

PUBLICATION OF THE IGOROT GLOBAL ORGANIZATION (IGO)



The

Igorot

ISSUE 5

January 2009

The American Colonization of
Northern Luzon Igorots

The Fascination of the Bontoc
Turned into a Racist Legacy

The Old Ifugao Customs
and Traditions



Editorial

Above all that it may mean or signify, BIBAK is a fun organization. It truly adds a dimension to the lives of those who participate and help make it grow. The children learn their past not by being preached but by living the heritage. The adults are motivated to fulfill their responsibilities in carrying their culture forward. The whole community is richer in the diversity it offers.

The whitewater rafters in the cover page from BIBAK Northern California show their excitement as they navigate the rapids of the American River that feeds Folsom Lake from the El Dorado National Forest near Lake Tahoe. Even the old folks who did not raft felt the allure of the river just to sit by its shores and watch it flow by.

Perhaps, the most universal moment in all BIBAK gatherings is the campfire. You warm yourself in the fire while you watch your children rest their heads on the friends they will have for life and you let the modern world with all of its stresses just disappear.

The Igorot Global Organization salutes all BIBAK around the world.

John Dyte





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Cover Page: BIBAK NC river rafting on the American River, California photo by commercial photographer

Inside Cover Page: Banao rice fields by Joe Barrera, Dept of Trade and Industry Ifugao Province

Inside Back Cover: Ifugao home photo by Maryan54

Outside Back Cover: View of Mt. Cabuyao from Loakan Photo by Dr. Silva Tsuchiya

Besao sunset photo this page by Lynn Macalingay

BIBAK Trailblazers, Inc. (BTI)

Last September 27, 2008, the BIBAK Trailblazers, formerly BIBAK Seniors Club of So. California, highlighted its 20th founding anniversary celebration with a dinner-dance at the Radisson Hotel in Covina, California.

Some 150 BTI members with their families and friends enjoyed the festive atmosphere with a brief program, Igorot dances, choral groups, the grand raffles, giving of awards and modern dancing till midnight.

Certificates of recognition were handed out by club president Manny de Castro to 23 pioneer members of the BTI Mutual Assistance Program dating back in 1992, namely: Rosita Aquino, Andres Bagsiao, Rosalia Bangloy, Leona Bestoguet, Janet Botengan, Amparo Cadiogan, Bibiana DaVeiga, Carlos DaVeiga, Martina Dizon, Fidela Ferrer, Zenaida Isla, Joyce Kimps, Elvira Laoyan, Dorothy Lomeng, Andres Lubrin, Carmen Lubrin, Catherine Salmin, Amparo Sugguiyao, Domingo Tinoyan, Rebecca Totanes and Adelina A. Wandag.

Similar certificates were handed to Pansy Belling as the oldest BTI member and Tim Botengan as the youngest BTI member.

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A plaque of recognition was posthumously awarded to the late Rex Botengan, founder of the club, received by his wife Janet Botengan.



BIBAAK Las Vegas



President Ed Buangan and Jonas Vargas



Claire Kawi Bernardez, Marjorie Kawi Hill, Nicole, Jessica, Jennifer Kawi



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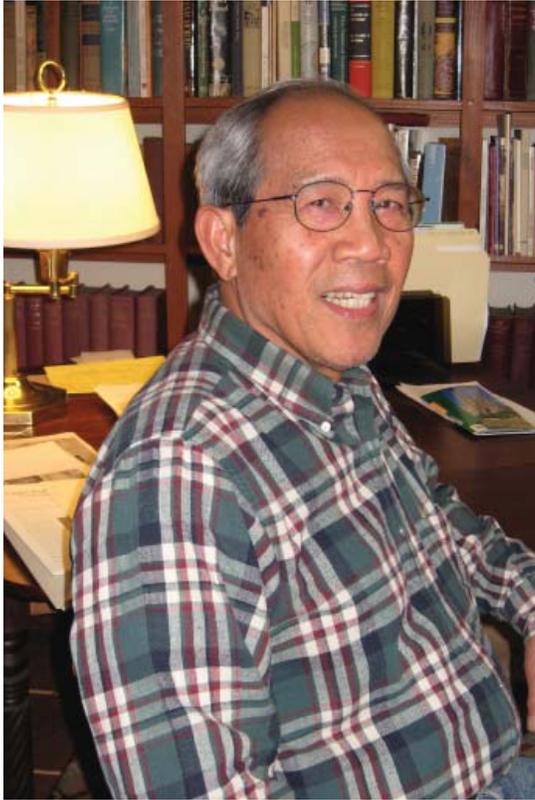
Fr. Sarminto, Ben Botengan, Bing Da Veiga, Remigio Kawi



George Vargas, Ruel De Castro, Nancy Vargas, Susan Pucket



Minda Saidro, Jocelyn Noe, Betty Bagsiyao
Evelyn Aquin, Madeline Pengosro, Vic Pengosro, Mrs. Anton, Chris Dagan, Rosalind Kawi



A Civilizing Venture: The American Colonial Administration of the Northern Luzon Igorots 1900-1914

Albert S. Bacdayan, Ph.D.
Lyme, CT

This article is about the transformation of the Igorot world by the Americans at the beginning of the twentieth century, a profound historical experience that we—peoples or tribes of the Cordillera highlands—all share, and an important dimension of what unites us. It is a revised and expanded version of the speech I gave on July 22, 2004 during the plenary session of the Filipino American National History Society (FANHS) Conference in Saint Louis, Missouri. The Conference, like the International Igorot Consultation held earlier the same month also in St. Louis, was in commemoration of the hundredth anniversary of the participation of the Filipinos—including the Igorots—in the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition, popularly known as the St. Louis World's Fair. Igorot participation in that historic event denoted variously in the following discussion as World's Fair, Louisiana Exposition or simply as Fair and Exposition was a defining moment in Igorot history.

Igorots at the World's Fair

The Igorots of the Philippines debuted in the full view of modern American society at the 1904 World's Fair. Commemorating the centennial of the historic land acquisition in 1803, the Louisiana Purchase, which more than doubled the size of the United States launching the country toward world greatness, the Exposition was befittingly the largest ever held in the country up to that time. Described as “the fair of all fairs”, it showcased the vast economic and technological advances of the country as well as its emergence as an overseas colonial power in epic circumstances. The fair ground was 1200 acres wide with some 60 nations participating. The context of the Igorot debut in America—barely three years after they became special charges of the American colonial government resulting in the venture of civilizing them described later on in the paper—was unusual indeed. It was a dazzling and impressive global show that touted and demonstrated American progress, power and promise. And arguably, the Igorots were the stars of that show.

The Igorots were brought to the Exposition by the newly established American colonial government in the Philippines “in order to make the Philippine display complete and particularly interesting”. The Philippine display had a wide campus of 47 acres and was referred to as the Philippine Exposition and often described as a fair within a fair. The Igorots exemplified, in the scheme of the St. Louis World's Fair, the stage of barbarism in humanity's march toward civilization as conceived by the prevailing evolutionary anthropological theory of cultural development at the time. Numbering some ninety-six individuals from Bontoc and Suyoc, they were a smashing success. Hyped to the limit

(dog-eating and headhunting savages), they attracted unusual attention and interest from the start on April 30, 1904 of the World's Fair to its conclusion on December 31 the same year. According to a May 2001 investigative feature article by Robert C. Galloway, “Rediscovering The 1904 World's Fair: Human Bites Human”, the Igorots “launched the Philippine Exposition to the status of most popular exhibit at the fair.” Their exhibit, the Igorot Village, which was a live display by themselves of Igorot culture and society in the context of community life, was the most visited, hence, the highest dollar-producing exhibit in the Philippine display, if not in the entire World's Fair. Galloway, in the article just mentioned, reported that the Igorot Village made a whopping \$200,387.18 from admission returns.

This for-the-records performance might have been welcomed by the Philippines as an indication of world interest in the rich cultural diversity and texture of Philippine ethnography like when the so-called stone-age Tasadays were “discovered” in 1971. The country appeared so positively pleased, if not proud of the Tasadays that the government gave them an extensive reservation and openly welcomed scientific and media attention. But there was no such Tasaday luck for the Igorots in the 1904 World's Fair. Their display and performance were instead regarded with intense dismay, if not shame, by the lowland Filipinos.

Wanting to give a good impression of how advanced or modern Philippine society was at that time, the lowlander Filipinos were offended and embarrassed by the nakedness and primitiveness displayed by the Igorots at the Saint Louis World's Fair. They considered the Igorots then and even now to be their inferiors and often, as exemplified by the renowned Carlos P. Romulo in his book, *Mother America*, to be not Filipinos at all. The Filipinos feared that the culture the Igorots showed—including dog feasts, pagan rituals, chants and dances, scanty dressing or near nakedness and age-old blacksmithing—would give the wrong impression about the readiness of the Filipinos for

self-government and negatively affect their struggle for independence.

