representative of the whole Cordillera with its strong belief in animism and shamanism, this research also includes the question as to how the local churches responded to cultural celebrations and rituals. The religious belief systems of animism and Shamanism, as researchers have noted, consider almost every aspect of events, whether bad or good, as somehow related to the movements of the spirits. The immediate responses of people when events, whether tragic or joyful, occur, are to appease the spirits by sacrifices or to thank the spirits by celebrations. Folk religionists believe that various occurrences are instigated through the external interventions of the spirits and so they are either to be accepted as "luck" or "fate." These kinds of ritualistic responses become the most adopted way of solving problems, since the people consider such rituals as "old" and, if old, tested and true. Consequently, they become the norm in the society. Such responses are congenial to Filipinos who are afflicted and suffering because they accept such events fatalistically as a way of life, determined and unchangeable.  

This research may be considered as an adaptation of what historical researches have already accomplished, such as those of William Henry Scott's writings on the Cordillera, but focused on Protestants.

Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

In this historical research, I presumed a process of evolution in the society over time. This research is basically historical, but, partly, it owes something to Peter Berger's writings on the sociology of religion--insights, which, in turn, provide a depth of understanding about the relationship among society, individuals and religion. Berger's *The Heretical Imperative* envisions Christianity and its encounter with other religious thoughts that, in turn, make the Christian message more meaningful. This is apparent during times of Protestant encounter with the cultural norm and sets of rituals in the context it penetrates (see Figure 1: Schematic Diagram). Another notable book of Berger, *The Sacred Canopy*, suggests that worldviews' construction is the consequence of the encounters and experiences of individuals and their society, until this process creates a "nomos," or an "objective reality" that imposes itself upon the society. This dialectic process of evolution in the society happens each day through "externalization, objectivation, and internalization." The externalization process is the physical or mental activity manifested to the society; the objectivation process is what is attained or accomplished by externalization, or the physical or mental activity outpoured; and internalization is individuals' re-appropriation of what was attained in the objectivation process, transforming it to their subjective consciousness. This happens in the personal aspect

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of individuals who shape the society and who are continually being shaped by the society.\textsuperscript{13} Berger discusses how worldview develops in a society, how this worldview shapes the society, and how the individual in the society accumulates and reflects such worldview. It is proper to consider Christian theology as a worldview here (and was considered “new” to where this worldview is represented the first time), since it represents a processed understanding, developed, externalized, objectivized, and internalized until it becomes a comprehensive understanding of humanity’s relation to the world.\textsuperscript{14} The denominations represented in the local area of my study represent subtly different Christian worldviews; this research aims to see similarities of approach to the culture and differences of emphases with regards to personal and social issues.

Max Weber provides similar theses as Berger, that religion and society are intertwined. Religion directs the society, individuals respond to society and society shapes individuals.\textsuperscript{15} From an anthropological point of view, Clifford Geertz, in his \textit{Interpretation of Culture}, likewise arrives at the conclusion that religion reflects society and society reflects religion, and that the worldview reflects society and society reflects the worldview.\textsuperscript{16} The result of the process of the evolution is determined only at the present manifestation of intermingled culture and worldview.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{13}Berger, \textit{The Sacred Canopy}, 5-13.
\item \textsuperscript{14}This is what \textit{Weltanschauung} means, a term literally meaning worldview that have sprung up from the study of humanity, well approached mostly by anthropologists and sociologists or every humanistic studies. See for example Peter Berger, \textit{Invitation to Sociology: A Humanistic Perspective} (Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1963); Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann, \textit{The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge} (Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1966); Clifford Geertz, “The Way We Think Now: Toward an Ethnography of Modern Thought,” in \textit{Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology} ([New York]: Basic Books, 1983), 147-166.
\item \textsuperscript{16}Clifford Geertz, “Religion as a Cultural System,” in \textit{The Interpretation of Culture} ([New York]: Basic Books, 1973), 87-125.
\end{itemize}
Former Society

Dialectic Process: The new worldview participates in the society’s evolution overtime

Evolved Society

Each individual encounters, reacts, interacts, and responds to the new worldview

Christian worldview becomes a part of the social system

Society evolution continues

Encounter with the society and its worldview

Protestantism

FIGURE 1: Schematic Diagram
Statement of the Problem

The central problem is, How did Protestantism begin and develop in Loo, Buguias, Benguet?

From this main problem, the following inquiries follow:

1.) What is the setting?
2.) Who were the first Protestants to come to Loo?
3.) Since its founding, how has Protestantism developed?
4.) How did other Protestant groups begin?
5.) How are these Protestant groups related to the older denominations?
6.) How did the local people respond to Protestantism?
7.) What has been the historic relationship between Protestantism and society in Loo?
8.) How have Protestants become involved in political and social issues?

Significance of the Study

As already alluded to earlier in the pages of this chapter, there are several things I could clearly see as the significance of this endeavor.

First, this thesis is a contribution to the local churches in Loo, Buguias, if not to all the local people. I cannot find any account similar to this endeavor. Since the paper provides an analysis and interpretation of the people’s worldview as well as a description of how the church responded to such worldviews, it adds material for evaluation and reference relevant to future plans of local missions and outreaches. Since animism is still very strong in the farther northern Luzon, this work can supply helpful information for churches that focus on
contexts strong in animistic religion. Moreover, there have been few local studies of Protestantism in the Philippines, and none, so far as I am aware, of Protestantism among Kankanaeys. L. Shelton Woods, *A Broken Mirror: Protestant Fundamentalism in the Philippines* is a case study of a local fundamental Baptist Church in the Ilocos Region; sections in Raul Pertierria, *Religion, Politics and Rationality in a Philippine Community*, and in F. Landa Jocano, *Folk Christianity in the Philippines* also touch on Protestantism. Few other historical studies exist.

Secondly, as I aim to build up a foundational work that would help keep the events in the past history of the Protestant churches in Loo, Buguias, Benguet, this research also opens dialogue among the local leaders of the churches in the context for an evaluation regarding the cultural and socio-economic as well as religious situation of the area, and encourages a deeper awareness of the responsibility of the Church for these aspects.

**Scope, Delimitation, and Limitations of the Study**

This study is limited to the years 1950-2005. The chosen area of study is Loo, Buguias, rightly called the southern Kankanaeys,17 and selected Protestant denominations, in particular those that were currently involved to the March for Jesus Fellowship every last Sunday of the month. These denominations include the Lutheran Church, Church of the Nazarene, Philippine Bethel Church (an independent, indigenous Pentecostal church), Fig Tree Christian Fellowship (Loo Evangelical Holiness Church), Loo Christian Assembly (a local branch of the Assemblies of God denomination), and Free Believers in Christ Fellowship. In this research, I gave much attention to the two earliest denominations that

17 See *Ethnographic Map of the Philippines*, revised, April, 2005.
reached the valley in the 1950s. I apply the term "older" to these two denominations, on the basis that they much earlier than any of the other denominations attending the monthly fellowship. Since the Lutheran and Nazarene churches are older, more attention is paid to these two groups. The study leaves out the Roman Catholic Church (which arrived in the 1960s), the Anglican Church, the Christian Spiritists, Jehovah's Witnesses, the Seventh-Day Adventists and the Southern Baptist Congregation.

In this research though, I delimited the research, focusing only on Lutherans, Nazarenes and other Evangelical and Pentecostal groups who are attending the monthly fellowship. It must be understood that this research does not deny that the other denominations in the area, such as the Anglicans and the Southern Baptists, are not Protestants. But the choosing of these denominations was based upon their joining with the interdenominational gathering. Thus, this study limits itself to this category.

This paper does not try to separate which one is unorthodox Protestants and the orthodox Protestants, but that it has strictly chosen the denominations in the chosen setting that are open to one another. These denominations have been submissively given to the spirit of non-denominationalism. Thus, I delimited my research to the exception of the Anglican Church and the Southern Baptists simply on the basis of their not cooperating with the other denominations in the chosen setting and time constraints.

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**Definition of Terms**

**Protestants and Protestantism**

In the strictest sense of the term, the word Protestant was used to indicate those who follow the teachings and beliefs first initiated by reformers such as Martin Luther (1483-1546) in Germany, and John Calvin (1509-1564) and Ulrich Zwingli (1484-1531) in Switzerland. Therefore, I use the term Protestant as it is widely used generally because of its emphasis on salvation by faith. Protestantism is understood here as the system of this Christian belief and the Protestants are those that embrace it and adhere to the Reformation dogma of salvation by faith.\(^{19}\)

CHAPTER 2
SURVEY OF RELATED LITERATURE AND STUDIES

Available literature derives from three different sources: First are those that were written historically, both general history and ethnohistorical accounts. Second are historical accounts of Protestantism in the Philippines. Third are “primary” sources dealing with the local churches and the context itself.

**Literature Published Abroad**

Diverse secondary sources provide models for this study. Curtis Johnson’s *Islands of Holiness: Rural Religion in Upstate New York, 1790-1860*,\(^{20}\) is, like this thesis, a local study. Johnson examines the religious life of a rural locality in Cortland County, New York from 1790 to 1860, tracing the continuous effect of “New Measures” first introduced by the renown reviver Charles G. Finney, which led to “the most dramatic development” of the county’s religious history when “the corporate church structure of the early nineteenth century was replaced with modern organizational forms.”\(^{21}\) It is an appraisal of Arminianism, and its so-called “triumph.” I find the framework of this book helpful in tracing also how theologies might have affected each denomination in the locality.

Earlier writings, such as Peter Gowing, *Islands Under the Cross*, provides helpful analysis of the work of Protestants in the Philippines since the time of the Americans.\(^{22}\)

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Another historical book by Ellen Watts, *John Pattee of China and the Philippines*,\(^{23}\) tells the story of a Nazarene missionary’s endeavors in the Philippines. Pattee was involved in planting the Church of the Nazarene in Loo. Floyd T. Cunningham’s *Holiness Abroad: Nazarene Missions in Asia* provides relevant data on how the work of the Church of the Nazarene started in the Philippines.\(^{24}\)

Anthropological researches are helpful to give backgrounds about the Cordillerans during the early periods of their existence. An anthropological research by Edward Dozier, *Mountain Arbiters*, is very helpful about the “hill people” of Kalinga. Dozier talked about traceable ancestry, and early cultural lifestyle and its developments. He gives a cultural background for the mountain people.\(^{25}\) Renato Rosaldo, *Ilongot Headhunting*, also provides data and the truth about the Igorots’ social culture in the early twentieth century.\(^{26}\)

*Aspects of Pacific Ethnohistory* by A. R. Tippett provides not only a framework for the research, but also relevant information regarding ethnohistorical problems. Here I was informed of the basic ways to gather data based upon suggested sources such as letters, newspaper controversies, missionary journals, oral tradition, indigenous reporting and local records.

Martin Lewis deals with “Religion in Modern Buguias,” explaining how Christianity (talking about Roman Catholicism and mentioning a few other denominations including the Jehovah’s Witnesses and Seventh Day Adventists) struggled with the long-held belief of the


people. The paganism system, as observed by Lewis in the 1990s, was greatly embedded in
the municipality’s life ways in the 1950s. 27

Literature Published in the Philippines

The following books reviewed are arranged accordingly. They are studies related to
the context, the rituals and the people, and Cordillera culture. Books and journal articles
published in the Philippines are sufficient to describe the cultural background of the
Cordilleras.

With regards to the Filipino values, norms and philosophies, Leonardo Mercado’s
Elements of Filipino Philosophy carefully analyzes what the Filipino is like, as an individual,
as a thinker, and as a social being. 28 F. L. Jocano’s Filipino Value System: A Cultural
Definition describes and defines behavioral traits, like, for example, “hiya (painful feeling for
having done something wrong; politeness, embarrassment; shame; humiliation).” This is
generally true of Filipinos. 29 Jocano’s Filipino Worldview is based upon the rural Filipinos
where there are rich traditional beliefs that affect the different dimensions of Filipino lives. 30
Slum as a Way of Life, another book written by the same author in the 1970s and republished
in 2002, is a study about Filipino behavior in an urban environment. Jocano’s insights about
the urban people interestingly describe the Filipinos’ hopeless state that leads them to passive
resignation, and, to worse, fatalism. The hopeless Filipino poor, “for lack of better

28 Mercado, Elements of Filipino Philosophy, revised edition (Tacloban City: Divine Word U.
29 Jocano, Filipino Value System: A Cultural Definition (Metro Manila: PUNLAD Research House, 1997),
71.
30 Jocano, Filipino Worldview: Ethnography of Local Knowledge (Metro Manila: PUNLAD Research
House, 2001).
alternatives," have chosen to live in the slum and have come to welcome it as their fate. Jocano, however, misrepresented the supreme god of the Ifugaos in his *Philippine Prehistory*. Mariano Dumian, an Igorot author, wrote *The Ifugao World*, discussing the culture and people of the Ifugao ethnic group. Filipinos might vary differently in the way they respond to situations when one studies other situations like that of those who are in the rural areas. "Outsider" anthropologists, though, sometimes falter in some specific Igorot cultural aspects.

Various works provide basic information and analysis of the religious practices, myths and worldview of the Cordillera context. In 1781 Francisco Antolin observed that the Cordilleran people were very superstitious and were bound by fear of malevolent spirits. They were more concerned with what might happen to them and what might benefit them by appeasing the spirits that they believe require pigs and sacrifices.

In 1905, Albert Jenks discussed how the accumulated myths and tales among the related provinces of Igorots came to being. Though Jenks did not provide adequate data for the particular context of my study, these myths and tales were commonly shared among the Igorots with a few revisions adaptable to the limited imagination of the people of the barangay. (These myths and tales came to be especially alive during wakes and campfire gatherings in the earlier times in Loo--until Christianity and electricity came to the place.) Jenks noted how the people considered blessings all that the gods "gave the earth with all its

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characteristics, the water in its various manifestations, the people, all animals, and all vegetation." 34

In the 1960s E. Maganon, an anthropologist, researched the Kalinga ethnic group. Maganon’s work provides an interesting dialogue between theology and culture, even though it is basically an anthropological research. Kalinga religious rituals and sacrifices are not very different in their aim as compared to other Igorots. 35

Wasing Sacla’s *Treasury of Beliefs and Home Rituals of Benguet*, published in 1987, gives a complete account of the chants and ritual procedures done in the animistic ceremonies. Sacla gave an accurate translation of religious beliefs, especially the words being said, and names of the spirits invoked during the performances of ceremonies and rituals. His record of such rituals portray the remaining traditional belief of the pagans. The very animistic Cordillera tribes in the Northern part of the Philippines observe many rituals and sacrifices both in troubles and successes. They could never forget the interventions of what they call “the others” or “adi ka-ila” (the unseen ones). 36 The words chanted, as observed by Sacla, were actually verbal tales and myths, prevalent to paganism in Cordillera. 37

Jules De Raedt, in his 1989 study of Kalinga sacrifice, gives a more vivid observation as to how ceremonies were performed by the shaman priests. He observes that during the priests’ or priestesses’ trance they are able to transmit the words of the spirits. This happened

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37 Wilson, *Tales from the Mt. Province*, 5-6.
during healing rituals where the concerned persons or family are appeasing the spirits of their dead ancestors who caused the illness. Thus they predict whether the spirit/s is leaving or not: “That is right. We demons also...[feel bad thinking about your plight]...” “Let us leave, for we should send [others] yet.” If this would be the case, more and more pigs would be butchered. Though De Raedt generalized this to Cordilleran paganic rituals, it must be noted that in different ethnic groups, styles varied but substantially the same was true when the shamans tried to appease the malevolent spirits by pleading to them as they spoke to the person in the trance. 38

William Henry Scott published several books that give ethnic, social and religious background to the context. He wrote about the six different ethno-linguistic Cordillera groups, namely, Apayao, Bontoc, Benguet (this includes southern Kankanaey, Ibaloi and Kalanguya ethnic groups), Ifugao, and Kalinga. His book, *On the Cordillera*, provides a deeper understanding of the region’s rich culture, practices, and rituals of the context. In the pagan rituals, the descriptions and words uttered are relevant to trace why such a belief in the Cordillera context came to pass. Just as Peter Berger claims that “society produces man and man produces society,” 39 Scott’s book on the Cordilleras provides details relevant to the study, analysis and interpretation of Loo society and culture. 40

In expectation that Igorots are to call the Supreme Kabunian to heal their disease and to tell the spirits to cure it, the shaman priest (depending upon how serious the disease or problem is) deal directly with the malevolent spirit with gifts and sacrifices (mainly chicken or pigs, but possibly carabaos, depending upon the seriousness of the disease and how the

spirits would ask for) in order to appease it. The priests (manbunong or mansip-ok) even talk to the spirits in trances and would say that their ancestor wants this or that.⁴¹ One style of prayer, for example, recorded by Scott, states:

You relatives of this person who died long ago... accept this pig, which we have killed to satisfy you for making this person sick. Have mercy on him, for he alone is able to care for his family, and what is your purpose for making him sick, since you, his relatives, have died? Therefore, I pray you to please stop holding his spirit so that he may recover by tomorrow. Thou, most gracious Kabunian, I pray thee have mercy on this person, for thou art the greatest person we know on earth who is able to cure sickness.⁴²

Raul Pertierra conducted a careful study in a municipality in northern Luzon, in which he found that it was difficult to disassociate the idea of deities and spirits from their religious and economic system.⁴³

With regards to the culture and the way the Igorot people perceive their ancestral habitation, Julio F. Silverio’s collections in Their Customs and Beliefs: Some Insights on a People Who Live as though in a Garden of Eden, provides facts on Cordilleran culture.⁴⁴

The UPCB (University of the Philippines, Cordillera-Baguio) researchers appointed a “Local History Committee” in 1977, hoping to construct a history fitted a comprehensive for Philippine History. It was purposely written for a history of Benguet that was never published. The book began with the early life ways and thought ways of the people of Benguet in the periods of the nationwide conquests – the Spanish, American and Japanese periods – and finally came to the contemporary period.

One very interesting research funded by the government officials of Buguias in their desire to preserve the municipality’s identity through a written historical account is A

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⁴¹ See Scott, On the Cordillera, 111; Jenks, Bontoc Igorot, 200; Magannon, Religion in a Kalinga Village.
⁴² Scott, On the Cordillera, 132.
Peoples’ History of Benguet. Written in 1985, the researchers depended much on oral traditions from informants, most of whom now are dead, because there were few written sources. This was due to illiteracy.

Valentino T. Sitoy, A History of Christianity in the Philippines, vol. 1: The Initial Encounter traces the development of Christianity in the Philippines and describes how the Christian West, especially during the Spanish regime, interacted with the people of the country.45 Sitoy also noted the fundamental worldview of Filipinos during the pre-Spanish era, and Filipinos’ strong belief in supernatural beings and the spirit world.

Visiting the Benguet Provincial Capitol Library helped me greatly. I scanned some of the published materials regarding Cordillera as a whole, the province of Benguet and the municipality of Buguias in which Barangay Loo is located. Pedro Bestre’s “Brief History of Buguias,” written in 1973, made its appearance in A People’s History of Benguet (mentioned above) and the yearly Buguias Town Fiesta Souvenir Program is very helpful in providing the earlier politico-economic and social stages of the municipality. I interviewed the author himself, and gained more insights and ideas necessary for this research. He referred me to some other respondents helpful for this project.

Another brief account written by Serafino Gayudan was published in the 1994 Buguias Town Fiesta Souvenir and gives different historical data, especially with regard to the legendary name of the town. Gayudan’s view might be influenced by Martin Ballasio, a writer whose article, “Buguias and its People,” appeared in one of the compiled accounts under the Buguias municipality. Ballasio consulted scholarly accounts, including Martin Lewis’ Wagering the Land.

Studies Conducted Abroad

Myung Soo Park, "Roots of the Korea Evangelical Holiness Church with Special Reference to the Doctrine of Holiness" (M.S.T. thesis, Boston U. School of Theology, 1992), traces the historical and theological roots of the Korea Evangelical Holiness Church that became missional and reached the Philippines. Soon, the pioneers named the mission in the Philippines the Philippine Evangelical Holiness Church, which, at present, has a local outreach in Loo. The thesis gives a rich background to the Korea Evangelical Holiness Church.

Robert Bickert, "Perception and Response to Receptivity: The History and Growth of the Wesleyan Church in the Philippines, 1932-1994," studies the ministry of the Wesleyan Church and the Filipino receptivity and response to the gospel. Bickert's research dealt mostly with Ilocanos who were more receptive to the gospel.46

Studies Conducted in the Philippines

There are several studies conducted in the Philippines that relate directly to Philippine Protestantism and the cultural background and worldviews of the Cordillerans.

Much has been written about Baptists and these provides models and examples for me to base my study. A thesis by Manuel A. Ojoylan, "A Historical Study of the Cotabato Association of Southern Baptist Churches from 1954 to 1970" studies one of the oldest association of Southern Baptist Churches in Mindanao. It aims to make a recorded account of the achievements and progress of the associations.47 A more comprehensive study is that of

Jesse Earl Posey, Jr., “A Historical Study of Baptist Missions in the Philippines, 1900-1967.” Posey studied the rise and development of the work of the six Baptist mission groups actively engaged in a redemptive endeavor in the Philippines and has traced these developments until the 1960s. It tells the religious scene in the country prior to the Baptist’s coming: animism, Mohammedanism and Roman Catholicism. It also tells the story of Protestantism’s difficulties in facing doctrinal controversies. It recorded the rapid expansion of Baptists following WWII. Another thesis by Carlos M. Pasaporte, Jr.’s “The Historical Development of Good Samaritan Baptist Church” explores the historical development of a local congregation from its formation beginning in 1986 to 1998. He used four main headings as his framework: Conception, Incubation, Hatching, and Growth, to trace such historical development.

Floyd T. Cunningham, a historian, helps and encourages beginners on historical endeavors with his reflection, “Telling the Story of the Church of the Nazarene: A Wesleyan Reflection on Church History.” It is both an appraisal and a challenge to give attention to the importance and value of history for the Church of the Nazarene, since it is deeply rooted in even outlining the historical account that pertains to salvation in Christ Jesus. Another work relevant for this study is the same author’s “Diversities Within Post-war Philippine Protestantism.” This account studies how Protestant denominations developed during the post-war era in the Philippines and how the unity attained by diverse denominations before the war yielded to disunity after the war. The older denominations’ resentments toward the younger denominations were vividly studied.

With regards to the Cordillera culture and its concept of a supreme deity, Roy Barton’s early (1911) article noted 1,500 names deities and spirits of various ranks that are dwelling in trees, stones, mountains, and rivers aside from the dead ancestors of the people. Barton provided details of deities and their involvement in human society and events in the society. Barton showed how much deities affected the social and economic motivations of the people. In his article on “Igorots Today,” written in the 1940s, Barton reminisces as to how the Igorot culture had developed.51 Bernardo D. Padang, “A Case Study of the Political Culture Among the Bontoc Tribe,” studies the political culture of the Kankanays and how the respected elders of the community solve criminal cases through their “Dap-ay” or tong-tong (meeting for problem solving).52

There is a case study by Harold Cole of one particular Cordillera context in Benguet that depicts the spiritism worldview and discusses how other Christians, particularly the Assemblies of God, responded to such. It is about a Pentecostal pastor who established a rehabilitation center for demonized individuals, those who were suspected to be of no medical or psychological defect, yet were manifesting problems that pertained to illnesses. Cole did not discuss the issue of worldview, but commented on such kinds of contextualized ministries. Cole gives an idea as to what understanding or worldview the context harbors.53

An article related to the issue of spiritism or power of spirits is a historical account about an Assemblies of God missionary to the Igorots, particularly the Kankanaey ethnic group. Julie Ma conducted a study of healing ministries as one of the means used to approach

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the people. The Kankanacay area as implicitly expressed in this historical account and Ma gave an idea as to how spiritism is dominant in this context.  

Tereso Casino finds Cordillera rituals and the Igorots' religious beliefs similar to other ethnic religious systems in the Philippines in relation to their belief in the spirits. Filipinos as a whole are originally animistic in their concept and beliefs as proven by traditional ceremonies, carved images and rituals. Their belief in the spirit world or "the others that are unseen" is a belief of any animist. Casino studies as well how the Christian concept of God directs the Cordillerans to discover their identity as a people. It is implied in Casino's study the continuous struggle of Cordillera Igorots for identity, and Casino offers the Christian concept of God.  

Michael W. Andress's "An Experience with Demon Possession: A Case Study," is a vivid case, an illustration of confronted issues when "evil spirits" become manifest, a belief that is likewise very strong in the Cordillera context. Alfredo Suare's article in same issue of the Philippine Journal of Religious Studies discusses the concept of belief in evil and suffering as caused by malevolent spirits. A study in Buguias in particular is Martin Lewis's paper, "Mansida in Buguias." It provides data regarding rituals (one example regards healing) that are conducted to appease the malevolent spirits that were believed to have caused the diseases.  