Understandable as this fear may have been, the association of Igorots and Philippine independence in this way was an unfortunate irony. The Igorots, in fact, have a legitimate claim to being a collective metaphor for independence from foreign domination. As will be explained later on, their distinctiveness from the lowlanders in dress, religion and culture in general, was due to their three centuries of resistance against and independence from Spanish rule. At the end of that rule, the scantily clothed nature and ancestor worshipping Igorots were virtually free and on their own culturally and politically while the lowlanders, who lost their original culture in the process of the long dark night of foreign rule, were chafing under its heavy yoke. If only the lowlanders had looked deeper than the skin, they would not have been so upset!

But this irony notwithstanding, some 400 modern Igorots and their friends from all over the world assembled in St. Louis from July 1 through July 4, 2004 to commemorate the 1904 event in prideful and respectful celebration of the courage, dignity and fortitude of those pioneers in sharing their culture with the world a hundred years ago. This conference, officially designated the "5th Igorot International Consultation" (IIC-5) of the world-wide Igorot Global Organization (IGO), was an eloquent commentary on the social advancement or transformation of the Igorots since the exposition of 1904. If in 1904 the original ninety six Igorot exhibitors were "barbarians" –in the sense of their lack of formal schooling or education, their paganism or animism, their headhunting, their nakedness and their existence beyond the pale of civilized ways—the 400 celebrators of 2004 were definitely civilized. English-speaking and a great many of them college or university educated, they embraced a wide range of professional fields including accountancy, anthropology, engineering, nursing, medicine and theology. Among them were professors in higher education, bishops, business entrepreneurs, engineers, bureaucrats, lawyers and a former member of the cabinet of a past administration in the Philippines. There is no better indication of the group's high level of profitable learning from and engagement with civilizing and modernizing influences than this foregoing profile.

Largely responsible for this cultural transformation was the Igorot uplift program or civilizing venture launched by the American colonial government, especially from 1900-1914. These were the years during which American administrators, notably headed by Dean C. Worcester who was the colonial secretary of the Department of Interior, were in total command of Igorot affairs and during which the foundations for the transformation of the Igorots were laid. Judged the "greatest administrative achievement" of the Americans in the Philippines in which "Americans have performed the most wholly beneficent work in the history of the relationship between advanced and backward races", this was probably the most momentous period in the history of the Igorots. Their world was dramatically altered and reconfig-

ured toward not only amalgamation and co-existence with each other, but also contact with and acculturation to modern or civilized ways, not to mention participation in the affairs of the outside world including those of modern Philippine society. How the Americans initiated this sea change from barbarism to civilization is the subject of this article.

American Policy Toward the non-Christians

The backdrop to the American administration of the Igorots was the policy of the United States toward the non-Christian groups in the Philippines as a whole. Despite more than three hundred years of Spanish rule in the Philippines, a prominent feature of which was the conversion of the population to Christianity, the Americans found a significant number of non-Christians in the Philippines in 1898. These were the Moslems in the Sulu archipelago, Mindanao (Lanao and Cotabato) and southern Palawan and the animists, popularly called "pagans", who were concentrated in the northern Luzon Cordillera highlands but with significant numbers also in Mindoro, Palawan and Mindanao. At first estimated to number two million in all, the non-Christians were more realistically estimated in 1901 to be one million, occupying one half of the area of the country. It was in relation to this considerable population of non-Christians that President William F. McKinley instructed the Second Philippine Commission on April 7, 1900 as follows:

In dealing with the uncivilized tribes of the islands the commission should adopt the same course followed by Congress in permitting the tribes of our North American Indians to maintain their tribal organization and government....Such tribal governments should, however, be subjected to wise and firm regulation; and, without undue or petty interference, constant and active effort should be exercised to prevent barbarous practices and introduce civilized customs.

The Americans found relations between the Christians and non-Christians to be antagonistic on both sides in most instances. In the Moro country for instance, the Moslems took advantage of the interregnum between Spanish and American rule and attacked now defenseless and previously Spanish-protected Christian pockets, killing the men and capturing the women as slaves and concubines. Reportedly only the timely arrival of American troops prevented more atrocities and damage. There was widespread victimization of the pagans in Mindanao, especially the Bagobos and the Subanons, in Mindoro (the Mangyans), and in Palawan (the Bataks and the Tagbanuas), by their Christian neighbors in the coastal towns who cheated them in trade and quite often enslaved them. In northern Luzon the picture was mixed with the Benguet Igorots in the foothills bordering La Union and Ilocos Sur being imposed upon, but further north their Apayao, Kalinga and Ifugao cousins terrorizing border Christian communities among which they descended to hunt heads.

Nor were relations satisfactory among the non-Christian groups themselves. Slavery, slave trading, and intense, exploitative interdatu competition prevailed in the Moro country. The authority of the sultan was at its lowest ebb owing to the long and protracted Spanish anti-Moslem activity which was finally gaining ground. In the north among the Igorots, intervillage headhunting was rife. In fact it was entering a decidedly destructive phase because the Igorots had acquired guns from Spanish garrisons and from the starving soldiers of Aguinaldo's rear guard when he passed through the highland

country in late 1899, eluding the Americans pursuing him. The dire consequence of this new acquisition was the unprecedented increase in the casualties of headhunting raids in Dacalan in the Tanudan district of Kalinga, which was nearly annihilated by their enemies in 1902, and in Banaue, Ifugao where an attack is said to have resulted in the unheard loss of 200 or so heads.

In sum, conditions among the non-Christians in the country were deplorable from every angle. Internally the state of public order was chaotic, exploitative and violent. Externally the non-Christians were surrounded by a hostile Christian majority that regarded them as inferior and from whom they were separated by a deep cultural and religious chasm emanating from the centuries of the majority's contact with Spanish civilization. It was feared that unless the non-Christians were helped along toward "civilization", they would suffer greatly at the hands of the politically powerful Christian majority. Further, it was presumed, wrongly or rightly, by the American authorities that the Christianized Filipinos would not administer kindly and justly those whom they despised and that the non-Christian groups would continue not to submit to Christian Filipino rule as had been the case for centuries.

The policy off-shoot of this situation was a separate governance of the non-Christians under the direct control of the Americans to protect these groups from the Christian majority and "through just and humane treatment" or "firm and kindly rule" to uplift their condition. In accordance with President McKinley's instruction in this undertaking, great care was to be taken to take advantage of non-Christian social organization and institutions to the extent that they are compatible with "civilization" while firmly weeding out those aspects that were considered "barbarous" and introducing "civilized customs". Under this policy, the American-dominated Philippine Commission, the upper house of the Philippine legislature of which the all-Filipino Philippine Assembly was the lower house, had sole legislative power over the non-Christians. The Secretary of Interior, an American member of the Philippine Commission, had sole administrative supervision of the government in the non-Christian areas except among the Moslems of Mindanao and Sulu who were under the governor-general, naturally also an American. The local administrators for the non-Christians—the provincial governors and lieutenant governors—were Americans and a few Filipinos close to and trusted by the Americans whose appointments were subject to confirmation only by the Philippine Commission. The chain of command, therefore, in the area of non-Christian affairs was quite American.

Essentially then, it may be said that there were two governments in the Philippines during the period of American rule: one designed to handle the affairs and problems of the Christian majority and another to deal with the non-Christian minority. Forbes in fact spoke of three distinctive governmental forms, namely: the Christian Filipino type characterized by indigenous participation and autonomy, the American military-dominated government of the Moros,

and the paternalistic administration of the pagan groups largely by American civilians. The so-called paternalistic and military types predominated during the first 25 years of American rule, gradually moving thereafter toward the Christian-Filipino type as circumstances and conditions allowed.

Whether military or civilian, the policy was to select as personnel individuals of integrity and resourcefulness who were brave and forceful but sympathetic and just, genuinely respectful and protective against injustice and oppression of the people under them. Promises were not to be made unless there was certainty of delivery of what was promised. Taxation was to be imposed only after the "wild man" had realized its benefits. All labor rendered must be paid for. Force was to be used only as a last resort. Worcester also believed ardently in the developmental, let alone administrative, importance of lines of communication between groups and localities which made the construction of trails in the country of the non-Christians part and parcel of the policy. Other principles that guided the work were the employment of indigenous personnel as much as possible for police and public works service as in the construction of trails. Finally, close supervision of the work and the men in the field must be done by the highest relevant authority at the capital, Manila. As will be seen in the following discussion of the features of the American administration of the Mountain Province, these principles produced satisfactory results among the Igorots.

An impediment to the work in non-Christian areas was the fact that little was known about the non-Christian groups at the time upon which to base an intelligent approach to them. This necessitated the establishment in 1901 of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes under the Office of the Secretary of Interior. This was a research group whose task was to make studies of the non-Christian societies and to recommend legislation and policy regarding them. Accordingly, bureau personnel undertook arduous field investigations of tribal distribution and conditions to assess what needed to be done and to recommend action. The most notable of these were David P. Barrows who became president of UC Berkeley, and Albert E. Jenks, author of the well-known work, *The Bontoc Igorot*, who subsequently built a distinguished career in anthropology at the University of Minnesota. Secretary of Interior Worcester himself, an ethnologist in his own right, undertook field investigations for the same purpose. The investigations of the bureau, especially among the tribal groups in northern Luzon, directly affected the course of government action taken there. The bureau was eventually abolished and replaced with a purely research unit called the Bureau of Ethnology until it was revived in 1916 with its former designation, Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes, but without any research function. It now had only a supervisory function to oversee the work among the non-Christians in the wake of a major policy change in that endeavor.

The policy change was a concomitant of the passage of the Jones Law in 1916 by the United States Congress officially promising Philippine independence at some point in the future. The law abolished the Philippine Commission and the Philippine Assembly and replaced them with an all-Filipino bicameral legislature consisting of a house of representatives and a senate. The Jones Law shifted the legislative power over the non-Christians away from the Americans in the Philippine Commission and the supervisory power away from the American Secretary of Interior to the new Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes. Most of all the tenor of the work changed from protec-

tion and isolation of the non-Christians from the Christian majority to development and encouragement of contact between the two groups and preparation of the former for participation in a democratic Philippine state.

This policy shift had, in fact, taken place some three years before as a result of the victory of the Democrats, who had always been in favor of Philippine independence, during the 1912 U.S. presidential election. In October 1913, a new governor-general arrived in the Philippines intent on preparing the way. The non-Christian segment of the population which had been used by the Republicans as an excuse to prolong American sovereignty in the Philippines now most definitely presented a problem to the new thinking on independence that needed attention and redirection. The composition of the Philippine Commission was changed so that Filipinos became the majority instead of the minority as they had been up to that time. Although this was undertaken in order to give Filipinos more control of the government generally, it represented a major change as far as the non-Christian policy was concerned since it was the Philippine Commission that had ultimate power over the non-Christians. A more direct indication of the change was the resignation of Dean C. Worcester in September 1913 and his replacement as Secretary of Interior in 1914 by Winifred Denison, a moderate Republican who believed that it was time to encourage contact between the non-Christians and the Christian majority. And, as already noted, the tenor of the policy changed. The evolution of the policy worked quite well for the Igorots because the modernization or civilizing program already begun continued.

Prelude to the World's Fair: The Barbarians and the Civilized

It is important at this point to look more deeply at the cultural history and characteristics of both the Igorots and the lowlanders—the barbarians in the northern Luzon mountains and the civilized Hispanized Christian majority in the plains, respectively—before proceeding in order to appreciate their respective positions in Philippine society at the time of the St. Louis World's Fair.

The word "Igorot" is a generic term meaning people of the mountains. Said to have earlier been used as a common label for only the Bontocs, Kankanaeys and the Ibalois, it is generally used now to designate all the indigenous ethno-linguistic inhabitants of old Mountain Province, the province that existed between 1908 and 1966. Therefore, under the rubric "Igorot" are the Ibalois, the Kankanaeys, the Bontocs, the Ifugaos, the Isnags or Apayaos, and the Kalingas. This comprehensive usage appears, as a matter of fact, to have begun during the early nineteenth century as indicated by the Spanish designation of the home region of the Igorots as the "El Pais de Igorrotes". Despite this early comprehensive usage, promoted by the Americans with the organization of the original Mountain Province in 1908, the label "Igorot" is not uniformly accepted by all its referents. This is possibly because of the bad press the Igorots received in the Filipino press in connection with the St.

Louis World's Fair and the negative connotation of the term arising from the resistance of the Igorots to the Spanish religious and political aims as shall be discussed later. A contributing factor may have been the tendency of the local American lieutenant governors like Walter Hale of Kalinga and Jeff Gallman of Ifugao to emphasize the distinctiveness of their "tribes" rather than their commonalities with their fellow mountaineers.

The Igorots in this comprehensive sense were estimated to be 250,000 in 1900 and presently number well over one million. The settlement patterns of the Igorots vary: scattered isolated residences of the swidden cultivators of northern Kalinga, the Apayaos and some groups of the Ibalois; small hamlets of the Ifugaos; and compact large villages of the Bontocs, the southern and Tanudan River Kalingas. Social and political organization is rudimentary based mainly on bilateral kinship and the local community or village. No supra-village political authority system had been developed among the Igorots; the concept of the state, an outside agency, controlling local territories and populations was therefore totally alien if not repulsive to them in traditional times. Fiercely independent minded, all the Igorots were religiously very conservative animists worshipping ancestor spirits and natural forces, all the groups except the Ibalois and Kankanaeys were inveterate headhunters when the Americans arrived at the scene at the turn of the century.

Significant numbers of the Igorots were swidden cultivators—especially the Isnag or Apayaos and certain groups of Kalingas such as those in Pinukpuk and Bacari of eastern Kalinga. But most Igorots were wet rice cultivators usually in terraced fields watered by gravity-fed irrigation systems. Terracing and irrigation reached their highest development among the Bontocs and the Ifugaos. The rice terraces of the Ifugaos are often called the "eighth wonder of the world" by the tourism industry of the Philippines but the terraced fields in the present Mountain Province are also impressive in expanse and beauty. The Igorots also boasted religious systems that are complex in their rituals and pantheons and are sufficiently attuned to the needs of the people for moral guidance, spiritual and psychological security. In addition the Igorots developed simple but intriguing legal systems and institutions that had fostered law and order and interpersonal and inter-group relationships. All these institutions had been much studied by scholars, especially by anthropologists, some studies having attained classic status in the anthropological literature.

While it is arguable that Igorot culture—law, religion, food production and social organization—was sufficient and adequate for a secure, fulfilling and meaningful existence, it was perhaps in areas such as clothing and shoes, body adornments and grooming that Igorot culture was most scant if not altogether wanting. Tattooing and the use of beads, earrings, anklets and bracelets were known, but on the whole the Igorots were traditionally scantily dressed. The men wore the loincloth and basket hat (suklong) and depending on the place and tribe, a form of turban. The women wore the wrap-around the waist called tapis and sometimes a form of blouse. Both sexes used blanket-like wraps around the body, especially the older ones. All these articles of clothing were of softened tree bark and woven cotton imported from the lowlands. It was the scanty clothing to near nakedness overall of the Igorots, especially the men, at the Fair, along with their dog feasts, unique communal religious rituals, vigorous singing and dancing that attracted the fair visitors' interest in the Igorots. Altogether, these worked to make real the image of the

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Girls:Left to right: Danai Aquino,Heather Baldo,Jemalyn Kinao,JennyRose Kinao,Tricia Walton,Nikki Castro,Reanna Walton,Emmalyn Cabbigat,Audrey Castro,Rose Pingkiyen, Nelia Layugan, Korina Gonzalo **Boys** Left to right:Kevin Brooks,Neil Brooks,Marson Cabbigat, Jimson Kinao,Gerold Alatan,Jeffson Gonzalo, James Jr. Gonzalo, Clark Jack Amistad,Saes Mario Shah

The Fascination of the Bontoc Turned into a Racist Legacy Seattle 1909 / Centennial 2009

By

Deacon Fred Cordova, L.H.D.

Filipino American National Historical Society

BIBAK of the Pacific Northwest

July 26, 2008

**Jim Creek Recreation Area
Arlington, Washington**

Once on a younger time, I wrote in completing my book. *FILIPINOS: Forgotten Asian Americans*, that our people “wrote their own history, which is our-story, revealing simply but inspiringly that they have actually been real live people, human beings making it in American society.”

This story is a centennial research about the Bontoc of the mountain highlands of Luzon in the Philippines. This centennial odyssey happened in Seattle in 1909 – ninety-nine years ago to be a centennial jubilee next year in 2009.

But first a historical perspective.

The love/hate relationship between our United States of America and our ancestral Philippines stems from a long history.

Consequently, the on-again/off-again relationship between Americans and Filipinos has been a history experienced in times of war and of peace. Our historical legacy as Filipino Americans is deeply as old as 1587 when Filipinos first came to the U.S. Continent in California. But by 1909, a new legacy had evolved with the Bontoc pilgrims in Seattle.

With the Spanish-American war in 1898 and the Philippine-American War in 1899, the Philippines had to me made secure under U.S. sovereignty, according to certain American imperialists in the federal bureaucracy. Americans had to be convinced that Filipinos must saved “from themselves.” However, since all Americans could not be brought to the Philippines to see for themselves the allegedly uncivilized plight of Filipinos, then those Filipino subjects had to be taken to the U.S.

Six expositions – world or regional – displayed Filipinos, mainly non-Christian groups.

- The first began in October 1898 in Omaha, Nebraska, for the Trans-Mississippi and International Exposition, featuring sixteen so-called “Filipino Warriors.”
- The second was on May 1901 in Buffalo, New York, for the Pan-American Exposition including five men making up a “Philippine Band.”
- The third became renowned on April 1904 in St.

Louis, Missouri, for the Louisiana Purchase Exposition which became the best known among all the world’s fairs for showing Filipinos for the first time as “living exhibits.”

The Philippine Reservation was St. Louis’ biggest outlay with one thousand taken from the Philippines including thirty-four Ita or Negrito, four Mangyan from Mindoro, seventy Bontoc, twenty-five Suyoc and seventeen Itneg or Tingguian, also among the Igorot, thirty Bagobo from Mindanao, forty Samal-Laut and thirty six Maranao’s among the Muslims, plus Visayan musicians, singers and dancers along with a battalion each of Philippine Scout and Philippine Constabulary.