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58 Martin L. Lewis, "Mansida in Buguias," a Paper presented to the University of California, 1987 (a copy available at St. Andrew's Theological Seminary Library, Quezon City), 121.
A socio-economic study conducted by the municipal government in 1983 provides demographic data relevant for the study. In fact, this study recognized Barangay Loo as the "educational center of the municipality." \(^{59}\)

Delbert Price as well gives an account of how other ethnicities such as the Ikalahan, a tribe among the Ibalois, practice their religion. \(^{60}\) Later writings about the Igorot myths and beliefs are written by Florentino Hornedo. \(^{61}\)

An essay by Joy Christine Bacwaden noted how religion plays a major part among the Igorot people. "It [religion] penetrates every aspect of Igorot life," she wrote. She focused on how a cultural figure, Lumawig, had affected such religion. \(^{62}\)

I did not find other theses related to the subject of this research after visiting the libraries of the Cordillera Universities, including U.P. Baguio, Saint Louis University, and Cordillera College (Formerly Baguio Colleges Foundation).

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CHAPTER 3
RESEARCH DESIGN

Historical research relies on qualitative data. Basically, this research is historical, though limited to an ethnic group. This is then properly called ethnohistory, a research designed to study a chosen ethnicity with a purpose also of studying the culture therewith. Alan Tippet says that ethnohistory, the methodology adapted for this current study, “is a technique for considering cultural data spatially and sequentially.” As William N. Fenton understood it, ethnohistory “is a way of getting at certain problems in culture history.”

This study will use approaches common to ethnohistorical research, using as a tool the description and interpretation of a cultural group over time while interfacing with the larger culture. But “ethnohistory is neither a discipline in itself nor an inter-disciplinary field. It is neither an anthropological view of history, nor an historical view of anthropology.”

Being a beginner to qualitative research, I have consulted a few books related to historical approaches helpful to this study. The very aim of this paper is to present an objective view of Protestantism among the rural people, and thus the collection of all possible sources, written and oral, is necessary. Nevertheless, sources must be verified as to which is factual and which is hearsay before a historian can put them into papers. This is, as John De Witt argues, making church history a science by having “the single law that binds together” the massive and “uncounted cause and condition” that leads to a very objective

65 Tippet, Aspects of Pacific Ethnohistory, 1.
approach to history. This in turn, allows church historians to consciously objectify and ascertain data.  

As historians surely would do research, I have decided upon a procedure to gather my data. Books in particular that have been helpful to me are like that of Marcelino A. Foronada, Jr., *Kasaysayan: Studies on Local and Oral History*. Foronda defines that oral history is basically "the tape-recording of reminiscences" wherein the interviewees "speak from firsthand knowledge," wherein "pre-planned interview" questions equips the researcher. The selection of narrators or interviewees should be based upon their familiarity with the subject of research. Foronda added basic guidelines for the researcher to follow. 

Another helpful material is F. N. McCoy, *Researching and Writing in History: A Practical Handbook for Students*. This book helps a beginner of history writing to be acquainted with historical writings and data gathering procedures, in a step-by-step basis. McCoy is here emphatic about the historian's commitment to primary sources when it comes to scholarly research. It is, indeed, very helpful to a student due to its step-by-step procedures. The book proposes that within twelve weeks one is able to write a history.

This research can be noted in its broad term as "church history," dealing with a particular area of study chosen. To clearly state it then, this research is not historical theology, as now being defined, to delimit the vastness of this field of study, but a local "church history".

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67 (Manila: De La Salle University Press, 1991), 27-36. See also the article by the same author.

68 (Berkeley: U. of California Press, 1974), 1-44.

69 Bradley and Muller, *Church History: An Introduction to Research, Reference Works, and Methods*, 4-11.
Data-gathering Procedure

The perusal of written documents written about the context, and about the Protestants in Loo Valley was conducted. The necessary primary source written materials that are needed for research like this are not likely to be expected from such a locality, since, as far as I am informed about the locality, no scholarly work has been done yet regarding the questions of the beginning of Protestantism among the chosen ethnic group. There are, though not quite definite about Loo, few books written about the municipality and fewer about the local culture. In this regard, I am very dependent upon the few written accounts, and oral interviews with chosen narrators. Written church records including newsletters and sermon outlines (which I perceive as necessary for knowing what was preached to the people in those particular years, especially during their beginnings, transition periods and struggles, and during anniversaries or with their yearly emphasis), and recorded events the local churches. Other helpful materials such as photographs provided by church members and the Loo Barangay Profile helped substantiate my data.

The research was aided by interviews and dialogues among the church members. These sources will supplement and confirm oral accounts. That is, when knowledge of an event comes only through interviews and conversations, the source of the data will be corroborated through “triangulation.”\footnote{Triangulation as a way of gathering and verifying data is explained by Bruce L. Berg, \textit{Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences}, third edition (Needham Heights, MA: Allyn and Bacon, 1998), 4-5.} Insofar as possible the data is based primarily on written records rather than oral tradition. The Benguet Provincial Capitol Library located in La Trinidad, Benguet provides helpful materials for this research. The local denomination centers, such as that of the Free Believers Fellowship located in Rimando Road, Baguio City, keeps records that were very helpful to my data gathering. The Assemblies of God church
District Center and their seminary, Asia-Pacific Theological Seminary, are located as well in Baguio, another accessible location.

The manner of interviews was not very interrogative, but purposely aimed at dialogue, wherein the Christians would be afforded proper respect for what they believe. The questions are basically in relation to the statements of the problem and sub-problems. The interviews were friendly, despite the goal that their responses would be analytical. Adapting anthropological participant-observer style, I spent much time with the Protestants in their own churches and homes. In this context, this was an appropriate approach to ethnohistorical research.71

Since I am very familiar with the language of these people, communication was not a hindrance.

After gathering information from the written sources and respondents, I outlined the whole story, comparing and contrasting each group, and discussing, analyzing and interpreting the events.

71 For participant observation method, see for example Hans Spiegel, “Case Studies and Participative Research,” in Introduction to Qualitative Research Methods (Manila: De La Salle U. Research Center, 1985); Clifford Geertz, “Religion as a Cultural System,” in The Interpretation of Culture; F. Landa Jocano, Slum as a Way of Life (reprint, Quezon City: PUNLAD Research House, 2002).
This chapter presents, analyzes and interprets the data gathered. The local churches presented here are arranged in chronological order, depending upon the time when the local church began. The chronology is based upon the time when the denomination began its outreach in Loo itself and not strictly when leaders officially organized the local church. Seeing that the Church of the Nazarene is properly the earliest denomination to reach barangay Loo and make the valley as its center, I will present it here as the first denomination, to be followed by the Lutheran Church. The Christ Lutheran Church and the Church of the Nazarene are categorized under the older denominations since they started in the 1950s; and then the rest are categorized as younger denominations, since they started from the 1980s to the 2000s. Prefaced to this data is a brief historical sketch of the setting, the Loo Valley.

THE SETTING: A BRIEF HISTORY OF LOO VALLEY

THE PLACE

The Fact Book Philippines, dated 1994, describes the Cordillera as a region “located in Northern Luzon, bounded by Ilocos on the west and by Cagayan Valley on the east and northeast. High and massive mountains with peaks ranging from 400 to over 2,900 meters
above sea level are scattered throughout the entire length and breadth of the land-locked region."

There are only two valleys in the province of Benguet. One is the famous salad bowl of Benguet, where strawberry crops are common, La Trinidad Valley, and the other one is Loo Valley. Loo Valley is claimed to have derived its name from the word “al-o,” a Kankanaeay native term for pestle (a wooden tool that pounds or grinds). A traditional story says that in the early twentieth century, American soldiers were conducting a survey of the town. Arriving at the area, they saw a native woman pounding rice and asked her the name of the place. Illiterate, as she did not understand English, she thought they were asking what she is holding; so she answered “al-o.” The word being hard to pronounce, the American changed it to Loo to make it easier and pleasing to hear, and listed it as the name of the place,

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72 Efren M. Yambot, ed., *Fact Book Philippines*, vol. 1 (Quezon City: Active Research Center, 1994), 17. See map attached in Appendix I.
which stands to this present time.\textsuperscript{73} The Loo Valley barangay is located at the very heart of Buguias Municipality. Buguias Municipality was established during the American occupation after the take over from Spanish colonization. Buguias was one of the district municipalities that was established under Act No. 48 on November 22, 1900. The imposition of this Act resulted in the dividing of Benguet into nineteen towns, including Loo as a distinct municipality from Buguias. But later, during that same year, by virtue of an Executive Order issued by the Governor General, Loo merged with Buguias as one town. It was only during the post-war period, on June 25, 1963, when Buguias was recognized as a regular municipality with Executive Order no. 42.\textsuperscript{74}

The Valley is on the foot of the mountain ranges that sets the boundary of Benguet and Mountain Provinces. On the northern side of the valley are the mountains covering from sight Mt. Data. The Agno River serves as a division to the sitios of the barangay. The main trails usable during the earlier decades of the twentieth century were the Baguio-Bontoc, Cervantes-Mankayan-Loo, and Manhoyohoy-Loo trails. Transportation was never easy, for the people traveled either by hiking or on horseback. Though there were trails connecting the villages and municipalities in the Cordillera even during the Spanish regime, it was only during the time of the Americans that the trails were improved into roads. The construction of Halsema highway, from La Trinidad to Bontoc and the construction of the road that attached Ilocos Sur and Benguet and Mountain Provinces made trade and commerce easy.\textsuperscript{75}

\textsuperscript{73} Severino Manuel G. Lumiqued, "Electoral Participation Among the People in Loo, Buguias, Benguet" (bachelor's thesis, Saint Louis University, 1992), 18.

\textsuperscript{74} During this time, Benguet was a part of the Mountain Province. It was only on August 18, 1908 when it became a sub-province. Later, Benguet was separated as another province, together with the other sub-provinces and making the new Mountain Province as another province, covering mostly the northwestern part of the Cordillera. See Barangay Profile of Loo; Municipality Profile of Buguias, 11, 15.

\textsuperscript{75} Gold and lumber in Benget has been a known resource of the area since the time of the Spanish regime. See Scott, The Discovery of the Igorots, 107, 180-184; Anavic Bagamaspad and Zenaida Hamada-Pawid, A
The Halsema Road just opened in the years between 1927 and 1930 due to the effort of the Americans. In the 1950s, the valley still could hardly be reached by business traders and government officials due to the rocky roads and inaccessibility of the place. The Halsema Highway, a 180 km road that traverses the Cordillera mountain range, is considered a “vital economic and strategic lifeline to the intensively farmed agricultural mountainous regions of northern Luzon,” particularly Buguias municipality. During the strong 7.8 magnitude earthquake in 1990, followed by a succession of typhoons and rainstorms, the highway suffered landslides and washouts that consequently harmed the economic condition of the mountain people. “The Philippines Government sought international aid to rehabilitate this vital link following the devastation, and feasibility and design studies commenced in late 1996.”76 The Halsema Road now makes the barangay accessible to all types of vehicles. Until recently it took six to seven hours to travel from Baguio to Abatan. But now that the road is cemented and widened, commuters travel the distance within two to three hours.

THE PEOPLE

Igorot is a name given to the people who live in the Cordillera region. The Igorots compose a broad collection of ethnic groups, similar to Bicolanos or Visayans. Igorot is a name that “encompasses several indigenous groups, including the Ibaloi and Kankanaey of

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76 Municipality Profile of Buguias, 13; Valdez Nagayos and Honorio Payoen, How Loo Valley Looked About 51-52 Years Ago and How it Looks Now (Manuscript submitted to the late Principal of the Loo Elementary School, Valentine Lumiqued. The original manuscript is available at the keeping of Atty. Severino Lumiqued Jr., one of the principal’s grand children. I made a personal transcription of this copy. The paper was submitted to the late Severino Lumiqued Sr., then principal of Loo Elementary School. The original copy contains corrections with the approval of the authors. Their signatures are apparent in the manuscript, signifying their consent to the paper’s correction. The original paper, typed-written, were submitted and can be dated in 1976-77. See also Hart J.; Hearn G.; Chant C., “Engineering on the Precipice: Mountain road rehabilitation in the Philippines,” The Quarterly Journal of Engineering Geology and Hydrogeology, Vol. 35, Number 3 (2002): 223-231.
Benguet; the Ifugao; the Bontoc of Mountain Province; and the Kalinga and Isneg of Kalinga-Apayao. Their primary source of income is agriculture.\(^7^7\) The notion that Igorots are still living in very remote places on the mountains and in caves is false.\(^7^8\) They live in big houses and are active in politics and society, and business. Every person who is born in the highlands and who can trace his or her ancestry in the highlands is considered an Igorot. People living in other places, as long as they trace their ancestry to the highland people, cannot lose their identity as Igorots, no matter what language they use. Language is not the determinant of being an Igorot, but it runs in the blood, or ancestry.\(^7^9\)

The Kankanaey tribe, compared to other tribes in the Cordillera, is the largest in population. According to the latest statistical record, the Kankanaey tribe is counted to be 474,254 in number, compared to the Ibaloy tribe, which numbers 220,889 number. The Kankanaey tribe is the second largest tribe in the country (the Subanen tribe being the first, with 858,970 people).

The Filipino people in general have always been a deeply religious people, even prior to the Spanish occupation in 1565. As late as 1957, Joseph Regan observed that Filipinos were strongly animists in form and practice.\(^8^0\) The northern Luzon people in particular were ancestral worshippers. They venerate countless ancestral spirits called anitos. This may reflect a Chinese influence. Anitos are considered intermediary beings, either to be appeased

\(^7^7\) Yambot, ed., *Fact Book Philippines*, 17-20.
\(^7^8\) Literary works of Carlos Bulosan, for example, have that tried to defend this gross misrepresented Igorots as “barbaric,” “savage,” “uncivilized people.” See Joel Slotkin, “Igorots and Indians: Racial Hierarchies and Conceptions of the Savage in Carlos Bulosan’s Fiction of the Philippines,” *American Literature* 71.4 (2000): 843-866; Luisa A. Carpio, “The Igorot as Other: Four Discourses from the Colonial Period” *Philippine Studies* 42 (1994): 194-216.
\(^7^9\) See www.igorot.com.
or to be summoned to help in serious matters such as conflicts and guidance.\textsuperscript{81} The animistic system of morality to the Cordillerans was mainly materialistic in nature. The one aim in life was to become rich and to remain rich, which basically implies that being rich is being pleasing to the spirits. In order to maintain this favor one continually butchers pigs to be offered both to the anitos, and for the people to have a taste of one’s riches. This is where the idea of bak-nang or kadang-yan comes from. Deeds are judged as pleasing or hurting the spirits. Fear was the motivating force underlying all beliefs and practices. Fear was the strongest psychological means to excite a person to do butchering after butchering, as the shaman priest requires. The worship of pagan gods characterized the spiritual inclination of the people in Cordillera, which is as well true to the people of barangay Loo, and made them susceptible to Christianity.\textsuperscript{82}

The people in Buguias as a whole are a mixture of different tribes, but are mostly of Kankanaey ethnicity. The migrations and trades during the past centuries, which can be dated as early as the thirteenth century, made possible the intermarriage of the Kankanaeys with the inhabitants from neighboring places such as Cervantes and with the inhabitants of the northwestern part of the Cordilleras. Trading boosted the livelihood of the people and resulted in the improvement of living conditions. Cultural exchange was made apparent in the manner of clothing, though this was not obvious until the arrival of the foreign invaders.


\textsuperscript{82} Social stratification in the village is based upon the possessions acquired by the person, age and spiritual stature. A kadang-yan is the richest in the society. He (for women are categorized according to how they are related to the kadang-yan, such as asawan di kadang-yan [a wife of the wealthy man], anak di kaangyan [daughter of the wealthy man]) is usually the oldest and the wisest of the group and the acknowledged leader. Baknang is simply a term for "wealthy," and could be used to describe the kadang-yan. Amam-a are the elders of the village. Mambunong are the "seers" and shaman priests. Sometimes, these seers are considered babaknang, though their main function is to mediate between the kadagyan, babaknang, the village people and the spirits by virtue of their rituals and ceremonies. See Bagamaspad and Pawid, \textit{A Peoples' History of Benguet Province}, 110-115; Jenks, \textit{The Bontoc Igorot}; Harold R. Blatt, \textit{Christian Focus on the Philippines} (Valley Forge, Penn.: American Baptist Foreign Mission Society, 1963), 39; Sacla, \textit{Traditional Beliefs and Practices}. 
Relative prosperity brought with it population growth, a trend that steadily continued until the sixteenth century when an epidemic of chickenpox (*bulutong*) and cholera (*kuleda*) inflicted upon the population a decline and caused a significant migration to other places, including Mankayan, Bakun, Kibungan, Itogon, Ifugao, and other areas far from the municipality. This migration caused a great loss of property and wealth for the original inhabitants of Buguias Municipality. Those who remained did so because of local “seers” guidance. These maintained their claims of land ownership. The migration caused a noticeable problem to many families today who are trying to trace their genealogical records during their annual family reunions. Most of the families who have had problems because of this genealogical breach always refer back to this vast migration of their ancestors. Consequently, though they may have wished to trace back from the very beginning their ancestral relatives, especially for the purpose of ancestral land claims, they rarely can give clear written accounts to substantiate their claims. Mostly, they have fully depended upon the oral stories of their older relatives who might have known the stories. This problem of having no written accounts, though, does not affect much the people and families’ pursuance of establishing blood relationships. Annual celebrations and gatherings of family relatives, called “clan reunions,” are intertwined with political and economic matters.

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83 These “seers” are the shaman priests who were consulted whether they will depart from the place. The people, or basically the family, will bring a chicken or a pig to be butchered. Its internal organs will be studied and interpreted, especially the *pedis* (appendix) or *a-ney* (liver, for the pig). When the *pedis* or *a-ney* is hidden, it is a good omen. When it is not, it suggests danger. The seer will then say his decision. This story was related by Pio Toyaoan during my interview in November 26, 2005. The usage of chicken and pig is not limited to this ritual and decision-making alone. Chicken or pig, and other chosen animals are used widely in different kind of rituals and ceremonies, such a curing illnesses and sorceries. For a comprehensive and related study on such rituals, see Bagamaspad and Pawid, *A Peoples’ History of Benguet Province*, 89-91; Sacla, *Traditional Beliefs and Practices*; Lewis, “Mansida in Buguias.” A similar ritual performed by Kalinga Igorots is found in De Raedt, *Kalinga Sacrifice*, 121-124; Toh Goda, *Cordillera: Diversity in Culture Change* (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 2002), 110-132.

84 Interview with Pio Toyaoan, November 26, 2005; *Municipality Profile of Buguias*, 11-12.
THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF LOO VALLEY

The Pagit family is considered as the first settlers in Loo. The settlers planted *camote* or sweet potatoes as the main source of their food. As early as 1896, a man named Buya and his clan, were in Loo. The Loo Settlement Farm School site that was developed in the American era first by actually owned by the Toyaoan family. When colds, malaria and, finally, chicken pox struck Buguias many of the people migrated.

The people of Loo made improvements to their ancestral lands. The peoples’ houses mushroomed on the hillsides, though many houses were found in the Valley. The houses were very low, it is believed, because of the cool climate. A man of average height could not stand straight inside the houses. The Valley was barren, with tall grasses, shrubs and thorny plants. Wild animals, such as pigs and deer roamed around the Valley. Men were lazy and mostly gamblers, wearing G-strings going to Abatan, the meeting place of gamblers from different places around. Regular wage earners were the women. They could be seen in camote patches working daily planting camotes, and raising domesticated animals such as chickens and pigs. People were “thoroughly pagan.” The place was very chilly, so visitors who happened to be in the place when thick frost fell in December and January called Loo Valley the land of the frost (in the common language, they say, “be-ey di an-dap”). Thick frost usually attacked plants with thin leaves such as camotes. In addition to camotes, the people planted gabbies, mellits, dwarf corn, patani, and small native potatoes. The Philippine Constabulary Detachment was assigned in the northern part of the valley because the natives

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85 Old folks do not have family names. It was only during the American period when the government required family names. The younger generations during this period simply adapted the first names of their great grandfather to name their families. Thus, Buya is Toyaoan’s (the great grandfather of Pio Toyaoan) ancestor.
in the place were victims of robbers and stealers from far places. Such was the group of Samiklay, a famous bandit-warrior who was shot dead in Atok, Benguet.⁸⁶

Samiklay, according to the tale of those who are familiar with the story, was a known savage thief who led a group of men. They would often attack small villages, kidnap women, and gather goods and livestock. People who lived in places without protection and strong men were prone to the attacks of Samiklay’s gang. Thus, many of them migrated to other places as far as Bakun, Benguet and to the lowlands. This particular migration was never recorded by historical accounts but it is often being told during reunions of families who trace the genealogies of their families. Most family reunions refer to the time of the “boka” migration. (Whenever they use the term “boka” [disturb or create chaos in kan-kanaey] they are referring to the time of Samiklay.) It means, Samiklay disturbed the people and caused great fear. Samiklay was shot dead by a night guard in Atok, Benguet when he tried to break in to Governor Galvez’s house.⁸⁷

In the mid-1920s, however, people in Loo started to go to school, which was established under Juan Gearland’s supervision. The arrival of Mr. Valentine Lumiqued in 1925 at Loo Valley marked another turn of events. He found the old dilapidated, small school–building divided into three classrooms and a teacher’s quarters that was constructed similar to the natives’ houses. Pupils wore G-strings going to school because they did not have clothing. The school began to introduce basic scientific farming. A nursery or seed bed was constructed by the pupils in which fruit tree seeds were sown. Coffee seeds, introduced

⁸⁷ Interview with Pio Toyaoan, who was a resident of Loo during those times (1918-present). See also Nagayos and Payoen, How Loo Valley Looked About 51-52 Years Ago and How it Looks Now. See also Martin Lewis, Wagering the Land (U. of California Press, 1992): 213-229; Lewis, “Mansida in Buguias,” a paper presented to the University of California, 1987 (a copy available at St. Andrew’s Theological Seminary Library, Quezon City).
first by the Spanish soldiers during their occupation, were also tried on the seed beds and were distributed to the people of other nearby barangays who wanted to plant the same. Rice planting was also introduced. Though Mr. Butasan, an immigrant from Banao, Bauko, Mt. Province tried to plant rice in the area, it did not thrive. Mr. Awakan also tried in Lagan but it once again failed. Only when Mr. Lumiqued, a graduate of elementary agriculture, conducted rice culture experimentation at the Loo Settlement Farm School, did rice planting begin to thrive. The immediate result of the experiment made many people who came to visit the school’s rice paddies remark, “Ay kimbao mabalin met iman ay ma-is-ek de pagey isnan Dekkan ay nay. Sinang-bo di a-anac ay escuela!” (Goodness, I never thought that rice can thrive here at Dekkan [literally meaning “valley”]). This luck must have been brought to us by our children who are studying!). The interest in planting rice began and, finally, the people of Buguias started to raise the crop.

Being “be-ey di an-dap” (a place of frost), the people’s greatest problem was clothing. Toyaoan remembered that before 1930 there were only G-strings, without shirts and other coverings. It was perhaps only in the 1950s when complete clothing came, through foreign aid. “It was perhaps the reason that I didn’t grow well,” Toyaoan said. The cold was perhaps the greatest natural enemy that prevented the Spanish from settling in the up-north during their earliest invasions. No strong data or evidences could prove the settlement of any Spanish in the area, though there were run-away Spanish soldiers who hid in the mountainous part in Lam-a-yan.

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90 Kiladan, for example, was a Spanish soldier’s son. His father found shelter among the natives at Lam-a-yan, and married a native girl. Kiladan, according to his grandchildren, obviously reflected European complexion and height.
Factors in the development of the valley came through the coming of the foreign invaders. After the war with Japan began in the early 1940s, Japanese soldiers carried stolen gold, some from the Lepanto mines, through the mountains, made Loo Valley one of their stopovers, and settled in it for a while. General Yamashita trod the road from Abatan to Kabayan in his escape with the stolen gold. Japanese armies settled in the Valley, exploiting the local people’s livestock and food. Japanese soldiers burned the school and houses. Fear gripped the people. They deserted the Valley in their hope to save their families. The people ran away to Bau-gan. Their evacuation meant the loss of their lands and separation from their relatives.\(^\text{91}\)

In 1943, the people came back to Loo. The whole area from Bontoc and Bugnay, Cervantes, was filled with Japanese soldiers. Finally, in Tinoc, American soldiers and Filipino Constabularies fought with the Japanese. They drove the Japanese soldiers through the trails that led to Loo. Pio Toyaoan describes how Loo was left desolate after the war due to the bombings of the American aircraft. After the war and the defeat of the Japanese soldiers, some of the people came back to the place and resettled in the place. Out from the ruins and destruction, people began to rebuild the community.\(^\text{92}\)

After World War II, Hon. Ramon Mitra, Congressman of the 2\(^{\text{nd}}\) District of the Mt. Province, sponsored a bill to open two vocational schools in Buguias to be located at Poblacion Central and in Loo Valley. But since there was no available space in Poblacion Central, the first bill was amended and a new proposal was moved to build only one school, in Loo Valley. The Buguias-Loo Agro Industrial School was established. (The land it

\(^{91}\) Interview with Pio Toyaoan, November 26, 2005, a former Mayor in Buguias, appointed after the war during the American takeover of the Province of Benguet; Nagayos and Payoen, \textit{How Loo Valley Looked About 51-52 Years Ago and How it Looks Now}.  
\(^{92}\) Interview with Pio Toyaoan, November 25, 2005.
occupied is far wider than that of the present Loo Elementary School.) In 1993, it was renamed Buguias-Loo Polytechnic College, and in 1998 it became an annex to the La Trinidad campus of Benguet State University.