- The fourth followed on June 1905 in Portland, Oregon, for the Lewis and Clark Centennial and American Pacific Exposition and Oriental Fair to headline 22 Bontoc, four of them having been first exhibited in St. Louis.
- The fifth opened on April 1907 in Norfolk, Virginia, for the Jamestown Tercentennial Exposition having 9 Bagobo, 14 Samal and 5 Maguindanao among Muslims with Tagalo and Visayan, plus children.

Under the guise of U.S. commercial and industrial development, these world fairs and regional expositions from 1898 until 1909 generally characterized all Filipinos as racially inferior. For the enlightenment of Victorian mainstream America these “cultural zoos” at the expansionist turn of the century focused on Philippine cultural minorities in either Luzon or Mindanao – mostly the Igorot much to the delightful entertainment of prudish Americans.

So, more had yet to come.

Hence, Seattle for its Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition with 50 Bontoc from June 1 to Oct 15, 1909 at the University of Washington campus.

These 50 men, women, and children were encamped in the Igorrote Village amidst the carnival surroundings of the Pay Streak.

The marquee in the Igorrote Village blazoned, “Fifty Primitive Wild Peoples ... Head Hunters ... Dog Eaters .. From the Philippine Islands.”

Ten women included 32-year-old Dagomay, 35-year-old Angai and 40 year old Luyo and Sepec. Admired as “the belle of the village” was 23-year-old Diapan. But the most significant were two mothers with new-born babies: Agonai and her son, Washington and Esting with her daughter, Philippine Islands. The two Igorot babies – Washington and Philippine Islands – were born in the Igorotte Village – to us making them the first Second-Generation Filipino Americans in Washington State

Also among the children was a little boy, Tim-tee-mou. Large crowds were drawn away from other Pay Streak venues by exciting sounds of gangsa gongs. Gangsa beast became more mystifying during dances inside the Igorotte Village enclave. For 4 ½ months

white spectators were fascinated by the Bontoc. Igorotte Village was third among the Pay Streak's 27 amusement concessions with gross receipts of \$57,471, a present day equivalent of \$1,345,832 .

The Igorotte Village encampment could be considered the first Filipino community site in Seattle.

The Filipino villagers made hot news. The newspaper blitz of the Bontoc in the A-Y-P was awesome.

A more graphic newspaper account for the daily consumption of Victorian-laced Americans throughout the nation was one headlining, "Gala Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition Helped Put Seattle on the Map for Good." In the Sunday Olympian of Olympia, Washington, on June 24, 19X9:

The Igorot, out of all the fair's other ethnicities held the attention of white American photographers, authors, columnists, other chroniclers.

White fair-goers were very conscious only of Filipinos being half-naked. A puritanical Methodist minister campaigned to have the Igorot cover themselves with more clothes but the civic gentry intervened.

Meanwhile some colored postcards were being mailed all over the U.S. showing Filipinos climbing a pole with their loincloth hanging from the rear to make it look like a tail. Many whites thought Filipinos had tails inspired by a Spanish-American War ditty, "Oh, the monkeys have no tail in Zamboanga."

From a Filipino standpoint, as the Bontoc kept drawing attention, a negative stereotype of Filipinos was forming that would haunt Filipino-Americans in later years. The Bontoc "cultural zoo" of public exposure to thrill-seeking Americans would translate into more than three quarters of a century of damnable stereotyping, contaminated with racist myths. More tragically and sadly, the true human story of the Bontoc – and of all Igorot – had been obscured, reviled, defamed and vilified. Such damage had been permeated by all the of expositions throughout the U.S. from 1898 to 1909, not only in Seattle.

Yet the United States history must be served but served in our own right way – the documented Pinoy way.

After the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific's successful conclusion, the entire Bontoc fair participants were returned to the Philippines. Their future destinies were not disclosed.

Spurned on by the St. Louis and Seattle fairs, some commercial enterprises went to the Philippines and re-cruited more indigenous natives from Bontoc to promote their own Igorot tours, notably Coney Island, New Orleans, Boston, Chicago, Indianapolis, Milwaukee, New Haven in Connecticut, Syracuse in New York, Sandusky in Ohio and even in Winnepeg, Ontario, Canada and Havana, Cuba.

More Americans got their thrills from these Filipinos being exploited as head hunters, spear fighters, bolo men, native blacksmiths, native musicians, spear throwers, native singers, blanket weavers, women water carriers, or "people of interest in feats of strength and skill." Such promotions went on until last heard in 1920 when an Igorot maiden, named Kokomo, was born in Kokomo, Indiana.

Images continue to persist but fortunately in old

worn-out books and fading postcards in old curio shops and in stored-away archival photographs, publications and musty, decaying newspapers.

Through a fellowship as a faculty scholar of the Smithsonian Institute in 1985, I had carried into this research prejudicially community-wide attitudes about our Philippine cultural minorities.

Racism does not exist only in an expansive white American society but within our very own Philippine brown prejudices and discrimination.

Of course, Philippine society itself had provoked such racist ideas towards all of its cultural minorities. Non-Christian tribes were mocked by low-land Filipinos through the colonial attitude of Spanish and American colonizers.

So, it also has been in America towards other people of darker color by shamefully ignorant Filipinos.

But in the spirit of Kabunian or Lumawig – names which some Igorot tribes have called their supreme being – I was transported as an insensitive Christian to one with humble respect for the human dignity of the Igorot and Muslim being God's children.

Ours is to live with the ennoblement of all our indigenous brothers and sisters.

So, now once again, looking into the past with visions of the future, I share with you what I had written in concluding my book, that our people "... continue to write our story as they triumph in innumerable ways that need more telling .. of the human spirit of preceeding Filipino-American generations, which is our very own, which is us."

- Deacon Fred Cordova, L.H.D.



The Grand Alliance of Bukidnon Igorots (GABI)

through its board of directors, recently elected George G. Gewan as its new president for the next biennium.

The annual GABI general assembly held on May 24, 2008 in Malaybalay City elected the 15-man board of directors to manage the organization for the next two years. This new board then elected the new officers from among themselves at their initial meeting June 21, 2008 at the Malaybalay residence of Engr. Dante Domugan.

Other officers elected were: Dante S. Domugan, vice president; Junielyn Timay, secretary; Erlinda C. Narreto, treasurer; Lolita J. Pad-ay, auditor, Marcelino S. Timay and Silvester B. Asiong, social managers; Edwin Balaki, public relations officer, and John Baldo, Rev. George O. Panisigan, Peter Botigan, Edgar Butic, Martin Bandao, and Mario Paguyod, directors-at-large.

The board also confirmed the president's appointment of the Rev. Lito A. Bayao as executive assistant. The GABI is an association of immigrants in Bukidnon from the Grand Cordillera mountains of Northern Luzon. Its current membership includes indigenous tribes among the Bontoks, Kankanaeys, Ibalois, Ifugaos, and the Bagbag-os.

According to its constitution and by-laws, the GABI was formed to enhance and preserve the Igorot Culture and identify, foster unity and uphold the rights of Igorot immigrants and provide mutual aid among its members.

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Michelle Delson, Heaven Jose, Genesis Batanes, Angel Jose, Gabi Delson, Marissa Jose, Kathleen Batanes, Jocelyn Saoyao



Rex Delson, Cesar Saoyao, Josh Delson



Left to Right Couples: Gerald and Kathleen Batanes, Cesar and Jocelyn Saoyao Rex and Michelle Delson, Marlon and Marissa Jose, Henry and Tina Sadcopen





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The Old Ifugao Customs and Traditions (A personal experience)

by Anderson Dulnuan Tuguinay

Ha-on hi “Dumay-yahon” (I am Dumay-yahon). Inap-apu-ak ke Inggulun an nak Botlong (I am the grandson of Inggulun daughter of Botlong). My grandmother is a descendant from the Dagadag - Botlong clan that traces its roots from Bayninan, Kiangan. In search for greener pastures, my grandmother’s family settled in Patukan, a village famous for its ice cold spring water in Liyang and finally in Imbungyaw. It is a small farming community consisting of about five houses sparsely spread by the far end of the rice fields. In the center of the settlement is a towering “dalakit or balite” (fig tree) that resembles an Ifugao warrior, his “pinah-hig” (bolo) drawn and raised towards yonder Julungan. Some sweet “tabuyug” (native pomelo) and “gugullu” (native lemon) thrive near my grandmother’s “abung”. In the edge of the village are several “gab-gab” trees that bloom its crimson red flowers during the cold months of December to February. In the outskirts are clusters of “lap-paw” (sun flower) that seem to be an array of intermittent neon lights at night from numerous kum-kumti (fireflies). My grandmother was a “mumbaki” (pagan priestess), and she performed the “ketema” (“baki” ritual performed for the sick) with other “mumbaki” in the locality. On several occasions I witnessed the “mumbaki” possessed (nihkopan) by spirits of dead relatives and deities, and in a trance impart the message to the living. On the other hand, a mumbaki pleads to the spirit for the speedy recovery of a sick person, bountiful harvest and well being of an individual. It is my desire to recount my experiences regarding the old Ibuggo traditions and culture.

We lived in a “bale” or “abung”(house) which has four posts about five feet in height. Each post (tukud) has the traditional “lidi” (cylindrical shaped wood placed above the post). I often wondered about those geometrical structures and I learned from my old folks that it prevents rodents from entering the house. Just above the “lidi” is the “kuling” (beams). In the Tawali dialect, the following are the parts of a house: atop – roof, dingding - walls, dulung – floor, tawang – window; tukud – post, kuling – beams; onob/panto– door; hagpo – the ladder landing or flooring right in the door. House’s generally have one single space or room where everything from eating to sleeping is done. The “pun-dap-ulan” (fire place) is located in one corner of the house. Just above the pundap-ulan is the “hay-ung-ngan” where palay is dried. The “hay-ung-ngan” is woven bamboo where about five to six bundles of palay are spread to dry. Further above the “hay-ung-ngan” is the “huguhug” where firewood is piled to dry using the heat from the fire in the “pun-dap-ulan. We sat on the “dalapong” (wooden stool about 6 inches to 1 ft in height). We use the “tete” (ladder) to get in and out the house. The ladder is made up of light wood or bamboo pole which is pulled up inside the house or otherwise lowered down as a means of entry and exit. The roof consists of thatched mountain reeds (bila-u) or “gulun” (cogon grass) and the walls are made of wooden planks or woven bamboo.

Courtship before marriage is customary with early Ifugaos. Courtship is generally done in the house of the woman with the strict supervision of the parents and approval of the girl’s family. This is contrary to the myth that courtship is done in the “agamang” where promiscuity is tolerated. The “agamang” is a house in the locality where people go to sleep only at night. It is usually a house owned by childless couples, widowers, spinsters or bachelors. Males and females have separate “agamang” houses. There are occasions however when the family of the boy chooses a girl as the prospective wife. The boy’s family would propose the matter to the girl’s family. When the proposal is accepted, a pig is brought to the girl’s house where the two families host a feast. At a very young age, the two are parentally engaged but are not allowed to live together. This is called “nit-bi”. When the two reach maturity and the woman marries someone else, a pig is sent back to the man’s family as replacement of the pig that was used for the engagement. However, if the man marries another woman instead, the family of the woman is not obliged to replace the pig. When a union is planned, the man’s family sends an intermediary to inform the woman’s family about the intention. Pertinent matters about the marriage are discussed. This is called the “mun-ga-wi”. If the proposal is accepted, three pigs (hingngot) are brought to the bride’s residence in an entourage comprising the groom’s relatives and close associates. Affluent families usually butcher a carabao or a cow and an array of pigs for the marriage celebration. The marriage feast is characterized by extravaganza of endless dancing and merrymaking. In a particular area of the marriage feast, the choicest “baya” (rice wine) is given to any one who in turn gives gift or dowry to the newly married couple. This is called “gala”. A meal is provided to the multitude who witnessed the affair. A long queue is formed for the orderly distribution of food. This is called “hamul”. Later, the families of the married couple would inform the bride and the groom the respective properties to be inherited. The “ta-wid” (inheritance) system of the Tawali usually give the choicest property to the eldest child, going down to the youngest. Couples in some occasions separates basically because they are childless. It is uncommon that early Ibuggo couples would separate due to infidelity. This is called “mun-bolhe” (divorce) in the tawali tribe. They may remarry which is termed as “nun-bintan”. A woman begetting a child out of wed lock is called “nun-lag-lag-a”. Prostitution and polygamy is never a trait nor practiced by Ifugaos.

“Haliw” is the Tawali term for being fined for a fault or a felony. The fault ranges from oral defamation to simple form of unjust vexation. The fine may be of palay, money or domestic animals. Theft and robbery is uncommon to the Ifugaos, neither is begging for food as a result of laziness. Disputed rice field boundaries are settled though the “bultung” (Ifugao wrestling) if amicable settlement fails. In the “bultung”, two belligerents wrestle each other holding the opponent’s wano (g-string) as the initial duel position. A respected and influential elder from the village is chosen as the umpire. The “bultung” will commence on the very spot where the questioned property boundary is located. The fight maybe brief or would take a longer time. The place where the looser falls or pushed farthest will be the new rice field boundary (kiggad). It will be respected by both parties. Respective feuding families would perform the “hago-ho” a “baki” ritual to assure victory over the other.

One day, our whole family went to Ba-e, Kiangang to attend the “kat-lu” of a relative who died of lingering illness. The deceased was a male of advanced age and is alone since his wife died years ahead. Neither did they have any children. He was wearing a “binuh-lan” (g-string) and seated (nihadag) in a crisscross makeshift chair made from betel nut trunks fastened on the ground under the house. He seems to be sitting among the mourners. His torso was fastened to the “hadag” by some “wano” (g-string) and was draped with the “gamong” (native woven cloth use for the dead). The dead were not then embalmed nor placed in caskets. A fire was built near by. Relatives took turns sitting fronting the dead to drive away flies and insects. The dead is normally buried late in the afternoon of the third day (katlu) counting from the first day (boh-wat) after the dead is brought out from the house, bathe, clothed and seated (ni-hadag) under the house. The “hudhud” is sung nightly for an elderly who died of natural causes. Customary to the Tuwali tradition, a carabao is butchered in the morning of the day the deceased is to be buried. This is called the “dang-li”. The carabao which is tied near the house is hacked in the neck and other parts of the body. While the felled carabao was being sorted out, a male relative who was apparently drunk went and started to cut pieced of meat from the carabao for his clan’s share (bolwa). No one could pacify the male relative. Other relatives suddenly joined the ruckus getting their own share too. There was some shouting, pushing and shoving as the fray went on. I was told that this was the “gennet”. The orderly distribution of the “bolwa” was not followed because the “mun-ngilin” was not able to impose his job in directing the orderly sharing of the “bolwa”. The “mun-ngilin” is one of the “mumbaki” and no less than a distant relative of the deceased. He should be knowledgeable in the genealogy of the family (nun-domod-mang). He is charged with managing the activities from the “boh-wat” (first day of the wake) to the internment and most particularly in directing the orderly distribution of the “bolwa”. My grandmother explained to me that it is a customary for the Tuwali tribe that during the “katlu” a portion from the rear flank/leg (kuli-wang-wang) of the carabao (“dangli”) is divided among the relatives of the deceased up the fifth degree. In some occasions, relatives quarrel over their portion of meat if said relative thinks that the share of the “bolwa” is not fair. Sometimes, a messenger would walk several miles of rugged terrain just to deliver the “bolwa” to a relative. The “bolwa” symbolizes that the person to whom it is given is a relative. The wake could last up to more than five days depending on the social stature of the deceased. Pigs are butchered everyday to feed the people attending the wake. Some portion of the carabao meat which was taken by relatives during the “gennet” was recalled and distributed to nearby houses as viand for the multitude who attended the wake. It is customary that during the “katlu”, neighbors help in providing food for the people. The carabeef viand is a chunk of meat plain boiled and salt to taste. If the deceased have married children who are financially capable, each child take turns in shouldering the expenditure for the wake. There are some instances that each of the married children bring their dead parent to his own house for a night’s wake. The cranial remains of the

“dangli” are affixed to the walls outside the house. The number of cranial remains seen affixed in a house denotes the number of carabaos butchered as “dangli”. These are not trophies or souvenirs from hunting expeditions.

In the afternoon of the “katlu” (third day of the wake), the dead is carried to the “lubuk” (grave) for the internment. The grave is a tunnel built in a hill side. It could be an individual grave or for a clan for several generations. Male are not inter buried with the female, but each have a separate burial places. The tunnel has a small opening but has a large space inside. Rocks and soil are put in place after a person is buried and opened again if another is to be buried or the bones of a deceased is exhumed for the purpose of “bogwa”. Several individual burial tunnels could be excavated in a hill side that serves as cemetery for the locality. There are also instances wherein graves are made right in the backyard of the family of the dead. The dead is piggybacked (i-abba or ibagtutu) by a relative and followed by relatives and friends. One or two gongs are sounded while everyone walk to the burial place. When the dead is finally brought inside the grave, immediate family members are made to enter and gently shake the dead for the last time while saying his last words of farewell. A part of the “gamong” particularly the “talung-tung” (fringes) is removed and given to the family as a sign of separation from the dead and the living. Others opined that it is a memento for the dead akin to a flag being handed to the family of a soldier who is being buried. The rest of the “gamong”, remains covering the dead. Afterwards, the family members would briskly leave the burial place and proceeded home. Relatives from a further degree of relationship would close the grave using rocks and soil. After two years or more, the tomb is opened and the bones are cleaned, wrapped in a new “gamong” (burial cloth) and brought back to the house where another three day wake is performed. This is called the “bogwa”. Several “bogwa” could be accorded to a deceased depending on the necessity and social stature or necessity. It is also the option of the family if another “dangli” is to be accorded.