The re-opening of the Loo Settlement Farm School in about 1952 marked another great beginning and change for the local barangay. The progress of the Valley was due to the influence of the schools. By the year 1977, Nagayos and Payoen observe:

Schools in Loo Valley kept on improving. Also out the schools, there are many modern homes now, not only in the Valley but also on the sides of hills. The valley that used to be barren since time immemorial is now under vegetable and rice cultivation. People learned carpentry work, learned to be good farmers, and business minded, both men and women. They now understand the value of education and send their children to school, both boys and girls. Although parents were against sending their daughter to school, now, girls dominate the number of boys both in Elementary and High School. There are now churches in the place.93

By the late 1980s the pagan customs and traditions of the people were "quietly disappearing."94 The factors for this deterioration were due to the coming of Christianity, the death of the "mambunongs" (pagan priests) and the growing number of educated people. At present, Loo Valley accommodates a large number of students and pupils from different barangays and municipalities. The Valley is continuously improving. The coming of religious institutions made pre-elementary education available.

OLDER DENOMINATIONS

THE CHURCH OF THE NAZARENE

The Church of the Nazarene is "Wesleyan" in doctrine and emphasis. This term describes its doctrinal values and form, and may be helpful to define here, not only because

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93 Nagayos and Payoen, How Loo Valley Looked About 51-52 Years Ago and How it Looks Now.
the Church of the Nazarene traces its roots to the time of John and Charles Wesley in eighteenth century England, but also because a younger denomination, the Fig Tree Christian Fellowship (affiliated with the Philippine Evangelical Holiness Church) is Wesleyan as well in heritage. Richard Taylor describes “Wesleyanism” as a “religious movement committed to the teaching of John Wesley,” a message that is tested and derived from a quadrilateral of sources: Scripture, reason, experience and tradition. Reason is understood here as the scientific approach, where the human mind is able to perceive. Experience is the subjective approach, where the human being senses or feels, encounters, and meets God as reality. Faith, an understanding that something is beyond human reason, and yet is sensible and true, falls under this category. Tradition means the teachings tested by earlier generations’ teachers of Christianity and transmitted to today’s generation. Taylor continued to say that “Wesleyanism is fundamentally a message, and Wesleyans are bearers of the message.”

In substance, the Church of the Nazarene worldwide calls itself a church of holiness people, tracing its roots from the time of Phineas F. Bresee, the founder of the denomination in twentieth century America. The Church of the Nazarene, “was founded to transform the world by spreading scriptural holiness,” with a mission “to make Christlike disciples of all nations.” Bresee wanted to see “centers of holy fire” in the cities of America. Bresee also talked often of the mission of the Church of the Nazarene to “Christianize Christianity.”

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95 See Myung Soo Park, “Roots of the Korea Evangelical Holiness Church with Special Reference to the Doctrine of Holiness” (M.S.T. Thesis, Boston U. School of Theology, 1992).
core values suffice this vision well through the following claims: 1) "We are a Christian people”; 2) “We are a Holiness People”; and 3) “We are a Missional People.”

The beginning of Loo First Church of the Nazarene came through the partnership of two young men from the valley, Antonio Lumiqued and Paul Bay-an, whom American missionaries educated and sent back to their own place. A decade after its founding, Loo Church struggled due to a lack of leadership. It took twenty-one years to witness new churches developed and organized. The maximizing of lay workers’ participation resulted in an upsurge of home Bible studies. Lay workers, educated, trained, supervised and involved in reaching their own people, helped the local church greatly and led to the church’s expansion in the 1970s. This growth resulted in the formulation of “Zone 8,” a group of Nazarene churches located around Loo, which later became “Zone 6.” Spurred through the working together of educated ministers and trained laypersons, the Loo Church of the Nazarene has produced eleven daughter churches. The church, organized in 1975, was Abatan the first daughter of Loo, and Mt. Data, in 1980, the second. Today the church hardly struggles to birth another church.

I. The Birth of a Church (1954-1971)

The Pioneers

The church in Loo began during the post war era and while the Philippines is still openly thought of as a missionary field for the Americans. The ministry of the Church of the Nazarene to Filipinos could properly be traced back as early as 1919 when Marciano Encarnacion, a Filipino immigrant, professed to be a Christian through the ministry of

169; Floyd T. Cunningham, “Embodied Holiness,” a manuscript of a speech delivered in the Church of the Nazarene Asia-Pacific Regional Conference, Bangkok, Thailand, October 25, 2003, 5.

99 Core Values of the Church of the Nazarene.
a local Nazarene Church in Seattle, Washington. In 1926, Encaracion returned to the Philippines as a practicing pharmacist.

In 1939, Wiliam Eckel, a missionary of the Church of the Nazarene in Japan, visited the Philippines and saw it as an open field for the Church. Encarnacion expressed the same feeling, so with the help of A. Bond Woodruff, he organized the first Nazarene Church of the Nazarene in Cabanatuan on May 19, 1946. In 1947, Joseph Pitts, who had been a chaplain during the war, stationed in Japan and the Philippines, agreed to come back to the Philippines as a Nazarene missionary. Arriving in February 1948, Pitts was met by Encarnacion.\(^{100}\)

The Pitts family settled in Cabanatuan but resettled in Baguio in 1948. Pitts worked with Encarnacion and other Filipino acquaintances of Encarnacion, and the Church of the Nazarene began to flourish. In 1950, another missionary couple arrived. Both John and Lillian Pattee were able preachers and evangelists. Arriving in Baguio, Pattee began a Christian Worker’s Institute and a Preacher’s Institute the next year. In 1952, the missionaries bought a lot located in Pico, La Trinidad, a site overlooking the valley. The sum paid was actually budgeted for a Bible college in China. The sum was donated in honor of Susan N. Pitkin, the former Foreign Missionary Society president. Thus, the college was named after her, “Fitkin Memorial College.”\(^{101}\)

\(^{100}\) Floyd T. Cunningham, *Holiness Abroad: Nazarene Missions in Asia* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2003), 238-40.

\(^{101}\) Cunningham, *Holiness Abroad*, 241.
During the busy years of putting up the college, Pattee conducted revival meetings in the local churches established by Pitts and Encarnacion. During one of these revival meetings in 1953, Antonio Lumiqued, a high school student at Wangal High School, attended a service at Baguio First Church of the Nazarene. Though during the last night of the service Lumiqued was still unmoved, Pattee pulled him to the kneeling rail and prayed over him. Afterwards, Pattee asked him if he might like to study at the Bible School. Lumiqued accepted the offer. So, that same night, he went with Pattee to the College. In 1954 Lumiqued committed himself to the Lord during one of the chapel services. Upon the approval of his parents, he decided to stay and finish his studies.\textsuperscript{102}

In 1954, during Lumiqued's second year in the college, he was assigned to his own home town in Loo, Buguias as a student pastor. During this time he met Paul Bay-an, a young man from Loo, who had just fled from his family because of his brother's cruelty. When Lumiqued met him, he encouraged Bay-an to join him in the college. Bay-an, being in a desperate situation, joined Lumiqued without hesitancy and enrolled the same year. Bay-an was converted during one of the chapel services in 1955.\textsuperscript{103} American missionaries by this time were Rev. and Mrs. John Pattee, Rev. and Mrs. Joseph S. Pitts, Rev. and Mrs. Roy Copelin and Miss Frances Vine.\textsuperscript{104}
Building the Local Church

Though the work in Loo had already begun in 1954 when Lumiqued reached out to Paul Bay-an, 1955 marks the birth of Loo Church. The Pittses and the Copelins accompanied by Lumiqued and Bay-an went to Loo to conduct evangelistic crusades. The pioneering work began to be established, using the school house as the venue for the evangelistic services since, at that time, Antonio Lumiqued’s brother Severino Lumiqued, Sr., was a teacher in the elementary school. Attendees included the parents of Lumiqued, namely Valentine Lumiqued and Arsenia Lumiqued.105

Pitts, reporting during the 1955 First Philippine District Assembly, said, “Recently we have opened a new work among the Igorots or mountain people to the north of us. The Copelins with Mrs. Pitts and I went with Bro. Lumiqued and Paul Bay-an, two of our Bible School students, to their home in Loo Valley.” Pitts recalled their visit in what he described as a “beautiful valley” with “very friendly” people: “We stayed in the school house and held services in the front yard. We enjoyed preaching to them, and were favorably impressed with the opportunity of opening a new work among them. Since then the Pattees have gone there for a revival with good results, and now Bro. Lumiqued and Paul Bay-an

105 Butag, “History of the Church of the Nazarene in Zone Eight, 3.
are constructing a chapel there." Arsenia Lumiqued’s conversion was a result of the ministry of her own son and through the preaching of Joseph Pitts. By the end of the year, Lumiqued’s mother gave up her pagan belief. While the work of the Church of the Nazarene in the Philippines was booming, Pitts acknowledged the lack of sources for church buildings. He reported: “These early days of our mission are filled with many growing pains and struggles in trying to secure property for our churches and in building of chapels and parsonages.”

On September 9, 1956, Pitts, with Lumiqued as the assigned pastor, accepted 10 probationary members of the Loo Church of the Nazarene. Among the ten, with the exception of Antonio Lumiqued and Paul Bay-an, the other eight were women, a mother, Mrs. Arsenia Lumiqued, and singles, Miss Salenia Miguel, Miss Gloria Toyaoan (now Mrs. Danglipen), Miss Juanita Gatawa (who was later married to Pedro Mayona), Miss Paulina Dampag, Miss Delia Paran, Miss Felomina S. Bayacsan and Miss Felisa Sab-it. With the exception of Miss Toyaoan, a resident of Loo, all the rest were from Buyacaoan, a sitio west of Loo.

By the end of the year 1956, there were 40 probationary members reported, 45 average attendees during Sunday school classes and 40 average attendees during divine

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108 Full membership means “all persons who have been organized into a local church by those authorized so to do, and all who have been publicly received by the pastor, the district superintendent, or the general superintendent, after having declared their experience of salvation, and their belief in the doctrines of the Church of the Nazarene, and their willingness to submit to its government.” Probationary members on the other hand are those who are not “counted as church members,” though “shall have all the privileges of church members, with the exception of voting and holding church office.” See 1964 *Manual of Church of the Nazarene*, 43-48.
worship. By the end of the year, they had collected an offering of thirty-five pesos. With the aide of $50.00, Lumiqued and Bay-an returned to Loo and began to build the first church building even though the church was not yet formally organized. Since the people of the valley were mostly relatives of Bay-an and were favorable to the beginning work of the church, they volunteered to help build the long, log cabin church. The people used nipa leaves to cover the top of the building. The walls were made up of slabs donated by the sawmill, the floor was uncemented, only a hardened soil, a typical kind of flooring at that time. The remaining planks of wood were used for the seats. The building could hold two to three hundred people. The log cabin church was used until they moved to a new building in 1968.

Interestingly, with help from their neighbors and friends, the local converts were able to build the building. Thus Pitts commended the work: “At Lo-o Valley, the chapel that was under construction at the time of the last Assembly was finished with the exception of the doors and windows. Bro. Antonio Lumiqued and Bro. Paul Bay-an are to be commended for their faithfulness in supervising this chapel and for doing a great deal of the work on it.”

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111 Interview with Ptr. Samuel Mayona Sr., January 23, 2005 who was then one of the youth attendees.
From 1956-57, Lumiqued pastored the church in Loo as his fieldwork. He received his district ministerial license in 1957. Bay-an took charge of the pastorate as his fieldwork, too, until 1958. The same year, while Bay-an was finishing his fieldwork, Lumiqued both graduated with a bachelor of theology and married one of his fellow graduates, Trinidad Gundao, a native of Ilog, Negros, Occidental Mindoro. In April 1958, Ptr. and Mrs. Antonio Lumiqued returned to the Loo Church as full time ministers. The church was still recorded as unorganized, yet the average attendance grew to 60. Later that year, the Church was officially organized with 29 full members and 12 probationary members, with the average of 81 weekly attendance reported. There in the newly built log church was conducted the first marriage in the history of Loo Church of the Nazarene, if not the first marriage by a Christian Church in Loo Valley. It was administered to a couple, Francisco Ricardo and Luisita

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113 Loo Church of the Nazarene, Record Book, 4; Philippine Mission Church of the Nazarene, Fifth Annual Assembly Journal (1959): 5, 39; Butag, “History of the Church of the Nazarene in Zone Eight, North Central Luzon District,” 4.
Potpotan Oypaen (Moses's eldest daughter) by Rev. Roy Copelin on January 18, 1959. Some of their children and grandchildren are still active members of the church.\textsuperscript{114}

\textbf{Church Reaching Out}

From February 3 to June 16, 1957, Pitts received 21 probationary members, who included Severino Lumiqued, Sr., Antonio Lumiqued's brother, and Moses Potpotan.\textsuperscript{115} The story of Potpotan joining the church is quite interesting. Moses Potpotan's family joining the church was a result of Arsenia Lumiqued's witness to Potpotan. Potpotan was known as one of the \textit{kadang-yan} or \textit{baknang} (the wealthy people of the community). It happened that one of his children died, and then immediately followed by another of his children. Potpotan consulted the shaman priests, who told him to butcher five pigs to appease the anger of the malevolent spirits, who were believed to be responsible for the death of Potpotan's two children. Then the shamans told him to butcher another seven, now, not only pigs, but cows since the spirits were not satisfied. Potpotan was feeling deranged with the idea that his children would all perish if he will not comply. Finally, he remembered what Arsenia Lumiqued told him about becoming a Christian.

The Lumiqued family had been pagan and so Potpotan went to the Lumiques' house to borrow pots used to preserve rice wines for his ritual service. These pots were no longer in use but were in the Lumiques' keeping at that time. But while Potpotan was borrowing the pots, Mrs. Lumiqued told him, "You know, it's good if you'll become a Christian and you'll be set free from this." At first, Potpotan did not care for he deeply feared the shamans. But when, after the first rituals and butchering, the shamans told Potpotan that the malevolent

\textsuperscript{114} Loo Church of the Nazarene, \textit{Record Book}, 158.

\textsuperscript{115} Loo Church of the Nazarene, \textit{Record Book}, 18-20.
spirits required more pigs to be butchered, he began to feel a great need for a stronger and trustworthy savior from death, apart from the pagans. Rationalizing that nothing happened to the Lumiqued family when they turned to Christianity, he decided not to comply with the shamans’ demands. Instead, the next day, which was Sunday, Potpotan changed his clothes, gathered all the members of his family and took them all to the church. The Potpotan family was received by Pitts as probationary members on February 3, 1957. Later, in July, they had a special family service, taking “down from the eaves of the house all of the old hogs’ skulls and sacrificial sticks,” burning them, symbolically and publicly testifying to their breakout from paganism.

In 1957, while Bay-an was assigned to Loo to field pastor the church, he started regular Wednesday prayer meetings. Some were overnights, praying for the people of the valley and for the church building. Nora Peligman Lee, who was one of the children attending the church recalled:

What I can’t forget with Ptr. Bay-an was his prayer life. I remember one overnight prayer meeting from 8:00 o’clock in the evening to 6:00 in the morning when Ptr. Bay-an never ceased to be in prayer. He would rest for a few minutes then goes again to pray. We were praying for a Church building, the people of the valley and the work of the Lord in Loo. I can never forget Ptr. Bay-an’s prayer life. It has given me a lesson on what prayer really means. It’s good that I stayed near besides him and learned from him praying. Look at the Church right now, I believe it was the answer to those long prayers.

Stories of John Pattee’s time in Loo are worth retelling. Pattee, who had first come to Loo in 1956 with Ptr. Bay-an, returned to conduct evangelistic crusades with Castillo Ongogan, an Ilocano, as his interpreter. In one instance, as told by an eyewitness, Pattee came to a

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118 Philippine Mission Church of the Nazarene, *Third Annual Assembly Journal* (1957): 3;
119 Interview with Mrs. Nora P. Lee, Jan 9, 2005.
group of old women and took their smoking pipes. He prayed over the pipes. One of these old women was Mrs. Zamora Toldague Dangpa, a spiritual medium, who later would often tell this story. When Mrs. Dangpa next used her smoking pipe that was prayed over by Pattee, she began to vomit, tasting the smoke so bitter. After that time, she gave up not only her smoking pipe, but also her pagan belief, and became a faithful member of the church until her death. Mr. Fred Oplas, who was then a young boy studying in the elementary school witnessed this event and, and confirms the story. Oplas said,

Rev. Pattee came to Loo and invited old women. They were all chain smokers, but when Pattee prayed for their swako (smoking pipe), they tried to smoke but they began to vomit. I saw this myself, then I asked the old woman what she felt. Since then, Iola Zamora became a faithful member of the church until she died. The effect of that testimony, I observed, was very crucial in my life. Though I was young, I witnessed how that man-ge-ngeney (spirit medium) was dramatically changed.\textsuperscript{121}

\textsuperscript{121} Story told by Fred Oplas, January 23, 2005. Oplas is now a member of Fig Tree Christian Fellowship, a branch member of the Philippine Evangelical Holiness Church. For related accounts, see Harold R. Cole, “A
As a result of this event, Mrs. Dangpa gave up her being a medium and destroyed all her pagan instruments. The church records affirm that on March 23, 1958, Pattee and Castillo Ongogan received ten full members, four of whom were women, including Mrs. Dangpa.122

This was not the only sign of progress. Another conversion relates to Lilia Paquito. Paquito said that while she was single, she would often collapse due to epilepsy (kedas). Then she would experience an epilepsy-induced trance. Sometimes she saw visions, like soldiers marching. “But when the American missionary Pattee came and shared the gospel, I joined the church and I was baptized with water. After my baptism, I was completely healed.” This woman was one of the early young people in Loo Church. She is now residing in Bayoyo and has transferred her membership to the Roman Catholic Church, the only denomination in the area.123

Another notable story that made the coming of the Nazarenes attractive to the natives was that of the bell. The people living on the surrounding hills often heard the droning sound of the bell. (This is a circular shaped metal, cut out from a tip of a bomb. It is now being hung at the Loo Church of the Nazarene, still serving the same purpose.) The bell rang every Wednesday and Sunday and served as a clue for the time. As the sound of the bell permeated the valley, the little children at that time would suddenly stop and listen, and hold their breath until the ringing ended. To them, at that time, without any idea of any other musical instruments, only often hearing the sounds of the gongs and cymbals used during pagan rituals, the ringing of the bell was like a glorious musical instrument so harmoniously

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122 Loo Church of the Nazarene, Record Book, 21.
123 This story was told by Ptr. Mayona himself, with Ptr. Mario Cubalit and other former young people of Loo Church of the Nazarene.
attracting the ears of those who were listening. Every time the bell rang, calling for a prayer meeting, many people, mostly women with their young children, could be seen coming down from the mountain, lining up beautifully to attend the meeting carrying twisted pieces of chopped dried pine trees, fitted into a bamboo piece to bundle the pieces of chopped dried pine trees together. When lighted, these formed a torch. This procession of lights coming down and going up the hills (before and after services) decorated the dark valley every evangelistic night of John Pattee and continued during the Wednesday nights. It was analogical to the coming of the denomination, bringing the gospel “sound” and the Holy Spirit’s “fire.”

Meanwhile, during the year 1956 to 1958, a conflict arose among the missionaries. Pitts, being so conservative and legalistically imposing rigid rules of fashion and dress, was not assigned again as a missionary to the Philippines. Rev. Harry Wiese, the newly-appointed District Superintendent, subtly noted this relief from strict legalism in his report during the fourth district assembly: “There was harmony among the missionaries...We want to say a word of appreciation about our fellow missionaries. We could not ask for a better spirit of harmony among us, nor for better cooperation.”

The issue of Pitts caused division and conflict among the Nazarenes in the Philippines. Confused in cases of dress codes, hair grooming and rings, the Nazarene Church in the Philippines split. Encarnacion, the first Filipino to help Pitts, left the church. Lumiqued and Bay-an, though conscious of the current issue, discreetly kept silent and never told the

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124 Loo Church of the Nazarene, Record Book, 21. The story of the beautiful lights coming from the hills down to the valley continued even after the log church was built. See also Watts, John Pattee of China and the Philippines, 106-107. Mrs. Nora Peligman Lee, recounting the story in an interview made December 23, 2005, being a little child with her sisters, was living in one of the hills surrounding the valley. She said that they do not have a concept of time yet during their early childhood so every afternoon, they would always keep watch to listen to the bell. They did not yet understand at that time that the bell will ring only during Wednesday afternoon and Sunday morning to announce the service.

125 Philippine District Church of the Nazarene, Sixth Annual Assembly Journal (1960): 1, 22, 27.
Loo members about it. The next year, Weise, reporting about the recent issue on division optimistically said:

You can ask the pastors of these churches, and in many cases people who left us were not living up to the standard of the church and in the long run our district has been helped as much as hurt. In other words how to get rid of some very undesirables would have been a major operation. It is difficult to see how it could have been done, without many getting hurt. So what has happened has solved this problem for us to a great degree.

The Church Organized: Beginning of Fruitful Years

On November 22, 1959, the Loo Valley church was organized with 26 charter members. Paul Bay-an was the pastor of the church. Bay-an had by this time received a Christian Worker Diploma, a four-year program of the Bible College, and a district license. Eliseo Rolluda was assigned to Loo as assistant pastor as his field work on June 6, 1960. On March 27, 1960 five persons were received as members by Rev. Harry Weise and Ptr. Antonio Lumiqued. Juanita Gatawa was elected as the first Nazarene Young People’s Society (now Nazarene Youth International) President.

Yet, three of the new members, namely Felisa Sab-it, Kitay Sab-it and Felumina Sakito, were soon “expelled,” while the other two were marked as no longer members. Throughout the church’s records of nearly 50 years, I found only these three persons as expelled, in distinction from “transfer” or “inactive.” The reason for these expulsions is still undetermined.

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126 Butag, “History of the Church of the Nazarene in Zone Eight, North Central Luzon District,” 4. For more detail about this story, see Cunningham, Holiness Abroad, 245-50.
130 Philippine District Church of the Nazarene, Sixth Annual Assembly Journal (1960): 5.
131 Loo Church of the Nazarene, Record Book, 88-89.
During Rolluda’s time, the church reached out to Lusong, a nearby hillside village west of the valley. Many, mostly children and young people would accompany him to the preaching point. My interview with Nora Lee tells the story: “During outreaches in Lusong, we found it a delight to just go with them, hiking. There were 50 of us, adults, young people and children with Ptr. Paul and Rolluda.” 132

For a year, until May 28, 1961, Rolluda worked with Bay-an. Bay-an remained as a full-time pastor in Loo Church until June 10, 1963. The church paid him P78.00 per month.133 Lumiqued, though no longer assigned as a pastor, began a pioneering work in Buguias Central. The report of D.S. Weise explained that shortly after the 1961 District Assembly, Weise and Lumiqued surveyed Daclan, North of Ambuklao with the intention of beginning another mission station among mountain people. The plan failed for the reason that the “place had little appeal for we had no friends, nor Christian contact there.” Catholicism

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132 Interview with Nora Peligman Lee, January 9, 2005. Mrs. Lee was one of the youngest recorded member of Loo Church of the Nazarene.
was deeply rooted in the place, "with a Catholic high school in a nearby town." As a result of the survey, Weise and Lumiqued decided to start a work in Mankayan instead where the people were more accommodating. Weise reported:

June 25 we went to Mankayan to view the prospects there. We were well impressed with the place. We also surveyed Bulalacao 6 km this side of Mankayan. Bro. Lumiqued liked this latter place, and decided to try work there, but later he was invited to Buguias, and felt that was the place to open a work so located there.¹³⁴

Rolluda returned to Loo in July 6, 1963 as the full-time pastor, with Bay-an now assisting the work. During the same year, Bay-an married Miss Juanita Mayao from Badayan, Buguias, Benguet, who later would invite the Church of the Nazarene to start the work in her place.¹³⁵

In 1965, there were 24 full and 19 probationary members. That year, the district journal never mentioned any preaching points, except the one in Buguias that Lumiqued was

¹³⁵ Loo Church of the Nazarene, Record Book, 4; Philippine Mission Church of the Nazarene, Tenth Annual Assembly Journal (1964): 6; Butag, "History of the Church of the Nazarene in Zone Eight, North Central Luzon District," 5.
conducting. On April 1, 1966, after Rolluda was re-assigned to another place in the lowlands, Juanita Gatawa and Lourdes Rivera, both Bible College students, became full time workers until the arrival of Ptr. Bartolome Valdez on June 21, 1966. Three members were added. During this year, the new building was being built on a lot donated by Mrs. Arsenia Lumiqued in Panta, Sibugan Village. Whereas the old log church was made by the people, the newly built building was constructed by the responsible members of the church.

Missionary Robert McCroskey, visiting the new building, remarked appreciatively:

Although this building has not yet been dedicated, Pastor Bay-an and our first Loo Valley Nazarenes have built what I consider the only hand-built Church which we have. Every grain of sand, cement, every stone and piece of lumber had to be carried either across their swinging bridge or up from the river.

During Valdez's stay, another three were added to the membership, making 30 full members. During his second year, 1967 three more members were added, while the probationary members declined from 19 to 12. Meanwhile, Buguias Central was reported as having no pastor and as being open for any volunteer. In 1968, Buguias Central was not reported as existing, though there were contacts already and "enough cement blocks and lumber cut and stacked to begin their building." The same year marked the beginning of district leadership entrusted to a Filipino, Andres Valenzuela, a resident in Binalonan, Pangasinan, Philippines. Valenzuela remained in the office of District Superintendency until the 1980s.