Babies and children who died of natural causes are not accorded the traditional “dangli”. A pig is sacrificed instead as “agamid”. It is an offering to the ancestors who will take into their care the soul of the dead. While bringing the dead to the grave, the traditional; the two gongs are not sounded, instead, three “ugo” (type of bamboo) internodes which is split in the other end, is sounded by briskly raising it up and slapping it in the palm.

Apu Ingulun stressed to me that a person who is murdered shall be accorded a different custom other than that given to a person who died of natural causes. The “him-ung” is followed as a tradition. The “bangibang” or “mun-gitak” is performed as ritual. The “bangibang” is performed by a group of dominant male who would depart from their abode to attend the interment of a slain person. The two lead men of the “bangibang” performers would do a mock fight while menacingly aiming his “balabog” or “gayang” (spear) to his opponent. In the process the two would lunge crashing in each others “hap-piyo” (wooden shield). Each member is donned for battle with a shiny “hinalong” (double bladed bolo) or heavy “pinah-hig” (one bladed big bolo) fasten to the hips. In his left hand is a prepared wood more or less two feet in length that is rhythmically beaten in unison by another smaller and shorter wood (more similar to a rod) he carries his right (for right handed person). The group would move stealthily to the resonance of the wood they beat, alternately run-

ning or walking from the point of origin up the place where the slain is interred. Women who join the group would not participate in beating of the wood but would just tag along. All the members would have the blood-red “dong-la” leaves (T-plant) fasten around their head. When the group arrive at the place where the slain is laid, they immediately join other “bangibang” groups circling the dead; shouting and cursing with intense agitation. Loud crying, shrieks and lamentation are heard. The spirit of the slain is urged to avenge him self. During the burial, the corpse is dragged to a makeshift grave and just covered with earth. Persons who are killed or died of violent and unnatural death is not accorded the customary “dangli”. The bones would be exhumed after a year or more for the “bogwa”. Several other rituals is performed before a murdered victim is accorded the traditional burial and given a “dangli”. The matter (murder) is settled though revenge if amicable settlement failed. When revenge is the option, the male relatives of the victim who has the intention of avenging the dead is gathered around during a “baki” which is specifically the “hago-ho”. This ritual is done only during night time up to the wee hours of the morning. At one specific portion of the ritual, the “munbaki” cuts off the head of the chicken being sacrificed and places the headless chicken in the center of the gathered men. The chicken would struggle and toss around as blood spouts from the severed neck. The direction of the bloodied neck finally points to the would be the avenger for the victim. Several male relatives of the deceased would organize at night to avenge the victim, picking only on the close relatives of the malefactor. This is called the “mangalana” in the Tuwali tribe. The “mangalana” (avenger) would wear the “bango” to protect him from the adverse forces of nature and practically as a camouflages while he lay and wait for his adversary. The “bango” is an upper garment woven from the coarse black fibers of the “u-noot”, a typical palm that is endemic in the mountain ranges of Ifugao. This particular palm had strong black hair like fibers on the bark. Meanwhile, at the perpetrator’s house, the “hago-ho” would also be in progress. In the “hago-ho” ritual, a dog is preferred as the animal sacrifice. This is done to protect the perpetrator and his family from any harm coming from the victim’s family and relatives. The “hago-ho” performed at the perpetrator’s residence without the cutting of a chicken’s head. Families of the victim and the malefactor shall be bitter enemies or “buhul” for life. It is a taboo for someone to enter the “buhul’s” house or attend to any of their feasts or occasions. When revenge had been successful, the aggrieved family would also resort to revenge. The endless chain of revenge would continue for generations. Eventual marriage between both parties can only extinguish the feud.

Another “baki” ritual that is commonly performed to this day is the “pahang”. It is done when a misfortune befalls a family or an individual. It is also done to shield a person from harm and unfavorable situation while he is away or on a journey. A minimum of eight chickens are offered in this particular ritual.

Early Ifugao families are dependent on farming as a means of sustaining their daily needs. Early Ifugaos have

their very own native rice called “Ipuggo”. That rice variety is sometimes corrupted and called as “tinoon” (yearly) because it is only planted once a year - specifically in a season on the year. It is also sometimes called “Innipuggo or Immipuggo” by the Tuwali folks. Preparing the “payo” (rice paddies) starts by early October thru December. This stage is called “Ahi ga-ud”. The villagers would organize as a work force to walk through the “paluk” (irrigation) for the purpose of cleaning the “alak” (small canal) from debris, repair the damages from “gode” (soil erosion) and replacing the damaged “tulaluk”. The “tulaluk” is a bamboo pole or palm trunk that is used as water viaducts in the irrigation system. It is an integral part of the irrigation system that connects the flow of water in cliffs or areas where making and/or building a canal is not feasible. Sometimes it would take a taxing three day work or more to clean and repair the irrigation, depending on the distance of the water source. While the “paluk” is being over sheered, the “guhing” (water gates) of the rice fields are opened to enable the field to dry up in preparation for the cultivation. Other rice fields which are not watered (loda) will just be cleaned of grasses, reeds and weeds. The systematic cleaning of the rice paddies commences. The villagers organized themselves into working teams called “Ub-bu”. The “ub-bu” is a communal work system wherein one would voluntarily join a group of farmers to render labor until every member is served. Some farmers would join the group as a “mun-bokla” (laborer) and are paid about five bundles of palay a day. The “kadangyan” (wealthy) is still dependent in the “ub-bu” system regardless of utilizing the “nuwang” (carabao/water buffalo) to plow his fields. Basically, manual labor is still intrinsic in farming. The long handled spade called “gaud” is extensively used. Bare hands and feet are also used methodically during the rice paddy preparation. This is the season when the beautiful yellow colored small bird called “Tiwad” come individually or in pairs, wagging their tail and fly about from dike to dike.

By early morning, the “mun-u-ub-bu” would arrive individually or in groups to the field which is scheduled to be prepared. The dikes are first repaired and replaced by removing half of the “banong” (dike) from the inside the rice paddy and replacing with a fresh mud taken from the rice field. The farmer uses the “ga-ud” to scrape the mud from the “payo” and overlay it to the “banong” (dike) being replaced. The foot is extensively used to compact the mud and shape in into a new dike, which would eventually dry up baked in the sun replacing the old one. Dikes (banong) that are used as path walk or trails have a bigger size and are overlaid with big flat stones (dalipe) and “tuping” to make it sturdier. While other workers are busy repairing the dikes, others are concentrated in preparing the field for planting. With the use of the “ga-ud”, the soft ground is fully pulverized. Then the workers would equally distribute the pulverized mud in the rice paddy using the water level as the guide to attain equal elevation. This method is called the “Kiblu”. The farmers will have a brisk lunch and back to the paddy. Inclement weather would not be an excuse for the farmer to work in the rice field. He wears the “talindak” (native Ifugao poncho) to shelter him from the rain. It is not used as a protective garment against the heat of the sun. It has two sets of strings; one at the apex which is tied loosely around the neck and the other in the mid part which tied securely around the waist to keep it from falling. The “talindak” is made up of neatly woven “anahao” leaves. The “anahaw” (*Livistona Rotundifolia*) is a native palm which has oval shaped leaves. While at work and during short breaks, the farmers would share each others moma (betel nut) hapid and apul. (Lime) that produces reds saliva and leave the

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wild man and the barbaric cultural stage which the Igorots were billed to represent.

The Igorots at the fair were not play-acting uncivilized folks in the stage of barbarism; this was the fact of life for them. As far as can be determined from the photographs of the fair, the Igorot Village was a realistic model of how they actually lived at the time in their villages back in the Philippines. They still lived like this because of the failure of the Spaniards to impose their rule and religion on them through the force of arms and conversion. This was not due to lack of effort, determination or a late start on the part of the Spaniards. They heard of the fabled Igorot gold soon after their arrival in Cebu in 1565 and so as soon as they secured Manila in 1570, Juan Salcedo led an expedition to the north in search for the gold. It is strongly believed that he reached Igorot country from the Ilocos coast in the western part of Luzon and succeeded in obtaining some gold. This led to the mounting of numerous Spanish expeditions to the highlands to try to gain control of the Igorot mines and to win Igorot allegiance and soul, often at the urgent request of the king who had come to believe that Igorot gold would solve his financial difficulties. Scott reports in his ground-breaking research that between Salcedo's foray in 1572 and 1625 seven such expeditions were sent up the mountains. But all of them came to naught, leading the Spanish authorities to abandon the effort for a while. The Igorots destroyed and abandoned their primitive mines and refused to cooperate or downright defied the Spaniards. They easily figured out the ineffectiveness beyond a certain range of the Spaniards' firearms at that time and, it is said, openly jeered at the invaders from a safe distance. At times they also feigned cooperation and even baptism only to strike back and attack the expeditions when they ran out of supplies.

Likewise did the Spanish effort called *reduccion* fail. The idea of *reduccion* was to concentrate converts and to attract potential converts in organized towns where they would learn how to live according to Spanish law, the rules and rhythm of Christian life such as church attendance, and Spanish customs and life ways including wearing clothes and haircuts. While this was so radical a change, it would have changed them to "indios", the Spanish term for a Filipino who lived in towns, went to church, paid taxes and wore pants and shirts or *bestidas* and blouses. But the freedom-loving Igorots preferred the nakedness and their liberty and so rejected *reduccion* resoundingly. Many converted but apostasy was rampant and the few who were reduced were often attacked by their former colleagues in freedom and heathenism. Even feigned conversion to take advantage of material inducements like clothing and exemption from paying tribute followed by vanishing into the mountains was not unknown. Often too, the Igorots killed missionaries.