137 Loo Church of the Nazarene, Record Book, 4; Philippine Mission Church of the Nazarene, Twelfth Annual Assembly Journal (1966): 7, 35, 73.
Meanwhile, during Valdez's term, there was a struggle encountered by the church concerning its testimony that consequed a decline in the church's membership. The problem began when Paul Bay-an yielded to a pagan shaman's urging for him and his family to be consecrated again to paganism through blood drips on their foreheads.\textsuperscript{140} Bay-an had no intention to return to paganism, but through the pressure of his kinsfolk, he yielded. The community locales heard about this paganic "butchering," which indicated a public testimony of backsliding. Some of the heads of the families, out of this event, were so discouraged and disappointed that they stopped going to the church. These families were especially those that were not full-fledged members of the church and had no distinctive experience of conversion. Many families remained, though. Antonio Lumiqued's parents remained faithful. Though Ptr. Antonio Lumiqued himself was not issued a license in 1970, which caused him not to return to the pastorate again for an unknown reason, the Lumiqued

family remained loyal to the Church of the Nazarene. Meanwhile, the work in Buguias Central stopped.  

Yet, by the turn of the decade, during Valdez’s last year, there were 45 full members with 12 probationary members. The increase in number, despite the “unrecorded” backsliding of some of the families could be explained by the fact that every time a father was converted in the family, he would gather his children and take them all to the church. The number reported was mostly the sons and daughters of the families of Lumiqued, Mayona, Dangpa, Peligman and Potpotan. Conversions during revival meetings continued to increase until the end of the decade.  

In 1971, Valdez resigned and Pablo Figuracion, a Bible student, was assigned to Loo. Figuracion started his term on June 15, 1971 and remained for a year to complete his field assignment. The church suffered from membership decline, leaving only 36 members reported by Alipio Bustamante at the time he took charge of the pastorate in 1972. Meanwhile, Ptr. Valdez went to Lepanto, Mankayan to begin a work there.  

II. **Working Together: Strengthening the Local Church (1972 – 1985)**

A new period of growth and expansion began when church leaders started to train and commission lay workers for the field. The commitment of the church leaders at the same time spurred deep earnestness and deep dedication among lay persons. The beginning of local churches in Abatan, Mt. Data, Binaka, Bad-ayan, Bangao, and Mankayan and the attempt to

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141 Butag, “History of the Church of the Nazarene in Zone Eight, North Central Luzon District,” 6. The story of Bay-an’s public backsliding was retold by Ptr. Valdez himself, heard by the author, re-affirmed by Ptr. Lauro Cubalit, another eyewitness of this event, and Mrs. Nora Peligman Lee.


expand the Church of the Nazarene through reaching other barangays around Buguias happened during these times. The lay workers received simple training conducted through the help of the Campus Crusade for Christ and lectures on “How to Conduct Bible Studies” by a Youth With a Mission (YWAM) team. These years marked a revival of interest in religion and lay members became active in participating in the work of ministry. The following persons here to be discussed are accorded their own stories.

The growth and expansion of the church was marked by the coming of Alipio Bustamante as full time pastor of the local church. He began his pastorate on June 6, 1972. Membership increased from 36 to 79 by 1974. Though Bustamante began with his family receiving only P 1,314.00 pesos support annually, he poured out his time revisiting the preaching point at Lusong, adding another preaching point in Lepanto, Mankayan, with Valdez as the preacher, and laboring unwarily with his motto: “One life will soon be past, only what’s done for Christ will last.”

Lauro Cubalit testified how he came to join the church. His story reveals one of the strengths of the Church of the Nazarene in reaching out to the needy, to the poor, fulfilling the vision of Phineas F. Bresee, a founder of the Church of the Nazarene, for the poor. Cubalit’s first child died in 1970. Cubalit was a foreigner in Loo. Where he came from,

144 During my interviews with the laymen, they could hardly figure the exact date of the Campus Crusade for Christ and YWAM trainings, only remembering the pastor of the Church that time and they all point to Ptr. Bustamante.
146 Philippine District Church of the Nazarene, Eighteenth Annual Assembly Journal (1972): 7; Butag, “History of the Church of the Nazarene in Zone Eight, North Central Luzon District,” 7. Bustamante’s motto was quoted by Butag from Pine Breeze, 1957-1958 (publication of Luzon Nazarene Bible College). Apparently, this motto was still quoted by Filipino DSs in their reports since the time of Valenzuela.
Alilem, Ilocos Sur, he was a member of UCCP. But he never was converted as a real believer. He had been a known bully and drunkard who would always encourage trouble. Even after he got married. “When my first child, Gilbert, died, I consulted the pagans and some of the people of the community, but they refused to bury the child,” Cubalit recalled. “In desperation, I went to the Spiritists who were quite willing but hesitant to make an act since they are waiting for their leader’s consent.”

Weary and in haste, Cubalit went back to his home, still thinking about how to take his dead son from the hospital and find a place to bury him. When he arrived at their home, Mrs. Rosalinda Peligman, one of the stewards of the Loo Church of the Nazarene, met him to extend her condolences. The Peligman family were Cubalit’s neighbors and had heard of the child’s fate. Without wasting time, Mrs. Peligman said, “I advise you to come with me to the church since the Pastor is an Ilocano.” Cubalit, hearing that the Pastor was an Ilocano--indeed from a neighboring barrio to Cubalit’s natal town--he immediately consented to consult the pastor. The pastor, Rev. Alipio Bustamante, who would later baptize him after his conversion in 1972, buried the child in a lot donated by another member of the church, Pedro Mayona. Though Cubalit never had a personal relationship with Christ, he began to attend the church, convinced of a deeper truth manifesting itself in the love of the local church members.

In 1972, Lauro Cubalit was converted when Robert McCroskey, with Ptr. Castillo Ongogan as his interpreter, conducted a series of revival meetings in the Loo Church. Cubalit, recalling that night, said:

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148 Interview with Ptr. Lauro Cubalit, December 29, 2005.
149 Rosalina Peligman, without her husband at that time, was received as an official member on March 27, 1960 by Rev. H. Wiese and Ptr. Antonio Lumiqued.
150 Interview with Ptr. Lauro Cubalit, December 29, 2005.
I remember committing my life to Christ, accepting Him as my Lord and Savior. That time when I made a decision, I also asked the Lord to give me wisdom, despite my insufficiency of knowledge and education so that I may be able to share what I have found in Christ. I made a covenant with God, in exchange for the joy I received that night, telling Him, 'Enable me like my brothers, who are now ministers of the United Church of Christ in the Philippines (UCCP).',\textsuperscript{151}

After Cubalit's conversion, he became an active member, taking all his family members every Sunday to church. Bustamante noticed Cubalit's eagerness to learn, for he expressed it through his punctual attendance and his raising questions during Sunday school classes. Just a few weeks after Cubalit's conversion, Bustamante gave him a Sunday school guide to study. For two years beginning 1974, because of his pastor's trust, Cubalit taught the Sunday school class.

In 1973, Samuel Mayona, who had been the Nazarene Young People's Society president since 1971, was challenged to enter the Bible College. Mayona recalled: "During Ptr. Bustamante's second year, a revival meeting was held in the church and, there, I re-committed my life to Christ. Though I was then a faithful attendee with my parents and my own family, the message taken from John 15:13 ["Greater love has no one than this, that he lay down his life for his friends"] came afresh."\textsuperscript{152} Juanita Bay-an, Ptr. Paul Bay-an's wife, encouraged Mayona to go to the Bible school. At first, he was hesitant, having a child already. It seemed impossible for him to study with such a burden. Yet Mayona's calling was affirmed by two successive dreams about the people of Buguias, who, as he saw them, were unknowingly marching off a cliff. He woke up and discussed the matter with his wife, Sophia. Though his family discouraged him out of sympathy, knowing that a pastor's family life is hard, he pursued the calling, being sure of God's call upon him.\textsuperscript{153}

\textsuperscript{151} Interview with Ptr. Lauro Cubalit, December 29, 2005.
\textsuperscript{152} Interview with Rev. Samuel Mayona Sr., January 23, 2005.
\textsuperscript{153} Interview with Rev. Samuel Mayona Sr., January 23, 2005.
congregation heard about the Mayonas’s plan to go to the Bible College, they proposed a plan for him to make hollow blocks for the new church building as a means for him to earn money for his trip to the College. He consented and worked for few days. On June 1973, he enrolled for the four year course, Christian Worker’s Diploma.

Bustamante, while pastoring Loo Church, actively reached out to the neighboring towns and barangays of Loo. These include Mag-magaling as preaching point. During this time, Roberto Camilo was converted and joined the Church of the Nazarene. Soon, Camilo was trained as a lay-worker and joined other laypersons in reaching out. Felicio Bayacsan, converted on March 1976, became one of the laypersons who worked with the circuit preaching points of Ptr. Bustamante. The records show that Bayacsan was received as a member of Loo church on March 10, 1977.

Abatan was among the circuit points of Alipio Bustamante. It was formally organized as a church in 1975, with Ptr. Bay-an, having regained his stance, assisting Bustamante. Mt. Data, a part of Bauko, Mt. Province, was another circuit stop of Bustamante. In the later months of 1976, after receiving a sketch of Mt. Data with a list of contact persons, Bustamante assigned Lauro Cubalit to lead house Bible studies every weekend, and soon it became a new preaching point. Cubalit was sustained financially through self-support and through the help of his brother, Mario Cubalit, who provided half of his fare. Thus, the work in Mt. Data proceeded without much hindrance in terms of money and did not burden the Loo church so much. By the turn of the decade, Mt. Data was officially organized. When

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156 Loo Church of the Nazarene, *Record Book*, 23.
Mayona finished his four-year study in the Bible College, he chose the place to pastor. He recalled: "I graduated in March, 1978. The following year, I was interviewed by the Board of Ministerial Credentials who were very happy to appoint me to Loo Church, where, at that time, no pastor was available after Ptr. Bustamante resigned."159 "I arrived at Mt. Data on June, 1978 and continued the work there until 1985. I concentrated on the Sawmill, doing Bible Studies. But when I realized that the people there were transients, I decided to do itinerary ministries, going first to the houses in Binaka, then to Sengyew." By September 25, 1981, Mt. Data was fully organized under Ptr. Mayona.160 Cubalit, on the other hand, was assigned to a new preaching point in Bad-ayan, which was organized as a church in 1986.161

Meanwhile, Emilia Noces, an Ilocano and a fresh CWD graduate of Bible College, arrived in Abatan and worked as the associate of Ptr. Bustamante in the Abatan Church. She started a pre-school there in 1978. She became the full-time pastor in 1979.162

Bustamante resigned from Loo in April 5, 1979, leaving Abatan fully organized with a pastor in place, and having started work in Bad-ayan and Mt. Data.163 Though the Board of Ministerial Credentials encouraged Ptr. Mayona to take charge of the Loo Church after Bustamante resigned, Mayona declined. Instead, he recommended Ptr. Pablo Figuracion for a

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second term. So the same month that Bustamante left, Figuracion and his family moved to the Loo Church parsonage. They stayed until 1985.\textsuperscript{164}

In 1981, Mayona was ordained, being the first Nazarene Igorot pastor to receive the "Reverend" title. By this time, there were 146 total members of Zone Six (Loo, Abatan and Mt. Data churches). The Loo Church had 62 full members. Meanwhile, "through the joint efforts of Mt. Data, Abatan, Loo Valley and the Woodland Gospel Trio in a crusade," work in Sayangan, Atok, was born.\textsuperscript{165}

For the years 1981 to 1985, the Central Luzon District, of which Zone Six was a part, envisioned to: (a) plant five churches a year, (b) train 50 lay workers each year, (c) graduate an average of seven each year from Nazarene Bible College (now Luzon Nazarene Bible College), and, (d) receive 450 new members each year. Meliton Bernabe, the District Superintendent, commended the pastors and lay workers saying, "My salute to our dedicated pastors...beloved laymen who are always behind the ministry of their pastor through prayers, monetary support and personal involvement."\textsuperscript{166}

In 1984, Bad-ayan, Buguias, Benguet was reported as an unorganized church, being pastored by Lauro Cubalit. In Loo, there was a significant decline in membership from 63 to 40 without recorded reasons, whether lost or transferred. However, Sayangan was reported to have no pastor. Sayangan, left without a pastor, was a missed opportunity to have a local church built in the southern part of the mountains. Pastors were really lacking this time. Though there were many licensed pastors on the district, there were not enough in Zone Six

\textsuperscript{164} Loo Church of the Nazarene, \textit{Record Book}, 4. Emilia Noces was married by this time to Ptr. Mario Cubalit, brother of Lauro Cubalit.

\textsuperscript{165} Luzon District Church of the Nazarene, \textit{Twenty-seventh Annual Assembly Journal} (1981): 12, 25.

\textsuperscript{166} Luzon District Church of the Nazarene, \textit{Twenty-seventh Annual Assembly Journal} (1981): 27.
to fill up Sayangan’s pastorate. Later, it was reported that the work in the place stopped. It was sadly closed and dropped from the list of the unorganized churches.167


A significant transition in the church’s history occurred in 1985 when members voted out Figuracion, and elected Mayona to pastor Loo Church. Leaving Mt. Data, Mayona took over the pastoral office as full-time in June. Lauro Cubalit was assigned at Mt. Data until Nielson Diazen and Felicio Bayacsan took over in 1986 to allow Cubalit to focus on Bad-ayan. Though without District licences, Bayacsan, Cubalit, and Diazen worked devotedly and the zone soon realized the organization of churches in Binaka, Bangao, and Bad-ayan.

Relational Crisis

When Ptr. Mayona began his work, he was met by relational tension that he described this way: “When I arrived in 1985, there was a conflict, especially on the Pastor’s honorarium. Some members, especially those who were older and had been the earlier members of the church, want to be used at least. There was obviously no harmonious relationship among the elders. What I did was to gave them work to do for they do not yield to each other’s suggestions.” For Ptr. Mayona, it was a serious matter for the church to unite so as not to sacrifice the cause of the gospel. He devised a plan to solve this relational problem by appointing each of the members in tension with each other some work to do related to the church’s cause. He appointed one to make resolutions for the church’s need for lumber. Mayona organized a board to make decisions about the church’s ceiling. He consulted one of the disaffected members to be involved in the morning worship and to lead

the prayer. "After he prayed," Mayona recalled, "he came to me encouraged and asked whether he prayed well." This relationship problem ceased after they began to see their efforts rewarded, seeing the church building almost completed. "After they see themselves involved, they begin to see their function as a member of the body."

Another relational problem was between Nora Peligman and Ptr. Paul Bay-an. While she was still single, Nora attended YWAM. After her training in YWAM, she went back to her home church, so excited to share her experiences, telling about things she never had learned and understood before. After the service, she was taken outside and Bay-an, having fixed his eyes on her, said, "I do not want to see you step again in this church." She cried, not understanding what Bay-an meant at that time. Since then, even after she was married, she never renewed her membership. It was basically a relational thing that prevented her from going back to the local church. Nora returned to the church only in 1988 for a two-month ministry. At that time, she was taking up her Masters in Christian Education at Asian Theological Seminary. She was being sponsored by a foreign mission fund from a Baptist congregation. After their marriage, Nora and George Lee settled in Baguio City, where they joined the Guiding Light Ministries and started the Son Shine Learning Center.

Before Ptr. Bay-an’s death he visited Nora Peligman Lee’s home and they reconciled regarding this issue. It was a sad story of misunderstanding and conflict, so real and pungent. Today, Mrs. Nora Peligman Lee is active with her husband reaching out to the unchurched in Loo. She made a crucial decision to give up Son Shine Learning Center, which she had established in Baguio, only to go back to Loo to start a new school. She said,

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In Loo, I do not seem to need to go to a church yet since our vision is to reach out to the parents of the children we are teaching. The unchurched are somewhat resentful when they realize we are affiliated to a Church. They often asked us, “Are you Pentecostals, or what church do you belong?” We simply tell them we are Christians, and then we find it an opportunity to talk to them about salvation. Nevertheless, my husband and I are considering the earlier denominations where we might affiliate ourselves.  

Though she feels the importance of being a member of a local church, she is still trying to build up her relationship with the children’s parents. She sees this as an opportunity to reach out. She said, “Our ministry is one on one. We also wanted to focus on the youth. Our vision for now is to build a building to facilitate programs I have in mind.” When I asked her in relationship to her former Nazarene affiliation, “Do you still believe that holiness is biblical?” She replied, “Of course! I am still strong in this belief. I affirm that this is the foundation of a Christian life. If you want to follow Jesus, you must live a life like Christ and this is not physical, this is relational.” Though she decided to transfer her membership from the Guiding Light Ministries, to the Fig Tree Christian Fellowship in 2004, she is actively partnering with the Church of the Nazarene young people, offering the facilities of her school for gathering, finding her attachments still with the denomination she formerly attended. She confessed that “the high ethical standard of dressing of the Church of the Nazarene during our times helped and preserved me during my youth life in the city. The real problem though was that the church leaders before seem to equate holiness with dress codes and long hairs, and not the inner change within.”

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171 Interview with Mrs. Nora P. Lee, Jan. 9, 2005.
172 Mrs. Nora Lee and his husband, George Lee are members of the Guiding Light Church in Baguio. Having stayed in Loo for two years, they are still in their transition years especially since they have just started Son Shine School for children.
173 Interview with Mrs. Nora P. Lee, Jan. 9, 2005.
Outreach: Pioneering Works Continued

By 1986 to 1989, intentional pioneering agenda were conducted, both among the adults lay workers and among the youth group. Yolanda Kimayong was then president of Nazarene Youth International.\(^{174}\) She started to attend Loo Church in 1984 and was converted the following year, January 1985. She was a lady-dentist, and joined effort with the NYI to conduct a Dental-Singing ministry for the whole zone (then composed of Loo, Abatan, Mt. Data, Binaka, and Bad-ayan) in 1987. The same year, Floyd Cunningham, accompanied by Abdon Butag, who was then a Asia-Pacific Nazarene Theological Seminary student, coordinated with Zone Six (then Zone Eight) pastors and leaders and conducted an itinerary mission. Services were conducted for three successive nights for the organized local churches and preaching points in the Zone (except for Mayag). Butag, writing about this event, described it as historical, something that never had been done by a white missionary in this particular part of the Church of the Nazarene.\(^{175}\)

Nelson Diazen and Felicio Bayacsan took turns as pastors and pulpit ministers at both Mt. Data and Binaka. Both Diazen and Bayacsan were the direct result of the Loo Church ministry on discipleship and training program. Diazen was a convert during Alipio Bustamante's circuit in Mt. Data, and Bayacsan was converted in Loo in March 1976. "Seven months after my conversion," Bayacsan recalled, "I was asked to teach Sunday school."\(^{176}\)

To enhance the Zone Six layworkers, District Superintendent Meliton Bernabe conducted a seminar on preaching and Sunday School teaching in 1978. In 1984 the Campus Crusade for Christ, spearheaded by Ptr. Paul Andres and Herman Dinumla, conducted


\(^{175}\) Butag, "History of the Church of the Nazarene in Zone Eight, North Central Luzon District," 14.

\(^{176}\) Interview with Ptr. Felicio Bayacsan, January 2, 2005.
seminars on Bible Survey and Evangelism. For three successive months, they met every Sunday and were taught how to share the Four Spiritual Laws. Bayacsan explained how they “were supervised to apply Bible Studies here in Loo.” He continued,

Once a month, when we gather, we have 90-100 plus participants. When Ptr. Mayona’s first wife died, I was asked to take charge Mt. Data Church for a year that was 1987 (with Nelson Diazen). After the dedication of the Church building in Mt. Data, I was again assigned to Lusong in 1988. After Lusong, I was assigned to Cotcot, the same year 1988. I stayed there for 7 months. At that time, Ptr. Mario Cubalit was in Bangao. When Abdon Butag who took charge of Mt. Data, left in 1989, Ptr. Mario Cubalit was asked to take charge the Church in Mt. Data. I was assigned then to Bangao when Ptr. Mario Cubalit left.\(^{177}\)

In 1988 the YWAM team, coordinated by Nora Peligman Lee, conducted a seminar on how to lead Bible Study.\(^{178}\)

By the end of 1986, Bad-ayan remained an unorganized church with Cubalit as the pastor. By this year, there were eleven students from Zone Six being trained as ministers, nine at NBC and two at APNTS.\(^{179}\)

In 1987, Bad-ayan and Binaka were newly organized under Lauro Cubalit in Bad-ayan and Nelson Diazen in Binaka. Bad-ayan reported 15 full members and four probationary while Binaka reported 16 full members and 17 probationary. Yet it must be understood that Binaka had been a preaching point started by Mayona during his term in Mt. Data. Daniel Chicay (a member of Loo Church) went to take charge of it with Bayacsan and Diazen.\(^{180}\) Cotcot, Buguias, began as an outreach through Bayacsan while Daniel Chicay was assigned to Luzong. Bangao, on the other hand, was an outreach of Mario Cubalit, who received his training in Loo Church during the Campus Crusade for Christ in 1984. He was

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178 Interview with Mrs. Nora P. Lee, December 23, 2005.
179 Butag, “History of the Church of the Nazarene in Zone Eight, North Central Luzon District,” 19.
an avid supporter of the Woodland Gospel Trio. During the time of Mario Cubalit’s outreach in Bangao, he was already a member of the Abatan Church, which, since 1977, had been pastored by his wife, Martha Noces Cubalit. According to the District Assembly Journal, Bangao was “organized in November 29, 1987 as a result of the follow-up ministry of our lay Pastor, Bro. Felicio Bayacsan after a Nazarene crusade that was conducted.” (This crusade was through the ministry of Dr. Cunningham with Abdon Butag in 1987.) “A family has considered donating a property for the church building.” The D.S. “requested Rev. Samuel Mayona, our designated Zone Coordinator, to take charge of the paper works.” The year 1988 was also the beginning of the zone’s progress in building churches. DS Bernabe reported,

Binaka church put up a 26’x 40’ church building with concrete GI walling and GI roofing. Mr. and Mrs. Oliver Libang donated the GI roofing and the lot. Loo Valley Church donated P 5000 and Dr. Rolando Ganasi P 2000. Other materials, labor and cash came from the members of Binaka and from the Work and Wetness team of Zone Six (they are composed of members from Loo and other daughter churches existing at that time, led under the planning of Rev. S. Mayona). The leadership of Rev. Mayona in the construction was very envaluable. I have the honor to dedicate the building in November 24, 1987 simultaneously dedicating 36 children and baptizing 10 believers.

Mario Cubalit, with his wife as his associate, was assigned to pastor Mt. Data Church in 1990. Four years later, after she was ordained a deacon, Cubalit’s wife was the recorded senior pastor, and Cubalit became her associate.

By 1989, the Loo Church ranked as the third highest on the District in its overall income, which amounted to P65,400, Angeles City Church was ranked first (P111,883) and

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Pico Church second (P94,935). The following year, Ptr. Rimando Fernandez became pastor of the church in Bangao. Fernandez was a nephew of Ptr. Felicio Bayacsan. He was converted in Loo as a young man and went to NBC to study. After his graduation, he was assigned in Bangao as a full time pastor.

In 1995, the Loo NYI, together with other youth volunteers from Bangao and Mt. Data, went to Asin, Tuba, Benguet to help in the construction of the church building for two days. It was a scheduled activity by the “Bridgemakers,” an organization of collegians studying at various colleges in Baguio, made up of Nazarene youth from Benguet and Mountain Province. I was a part of this event that time. During the day, the NYI vigorously worked, and at night, they conducted evangelistic services. Again, in 2000, Viollydia Lartec, then pastoring Asin Church, invited a group of NYI from Loo Church to install windows and cover the rough wall with fine cement. This time, Ptr. Felicio Bayacsan, who served as our driver and preacher, accompanied us. The Loo NYI failed, though, to make records of such uncounted activities.

**Education**

The greatest influence of the church upon the community relates to education. Children of members became active participants of youth groups in schools and were recognized as the most disciplined students. Though not all of them became promising students, many were listed among the honorable mentions, and several became valedictorians. This was probably the result of the church’s focus on Sunday School classes.

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for children and the Daily Vacation Bible School, where children were all the more enhanced with Christian narratives and principles.

The VBS had its beginning in 1975 under Alipio Bustamante. Yet even though VBS started during this year, it was not consistently focused upon until the last two years of Figuracion's pastorate. Since Mayona's term in Loo began in 1985, VBS has been a prioritized program of the church.

In May 1990, a proposed plan to establish a Foundation of Montanosa Nazarene Lay Pastor's Institute for training and enhancing lay workers who were not privileged to study at NBC was forwarded to the District Advisory Board for consideration. Bernabe reported:

The training of lay pastors on the northern portion of our district for the highland provinces became a burden on the hearts of Rev. Samuel Mayona, Rev. & Mrs. Rex Ray dela Peret, Miss Juliet Dominguez, hence, they presented a manifesto to the DAB bearing program of the proposed institute.

Last May, 1990, DAB unanimously approved of its foundations to the fact that their program is in consonance with our ministerial training philosophy and objectives and that it will not defeat the existence of Luzon Nazarene Bible College. They followed the course of ministerial study prescribed by the Manual. It means that graduates from this institute could be ordained and students could be granted local and district licenses.

Last year, 1990, they have an enrollment of 15, several of them are lay pastors. Extra-curricular requirements for every student not having a regular pastoral assignment is to open new congregation. To this effect, they badly need motorbikes for easy transport to their mountain location. I recommend to the DAB that this need will be put on the proposed approved specials including books for their library.188

Rex Ray and Perlitat Dela Peret are graduates of LNBC and APNTS. Perlita Dela Peret is the oldest daghr of Paul and Juanita Bay-an, while Rex Ray is from the lowlands. After pasturing in Teresa, Rizal, the family moved to Loo to work among the highlanders, in Bila, Bauko, Mt. Province, while conducting theological trainings that lasted for a year. Soon the Dela Perets applied for missionary work and they were appointed as Filipino missionaries to Guam, and then to Chuuk, Micronesia. Although the institute lasted only during the Dela

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Peret’s stay in Zone Six, the vision was still alive among the Zone Six leaders. When the Theological Education by Extension program of the Philippines Field was proposed in 2000, Abatan Church volunteered to use their building.\textsuperscript{189} By 2004, the Loo Church sent five students to Bible College and one to Seminary. The support of the local church could hardly be measured for we, the students, have been supported both materially and morally.

\textbf{The Church Today}

In 1991, Paul Bay-an became an ordained minister of the Church of the Nazarene, preaching from time to time during special occasions and during prayer meetings. The Lumiqued family remained as faithful as ever to the Church of the Nazarene, greatly supporting her in many aspects. Atty. Severino Lumiqued, Jr., for example, a nephew of the pioneer pastor, Antonio Lumiqued, is now serving the Church as a Sunday School teacher and sometimes a pulpit minister despite his busy schedule in legal matters. The Potpotan family still remains in the church, showing their deep allegiance and love to the church that nurtured earlier family members. Other families, which I failed to mention in this paper, are appreciated too. Their faith will make a history for the generations to follow.

Loo Church, being the mother church of Zone Six, is not free from struggles and conflicts. Rev. Mayona confessed about the great struggles he encountered in pastoral ministry. Two are most crucial. Hardest is the problem of solving relationship conflicts. Mayona said, “In the church, do not expect that everyone would agree with you. Many would love you and many would not. The problem of your flock would become yours. It is a mental thing so that it would affect your health. I only divert some of these problems by focusing myself to those who would want to work with me.” Giving practical suggestions about this

issue, Mayona said, “Approach everyone. Those who could help, give them church-related or at least meaningful work. Then after giving them work to do, give them the freedom and trust the Lord that He will give them the vision for the Lord knows why He put someone in that position.”

Another struggle is financial. Preaching on tithing, Mayona says, is the hardest topic: “I understand that farmers do not always have money. For the professionals, it is not a great issue for them, but how about those that have only but few every harvest? It is really hard. I only do so by slightly discussing this topic, and then soon they would see that it could be a wonderful message.” Yet the journal reveals that during Mayona’s first ten years, after 1985, there was an increase in the church’s giving, from P41,137 to P92,256 per year. By 2004, another nine years later, the church has raised P151,629, a sure sign that the Loo congregation has learned the meaning of giving. The children of the early families became professionals and found work. They remained faithful and devoted to the church that baptized them, and faithful in giving their tithes. Another factor is the faithful giving of successful business men and women. Since the beginning of the Church of the Nazarene in Zone Six, the honorarium of pastors and workers did not come from dependence upon subsidy from foreign funds. By 2005, each local church in Zone Six provided an “honorary” salary for the pastor.

As of 2004 to 2005, the church is focusing on the District Project of Natural Church Development. Mayona said, it “is the most beautiful means right now. When it was presented to the church district, I suggested it to be so before there would be church planting. The

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church needed to be discipled first before they could go out and begin another daughter.”

Asked about how they are applying what they are learning from the NCD, he explained:

I and the team (they are the ones attending the NCD seminar scheduled two to three times a month) discussed our prayer life together and I see this very helpful especially for me. The team became a wonderful group that shares together the reality of life and struggles in Christian living. NCD resulted to a harmonious relationship, helping us to be more intentional in planning. I see this as a means of God to revive the church. The latest survey presented that the weakest point of Loo Church and it is Loving Relationship. On February, we are targeting to meet the demand of closer relationship. We are on the move, especially reviving cell grouping. On Sunday, we are having a coffee break so that we will discover a family-type program from 9:00 – 10:00, we will finish the Sunday School then have a coffee break. The rational of this is to make everyone feel that each member of the body is part of the family. Since relationship is the problem, we are discovering practical means to solve this.193

Conclusion

Except for the Sinipsip Church of the Nazarene, all of the Nazarene churches in Zone Six, if they could be properly traced back, exist directly and indirectly through the influences of the Loo Church of Nazarene. The greatest thrust of influence was from the training of lay workers in the Loo church. Today, these lay workers are still functionally involved in pioneering and pastoral works.

Two of these lay workers are now serving as politicians, yet are faithful members of the Church of the Nazarene in Zone Six. Felicio Bayacsan, who is now the vice mayor of Buguias Municipality, is still serving as pastor of Bangao Church of the Nazarene. Roberto Camilo, while serving as the Barangay Captain of Baculungan Norte, Buguias, Benguet still faithfully attends Bad-ayan Church of the Nazarene. While the church had not been involved so much in political matters, the rising social consciousness is intentionally given importance.

Since Mayona began his pastorate in Loo in 1985, he was also appointed as the Zone Coordinator, representing ten other local churches aside from Loo by 2004. The church’s

vision is now focusing on healing diseased relationships among the members, promoting unity with other denominations without compromising the distinctive teaching on holiness as the main reason of the Church of the Nazarene’s existence.¹⁹⁴

Notwithstanding the time, the church is envisioning to start other daughter churches as a collective work, rather than by appointee, and this would begin as soon as the mother church is re-strengthened by focusing first upon relationships. One target of the church is Sitio Sayangan, Bad-ayan, Buguias Benguet. It is a vision by one of the members as he saw the place without any church yet. Hoping for the right time and season as they are now praying for it, Loo Church will soon bear another child. The Dela Peret family, serving as international missionaries, also marked the possibility of more missionaries from the local church to be sent abroad, as time allows.

THE LUTHERAN CHURCH

Soul and Body Healing: The Lutheran Church and its Hospital

The work of the Lutheran Church in the Philippines began through a Filipino missionary, Rev. Alvaro Cariño, who was sent by the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod after the World War II. In April, 1940, Cariño, together with Rev. O. H. Schmidt, set out to explore the country for the possibilities of missional works. This laid the milestone for the Lutheran work in the Philippines, which was officially started in 1946, centering the work in Metro Manila. The work of the Lutherans spread outside Manila in the succeeding years.¹⁹⁵

Lutheran missionary work began in the Mountain Provinces as early as 1949. The tireless effort of Rev. Simon Bilagot made the work of Lutherans flourish in the highland. Simon Bilagot was a son of a pagan priest and priestess, born into a head-hunter tribe on July 26, 1916, at Bala-ao, Tadian, Mt. Province. His early encounter with Protestantism was during his classes in history, especially the study of the Reformation. The topics related to the Reformation and the Roman Catholic Church interested him, which, in turn, spurred him to study Protestant teachings. He was converted to faith in 1940 and soon worked as a lay evangelist for the United Church of Christ in the Philippines, one of the earlier denominations in the Philippines. After WW II, Bilagot studied in the UCCP Bible Training School in San Fernando and became pastor-in-charge of interior Ilocos Sur and the western Mt. Province. During this time, he met several Lutheran missionaries and decided to take theological training under them. Bilagot was ordained as a Lutheran minister in 1952.¹⁹⁶

After ordination, Bilagot went to his home place in Guinzadan, Bauko, Mt. Province. Seeing the need for the gospel to be preached in the area, which was, at that time, bound by paganic traditions and customs, he persuaded the American Lutheran missionaries to conduct with him a survey in the mountain area. As a result of a year’s survey, the Lutheran work began among the Kankanaeys in September 1949, beginning at Guinzadan, Bauko, Mt. Province and spreading to the surrounding villages and towns. Bilagot served as a local missionary to Loo and Abatan while he was based at Guinzadan. Rev. L. Nieting was first assigned as a foreign missionary to accompany Bilagot and was joined by Rev. Herbert Kretzmann in 1950.197 In November the following year, Kretzmann and Bilagot surveyed Benguet and decided to make a center of ministry at Abatan and Loo, two barrios of Buguias. At Loo, Bilagot used filmstrips to attract the pupils of the Loo Settlement Farm and taught them Bible stories during their released-classes. As Mr. Tobero Salawad remembers (it must have been 1954 or 1955), Bilagot and Antonio Lumiqued, who was then a student at Nazarene Bible College, often met together. Both of them conducted Bible classes in the Loo Settlement Farm School during Friday afternoons, but separately. Bilagot moved up to Abatan after these afternoon classes for evening services, sometimes staying at Odenia Leung’s residence, a store building, and sometimes in the open area. In 1955, when Rev. Juraine Hornig took charge of the work in Abatan, Bilagot moved to Sinipsip. Bilagot laid the foundation for both the Christ Lutheran Church in Abatan and the Lutheran Hospital.198

Medical Services and the Birth of a Hospital

The pioneering work of the Lutheran church in reaching the lost in Abatan and Loo simultaneously came along with medical services. The hospital began as a clinic in November 1951 through the combined efforts of the American Lutheran missionaries with Rev. Simon Bilagot and the community people. There were clinics and hospitals during that time located in La Trinidad and in Lepanto, Mankayan, where the beneficiaries were those who were working in the gold mine and their relatives. They were inaccessible to the local people in the mountain areas. Bilagot invited Kretzmann, who was serving as a Lutheran missionary, and Rev. Nieting, to visit his field of ministry. The inadequacy of health facilities, the insufficiency of medicines, and the inaccessibility of clinics and hospitals fueled the vision for these missionaries to build a hospital for the people. Kretzmann and Nieting, seeing the situation as a doorway of opportunity to help the people and as a way of demonstrating the love of God, requested help from the Lutheran Mission. An amount of P200.00 was granted from the Lutheran Mission to be used as a revolving fund for medicines needed for common illnesses. Immediately, a clinic was started.\(^{199}\) Medical services were rendered first in the house of Mr. and Mrs. Docyog Pentiano in Lamagan (one of the sitios in Loo), where Rev. Bilagot was conducting a home Bible study. Pentiano, like Bilagot, was from Balawa, Tadian. While Bilagot conducted film showings at the Loo Settlement Farm school for students in 1953, every weekend he conducted Home Bible Studies at Lamagan, at Pentiano’s house. Pentiano was a shaman priest, yet because Bilagot was his relative, he welcomed him and allowed him to use his house for Home Bible Studies. During these Bible studies, Pentiano would always go away, saying, “That is only for the children.”\(^{200}\) After a

\(^{199}\) Inaugural and Dedication Ceremonies of the Lutheran Hospital Annex, 1985.

\(^{200}\) Interview with Mrs. Maria Pentiano Bayog, January 2, 2006.
year, as the Bible study grew, Pentiano’s house could not accommodate the people due to its small size. So, by the consent of the attendees, the gathering, along with the clinic, moved to Pacya Edoc’s residence in Sitio Lamagan, a far bigger building than the former meeting place. Edoc was a prominent pagan elder in Lamagan. They held Home Bible studies for two years in Lamagan until they moved to Abatan. Abatan was chosen because it strategically connected four main roads to the municipalities of Benguet and Mountain Province, as well as to the more accessible neighboring sitios and barangays of Buguias and Mankayan. These roads also connected three different provinces: Benguet, Ilocos Sur and the Mountain Province. The place served the adjacent towns of Buguias, Mankayan, Bakun, the outlying towns of Tinoc and Hunguan, Ifugao; the towns of Bauko, Tadian, Sabangan, Mountain Province; and Cervantes and Quirino, Ilocos Sur, including some towns of Kalinga and Apayao. Abatan was very strategic for both evangelical and medical mission works, and, during that time, there were more people living in the neighboring areas than in other possible sites that were considered. When they moved to Abatan, the Bible studies being conducted at Pentiano’s residence stopped.

When the Philippine Lutheran Mission held a conference in 1955, they voted to “expand and coordinate our medical work in the Philippines.” A medical committee then was formed to supervise the program. The committee formulated policies and developed plans for expansion and operation. Hornig was elected to chair the committee with Rev.

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201 In fact, the name of the place is simply taken from its literal meaning. “Abatan” is a Kankana-ey term translated as “a place of meeting.” *Inaugural and Dedication Ceremonies of the Lutheran Hospital Annex*. Also, provide a map for Appendices.


203 *Inaugural and Dedication Ceremonies.*
Thomas P. Batong as secretary, Dr. Leo Florendo as the treasurer, and Mrs. Leo Pardilla as the assistant treasurer.\textsuperscript{204}

In 1958, American missionary Juraine Hornig, then living in Baguio, was assigned to the mountain area as a full-time missionary. He centered his ministry in Abatan, where the Lutheran clinic and the Home Bible Study were located. Hornig expressed well the mission of the Lutheran Church in the community: “Our ministry is for both the soul and body, and so the necessity for a church and clinic here must be realized.” With the tireless and united efforts of Rev. Nieting and Rev. Kretzmann, partnering with a medical doctor from Baguio General Hospital, Dr. Leo Florendo, and a nurse, Miss Joyce Bilagot, who were temporarily based in Sinipsip, another barangay in Buguias. Missionaries such as Rev. Louis Y. Nau and Mrs. Gloria Becker offered assistance to these medical clinics. The missionary women also helped in basic medical measures. A mobile clinic was started, and soon, more local clinic outstations were positioned in different localities in the mountains to provide medical services. In these outstations home Bible studies were also conducted. These outstations are a gathering of those who were not yet organized congregations, but included men and women whom, as the missionaries saw it, were seeking for personal relationship with Christ through their attendance at Home Bible Studies.\textsuperscript{205}

As these local clinic outstations and home Bible studies expanded, an immediate need for a permanent clinic for medical services was demanded. A proposal passed by the committee was then approved, that a permanent clinic be built in Abatan. They used a potato

\textsuperscript{204} Inaugural and Dedication Ceremonies; The Philippine Lutheran 17: 6.
\textsuperscript{205} Inaugural and Dedication Ceremonies.
bodega for worship services and an adjacent room for medical services. Both "soul and body healing" were administered to the people.\textsuperscript{206}

The clinic was built, through the help of the community people nearby Abatan, in 1961. At first, the lot was donated, but was soon paid by mission subsidy. The clinic began with few medicines. The townspeople devoted more than two days for free labor. Later, this free labor was being asked for compensation when workers came to be hospitalized in the later years, asking for free medicines due to their free labor.\textsuperscript{207} In a special edition publication of \textit{The Philippine Lutheran} in 1966, the Lutherans defended their motive of reaching out to the people of the mountains with medicine:

"A church expressing its faith in acts of love," is another objective of Lutheran work in the Philippines. Poverty, ignorance and disease cannot be ignored. The mission early recognized the need for medical aid, especially among the mountain tribes.

The fears and superstitions that have governed the lives of the Igorots for centuries are not easily forgotten. But they cannot ignore the almost miraculous results which modern medicines work. Neither can they fail to see that the pagan sacrifice and prayer rituals of theory pagan priests do little to relieve suffering. When mountain people accept modern medicine, they must begin to doubt the power of the pagan spirits. Thus this service of love also provides an opening for the Gospel.\textsuperscript{208}

\textit{The Philippine Lutheran} also reported that "almost one million Filipinos are pagans. In the mountains of North Luzon this religion is well defined with a system of sacrifices, rites and omens. In all areas paganism is a religion of fear and despair." The report continued: "Jagged peaks and swift rivers separate the mountain tribes. Custom and tradition strengthened the separation, and a strong tribal competition as to which is the fiercest warrior tribe and strongest and most dreaded." These served to be major challenges to the missionaries in order to reach out to the pagan Igorots, along with the variety of dialects, remote villages,

\textsuperscript{206} Inaugural and Dedication Ceremonies.
\textsuperscript{207} \textit{The Philippine Lutheran} 17 (March 1967): 5-7; \textit{The Philippine Lutheran} 21 (June 1971) 24-26; Interview with Conrado Bolinto, December 22, 2005. Bolinto heard it from Rev. Hornig who expressed his holistic mission.
\textsuperscript{208} \textit{The Philippine Lutheran} 16, Special Edition (January 1966): 24.
fear of ancestral spirits, resistance to change, illiteracy, tribal wars, lack of quality government services and poverty and disease.\textsuperscript{209} So in order to speed missionaries of the Gospel and medical aid into the remote places in the mountains, the Lutheran mission in the said area, headed by Rev. Hornig, constructed airstrips in the mountains. The people, being long held by fears and superstitions, began to respond and opened up to new changes. They joined the missionaries in constructing the airstrips, willingly carved out the mountain slopes, often using only hand tools. As a result, mountain villagers were supplied with spiritual and physical aid within minutes.\textsuperscript{210}

On January 22, 1967, an approximate 1,000 persons attended the dedication of the new Lutheran Hospital in Abatan. During this time, Rev. David Meyer was the so-called Mountain Trail missionary. Meanwhile, Hornig, chairman of the Medical Committee, commented about the hopeful possibility of a self-supporting hospital. Rev. Hornig, while serving as the chairman of the Philippine Lutheran mission medical committee, worked as a missionary in the locality, emphasizing a holistic approach, “soul and body” healing. This was his healing ministry, providing both a church and a clinic for the people.\textsuperscript{211} Hornig observed that “the medical program is out of its initial stages and the economic situation has so improved in the past ten years that we can and should expect patients to pay for the cost of services and medicines supplied by the Medical Mission.”\textsuperscript{212} In the past, during the initial stage of the hospital, only one-third of the actual costs were charged to the patients, covering

\textsuperscript{210} The Philippine Lutheran 22 (July 1972): 10.
\textsuperscript{211} Interviews with Conrado Bolinto, December 22, 2005; Magno Dangpa, September 8, 2005; Mrs. Maria Bayog, January 2, 2006; Mrs. Gina Gisala, December 21, 2005.
\textsuperscript{212} The Philippine Lutheran 17: 5-6; The Philippine Lutheran 21 (December 1971): 28-29; Inaugural and Dedication Ceremonies of the Lutheran Hospital Annex, September 15, 1985.
only the cost of medicines. But in 1965, records show that 90 percent of the patients were able to pay their bill.\textsuperscript{213}

By 1985, the hospital served an approximate 120,000 people. The Lutheran Hospital is perhaps the greatest achievement and the most impacting institution that the Lutheran Church has so far built in Northern Luzon, extending its prominence not only in Buguias but also in the Northern Benguet and in the Southern Mountain Province. New facilities at the hospital were inaugurated and dedicated on September 15, 1985.\textsuperscript{214}

The Work in the Valley

The start of the Lutheran Church in the area was deeply related to the Lutheran Hospital clinic in Abatan. Though the Lutheran Church in Buguias began some Bible studies in the Loo Valley 1951, as Ptr. Bilagot came to Buguias, yet Abatan became the center of the Lutheran’s work, and Loo served as an outstation. The Lutherans used kankanaey hymns as early as 1950s, even during the time of Ptr. Simon Bilagot. Apparently, these songs were

\textsuperscript{213} The Philippine Lutheran 17: 5.
\textsuperscript{214} The Philippine Lutheran 18 (1968.): 12-13; Inaugural and Dedication Ceremonies of the Lutheran Hospital Annex, September 15, 1985.
translated from English by the American Lutheran missionaries who had spent much time learning the local dialect, Norbert Becker and Juraine Hornig, with Rev. Simon Bilagot.215

The outreach of the Lutheran Church that started in Loo Settlement Farm School in 1956 transferred from Loo to Lamagan to Ge-day and finally to Abatan, as the strategic place to center the missionary work. When the congregation in Abatan began to consider restarting the work in Loo, it did not do so in Loo Proper, but started in the northwestern part of the Valley, in Sitio Taba-ao.

The continuous ministration in Loo was often delayed due to the lack of ministers to the area.216 Meanwhile, the ministry of Rev. Bilagot was extending southward into the other municipalities such as Buguias and Mankayan. The Abatan Christ Lutheran Church mothered many more outstations. These outstations were areas of outreach, being visited at intervals by Lutheran missionaries and key laypersons. Most of Lutheran outstations became congregations. Unlike Pattee and other Nazarene missionaries, and missionaries of other denominations, such as those who helped the Philippine Bethel Church and the Happy Family Church, Hornig never conducted mass evangelistic crusades, except during Christmas. On the other hand, the Lutheran clinic at that time attracted more people to listen to the gospel than a crusade would have. Instead, Hornig took many lay persons with him to the field. He learned their local language, and then used them as back-ups. Laypersons were only asked to testify and share their conversion experiences during these outreaches. Hornig taught them through practical house Bible studies. Hornig trained Magno Dangpa, Tobero Salawad, Quinisan, Viviana Quinisan and Sebia Dangpa, to teach and preach in the Taba-ao.

215 Interview with Mrs. Maria Pentiano Bayog, January 2, 2006. A reprint of these hymns are now available. See Kankantan di Kristiyano (2003).
216 Interview with Conrado Bolinto, December 22, 2005; Inaugural and Dedication Ceremonies of the Lutheran Hospital Annex.
outstation. The local congregation of Taba-ao was soon established through the continuous effort of these laypersons, who would take turns during Sundays. As these lay persons were trained in the outstations, Hornig would leave them to take charge of the emerging congregations and would only visit them once or twice a month depending upon the number of outstations he had to visit. This Hornig did for eleven years, when he left for Baguio to teach at the Lutheran Theological Seminary. 217

When Hornig came to the Lutheran hospital in 1967, he resided as the missionary pastor and initiated the construction of the hospital clinic, the church building and the mission house. Hornig was a very energetic person, well loved and appreciated by the common people because he learned to speak fluently in Kankanaey. 218

While the construction was going on, Rev. Hornig temporarily stayed at a rented a house of Dr. Marero, near the Municipal hall. After the mission house was built near the hospital clinic, he transferred and stayed as the resident missionary and hospital pastor. He conducted many seminars purposely to train the laity who were assigned to local outstations

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217 Interview with Tobero Salawad, January 7, 2006; Interview with Conrado Bolinto, December 22, 2005; Interview with Magno Dangpa, September 8, 2005.
218 Interview with Jose Bayog, January 2, 2006. Bayog served as the X-Ray technician in the Lutheran Hospital clinic for a long time since the time of Hornig and he as well served as the driver of hospital mobile car for the missionary. The constructed airstrips mentioned in these particular locations are no longer in use. Bangao airstrip for example is now a residential area where many local people who have claimed their legal rights to the land built their homes.
and/or who went with him on his itinerant outreaches to the different mountain sites. Hornig used written materials and series of lectures.  

Hornig would often be out for a week, especially if the visited sites demanding long walks and mountain hiking. During the weekdays of his stay in the Abatan mission house, he would always check the employees’ performances, requiring cleanliness and good manners in the hospital wards and towards the patients. He imposed compulsory morning devotions from Monday to Saturday, with different ministers and able spiritual leaders from various Protestant denominations present during the 1960s. These included Nazarenes, and Anglicans, as well as Lutherans. The morning devotions were conducted in the hospital from 8:00 to 8:30 a.m. During Wednesdays, it is compulsory for every hospital employee, the staff and crew to join the evening prayer meeting. During Sundays, the employees are allowed to go to their own denominations. This ministry of the hospital and the continuous early devotions of the nurses and employees.  

In 1961, Hornig came to Abatan and he initiated the construction of the hospital clinic, the hospital church and the mission house. Hornig’s tours took him around mountain trails. Months were divided so as to visit outstations, training laypersons and Sunday school teachers every Saturday. If Hornig was at one of these outstations, a lay preacher would preach at the hospital church. Hornig approached the old folks easily and there were many old pagan priests who were converted. Hornig’s ability to understand and speak the local dialect allowed him to be a community person. Thus, every time there was a cañao, Hornig was usually invited, hoping to win them to the faith. Mrs. Docyog observed that though

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219 This manner of training continued until the time of Newton. Interview with Magno Dangpa, September 8, 2005, who said that there were outlined sermons given to them to use.

220 Interview with Gina Gisala, December 21, 2005; and Mrs. Jose and Maria Bayog, January 2, 2006. See the written testimony in Inaugural and Dedication Ceremonies of the Lutheran Hospital Annex, 1985.
Hornig would go if the cañiao was initiated by a pagan family. But when a professing Christian, who turned back to the old faith, would conduct a cañiao, Hornig would never attend the occasion. 221

Magno Dangpa, one of the trained laypersons, joined the Lutheran Church in 1962. 222 Dangpa feared the rituals and the traditional ug-ugali, though neither he nor any of his family members were shamans. He was afraid of turning away from his paganic upbringing and orientation. One time, during a gathering at Tobero Salawad’s house, he joined and heard Rev. Hornig preaching, with Mr. Edoc as the translator and guide. The first passage used was the story of Job. That was in 1961 when the Lutheran missionaries began at Taba-ao through home Bible studies, a year before the Lutheran Hospital clinic was established in Abatan. 223

When the time came to decide for a church building, a lot was donated in Abatan, including a mission house. 224 Bolinto devoted at least a few minutes to discuss his own opinion about the Lutheran evangelistic approach in the 1960s:

When the missionaries had made compromises with paganic rituals, and about the laws of Christianity, the result was tested not over time, but through the history of the local church. Time has tested the real results of the missionary works. In the 60s, I could remember that there was relief from the Lutheran World Federation, like the Bulgar, a kind of food which, when cooked, is like a champorado. And clothings, were being given after every Sunday service. I think it was purposely an appeal to the people, to use them as bait so that the people could attend the church service. 225

Bolinto observed that though the people did not really like to attend the church, they used such “bait” instead of Home Bible Studies to draw people into the church.