The Igorots successfully resisted the Spaniards and maintained control of the gold mines and gold trade as well as the integrity of their culture, even when Spanish-led lowland Filipinos returned in force toward the end of the eighteenth century and the first two decades of the nineteenth century to enforce the Spaniards' tobacco monopoly.

A scorched earth approach in the hands of expedition after expedition (40 in the ten-year period from 1826-1836) included the burning of villages, confiscation of property including livestock and, of course, increased casualties. The secret was the improvement in Spanish weaponry, particularly the use of the long-range, rapid firing all-weather repeating Remington rifles. The Pais de Igorotes was cut up into different garrisoned commandancias or military-political districts to facilitate the extension of missionary work and initiation of a measure of educational and economic development. Some schools were established but were poorly attended due to native hostility and resistance and due to the difficulty of obtaining teachers either from Spain or the lowlands. New crops, notably coffee and citrus, were also introduced. It was only during the latter part of the nineteenth century that Spanish power began to prevail when the Spanish authorities decided on outright conquest by sheer force to end the recalcitrance and embarrassing independence of the Igorots. But despite the gains made of late, Spanish authority over and control of the Igorots were tenuous at best. When Spain left the Philippines, Igorot culture was basically intact: simple tribal communities and economic life, animism and rampant headhunting.

Meanwhile, in the lowlands the old ways were gone, at least on the surface. Spanish power prevailed quickly, *reduccion* was successfully imposed and the lowlanders who once shared so much culture with the highlanders including animism, headhunting and the loincloth were now *indios*: brown folks who wore pants, paid tribute and went to church. Even their names were changed to Spanish names with a few exceptions like Macapagal, Katigbak and Manglapus, most likely due to some special circumstances. Property ownership similarly changed. The vast majority became peasants with a great many not owning the land on which their homes stood, but renting them from landlords to whom they were beholden, if not dependent. The response of the lowlanders to Spanish colonialism had thus created a cultural chasm between the Hispanicized lowlanders and the highland Igorots who rejected Hispanicization, thereby retaining their original culture in the stage of barbarism. The tragedy in this chasm was that instead of there being simply a cultural difference between once homogeneous groups due to unforeseen circumstances, the chasm became imbued with negativism. The lowlanders with their pants and skirts and other acquisitions from their Spanish colonial overlords viewed themselves as superior to the Igorots. Adding to the negativism was the residue of mutual hate arising from the countless Spanish punitive expeditions against the Igorots involving damage to property and death on both sides. Since the expeditions consisted of lowland troops officered by Spaniards, the lowlanders were usually the casualties on the government side and thus bore the brunt in these encounters. The resulting anger was therefore directed toward those Igorot savages in the mountains.

In short, by 1904, the Igorots and the lowlanders were on opposite sides of a deep and wide cultural divide that was not of their making but rather a legacy of colonialism.

A New Order and the Transformation of the Igorot World

Arising from the state of affairs just reviewed, the Americans, in 1900, found the Igorots free and independent, living starkly different lives from the Christian people in the lowlands. Their economy was subsistence level, they were animists or pagans for the most part and they were headhunters preying on neighboring settlements with

whom they were in constant feud relations as a result. Owing to their rejection of Spanish rule, they had very limited to non-existent positive ties with the outside world down in the lowland plains. Formal education or schooling was unknown to most of them although the Spanish missionaries started schools in the pacified Igorot territories like Benguet and Lepanto. The Igorots were very suspicious of the idea of government and of the outside world in general, arising from their negative experience of forced labor, taxation (payment of tribute), conversion, harsh discipline and burning of crops and villages in the Spanish efforts to subjugate them. They were also suspicious and fearful of each other on account of headhunting.

It was against this background of Igorot distinctiveness and separateness from the dominant Christian majority, antagonism to outside government rule and chaotic independent and hostile interrelationships among themselves that the transformative American administration of the Igorots began. In its wake the old order of the Igorot world gave way to a new one of peaceful relations and coexistence between each other, social and economic advancement through education, agricultural and health improvement and inevitably, contact with and participation in the affairs of the outside world.

There were three major steps in this transformation. The first was the establishment of provinces and sub-provinces in Igorot territory in order to have structures for prosecuting the aims of the Americans in the area. This step had been preceded by preliminary surveys of the groups first by Secretary of Interior Dean C. Worcester and more systematic ones by David P. Barrows of the Bureau of non-Christian Tribes. The other two steps went hand in hand and happened simultaneously. One was the construction of trails to establish lines of communication between groups, ending their isolation from each other. The other was the control of headhunting to put an end to the climate of fear and insecurity that pervaded the area and the outlook of the people. Without this control, there would be no hope for peace and order. These three steps were imperatives of the first order for the acculturation of the Igorots to civilized ways.

Igorot Provinces and Sub-provinces

The first Igorot province to be organized was Benguet in November 1900. It was the first civil province established by the Americans in the entire Philippines all of which was under military rule at the time. This rapid development was due to the very strong American interest in Baguio within Benguet territory as a recuperation and rest center and also to the virtual pacification by the Spaniards of the Ibalois and Kankanaeys who inhabited the area by the time Americans entered the scene. Given the grave concern in Washington for the health of the personnel of the soon-to-be installed colonial administration in the Philippines, it is a probability that Benguet would have been an American target for special attention even without the non-Christian policy. The exploration of the place was discussed in Washington before the departure of the Second Philippine Commission to set up

the American government in the Philippines. It took place only a few months after the second Philippine Commission landed in the Philippines to effect the change from military to civilian rule.

At any event, the establishment of the province of Benguet was followed by that of Lepanto-Bontoc in May, 1902 with three sub-provinces: Lepanto, Bontoc, and Amburayan. In 1907 Kalinga and Apayao were established as sub-provinces with Kalinga attached to Lepanto-Bontoc and Apayao with Cagayan. Finally, in August 1908, in the interests of better coordination, cooperation and supervision of the work, all the Igorot territories were put together as the Mountain Province. It had seven sub-provinces namely: Benguet, Amburayan, Lepanto, Bontoc, Kalinga, Apayao and Ifugao (carved out of neighboring Nueva Viscaya). The town of Bontoc in the sub-province of Bontoc was chosen as the provincial capital by virtue of its central location. In accordance with the operating policy, the overall provincial governor and all the Lt. Governors of the sub-provinces, with the exception of Blas Villamor of Apayao, were Americans.

As originally composed, it was an interestingly vast territory that extended from the north near the sea and the boundary between Cagayan and Ilocos Norte southward to the borders of the lowland provinces of La Union and Pangasinan. It covered almost the entirety of the Cordillera highlands and had a seacoast outlet in the west, the town of Tagudin now part of Ilocos Sur. Just as interestingly, the province had a very diverse human population of distinct ethno-linguistic groups: Ilocanos, particularly in Cervantes and Tagudin; Bagos (new Christians of Igorot roots in what are now Ilocos Sur and La Union); and, of course, the Kankanaeys, Ibalois, Bontocs, Apayaos, Kalingas and Ifugaos. Later boundary adjustments detached the Ilocano and Bago areas from the Mountain Province and returned them to La Union and Ilocos Sur resulting in a Mountain Province of only five sub-provinces: Benguet, Bontoc, Ifugao, Kalinga and Apayao. With this boundary redefinition, the Mountain Province lost its coastal outlet, its Ilocano towns and its Bago components to the lowland provinces of La Union and Ilocos Sur. The province thus became a totally interior, upland territory consisting of different and distinctive indigenous tribal ethno-linguistic groups, each occupying or predominating in a subprovince bearing its tribal name. Most groups were animistic pagans and except for the Kankanaeys and the Ibalois, all were headhunters beyond the pale of Spanish civilization.

This was the first time ever that these mutually hostile groups were put together as a single administrative political unit. In this sense, the Mountain Province was an interestingly bold and revolutionary experiment in administration. To the Igorots of the day, whose outlook was fearful of those from the outside, be they other Igorots or outsiders like the Americans, the notion of joining together as a cooperating political unit must have been a preposterously suspect and dangerous idea. But to the credit of the Americans, they appear to have honored the directives for "firm and kindly rule" by brave, resourceful, just and sympathetic men. In establishing respectful and friendly relations with the people, the Igorots came around and the hodgepodge province held up as an effective administrative structure for carrying out their Igorot uplift program.

In consonance with the overall policy toward the non-Christian groups in the country, the affairs of the Igorots were initially exclusively in the hands of the Americans. Thus, from 1900 to 1913 the governors and lieutenant governors of Igorot provinces and sub-

provinces were all Americans except for Apayao which was headed by a Filipino at the start. The American-dominated Philippine Commission had sole legislative power and supervision through the Secretary of Interior, a member of the commission, in the administration of the Mountain Province. Although this period of exclusive control was for only fourteen years at the most, the intensity and productivity of the work was enough to transform the Igorot world and change the direction of the Igorots. The participation of the Filipinos in the process after 1913 did not retard the work or reverse the direction as was feared by the Americans earlier. To the contrary, the appointment of Filipinos to executive positions as governors in the Igorot service not only continued the ameliorative work, but if anything, intensified it by explicitly making its goal the assimilation of the Igorots to the Filipino national system.