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221 Interview with Mrs. Maria Pentiano Bayog, January 2, 2006. She was one of the women who were trained to teach Sunday school and stayed with the missionary couples, Rev. Hornig and family and Rev. Meyer family. See pictures.
222 Taba-ao Redeemer Lutheran Church in the Philippines, Baptismal Record, 4.
223 For a detailed discussion on the traditional beliefs and practices of the people, see Wasing D. Sacla, Treasury of Beliefs and Home Rituals of Benguet (Baguio City: BCF Press, 1987); Inaugural and Dedication Ceremonies of the Lutheran Hospital Annex, 1985.
224 Interview with Ptr. Magno Dangpa, September 8, 2005.
225 Interview with Conrado Bolinto, December 22, 2005.
During the time of the earlier missionaries, though, especially that of Hornig and Meyer, there was a great ignorance in the matters of cultural and traditional beliefs, related to the ugali of old folks. As Mr. Bolinto recollects, the greatest cultural struggle which the missionaries encountered was the clash with the folk traditional rituals in Buguias. The gambong (clay pot filled with rice wine), for example, was being brought out by old folks, to be blessed by the "whites" and then, after the "whites" blessing, the old folks would also bless it, and by doing so dedicate it to their ancestors for their blessings. Unknowingly, after the missionary would pray, the old folks would also do their rituals, and call for the ab-abi-ik or souls of their ancestors to join them in their celebrations. There is an obvious combination of Christian and animistic rituals, and was prominent not only among Lutherans at that time, but also among the Roman Catholics and Anglicans.226

This was, as Bolinto thinks, out of ignorance on the missionaries' part, because they thought it was okay and pleasing to the community people. The motive was right in trying to please the community by joining their celebration and by praying over the gambong and, yes,

226 Interview with Conrado Bolinto, December 22, 2005, Tobero Salawad, January 7, 2006 and Magno Dangpa, September 8, 2005. Gambong is a clay pot of rice wine with a set of food and drinks, consisted of three plates of red rice, big slices of pork or cow or carabao meat (this depending upon the occasion or celebration or party because not all occasions require the same kind of animals to be butchered with a ta-pey or rice wine. The la-lakay (recognized shaman priests and elders) would offer the a-ted (prayer), calling all the spirits of the dead ancestors of the family who are hosting that occasion to join the occasion and bring blessings for the family. For more information and detailed discussions about this, see Bagamasapad and Pawid, A Peoples' History of Benguet Province, 79-88, 92-110, 114-139, 160-165; Sacla, Treasury of Beliefs and Home Rituals of Benguet; Martin L. Lewis, "Mansida in Buguias," (a paper presented to the University of California, 1987 [copy available at St. Andrews Seminary]); Pedro Bestre, "A History of Buguias," in Benguet History Project (Baguio City: Cordillera Studies Center, 1983); Rodolfo T. Abastilla, "The Culture of the Kankanais of Barrio Tagudtod: A Case Study," (M.A. thesis, University of Baguio, Baguio City, 1977); Moises C. Bello, "Some Observations on Beliefs and Rituals of the Bakun- Kankanay," in Studies in Philippine Anthropology, ed. Mario Zamora, 324-342 (Quezon City: Alemar-Phoenix Publishing House, 1967); Moises C. Bello, Kankana-ey Social Organization and Cultural Changes (Quezon City, Phil.: Community Development Research Council, U.P., 1972). This notes a good example to what Berger observed as the effect of the interaction among people of the culture with other people (the missionaries in this context) who bear another paradigms, i.e. in theology and education. Bay-an and Lumiqued among the Nazarenes, for examples, were educated with another paradigms. A process begins - externalization, objectivation and internalization - and soon results to an output, which consequently either to challenge the accepted patterns and sets of norms in the culture, or to be of meaning to the culture. See Berger, The Heretical Imperative: Contemporary Possibilities of Religious Affirmation, 6, 19-20; Berger, The Sacred Canopy, 5-13.
indeed, the old folks as well as the community people loved the missionaries. But the consequences were proven to be lasting. The adding of the Christian prayer and paganic ritual, which is still strong today among the Lutherans and some other Christians, made the community people think that the combined power of Christianity and the folk or paganic rituals would ensure more blessings.\textsuperscript{227}

In 1965, Rev. David Meyer and his family joined Rev. Hornig in the mission work. Hornig continued to equip laypersons, walking through the mountains until the construction of the airstrips. Meyer also joined the work of training laypersons while working as the supply missionary pastor of Abatan Congregation. He used kankanaey sermons translated and checked by Maria Bayog.\textsuperscript{228}

As early as 1966, a struggle for a self-governance was manifest and was a source of anxiety for the Lutheran missionaries and leaders, who confessed that "more than self-


\textsuperscript{228} Interview with Mrs. Maria Pentiano Bayog, January 2, 2006.
government is involved in organizing a national church. At present, Lutheran work in the
Philippines is largely subsidized by the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod.\textsuperscript{229} The increasing
demand for workers in the field was also another issue. From 1946 to 1966, nationwide,
baptized members increased to almost 7,000, averaging 580 added members every year.\textsuperscript{229}

By 1966, Hornig left for Baguio and served only as a visiting missionary and Meyer
took charge the mission work as the resident missionary pastor in Abatan, while continually
training laity. Meyer stayed for four years.\textsuperscript{230} In 1968, Joaquin Bilagot, Simon Bilagot’s
nephew, came to Abatan and Loo to assist Meyer during the summer months before his
permanent assignment as missionary pastor in Abatan the following year. During one of
Bilagot’s summer internship in the area, he and Hornig hiked 45 minutes upward to Taba-ao
Chapel and soon people gathered outside. They brought out the pulpit, altar and benches and
conducted an open air service. In 1969, Bilagot became the resident Pastor in Abatan and
continued to itinerate. Records reveal that during his pastorate in Abatan from 1969 to 1975,
he baptized 55 converts. Bilagot’s stay in Abatan proved to be of good result. He made use of
his knowledge of Kankanaey and Ilocano and taught doctrine classes, Bible classes and
training classes for Sunday school teachers. He also counseled with people, made visits to
many hospital patients and conducted several worship services.\textsuperscript{231}

In the 1970s, Lutheran laypersons were educated theologically by means of personal
discipleship and seminars with missionaries and educated Filipino leaders who saw them as
able prospects. The missionaries would list their names, and then call them to attend
afternoon seminars every Saturday and Sunday. The seminars varied. Local seminars were

\textsuperscript{230} Interview with Mrs. Maria Pentiano Bayog, January 2, 2006; interview with Conrado Bolinto,
\textsuperscript{231} *The Philippine Lutheran* 18 (September 1968): 14.
for the whole congregation in the area where the seminar was conducted with an invited lecturer. “Circuit” seminars were for the whole mountain area Lutheran congregations, including the outstations. Among all the outstations, there would only be three or four pastors who were roaming around, training laypersons through these seminars. This program was known as Theological Education by Extension. Circuit seminars were conducted once in three months for three days, with selected Filipino pastors and available missionaries as leaders. The missionaries also assigned able Filipino leaders to continue the work in the outstations. These pastors were theologically equipped to teach basic biblical doctrines. District seminars were conducted twice a year, and these must be attended by all the laypersons in the highland district for ten days. 232

When the LCP celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary in 1971, Rev. Hornig acknowledged that “The LCP has reached a milestone in her history. As far as churches go LCP is still a baby. Its size and brief history indicate that. But there is a certain amount of maturity which even a church of 25 years can have. The LCP has a clearer understanding of what the church and ministry really are.” 233 The issues of subsidy and self-sufficiency caused the greatest trials among the pastors and leaders. The problems arose because the sustenance of the ministers in the field was threatened. Among those in the mountain area, in particular, in addition to these issues was another reason for division in the Lutheran Church, cultural. The cultural one affected Lutheran congregations and outstations only in the highlands and occurred basically among the local leaders.

232 The Philippine Lutheran 27 (July 1977): 12-13. Rev. Thomas Batong in his special article on “The Matter on Theological Education,” reported that there was an existing Theological Education by Extension already among the laity in their districts. While the Lutheran Church has started a pre-seminary program way back 1953, and started proper seminary training in 1955, Batong is still doubtful “whether the present system of theological education within LCP is answering the over-all ministerial needs of the church.” Batong asked, “Are there other ways of training men for the ministry that does not have to follow an institutionalized program?” See also Interview with Conrado Bolinto, December 22, 2005.
233 The Philippine Lutheran 21 no. 3 (September 1971): 4.
By 1976 Rev. Lasegan Sr. was assigned as the hospital church pastor. Lasegan started ecumenical services among the Protestant in Buguias, Mankayan and in Bauko. Lasegan stayed for four years until another American missionary, Robert Newton, came. When Lasegan left, the ecumenical gatherings of the denominations ceased.234

Newton, another American Lutheran missionary came, arrived in Abatan after Lasegan and stayed from 1978 to 1982. It was during Newton’s stay when the issue on gambong and many other folk ways of the community were exposed, including some vices of Lutheran members. Mrs. Docyog confessed:

The most tragic event I encountered during the time the Lutheran Church in Buguias was on its way to growth was the turning of some laypersons to vices such as wine drinking and gambling. When the missionaries went away, some laymen swayed and joined the common vices of the day. When Newton came, he was very strict and refused to use the former laypersons that are known to have vices.235

The clash against culture and vice was so deep and hard that after Robert Newton’s continuous effort to re-educate the laity, outstations begin to emphasize the necessity of completely giving up pagan worship in order to become a Christian. Those who wished to be baptized must have completely rejected paganism and turned to the biblical doctrines.236 Newton was invited to pray for the gambong. Newton afterwards asked the laypersons that were with him that time what the food meant for the old folks, and for the community. The answer he received made him decide to conduct weekly seminars for the congregations and for the laypersons. Believing that the act itself and the rituals were idolatrous, he imposed the seminar upon all the lay persons and Filipino pastors who were assigned in the mountain area.237

235 Interview with Mrs. Maria Pentiano Bayog, January 2, 2006.
236 Interview with Conrado Bolinto, December 22, 2005, interview with Tobero Salawad, January 7, 2006; interview with Magn Dangpa, September 8, 2005.
237 Interview with Conrado Bolinto, December 22, 2005.
The plan for a paradigm shift that Newton designed has proven to be a very strong clash against culture. It bore some consequences and effects. The reason for the seminars itself offended a lay person who was converted and trained during the terms of the earlier missionaries. The lay person said that he did not necessarily need to undergo these seminars. Besides, he argued, he was already trained and taught by the early missionaries that way. Another effect was the loss of the trained laity, who said that “the early missionaries allowed us to do these two rituals together. Why is it that you, being late and new to the area are strict when it comes to this?” Many backed out from the Lutheran church. Bolinto explained: “The missionaries did not know. When there is an occasion for the family, whether it is a thanksgiving or dedication, they would usually invite whoever is the missionary present that time, as well as the pagan priests. Yes, the missionary would prepare for the Christian rituals and liturgies. But, after the missionary is done, here comes the old folks to do their own also.”

The missionaries, with the agreement of the earlier converts, believed that Christianity principles and doctrines should be taught slowly. “They called for us,” Lutherans reasoned, “and it is an opportunity for us to reach these pagans. Let us just do our way and let them do their own.” This tragedy perennially affected not only those who were in the Lutheran church, especially the lay persons who underwent other seminars, but also the community people who were now confused and confounded with their long held unchecked beliefs. Most of the older people in the community and those who agreed with the syncretic approach accused those who radically emphasized total rejection of the cultural rituals. But

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238 The strong reliance upon Bolinto’s testimony regarding this matter was on the basis that he was present during the time of the early missionaries, and he was personally asked by Rev. Meyer regarding the meaning of the gambong.
the old folks remained unmoved, saying, "Why? The missionaries allowed us to do it? You who are from this place know nothing at all." 239

The reason for this allowance of pagan ritual wedded to Christian rituals was due to the idea of making friends with the old folks, not hurting them by attacking their culture. Another reason was as in the case of Meyer, who only stayed for a short time in the mission work. As for Newton, he stayed for five years and was given the privilege to observe and labor for a longer time and probably saw the effect of mixing together Christian and paganistic rituals and its harm to the biblical doctrine against idolatry and ancestral worship.

Newton could have saved the Lutheran church in Buguias from the syncretistic tendency if only he had arrived earlier than the 1980s. He realized that the foundation of the Lutheran church was at stake. The continuous seminars he conducted explained the character and results of the intermixture of Christian and pagan rituals. As for the older members, they struggled deeply with regards to the missionaries' differences of approach. Some still yielded to the earlier understanding of a "Christ and Culture" model, while others agreed with Newton's understanding about the case of Buguias as "Christ against Culture" model. Nevertheless, the coming of more denominations in Buguias and in the Mountain Province, who are more strict against the paganic culture, strengthened the Lutherans to redefine their paradigm in approaching their own culture. 240 The issue of this cultural misunderstanding and the deep attachment to it is due to the traditional belief which was orally passed from their forefathers. 241

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239 Interview with Conrado Bolinto, December 22, 2005; interview with Tobero Salawad, January 7, 2006.
In 1991 a schism occurred in the Lutheran Church in the Philippines. This was due to polity and finances, triggered by the cutting off of the subsidy coming from the international mission fund of the Lutheran Church in America. Pastors convinced those who were in the spheres of their influence, and the Lutheran Church in the Philippines was divided into two wings, the LCP-ARM (Lutheran Church in the Philippines – Autonomous Religious Movement) and LCP-Highland. This schism affected the Sinipsip congregation most among all the local congregations and outstations in Buguias. Sinipsip was formerly one of the outstations of the Abatan Lutheran Church and hospital. In Sinipsip the temporary clinic had first been located. The pastor of the Sinipsip congregation, being related to the leaders of the LCP-ARM, joined the group and he went home to convince his relatives to side with ARM. Yet many, including most of the daughter churches of Abatan, decided not to take part in the issue, not out of avoiding responsibility, but out of the motive to preserve unity among them in the highlands. They proved their willingness to support their pastors, by supporting their basic material needs. Yet the possibility of reconciliation is in process. Among the older pastors who started the conflict, most of them have died and hopefully, Bolinto remarks, “buried with them their conflicts.”

The reason for this split was that the higher-ups decided to cut off subsidized honoraria. In fact, this is one of the faults of many churches that started a local church that was dependent much upon mission funds. Instead of building a strong, self-supporting church, the result was devastating, allowing the congregation to depend too much upon subsidy. Tithing was being preached but not being enforced. Now, the result is even harder, Bolinto observed. “I wish now that when you begin an outstation, you must preach both the church’s policies and the gospel. You should still preach that tithing is necessary and is

242 Interview with Conrado Bolinto, December 22, 2005.
inclined with biblical faith.” He further remarked, “I for one, deriving from my past and present observation, deduce to say that you should preach the law, impose church disciplines with the gospel.” He continued: “Rather than hoping to do it slowly, you should tell everything plainly. I honestly blame the missionaries who have appeased people, attracted them with food and clothing, which they gave every after Sunday services.”

Lutheran Church At Present

Ptr. Magno Dangpa is now serving as both local pastor of Loo Lutheran Church and a barangay council. He is actively involved in the moral and social recovery of the barangay. He is always being asked to pray every time they gather for barangay council meetings. His being a Christian and a pastor gives much credibility to his reputation. He is active and well respected so as to solve local hard crime cases through amicable settlements. He insists upon a Christian emphasis with regards to moral concerns every time the barangay celebrates their Fiestas. A liquor ban was issued through the efforts of the Christian officials and barangay women. Dangpa began as a barangay councilor in 1994. As a councilor, he is praying for the improvement of the sitio, both the roads and the minds and hearts of the people. He is hoping to find ways to make improvements in the pathways, water supply and local livelihood projects. Being involved in the March for Jesus Fellowship, he is happily involved in an interdenominational fellowship that meets to strengthen each Christian group and pastor.

It was during Newton’s time Bolinto and Dangpa were trained as laypastors. Bolinto, during the years when Abatan Lutheran Church had no assigned resident pastor, stood as the pulpit preacher. Ptr. Ranker Namomo was elected to take charge in 2005. Ptr. Magno Dangpa

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243 Interview with Conrado Bolinto, December 22, 2005.
244 Interview with Ptr. Magno Dangpa, September 8, 2005
is now the incumbent pastor in the Loo Lutheran outstation, located at Sitio Lanas. At present, Ptr. Dario Malacos from Kibungan is the local Church Pastor in Taba-ao. When the small congregation was moved to Abatan, they first built a nipa hut church, and used it for some years. The congregation started soon after many were converted in nearby locations. The Loo congregation was basically a daughter of the Taba-ao Redeemer Lutheran Church. Since there are many converts in Sitio Lanas, the leaders decided it wise to hold another service in Lanas because Taba-ao is considerably far and time consuming. With a mutual agreement, the Lanas congregation started to meet at Ptr. Magno’s son’s house.\textsuperscript{245}

The Sitio Lanas Lutheran Outstation started through a children’s Sunday School class in 2002. Nancy Dangpa, daughter-in-law of Ptr. Magno Dangpa, reported: “I usually gather my own children and started a Sunday School class here before we go up to Taba-ao.” Later some children in sitio Lanas, Taba-ao, due to the tiresome hike going up to Taba-ao, especially during the rainy season, joined the children’s class. Mrs. Dangpa said, “The Lord gave me a burden to start a class for them from 8:00 - 9:00 o’clock in the morning before I and my husband go up to attend the divine service at Taba-ao.” She continued, “When the parents of these young children, who are also from Sitio Lanas but would usually go up to Taba-ao every Sunday, saw that it benefits their children, some suggested to conduct a gathering here.” When it was proposed to the other members in Taba-ao, they happily consented and a service started at the residence of Mr. Samuel Dangpa, a son of Ptr. Magno

\textsuperscript{245} Interview with Conrado Bolinto, December 22, 2005; Interview with Mrs. Maria Pentiano Bayog, January 2, 2006.
Dangpa. At that time, Samuel Dangpa, known as “Samiklay,” was actively pushing through his Vernacular Video Ministry which founded in 1992.246

Perhaps the greatest achievement of one Lutheran member, though Samuel Dangpa claimed that he is independently working in this ministry without the help of the other Lutherans, the Vernacular Video Ministry has proven very effective in reaching out to the local people, using their own language. Samuel Dangpa, son of Ptr. Magno Dangpa, founded VVM in 1992. Of course, the idea of using vernacular tools to reach the vernacular people had been apparent already during the earlier times of the Lutheran missionaries in their effort to use Kankanaey dialect in their preaching, liturgy and hymns. Yet the VVM has proven to be even more exciting and deeply contextualized in its mission. The vision of the VVM is to proclaim “the Gospel through Video to the Cultural Communities in the Language of their Heart. It is a unique and innovative media outreach in the Philippines. Making Christian videos with local believers is the heart of VVM’s work in the Cordillera region of north central Luzon. VVM evangelists hike to remote mountain villages to show these videos and to preach the Word of God in the language of the people. They also promote the use of the Bible, hymns, and Christian materials in Kankana-ey.247

Sammy Dangpa is still a member of the Lutheran Church and has no intention to leave his mother church, though he is passionately working non-denominationally through this newly established ministry. Dangpa is planning to produce an audio-video Christian music, *Igorota* this year. Sammy had finished only three months in the Lutheran Seminary when he decided to join the Linguistics Ministry for Vernacular people. He left the seminary

246 This is his famous pseudo name which he used, derived from the renown Igorot bandit, Samiklay. The Samiklad name is to be considered a redeemed cultural name. Interview with Mrs. Nancy Dangpa, January 08, 2006.

247 VVN Brochure, *Vernacular Video Ministry: Proclaiming the Gospel through Video.*
and followed Don Leonard, who became one of his primary sponsors when he got married. Sammy is strongly contextualizing the Gospel, making it available for the taste of the people. Though he is not familiar with “contextualization,” he is applying it, telling simple stories to the common people as Jesus did in his parables. Vernacular Videos are shot with local Kankana-ey, Ifugao or Kalanguya artists. Centering their studio in Hungduan, Ifugao and in Baguio City, Sammy and his crew have produced Christian videos with the partnership of the local churches of various denominations. By using state-of-the-art video equipment and training interested ethnic Christians to make their own Christian videos, this ministry is impacting the lives of many unreached people who have been cynical and against the established churches, and paved the way for them to listen interestedly to the preaching of the Gospel. Watching their fellow Kankanaeys, or Ifugaos, or Kalanguyas acting in a role in a movie, they found it more exciting that the ones they usually watch from videos produced by foreign and national entertainment media. The actors and actresses in these vernacular movies were all volunteers. Sammy confessed that this ministry is hanging on the balance of faith and volunteerism, a working together of his crew and the local churches. “My crew receives only a less amount equaled to their effort in productions and patient hiking to the isolated places, during the shooting and during the showing.” Yet the evangelists and projectionists together combining their gifts and talents joyfully hike to remote villages in the pan-Cordillera just to proclaim the gospel. Though this ministry hopes to release more vernacular video tools yearly in every local dialect in the Philippines, especially in the Cordilleras, staff members and financial incapacities hinder the pursuance of this plan. Nevertheless, Sammy and his crew are working tirelessly. In the year 2005, Sammy and his crew took a sabbatical leave. The others went to Baguio Arts Theological College to attend to
the Theological Extension Program to suffice their theological education. For them and for this kind of ministry, they see this as a necessary requirement to build a strong and biblically based Gospel ministry.\textsuperscript{248}

The Vernacular Video Ministries has produced and shown remarkable videos already. All these productions were acted and performed by local artists volunteers who could speak in these dialects in cooperation with the local churches in the area. The \textit{Yegyeg '90}, a thirty minute documentary on the earthquake of 1990, was intended to arouse the awareness on the reality of death, suffering and the wrath of God through natural phenomenon such as the earthquake. The shooting was done from July 16, 1990, just after the quake, and was shown in November the same year. In 1993, \textit{The Pilgrim's Progress} in the Amganad Dialect in Lamut, Ifugao was shot, followed by \textit{Nahamad an Am-long} (Heavenly Joy) in 1994. \textit{The Prodigal Family} followed in 1995. It is a story of a pagan family who turned into Christianity then the \textit{Prodigal Son} in 1996. \textit{Roma 1:16 story} (The power of God's word explained in a story) was produced that same year in Kankanaey dialect. When the Ayangan speaking Ifugaos heard of and watched these vernacular productions, they requested a movie in their own dialect, which resulted to \textit{Roma 1:16 story} in Ayangan version in 1996. The following year, \textit{Higam i hilaw} (You are the Light), a youth story in Kalanguya dialect was produced. That same year, a Kankanaey video was produced, \textit{Sabong di Kada}, a 40 minute movie. In 1998, \textit{Laton Pay Didan} (It's Alright), a kankanaey video on the comfort of God, and \textit{Adawag Ina} (The Mother's Cry), a family video on suffering, tragedy, struggle against poverty and victory, were simultaneously shot. In 2000, a tribal war story in Ayangan and Ilocano versions, \textit{Ti Nangisalakan} (The Savior), were produced. The story was historically based upon how Christianity changed this rampant evil of the past centuries among the

\textsuperscript{248} Interview with Sammy Dangpa, January 8, 2006.
Igorots. In 2002, *Din Sungbat* (The Answer), a Kankanaey version on seeking the answer for life. The artists are from Viscaya. In 2003, *Shawat Nen Nanang* (Adawag Ina) was produced in Ibaloi version. In 2004, *The Prodigal Son* in Kalinga Version was produced and shown that same year. In 2005, a Kalanguya video entitle *Dinad-da* (taken from the passage on Carrying each other’s burden), was shot. At present, an on going project for an Itneg, Apayao version of *The Prodigal Son* and *Kabanulan* (More than Gold) in Ibaloi version are being shot. As Sammy Dangpa hopes, a plan to produce *Enmeyan Kristiano ed Langit* (The Pilgrim’s Progress) in Kankanaey version with Loo Valley Kankanaey actors and actresses might be his biggest project. Aside from these videos, Sammy produced Vernacular songs for personal support in four volumes: *Kosto ay Gayyem* (True Friend), *Mankanta tako si Makaliw-liwa* (Let’s Sing Happy Songs), *Sem-ple Lang* (Mere Simplicity) and *Be-ey ed Langit* (Home in Heaven).²⁴⁹

Today there are about twenty organized Lutheran churches and outstations around Benguet Province, Mountain Province and Ifugao Province. Taba-ao Redeemer Lutheran Church is now under the pastoral supervision of Pastor Pedro Mallacos. Since there are members and children coming from sitio Lanas, the congregation arrived at an agreement to make Lanas an outstation at the residence of Samuel Dangpa. Today, there are five families, and new attendees gathering, with an average attendance of 35 during Children’s Sunday school classes. At present, the Lutheran congregations all around Buguias, including all the outstations, are using the vernacular hymn books produced and distributed with the authorization of the Philippine Lutheran Church. The *Concordia: Songs of Praise and Worship* in English, Ilocano and Kankana-ey, is being used as a liturgical guide, with the *Kankantan Di Cristiano: Kankanaey* (Christian Hymns and Songs) as its supplementary

²⁴⁹ Interview with Sammy Dangpa, January 8, 2006.
hymnbook, which was adapted from the 1982 edition of *Himnarion Di Kristiano* (Christian Hymns). Most of the preaching and teaching are in the Kankanaey dialect. Only on some occasions, when Ilocano visitors happen to be joining the service, do the churches in the highlands use Ilocano. As to how the Lutheran Church may have impacted the community people, much is still yet to be unveiled.

**Conclusion**

The Lutheran Church in the Northern Luzon, and in Buguias in particular, has taken a step to meet the basic physical needs of the people, seeing it as the most necessary means to reach the people with the Gospel. While the missionaries, working hand and hand with the Filipino ministers and laity, initiated this social ministry and physical outreach, they were also able to establish outstations in other remote villages, making Abatan the base center for these outstations. The greatest achievement of these missionaries is the establishment of the Abatan Lutheran Hospital, which is still flourishing up to this time. The growth of this denomination, even to the remotest part of the mountains, all around the province and in the other provinces as well was through the direct and laborious training and involvement of the laity. Nevertheless, the lack of young people from the area who were educated formally in Lutheran theological institutions has maimed the work's organizational strength. Unlike the other Protestant groups, Lutherans take the sacrament of the Lord's Supper weekly (if there is an ordained minister). Though congregations and outstations are in constant growth, the lack of resident, ordained pastors to conduct weekly communions has left the Lutherans without the privilege of the sacrament.

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250 See *Kankantan Di Cristiano*, Fourth Edition (Philippines: Vernacular Video Ministry, 2002). This songbook in particular has the Loo Valley, Buguias, Benguet as its cover photo and the Kankanaey weaving design as the background motif.
YOUNGER DENOMINATIONS

The younger denominations are the ones that entered the area from 1980 to the present. They include the following: The Philippine Bethel Church, Fig Tree Christian Fellowship, Happy Family Overseas Ministries, Free Believers in Christ Fellowship and the Loo Valley Christian Assembly.

The reason for the late entry of these denominations could hardly be determined, only, that they began originally as splits from major denominations, with indigenous leaders. The Philippine Bethel Church and the Free Believers in Christ Fellowship are indigenous denominations. Two others, the Fig Tree Christian Fellowship and the Happy Family Overseas Ministries, were originally motivated to work as centers for non-denominational purposes, but soon turned out to be registered as sects for organizational purposes. The Loo Valley Christian Assembly is a pioneering church from the Abatan Assemblies of God. In my hope to determine how many former members of the older denominations transferred to these younger denominations, I tried to procure the membership records of all these younger denominations, but I was not given the privilege. I secured such records from the two older denominations, but I failed to have the records from these younger denominations. I could only assume from my direct observation that former Nazarene and Lutheran families are attending these younger denominations. This could be proven by consulting the Loo Church of the Nazarene, Record Book.
THE PHILIPPINE BETHEL CHURCH, INCORPORATED, LOO, BUGUIAS, BENGUET

The Bethel Church began from a tragic conflict between some of the leaders of the Assemblies of God in Taneg, Mankayan, Benguet in the 1960s, on particular issues I was not permitted to know. When I asked whether it was theological, I was not able to procure a direct answer. But due to some observations and continuous contacts and fellowship with the present members of this organization, I see them as highly Pentecostal, maintaining the basic doctrines of the “full gospel” Assemblies of God. As Joseph R. Suico noted regarding Pentecostals in the Philippines, though they are “represented by many denominations and a variety of theological positions,” they mostly refer to the “four-fold pattern” (salvation, healing, baptism in the Holy Spirit with the evidence of speaking in tongues and the second coming of Jesus Christ). According to Suico, “The four-fold pattern originated with A.B. Simpson.” Apparently the cessationist leaders from the Assemblies of God made no direct revisions to their basic Pentecostal doctrines. I could only assume for now that the probable primary reason for this division was relational. The beginning of the work of the Philippine Bethel Church in Loo was through the joint effort of missionaries from the Assemblies of God in America and Filipino leaders who left the Assemblies of God in Taneg, Mankayan. These American missionaries were working independently and started local churches and even Bible colleges in the Philippines. The growth of the separatist denomination since the 1960s is remarkably fast. At present, Bethel has more than 170 established churches, mostly in Luzon.


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They simply began with singing and then with preaching. An American evangelist, Dr. Edward Howley, did the preaching. For three consecutive nights, people were gathered to hear the preaching of the Word at the Buguias-Loo Agro Industrial School (now Benguet State University-Buguias Campus), social hall.253

Right after the crusade, there were remarkable conversions and physical healings. Mr. Honorio Pay-oen (d. 1995), for instance, a notable pagan priest, went forward after listening to the preaching of the American evangelist. Howley preached “with fire” when he preached about healing. With his testimony of healing--Howley himself was healed from heart failure and other health complications--Pay-oen was persuaded by the preacher that Jesus is the Healer. He went forward, using crutches, and after he repented of his sins, the evangelist laid his hands on him and he was instantly healed. A service was conducted immediately in their home, which marked the start of the work in Loo.254

(Rev. Jose P. Guillermo and Rev. Tanio Paoy, baptizing Mr. Pay-oen, the shaman priest who was converted in Howley’s crusade. Far back is another curious shaman priest, a friend of Pay-oen. Far right is Pay-oen’s son, Banallo Pay-oen, who is also a member of the Loo Bethel Church).

(Pay-oen with Ptr. Guillermo, before burning amulets and equipments used by Pay-oen to conduct shaman rituals.)

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Ptr. Culloma, Ptr. Bugtong, Ptr. Saliw-an and Ptr. Guillermo, all Bible School graduates, took turns to reach out in Loo from the house church. For a year, the hatching church continuously gathered at Pay-oeyen’s place in front of the BSU campus. Later that same year, the congregation transferred to sitio Singi, where a bigger house of Pay-oen was built. Rev. Tanio Paoay, after leaving his patorate at Ilocos Sur, pated for three years (1982-85). The family of Pay-oeyen, together with about 20 others, was baptized in 1982 at the Loo River. The baptism coupled a renunciation service, which was conducted by Guillermo and Paoay. The renunciation served as Pay-oeyen’s public confession of Christ and repentance.255

While the effort to reach out to the locality faithfully headed on, in 1983 Bethel Church planned and organized a Bible Institute. Rev. Paoay, Rev. Guillermo, Rev. Paul Baguitay, Rev. John Saliw-an, Ptra. Bernabe Pias, Ptra. Melita Rafa-el and Miss Agustina Bayacsan, mostly graduates from the Miracle Bible College, San Fernando, started a class among their members with a vision to train workers to be sent out to Mountain Province, Ilocos Sur, and Benguet. It began as a three-year program, two years theoretical and a year of practicum. So far (2006), the institution has been able to train more than 200 graduates, who were sent to different places in the Cordilleras and to the remote places such as Quirino Province, Ilocos Sur. Some of the graduates are from the United Church of Christ in the Philippines, Assemblies of God, and independent churches. I visited the school and found that it took almost an hour travel from the main highway to the area, on an uncemented road. I inquired as to the reason it was located in such a remote place. Rev. Pias answered, “It was

255 Interview with Rev. Jose P. Guillermo, September 8, 2005; Philippine Bethel Church, Membership Record, 5-7.
not actually chosen for strategic purposes, but that since the split began in Taneg, the leaders decided to mark this separation and independence by putting up the institution.\textsuperscript{256}

In 1985, by the consent of his fellow leaders in the Bethel organization, Ptr. Guillermo took over the pastorate. He has held the office until the present. The Loo Bethel congregation has grown, and is actively participating in the March for Jesus Fellowship. Guillermo headed the organization of the fellowship with an emphasis on strong bonding among the local churches in the municipality.\textsuperscript{257}

Detailed information of this “indigenous” church would require another laborious study. For various reasons, I was not allowed to look at the documents of the organization. The appointed secretary in-charge of the documents was out of the nation. This lack of data with regards to the local church in Loo is perhaps due to reservations on the part of the interviewees.

**FIG TREE CHRISTIAN FELLOWSHIP**

In about 1982, Mrs. Avelina Aban became the NYI president of the Loo Church of the Nazarene. Aban was formerly a member of Assemblies of God, which, unlike the Church of the Nazarene, believes in speaking in tongues as the sign of receiving the baptism of the Holy Spirit. In 1985, she had a controversy with Nazarene members over this issue and transferred to Bethel Church, a Pentecostal congregation (described above). In 2005, Mrs. Aban accepted the pastorate for the Fig Tree Christian Fellowship, a denomination affiliated to the Philippine Evangelical Holiness Church. Mrs. Aban, though, did not disregard her belief that speaking in tongues is biblical, as well as a gift that edifies the body of Christ. The

\textsuperscript{256} Interview with Rev. Bernabe Pias, January 23, 2006. Pias was one of the pioneers of the institution and is now the resident Officer-in-Charge of the school.

\textsuperscript{257} Interview with Rev. Jose P. Guillermo, September 8, 2005.
Fig Tree Christian Fellowship, though it is affiliated with the Philippine Evangelical Holiness Church, still allows the practice of speaking in tongues, yet does not impose it to be practiced by all, since, they believe, it is not a gift for all, but for the few. I have attended this church several times during her pastorate and my acquaintance with her members evidenced not much emphasis on speaking in tongues, but more on right relationship with Christ in life and deed.\(^{258}\)

Unlike the issue between Mrs. Aban and the Church of the Nazarene, the beginning and the formation of the Fig Tree Christian Fellowship was a result of circumstances in the Bethel Church. In the year preceding, September 1991, the Loo Bethel Church struggled through a relational issue. I did not find enough evidence to be presented in this paper as to what the issue was. Mrs. Aban, as well as the Pastor of the Loo Philippine Bethel Church, discussed this issue with reservation, not wishing to discuss a relational issue that was already buried in the memories for those who knew about it. Both of them resolutely decided not to discuss the issue and the story behind the conflict. The relational problem between the Bethel pastor and those who decided to leave was only resolved by time. Mrs. Aban, in particular, was humble enough to acknowledge that it was actually a weakness of personality on both parties’ parts and a lack of pastoral training.\(^{259}\) A number of women and men from the Loo Bethel Church were not able to overcome an unfortunate misunderstanding with their pastor. Mr. and Mrs. Asano and Avelina Aban, together with other elders from the local


\(^{259}\) Interview with Mrs. Avelina Aban, December 25, 2005. When I asked Ptr. Guillermo regarding this personal issue with the Abans, he implicitly answered that personal conflict was resolved already. Ptr. Guillermo said, “In fact, Mr. Aban, after the conflict, had been continuously giving some of his harvested potato crop. Every harvest time, he would drop by with a half-sack potatoes. It is sometimes by means of money, if not potatoes.” Interview with Rev. Jose P. Guillermo, September 8, 2005.
church, such as Luis Pusayen, Fred Oplas, and some women, conducted continuous prayer meetings over the matter.\textsuperscript{260}

Meanwhile, during that same year, Korean missionaries, Rev. and Mrs. Young, arrived at Loo Valley, hoping to begin a Training Center for mountain ministers. Young worked with the Philippine Evangelical Holiness Church, which is affiliated with its historical mother church in Korea, the Korea Evangelical Holiness Church.\textsuperscript{261} Their vision was to build a library with sufficient materials for ministers in that area to use. They rented a whole house from Mr. Domingo Bay-an, who was the municipal vice-mayor at that time. Pastors in the locality sternly warned the couple not to start another denomination in the area, reasoning that there were already too many denominations in the locality and it would only create more divisions among the Protestant Christians and confusion among the people.\textsuperscript{262} Feeling a bit frustrated with the remarks and the non-cooperation of the pastors regarding the proposed Training Center, the Korean couple prayed and fasted, asking guidance from the Lord as to whether the field of labor was not actually the place for them to stay. During that week of prayer and fasting, disaffected women from Bethel Church, namely Mary Cogoy, Manuela Bay-an and Mrs. Avelina Aban, driven by a desire to get along in their faith, and with the intention to continue recuperating from the internal ecclesial problem, approached the Korean missionaries.\textsuperscript{263}

\textsuperscript{260} Interview with Mrs. Avelina Aban, December 25, 2005. Aban is now serving as the local Pastor of the Fig Tree Christian Fellowship, which is affiliated to the Philippine Evangelical Holiness Church.

\textsuperscript{261} See Myung Soo Park, “Roots of The Korea Evangelical Holiness Church with Special Reference to the Doctrine of Holiness” (M.S.T. Thesis, Boston University School of Theology, 1992).


\textsuperscript{263} Interview with Mrs. Avelina Aban, December 25, 2005; Interview with Ptr. Milo Dadpa-as, January 8, 2006.
At the same time, another neutral ground that made contacts possible for the Koreans was that Mrs. Young was a piano teacher. Mrs. Aban, being fond of music, desired her children to study music and so she recommended one of her daughters to schedule lessons with Mrs. Young.264

The Koreans believed that these women were God-sent. The women built a relationship with the Korean missionaries. “As confessed by the Korean missionaries, they were being careful with Filipinos, due to their past experiences with other Filipinos who were willing to work with them, asking for things that they might receive in return. On the other hand,” recalled Mrs. Aban, “we, together with my friends who visited the couple, were also being suspicious and, at the same time, curious as to who they may be. I kept asking the question: Who are they? Are they really missionaries or are they simply like other Korean missionaries who are actually making the Filipino local churches as forefronts to let them stay as missionaries to compensate for their luxurious lifestyle?”265

During one Wednesday evening, the women were having a prayer meeting at Mrs. Aban’s residence. While they were praying and considering the circumstances and the coming of the Korean missionaries, Mrs. Young knocked at the door and joined the prayer meeting of the women. Though there were some reservations on the part of both parties, that prayer meeting made their hearts feel at ease with each other. Mrs. Young went home to her husband and said that the Filipino women are exemplary, and exempted from any suspicions, saying that “my spirit is at peace with them.” A continuous gathering began, calling the

264 Interview with Mrs. Avelina Aban, December 25, 2005.
265 A statement made by Mrs. Avelina Aban as we were sharing together during this interview, December 25, 2005.
congregation, “Fig Tree Christian Fellowship,” taking the passage from Zechariah 3:10 that says of those who are weary and tired, disaffected people to find rest under the “fig tree.”

While the Fig Tree congregation during these times was in its developing stage, and was not yet registered with the Securities and Exchange Commission until 1993, another work began in Bangsalan, a sitio of Barangay Baculungan Norte, located in the Northwestern part of Buguias. The village could be reached by foot, a four to five hours hike wet to the mountainous terrain of Loo. While the Fig Tree congregation never experienced strong opposition arising from the cultural and traditional customs of the people in Loo, it was not like that in Bangsalan village. The coming of the earlier denominations, the establishment of schools, and the influx of educated immigrants in the Loo Valley combined to weaken paganism in the area. Nevertheless, inhabitants in the outlying remote villages were still strongly pagan, especially if there was a pagan priest still residing in a particular village. This led Rev. Young, the Korean missionary, together with Milo Dadpa-as, a volunteer to work there. Dadpa-as was a graduate of a six-month Discipleship Training Seminar (DTS) under Youth With A Mission (YWAM). Though he had attended Bethel Church, he had never formally joined it as a member. Also joining the group was Miss Balag-ay, a former Lutheran who had previously worked in the area, and who helped by establishing rapport with the people. Young, accompanied by Dadpa-as, Miss Balag-ay, Mrs. Avelina Aban, Miss Cogoy and other companions, enjoyed hiking up the mountainous terrain to the small village of pagan people. Having been warned earlier not to start another denomination in Loo, Young found it appropriate to start a work in Bangsalan.

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266 Interview with Mrs. Avelina Aban, December 25, 2005. Zechariah 3:10 says, “In that day, says the LORD of hosts, every one of you will invite his neighbor under his vine and under his fig tree (RSV).”

267 Interview with Mrs. Avelina Aban, December 25, 2005; interview with Ptr. Milo Dadpa-as, January 8, 2006. I checked the Bethel Church Membership Record and found no name of Milo Dadpa-as, as of 1990-1995.
They were accommodated by the children of Mr. Moreno Pilay, a pagan priest, who allowed his house to be a place to conduct Bible studies. Mr. Pilay was the head or the recognized chief priest in the village and the people would often listen to and call for his blessings. Sunday was used for Bible studies and Dadpa-as continuously reached out to Bangsalan. Mr. Pilay, the known “elder” and “seer” and “wise man” of the village was converted to the teaching of Christ and immediately the hopes and faith of the people from paganism was shattered as their priest humbly gave up his former beliefs. The conversion of Mr. Pilay caused the whole village community to attend the Christian gathering, both out of curiosity, hunger and questions. Many more professed to be converted so that the missionary Young worked out for the affiliation of the congregation with the Philippine Evangelical Holiness Church. The local church in Bangsalan was formally organized in 1993. It is proper to say that this congregation was indebted to the “members” of the unorganized Loo Fig Tree Christian Fellowship. Thus it is also proper to note how this daughter (or mother) church was formed and the church’s encounter with the culture.268

Following Mr. Pilay’s conversion, in September 1994 was the death of his katugangan (female in-law). Burial among the pagans is the most sensitive and serious event. They believe that the way one cares for the spirit of the dead causes either luck or a curse. Many pagans came to Mr. Pilay, insisting that they must “wake” and bury her in a pagan way, even though she professed to be a Christian. Mr. Pilay resisted the idea and so his katugangan was buried in a purely Christian way.269

268 Loo Fig Tree Christian Fellowship (Philippine Evangelical Holiness Church), Church Activities Record; interview with Ptr. Milo Dadpa-as, January 8, 2006.
Later on, following the burial, Mr. Pilay got sick. He could not get up nor even take in food. The pagans were sneering, saying mockingly, “Ilan yo di? Adi na od i-man inpalubos? Doy et, ke-ngen din abi-ik di katugangan na?” (You see that? He should have agreed to compromise. The spirit of the dead is now tormenting him). The pagans believed that it was just the natural consequence of Mr. Pilay’s resistance to the pleading of the other pagan priests to combine the Christian burial ceremonies of his in-law with pagan rites. During that same week, Dadpa-as heard about it and he was worried and troubled because he knew what a great trouble and temptation again this could be to Mr. Pilay and to the community people. The tendency that Mr. Pilay’s former friends, pagan priests, could convince him to get back to the paganic system did not only threaten the personal faith of Mr. Pilay, but, as well, the newly organized church. Dadpa-as understood the impact of a known community leader’s influence. This is phenomenal among the Igorots.

On Wednesday that same week of suffering, Mr. Pilay’s family decided to take him to the hospital, unwilling to yield to the pagan priests’ urging: “Ta amagen tako adi?” (Literally, “to do it,” which means to perform all the paganic rituals again for the particular disease, to call upon the spirits that caused it and to appease them through butchering pigs, depending upon how much these spirits require.) They rushed him to the hospital at Sayangan, Atok. While he was lying in his bed, having seizures, Mr. Pilay dreamed of a man who was

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Customs and Beliefs: Some Insights on a People Who Live as though in a Garden of Eden, Book 1; Scott, On the Cordillera.

270 This is quite obviously embedded to the culture and society of the Kankanaeys and among other Igorot tribes. Being tribal and strongly tied up in a social bonding, centering upon a known influential leader, or the elders, or a notable kadang-yan or baknang (two kankana-ey terms equitable to “wealthy”), someone who was able to met the demand of the pagans to butcher animals to feed the community. The people are inclined to submit and are easily persuaded by these figures’ influence. Baknang ceremonies are also purposely “to hold the confidence of the people in the community otherwise the property of the baknang maybe the target of curse or stealing for being ‘greedy.’” See Botengan, “Bontoc Concepts of Sickness and Death,” 38-41; Moss, “Kankanay Ceremonies,” American Archeology and Ethnology, 15: 343-384; McAndrew, People of Power, 19-30, 61-69.

271 See Lewis, “Mansida in Buguias”; Sacla, Treasury of Beliefs and Home Rituals of Benguet.
mocking him, “Where is the power of your Christianity now?” He saw that the man put something under his bed, the skeletal head of a pig. Mr. Pilay told this to Dadapa-as and the Korean missionary who was with them at that time. When Dadpa-as heard of this, he was reminded of all the animal bones in Pilay’s house and prayed about the matter. He received a direction from the Lord that these must be destroyed and burned, for they were “considered detestable and were abominable.” Dadpa-as believed that those were “the strongholds of the enemy, whom we believed was the one causing pain to the ailing old man.”

Dadpa-as told the old man his interpretation of the dream and asked the old man if he was willing to allow those bones to be burned. He allowed the pigs’ jawbones, but not the carabao head bone, to be burned. But later on, after constant explanation, he finally agreed to have all the bones burned on the condition that they should take the bones to a particular site that Mr. Pilay described. So the whole family, leaving only one person to attend to Mr. Pilay, went back home to Bangsalan together with Dadapa-as, the Korean missionary couple, Rev. and Mrs. Young, and some friends from the Fig Tree congregation (which was still not an organized church that time), to conduct a service for burning the bones and “renouncing the curses catered by this ignorance.” They did it publicly, at the place where Mr. Pilay suggested. That very same place, Dadpa-as realized, was a pa-ked-lan, a community altar for pagans where they do the pak-de or beg-nas (these are community celebrations). The Korean missionary, noticing the sign of tied, intertwined sticks buried into the ground with dried grass leaves tied on top of the sticks, asked about it. When he learned that it was an altar for pagans, he

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273 The carabao head bone, to pagans, are symbols of a kadang-yan or baknang.

274 Pa-ked-lan is a site that serves as an altar for pagans to butcher the animals that are offered for the spirits. See Tomas D. Andres, Understanding the Values of the Bontoc and Bakun Igorots, Book 10 (Quezon City: Giraffe Books, 2004), 38.
insisted that these as well should be burned. Being a local person and knowledgeable about the significance of these sticks and grasses, Dadpa-as hesitated and it must need be consulted to Mr. Pilay if it would be okay and if the whole community people would allow them. But all of them that attended, the Pilay family, as well as all the curious nonbelievers who attended that ceremony, agreed to destroy them as well, taking the blame upon themselves, whatever issues might arise from it. For the community of mixed pagans and new Christians, it was a great witness of faith and determination, a public testimony of complete renunciation of idolatry, of perverted ignorant worship, and a declaration of faith to a God who was able to do great things against all evil or malevolent spirits. The group of Christians seized the moment to testify to the shed blood of the Lamb, who was once and for all sacrificed for all uncleanness of sin and infirmities, of satan’s defeat and of the victory. The service began early in the morning and ended at past 12:00 noon. When Dadpa-as went back to Loo, he met the person who was left behind to care for Mr. Pilay. He asked him how the old man was doing. The person gladly reported that Mr. Pilay got up and began to eat. His seizures stopped and he could walk. Dadpa-as asked him what time the recuperation began. The person answered, “It was past 12:00 noon yesterday.” To the community, it was a miraculous move of God, an obvious manifestation of the power of God over demonic manifestations, masquerading as sickness.²⁷⁵

In January 1996, the missionary Young and family left for Canada, leaving two organized local churches in Buguias. The Fig Tree congregation struggled to find a leader to pastor them. They called for Ptr. Julius Angawa to help them in the work of pastoring. Angawa was among Dadpa-as’s batch in the Discipleship Training Seminar under YWAM, and so they knew each other; and it was Dadpa-as, who was serving in Bontoc at that time,

²⁷⁵ Interview with Ptr. Milo Dadpa-as, January 8, 2006.
who recommended Angawa for the work. After struggling for a while as to what the Lord's direction for him and his family would be, Angawa consented to pastor the congregation. Angawa and his family of two children moved to Loo in August 1996. Their original plan was to stay only for six months, but they remained for three years.\textsuperscript{276}

Angawa confessed that he had many struggles, especially with those who had Pentecostal orientations. Angawa was converted through the effort of YWAM American missionaries who are not Pentecostal, but evangelical in their emphasis. "My first struggle was the conflict I encountered with the older ones who were splits from the Bethel Church, a Pentecostal Church," he openly said. "They claimed that they have spiritual gifts and experiences of speaking in tongues but I observed that their verbal experiences are inconsistent with their lifestyle. I saw then the necessity of re-orientation and re-education through discipleship." Thus, Angawa scheduled every Sunday afternoon sessions for the members, which was first attended mostly by the women. Later, as husbands saw their wives' persistent interest, and as topics aroused a confrontation with their old orientation, they asked for another schedule for themselves.\textsuperscript{277}

\textbf{At the Present}

While this local church is again in the transition of developing strong leadership, both the professionals and the farmers alike adjoined themselves to reach out to others. Programs such as Men's Fellowship and Women's Fellowship are means to reach those who belong to the same gender. The effectivity of this approach can be measured by the results, wherein the

\textsuperscript{276} Interview with Ptr. Avelina Aban; Interview with Ptr. Julius Angawa, January 5, 2006; interview with Ptr. Milo Dadpa-as, January 8, 2006; Loo Fig Tree Christian Fellowship (Philippine Evangelical Holiness Church), \textit{Church Activities Record}.

\textsuperscript{277} Interview with Ptr. Julius Angawa.
fathers and mothers are finding themselves in a stronger bonding with one another. Lately, in 2006, George and Nora Peligman Lee, after they settled in Loo, offered their residential school to be used as a place for family fellowship every Sunday afternoon, from three to five o’clock.

Fig Tree Christian Fellowship is composed of different families from different occupations, such as farmers and professionals. Most of them are farmers, yet their leaders and members of the board are mainly professionals, who act as “salt and light” in their own professional spheres. The farmers are actively participating in simple ways, such as going on the visitations. Nevertheless, the farmers are sometimes being intimidated by their professional co-members. Perhaps the greatest challenge for the pastor now is how to unite these potentialities into a great means to reach out to the community.278

Women are strong in this denomination when it comes to leadership. One person in particular, who just came from missions, Miss Marcia Aquisio, became active in reaching the youth and children. She mobilized them through simple songs, making fancy cookies and food, and bringing them to the aged and palsied people, those who cannot enjoy the bliss of physical strength, visiting them with singing and with simple cooked food. She is also active in one of the High Schools as a voluntary teacher of values and moral education to the third and fourth year students.279

278 This was based upon participant observation.
279 I was privileged to have witnessed these events and was a participant in this activities.
OTHER GROUPS: THE HAPPY FAMILY OVERSEAS MINISTRIES, LOO VALLEY CHRISTIAN ASSEMBLY AND THE FREE BELIEVERS IN CHRIST FELLOWSHIP

The Happy Family Overseas Ministries was not intended to be a local congregation. Its vision was to help and partner with local denominations in the area. But due to the responses of “acceptance cards” after a series of Gospel Film showings, they decided to start a congregation that would reach out to the unreached and to those who were relationally hurt by other denominations and looking for a place to join. It was registered with the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) in 2003. Five families are faithfully attending the congregation, including a number of young people and children. Ptr. Agalpaw is now the resident Pastor of the Happy Family Overseas Ministries.²⁸⁰

The Loo Christian Assembly is another outreach of the Assemblies of God that shows the same phenomenon. Since the pioneering work began in 2001, most of the families attending the congregation show that they were formerly affiliated with other denominations. About ten families gather every Sunday. Some are formerly members of the CAMACOP (Christian Missionary Alliance), others, Assemblies of God.²⁸¹

The Free Believers in Christ Fellowship is another Pentecostal denomination. It started in Loo Valley in 2003. The Free Believers began through the direct effort of Pentecostal white missionaries. Moises Chungalao, an Episcopal businessman from Ifugao, was revolutionized. He started a small group, calling it the Free Believers in Christ Fellowship, and they spread spontaneously, with laypersons participating in the work of preaching the gospel after six months of training. It should be noted that the remarkable

²⁸¹ Interview with Mrs. Hilda Yukianki, January 10, 2006. Mrs. Yukianki, along with her husband, Ptr. Danny Yukianki, are together pioneering in the area.
spread and growth of these “indigenous” congregations came through the effort of lay participants, unhindered by fear of failure with regards to the teaching of “right” or “wrong” doctrines, or the fear of “unlearned way of biblical preaching.” They were not fearful of non-hermeneutical preaching, but only trusted the leading and unction of the Holy Spirit, who, they believed, anointed the speaker.282

Younger churches are accommodating those who were formerly members of Nazarene or Lutheran churches, who were hurt by pastors or laypersons of those denominations. Other transient families from other places who were attending other denominations found these younger churches more accommodating than the older churches. As well, the younger groups won those who were simply unchurched and unreached by the earlier denominations.

March for Jesus Fellowship

The March for Jesus Fellowship in Buguias began in 1995, catching the vision of denominational unity. It was preceded by an ecumenical fellowship earlier, the ACCESS-B, being composed of ministers from different denominations such as the Roman Catholic Church, the Anglican Church, and various evangelical and Pentecostal churches in Buguias. The aim of ACCESS-B was to build a firm organization that would represent the moral sector of the community. But ACCESS-B dissolved slowly when these religious leaders received continuous death threats from the proprietors of the businesses they were against.

The Protestants, after few years of silence, decided to re-gather (including both the older and younger denominations dealt with previously). Though there are deep struggles

282 An interview with Ptr. Luz, assistant Pastor of the Free Believers in Christ Fellowship, La Trinidad Centre, September, 2005.
with the community, especially with regards to the increasingly obvious social vices, such as prostitution, drinking and gambling, they were united in their effort to battle against these issues. A March for Jesus service is conducted every last Sunday of the month. Obvious vigor and determination are apparent among local denominations' ministers bonded together. Their prayers and intercessions are for moral recovery beginning with the nationwide political sector down to the local sectors – from the office of the President down to the barangay officials. This intercessory part of March for Jesus meetings is always included in the program.\textsuperscript{283}

\textsuperscript{283} See for examples March for Jesus Program paper Appendix II.
SUMMARY

The approaches of different denominations in Loo in trying to reach out for the kingdom of God vary in many instances and means. This is made obvious through the different styles and efforts that the leaders of the denominations used. The older denominations in Loo, the Lutheran Church and the Church of the Nazarene, officially began through the efforts of American missionaries in the 1950s, but it was when Bay-an and Lumiqued returned to their own community and to their own relatives and friends as resident pastors that the Nazarene work was most established. It allowed the Church of the Nazarene never to need a resident missionary in Buguias, whereas the Lutherans had a resident missionary for many years, until the late 80s. The differences of approach and style of these missionaries were tested by the results of their labor. These distinctions among the two local churches' growth are apparent from the data presented.

The Church of the Nazarene and the Lutheran Church displayed remarkable examples of the vigorous participation of the laity. It is proper to note that the Church of the Nazarene might not have been as spontaneous during its beginning, since they did not train the laity until 1970s. Instead, the Nazarenes recruited young men and women to study and have proper and formal training in the Nazarene Bible College. The Lutheran Church missionary, in contrast, trained the laity every week, with a series of lectures and practical instruction, yet missed sending young people to be formally trained. The current problem now facing the local Lutheran churches and outstations in Buguias, is that they are in need of resident
pastors who are theologically trained and are ordained to conduct Lutheran rituals and ceremonies, such as communion.

Nevertheless, the continuous participation of lay men and women caused the growth of these older denominations. Laity could speak plainly to their listeners, with the strong mixture of being “otherworldly,” giving hope, assurance and comfort to the weary souls in the hard fields of the mountains who were toiling daily under the hot sun for food and survival. These lay preachers could not offer physical comforts, as they were quite obviously participants of the same deprivations as well as the same privileges of the highlands. This was true to the Lutherans, Nazarenes and other denominations that were the subjects of this study. The Pentecostal groups, namely Bethel, Free Believers and Assemblies of God, present a different way, but in these groups too laypersons were formally trained through a series of months or weeks of seminars or courses of study.

From the Church of the Nazarene model, the mixture of both the theologically educated pastors with the laypersons working together produced more than ten local churches. This spread and proper propelling of workers, involving the laity, made the growth possible. That is, whether knowingly or intentionally, greater foreign missionary efforts might have hindered the laity to move with their own initiative and effort. The tendency of suppressing the “self-reliant” spirit among the local people of the highlands is perilous. The laity could have just entrusted the work to the “professionals” and could have allowed themselves to be “sitting faithful members” of the church instead of seeing themselves as or at least becoming partners with the missionaries and the theologically educated. This apparent strength of the laity as “self-reliant” allowed them not to depend upon subsidy and funds from the main organization, and expedited the expansion of the older denominations.
Among the Nazarenes, this was made possible by the support of the congregation for their local pastors, whether they be theologically educated or common laypersons. Small amounts for the laity suffices their needs in their commissioned areas of outreach. While the question and problems of funds indeed affected the Lutherans, and led to the division of the main Lutheran Church in the Philippines, the effect of the division upon the work in the highlands did not show much evidence. The laity still functioned zealously.

It must be understood that the laity, though they are more active and plain in their language in communicating the gospel than the missionary or the theologically educated, know their limit when it comes to the clarification of the right doctrine and with regards to biblical and hermeneutical principles. Though some of the laity are not always willing to submit to the “professionals” when it comes to basic theological and hermeneutical problems in the Bible, most of them are “teachable in spirit.”

The early denominations that came to Loo Valley paved two different approaches to train local church leaders in the rural context where there were not as many privileges and opportunities for formal training as in the cities. The missionaries from the different denominations exemplified different ways and styles in training local church leaders. The Church of the Nazarene missionaries were able to perceive the necessity for strong leadership among the local people and thus consequently built a stable theological institution located at La Trinidad, Luzon Nazarene Bible College. This is obvious as the way the denominational leaders used to equip the local leadership. For the Nazarenes, the leaders tried to educate local leaders first through sending able young men and women to be trained theologically for a ministry in their own places. This explains how the Church of the Nazarene came to be in Loo. Paul Bay-an and Antonio Lumiqued were sent back to their own hometown and they
reached out to their own families and relatives. Thus John Pattee, being confident of the institution that would be able to train leaders, and in which he was one of the trainers, adapted the style of finding and calling young men and women to go and study at the Bible School. From the Bible School, the missionaries were able to send intern pastors to local churches that were in need. The Bible School became an institution that was preparing young supply pastors while the Church of the Nazarene was growing in the country. Pattee did this to many of the now aging leaders of the Church of the Nazarene. These testimonies are often overheard among them during Nazarene gatherings and fellowship.

On the other hand, the Lutheran missionaries did not send many young men to the theological school (and their women were not used for pastoral ministries). Hornig established the local church in Abatan and then, with laypersons, he built “outstations” as preaching points. He first trained the new converts, delivering lectures and exposing them to home Bible studies. This pattern was done at every outstation that Hornig built. When their outstations increased, though, Hornig could no longer attend to every local service and so he began to send the laity, the local leaders who were trained, to these outstations. Afterwards, he would leave able laypersons to take charge of the Sunday worship preaching. When communicant members were ready, these outstations would be organized into local churches, still having laypersons acting as pastors. By the year 2006, there still were not many theologically trained local pastors from the area. Only four Lutheran congregations in Buguias had resident theologically equipped pastors. Yet, unlike the Church of the Nazarene, the supply pastors in the local outstations were their own lay members who were trained through local and district leadership seminars conducted by both pastors with theological credentials and missionaries.
The greatest strength that the Church of the Nazarene exemplified was its strategic approach to build local leaders who would not soon be dependent upon theologically equipped missionaries, but were trusted as capable and fitted for the ministry. The mobilization of the laity made the growth and expansion of the local church possible. This approach paved the way for strong pastoral leadership, at least in terms of being theologically and doctrinally equipped, among the Nazarenes here in the Philippines as a whole. Nevertheless, the sporadic and continuous growth and strength of both the Nazarenes and Lutherans has been through the involvement of their laity in ministries. The laity, being knowledgeable and adaptable to the context, was easily acceptable to the common people. The more theologically equipped, however, struggled. The lay person comes from the community, yet is theologically and doctrinally ignorant. The theologically learned clergy are persons of the established church, yet struggle deeply as to how to deal with and approach the local community. On one hand the learned clergy find the laity as strong partners. Yet there is a great tendency for the laity to “take a rest” and leave all the responsibility to the educated clergy; and on the other hand, the educated clergy would expect much submission from the laity for theological and doctrinal training. But, observably, among the Nazarenes, there is a strong partnership between the educated and the laity, perhaps because the educated clergy stationed in Loo are from the same place. Another is the Nazarenes’ strong preaching on tithing, which resulted in their becoming less dependent upon foreign supports, whereas the Lutherans, having dissociated Law from Gospel more than any other Protestant group, suffered a manifest financial problem that resulted in a schism in 1991.

The choice of the Valley as a strategic location for the Church of the Nazarene also has resulted in extensive results and made the denomination situated in a perceivable place
that could reach all of Buguias and beyond. The local church, being in the Valley, could easily expand with extensions of institutional facilities. The Lutheran church situated in Abatan has easy access to the main Halsema highway and serves social and physical needs. Nevertheless, geographical limitations limits the access of the church to the wider populace.

Cultural problems were there, during the early times, when there were strong conflicts between the community leaders and the missionaries and their disciples. But, today, relational problems are the main issue amongst the established local churches between the leaders and their congregations. Cordillerans do not show obviously to persons their contempt for someone else, but are bold to tell all the faults of the person to others. Solving personal conflicts is perhaps the hardest of all pastoral and ministerial problems, especially when leaders and the congregations are in their beginning stages. Theological differences could hardly be solved through an agreement or simply through arriving at a via media conclusion. Theological differences and personal conflicts both seem always to birth schisms and one or two more denominations. This is proven through the case of the Bethel Church and the Fig Tree Christian Fellowship (under the Philippine Evangelical Holiness Church). Nevertheless, relational issues helped leaders to propagate in the area. Mrs. Peligman, for example, has expressed her appreciation of the holiness emphasis and ethics, and credits the Church of the Nazarene for having laid the foundation of the doctrine.

Another reason for the divisions is the issue of speaking in tongues. Both the Church of the Nazarene and the Lutheran Church always prohibited and discouraged the practice of this. The Fig Tree Christian Fellowship acknowledged its roots in the Wesleyan heritage, but still allows members to practice this gift for the reasons that it is biblical and that it is for the edification of the believers.
The greatest struggle, though, that these evangelical churches face is that the denominational leaders are not solely united in a vision, and, instead, make programs that explicitly compete with each another. Though these local denominations continually meet every last Sunday of the month to pray and intercede for the society, calling this fellowship the March for Jesus Fellowship, there is no clearer social agenda or systematic planning to reach out to the community. The ACCESS B, being the earliest organization of ministers in Buguias, in which most ministers in Loo enjoined themselves, tried to reach out to the social and political sectors of the municipality, giving emphasis to moral reformation, yet ceased due to received death threats from the gambling promoters in the municipality.

Arising from these Protestants were their children excelling in their academic careers. One the one hand, the work for the development of local Christian pre-schools is one focus. Son Shine Learning Center, for example, an institution now gaining prestige not only among the parents who expressly conjoined their appreciation for it, but also among the people from the Department of Education, is focusing on educating the outcast children, those who are known as belonging to the “Row Four,” those who are considered incompetent, or who are thought to have low IQs.

In relation to the culture, the process of the evolution of worldview as Berger based his theory, was implied in the presented data when Protestantism came in contact with the problem of culturally accepted norms, rituals and practices. Protestantism came to the context with a different worldview, new to the people, and all their contributions to the society, in all aspects, individually or collectively, falls under what Berger would call the externalization process.284 Under the externalization process are all the informative aspects, whether by

284 To have a review on the terms used in this discussion, refer back to the Theoretical and Conceptual Framework section, pages 7-9.
words or motions, that affect both the moral, social and cultural consciousness of the local
people. Of course, as explained earlier, this consciousness plays a great part in forming the
peoples’ worldview. As presented in the data, consciously or unconsciously the Protestant
missionaries and their converts have contributed to the evolution of the Loo Valley society
politically, morally and culturally. When the Protestants did not compromise with what they
branded as purely paganic rituals and practices, they appeared to the people as coming
against an established “nomos” or an “objective reality” and law of order in the society. Out
of apparent ignorance on the part of Lutheran missionaries, for example, gambong resulted in
a mixture of Christian and folk rituals, which at first made Christianity amiable. Lutheran
missionaries, such as Hornig, did not strictly oppose the cultural rituals and practices of the
people, which soon resulted in a kind of syncretistic understanding among the people. The
objectivation process happened in this period, as the action of the missionary informed the
people. Accepting an established “nomos” by the missionary, people of the society are not
much agitated, but, as such, pleased. Internalization process also begins. The people,
informed by this acceptance of their embedded beliefs in their rituals and practices, satisfied
them to the extent of intermingling Christian practices with their folk rituals. The product of
the event, properly called an internalization process, made the local people think that
Christianity was not against the accepted rituals and practices of culture at all, and that the
Christian teaching was not contrary to the pagan rituals. Instead, Christianity, as
communicated by the Lutheran missionary after the process of externalization, objectivation
and internalization, was understood by the people who witnessed it as an additional source of
power and blessing aside from what they believed as their established source of the same.
The Church of the Nazarene (and other denominations such as the Fig Tree Christian Fellowship and the Philippine Bethel Church), on the other hand, manifested strong disagreement with paganism rituals and practices as the missionaries publicly destroyed pagan omens and symbols. This example showed a different impact and contribution upon the evolution of the social and moral consciousness of the people. Strong opposition to Christians among the pagans implicitly manifested itself in the 60s when the Bay-an family yielded to paganism again when they were forced by their pagan relatives to be re-consecrated to pagan rituals. To these folks, they see the other aspect of Protestantism represented by the Church of the Nazarene as detestable, as totally against the "objective reality" normally accepted by the people. The result of all these processes over time notably weakened paganism and led it to a decline, but caused indifference among those who were affected by the act of intermingling Christian and folk rituals.
CONCLUSION

The stated problem can now be answered as a result of the data presented:

1. The setting where this study was conducted is Loo Valley, Buguias, Benguet. Loo Valley, located on the foot of the mountain ranges that sets the boundary of Benguet and Mountain Provinces.

2. Protestantism began and developed in Loo, Buguias, Benguet from 1951 when Lutheran missionaries came through the initiative of Rev. Simon Bilagot with the aid of foreign Lutheran missionaries. It was followed by the Church of the Nazarene in 1954 when Antonio Lumiqued returned with American Nazarene missionaries to conduct evangelistic crusades. These are the two older Protestant denominations. Yet while the Lutherans may have been the first pioneers, it was the Nazarenes who made the valley as the center of their work for the highlands.

3. Since its founding, the older Protestants developed at a constant growth rate when the lay people began to participate in the work. The missionaries and educated clergy conducted trainings for the laity, sending and accompanying them to pioneering works. These pioneering works soon developed into established churches.

4. Younger Protestant denominations came lately in the 1980s. The Philippine Bethel Church Incorporated, a split from the Assemblies of God, conducted a series of evangelistic crusades with Dr. Howley as the speaker in 1982. Bethel Church in Loo started a crusade on April, 1982. The converts were gathered and were formed as a congregation. The Fig Tree Christian Fellowship was formed in 1981 and was organized in 1983. It was basically a split from the Bethel Church. With the help of Korean missionaries, it was soon affiliated with the Philippine Evangelical Holiness Church with which the Korean missionaries were working.
Other Protestant groups arrived at the turn of the century. The Happy Family Overseas Ministries began in the 1990s as a non-denominational ministry, but was finally registered with the Securities and Exchange Commission in 2003. The Loo Valley Christian Assembly also began its work in 2001 as a pioneering work and is still unregistered and unorganized. The Free Believers in Christ Fellowship started in 2003 and is still in its developing stage.

5. The relationship of these Protestant groups could hardly be traced unless church records are made available to scan, to see if there were former members of the older Protestant churches who transferred to the younger Protestant churches. Certainly, former Nazarenes and Lutherans could be found attending the younger churches.

6. The local people responded with resentments due to their embedded cultural norm since the Valley was indwelt by pagans. The resentment and reaction was more obvious during the earlier periods of the older Protestant denominations and was not without difficulty. The local people responded not aggressively but, since the people were basically pagans, strongly resisted the new religion. As a result, the older Protestants struggled with the community people, especially with regards to the community’s long held beliefs and traditions. But when the head of the community or the prominent pagan figure was converted to faith, it ensured a turn of allegiance from paganism to Christianity.

7. The coming of Protestantism threatened the established cultural and social traits of the people, which soon resulted in the weakening of paganism in the Valley. After a few decades, when the younger denominations entered the area, paganism weakened as a result of the influx of people in the valley, the increase of educational institutions and the faithful ministries of the older denominations. As a result, there has not been much recent opposition from the pagans, except among the local outreaches in remote villages.
8. Beginning in the late 80s, Protestants became active politically and socially. Christians began to run for political offices. ACCESS-B was formed as an organization among the Christian ministers, including Roman Catholic and Anglican ministers, to fight against social evils. Yet it was disbanded. The March for Jesus Fellowship was organized later, strictly among the Protestants, and is now trying to impact the society by gathering monthly and by interceding for the society and political officials.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Educating the children has proven a great benefit also, especially among the Nazarenes. Vacation Bible Schools conducted every summer time in the area should not cease. It must be given an allotted fund to realize this project annually.

I recommend theological training for the laity and theologically educated clergy among these Protestants. I deeply encourage partnership among the educated clergy and the laity for the purpose of a more effective communication of the Gospel and sound Biblical doctrines. This might appear too harsh so as to recommend theological education and training. But the Lutherans without ordained ministers are missing the privilege of the sacraments; Nazarenes, with laity in the lead lack the teaching of Scriptural holiness.

A person knowledgeable of the context could be more effective as a Christian worker. Thus, I also recommend that a more thorough study on the social, economic and cultural aspects of the community. This will be helpful for the Protestant churches in the area. Partnership among educated and uneducated laity in the area should be sought, for it could greatly help promote the cause of the gospel, not only in the church, but in the society as well.
A more intentional planning, then, to reach out to the society and battle against all forms of social vices in the community must be given focus by the March for Jesus Fellowship leaders, in addition to their monthly gathering and intercession for social and political needs and the problems of the community. The obvious problem of the area, and in Buguias municipality as a whole, is not the dominance of cultural clashes with the Gospel, but, rather, the dominance of social vices and the obvious decline of morality among the people. This should be given much attention and planning so as to reach out to the people with a meaningful and strategic way.
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APPENDIX I

Buguias Hymn
Tito Bestre © 1988

Home of the green gold and the misty mountains
Rich farms and valleys, beautiful land of spring.
Your winding river nourishes land and people
Buguias, my dear home, my heart belongs to you.
Your mountain ranges give life to sturdy pine trees
Your lovely valleys cradle the garden greens
Carrots and potatoes grow on the hills and valleys
Buguias, my dear home, pride of the farmers bold
Land of my father, oh land where I was born
I pledge my loyalty and my love to you
May God protect you and bless your land and people
Pride of my childhood, home of the green, green gold.
MARCH FOR JESUS MONTHLY INTERDENOMINATIONAL FELLOWSHIP

DATE: November 27, 2005 (Last Sunday of the Month)
TIME: 2:00 PM
VENUE: Loo Philippine Bethel Church

A. PROGRAM

1) Opening Prayer.................................................. Pastor Quenzon Agalpao or rep.

2) Welcome/Roll Call/Recognition for all Participating Churches.........Emcee

3) Special Numbers (Testimonies, songs, etc. to worship the Lord)

3) MESSAGES IN SONGS to be rendered by the evangelical mission team which will be going to Sabah, Malaysia

4) Offering and Ushers/Offertory Prayer.............c/o Panayaoa Bethel Church

Note: The offering that will be gathered shall be given to the Sabah evangelical mission team. Let us give our all out support to the team spiritually in prayers and financially.

As a fund raising activity of the team, there will be a garage sale after the fellowship.

5) Intercessory Prayer:
A. For Christian Missionaries, Pastors, Lay Leaders and the Sabah Mission Team........Pastor Danny Yuklanki or rep.
B. For Family and Young People.................................Pastor Wayne Baucos or rep.
C. For Government Officials and Employees......................Pastora Judith Boteng or rep.
D. For Peace and Order and the fight against all forms of moral evils such as the vices of gambling and prohibited drugs.......................Pastora Acelina Aban or rep.

6) Announcements..............................Atty. Severino Manuel G. Lumiqueed
Coordinator, March for Jesus

- Others

7) Closing Prayer................................................. Pastor Magno Dangpa or rep.

EMCEE: Rep. of Loo Bethel Church

B. REGULAR MEETING OF OFFICERS

YOU ARE ALL INVITED TO THE FELLOWSHIP
DATE: March 26, 2006 (Last Sunday of the Month)

TIME: 2:00 PM

VENUE: Loo Church of the Nazarene

A. PROGRAM

1) Opening Prayer ................................................. Bro. Asano Aban

2) Welcome/Roll Call/Recognition for all Participating Churches .......... Emcee

3) Special Numbers (open to the congregation)

4) Praise and Worship ............... In charge: Loo Church of the Nazarene

5) GOD'S MESSAGE .............................................. PASTOR JOSE GUILLERMO

   Loo Philippine Bethel Church

6) Offertory Prayer and Offering ........ In charge: Loo Free Believers In Christ Fellowship

7) Intercessory Prayers:
   A. For Christian Missionaries, Pastors, Lay Leaders and the Sabah Mission Team ............................................................... Sister Hilda Yukiambi or rep.
   B. For Family and Young People ....... Pastor Quenzon Agalpao or rep.
   C. For Government Officials and Employees .... Pastor Samuel Mayona or rep.
   D. For Peace and Order and the fight against all forms of moral evils such as the vices of gambling and prohibited drugs ...... Pastor Magno Dangpa or rep.

8) Acknowledgments/Announcements .......... Atty. Severino Manuel G. Lumiqued

   Coordinator, March for Jesus

  - Others

9) Closing Prayer .................................................. Pastor Wayne Baucas or rep.

EMCEE: Rep. of Loo Church of the Nazarene

B. REGULAR MEETING OF OFFICERS

YOU ARE ALL INVITED TO THE FELLOWSHIP
August 25, 2005

To Whom It May Concern:

This is to certify that Mr. Charlie Cubalit of Lo-o, Buguias, Benguet, is a student in good standing at this institution.

Presently he is writing a thesis in relation to attaining his Master of Science in Theology degree.

Any assistance that can be extended to him would be greatly appreciated.

Signed,

Floyd T. Cunningham

Floyd T. Cunningham