During this early period there were two over-riding objectives: the imposition of government authority to secure a "decent state of public order" and the opening up of lines of communication to facilitate contact and hopefully friendly relations between groups in the area. Accomplishing these was imperative to any civilizing effort. As soon as practicable thereafter, attention was to be given to the social and economic advancement through the establishment of schools and hospitals, improvement of agriculture and development of commerce or trade. Naturally enough, these civilizing initiatives were first introduced in Benguet, Lepanto and Amburayan, owing to these groups having already been pacified by the Spaniards. By the end of this phase of in 1913, the American administration had been effective in realizing its objectives. The Mountain Province was a going concern, the Igorots were firmly won over to the government side and they were on their way toward a civilized existence.

End of Isolation: Trails, Trails, Trails

Trail construction was undertaken with vigor and speed. It was among the priority responsibilities of each lieutenant governor in the different sub-provinces so trail construction was taking place throughout the province. It was policy to build trails with a four foot minimum in width and no more than a six percent grade with the view of being able to enlarge them in the future for roads or for irrigation. The trails were to be built as direct as possible between the points (villages and settlements) to be connected. In consonance with policy, all the labor of the people involved was paid for as was all labor rendered to the government such as for carrying luggage or materials. Later on, the people were given the option of paying a "public road improvement tax" of two pesos a year (then one U.S. dollar) or ten days labor for every able bodied male age 18 to 55. No objections were raised because by then the people realized what taxes were for. People preferred to pay in labor and some, particularly in Ifugao, reportedly requested that the tax in labor be raised to twelve days a year to have more labor available for the construction of more trails. With such enthusiasm, a labor shortage was not a problem and the trails lengthened and spread rapidly. Soon the Mountain Province was criss-

crossed by trails.

In 1913 Worcester reported that there were 780 miles of trails in the Mountain Province connecting many places that used to be isolated from each other. He noted that the people took ownership of their trails and were so proud of them. He also reported a certain awe or respect that the people seemed to have developed for the trails such that up to the time of the report, there had been no head-taking on any of the miles and miles of trails bisecting and crisscrossing the vast Igorot headhunting territory. Although the trails literally brought age-old enemies within arms' reach of each other, they also led to contact and trade between groups who used to be isolated from each other. This was especially true when the government exchanges were opened in 1909, first in Cervantes and Bontoc and then in other major locations in the province like Lubuagan, Kalinga and Banaue, Ifugao. These were government-run stores that sold goods needed by the people (foodstuffs and tools) and bought products that the people want to sell. At first the constabulary provided escorts along the trails from the villages to the central towns but with the eventual control of headhunting and the friendships developed as a result of the contacts, the escorts became unnecessary.

The trails were also useful in the anti-headhunting campaign to be discussed in detail in the next section. The construction of the trails was used as a mixer by putting members of enemy villages to work side by side, at first under the watch of constabulary guards. The hope was that such contacts, forced as they may be, would lead to familiarity and the dissipation of age-old suspicion and hostility and hence, to friendships and inter-village peace. The trails also enabled the constabulary soldiers to deal quickly with errant villages or groups from their strategic outposts. Finally, the exposure of enemy groups to each other through the trails and their increased sense of vulnerability made them look up to the constabulary and by extension the government, as the dependable neutral third party to protect them all.

Control of Headhunting

No doubt the most challenging problem to confront the Americans among the Igorots was the practice of headhunting. Although by 1900 the Kankanaeys and the Ibalois--once headhunters in their own right--had already been pacified by the Spaniards, head-taking was the menace to peace and order all over the Igorot homeland. This was because the headhunting groups to the north preyed on their already pacified and non-headhunting Igorot cousins like the Ibalois and Kankanaeys who as a result were constantly on edge, fearful of head-taking raids. The headhunting groups also preyed on surrounding adjacent lowland communities. The Kalingas (a Cagayan term for enemy) hunted for heads in adjacent Cagayan settlements; the Ifugaos hunted in Isabel. Controlling headhunting, if not eliminating it, was a top priority of the American administration. It was the key to the establishment of sufficient security and stability in the area in order for any social welfare programs to take root.

Head-taking took place for various reasons: among them were to settle old scores, to gain prestige, and to assuage grief from the death of loved ones. It was conducted in two principal fashions: the raid and ambush method characterized by stealth and the stand-up open engagements sometimes preceded by shouted challenges. Irrespective of the reasons or manner, the total effect was that people from

village to village were deathly afraid of each other. Except for related or kindred villages, there appears to have been very little inter-village contact. The safe world was the confines of one's home village or settlement and its immediate surrounding area termed the home region. In view of the prevailing fear and antagonisms, the American authorities initially had a most difficult time recruiting bearers to guide them and to carry their supplies beyond the confines of the home regions.

The tenuous and short-lived Spanish administration had actually made serious attempts to control headhunting but in some cases their methods served to intensify it instead. They relied on force very heavily if not solely with punitive expeditions to punish offending groups. The force consisted of Spanish soldiers (Filipinos and Spanish officers) and often contingents of the aggrieved villages who were only too glad to have a protected and licensed opportunity to exact revenge on an enemy. The Spaniards also exploited this headhunting practice in their own interests as when they led warriors from Bontoc villages in an assault on Sagada in July 1898 to punish the people there for suspected anti-Spanish government sentiments. Sagada lost more than sixty heads in that raid. The end result of this method of control, in which the Spanish government forces took sides and manipulated the groups against each other, was to sustain if not worsen headhunting.

The American approach to the problem of controlling headhunting, in contrast, was a multi-faceted, pragmatic and methodical one that was more preventative and psychological than punitive or coercive. Although force was used, it was employed only as a last resort after people had been amply warned to desist or face serious consequences. Recalcitrant villages were burned and culprits were captured and punished as in Spanish days. But through it all, the Americans maintained strict impartiality, taking great care to avoid the Spanish mistake of involving enemies in law enforcement expeditions or to manipulate existing feuds to their advantage by playing one village against another. Also, no men of the cloth--Christian priests or ministers--were involved at all in the anti-headhunting campaign or in the American government effort as a whole. Such involvement would have provided yet another reason for resistance or rejection of the campaign as had been the case during the Spanish regime. The preventative-psychological approach is evident in the following review of the steps taken to control headhunting.

Constabulary outposts manned by American officers and Igorot troops recruited from the local villages were established at strategic points in the headhunting areas. It was believed "highly desirable to police the wild man's country with wild men". From these outposts there was frequent patrolling of the villages and countryside, particularly the borders of villages nursing on-going feuds. These patrols had the effect not only of impressing the fact of the constabulary presence on the populace but also of frustrating revenge expeditions by either actually intercepting them or inhibiting preparations for such undertakings due to fear

of discovery.. The policy of policing "the wild men with wild men" was a smart idea. Often those recruited were headhunters known for their manliness, skill and bravery, some of whom had been jailed. Thus, they brought to the police service experience and knowledge useful in anticipating where troubles were likely to be, in detecting headhunting activity and in asking the right questions of suspects. They also know the country very well, valuable when searching for trouble makers.

Another headhunting control measure was the application of collective responsibility. An entire community, especially the leaders, was made responsible in instances of head-taking pending the identification and surrender of the actual perpetrators to the authorities. This was an effective deterrent because the would-be perpetrators were constrained by the thought of causing trouble for everybody in the group and fear of betrayal from within their communities. And when head-taking had already taken place, the method put pressure on the perpetrators to own up to the offense because everybody in the village or community would otherwise be adversely affected.

The government also actively encouraged peace pacts between villages, especially those which had standing and on-going trouble cases or disagreements. The earliest instance on record known to me of such agreements was in 1906 between several Bontoc villages under the auspices of the constabulary, but there is indication that similar peace pacts were arranged at an earlier date. These peace pacts have a basis in native culture, especially among the Bontocs and the Kalingas. Their use by the government in the anti-headhunting campaign was a case of the adoption of an indigenous institution to serve modern governance ends, in this case to end inter-village raiding and to promote peace. This proved to be very popular and effective in the anti-headhunting campaign, especially among Kalingas where Walter F. Hale, the legendary and still remembered governor, used it widely to govern. Elaborated over the years, the peace pact institution is still influential in Kalinga intervillage affairs and has become a very prominent and much studied aspect of their ethnography. The peace pact also exists among the Bontocs although its legal and political influence and its prominence as a cultural focus pales in comparison to that in Kalinga.

One of the most public and exciting features of the anti-headhunting campaign was the huge feasts given at government expense and attended by delegations of villagers from all directions. The delegations were assembled, under military escort, at central towns like Banawe, Bontoc and Lubuagan for a day or two of feasting, dancing the native dances and singing native songs. Present were the provincial and sub-provincial officials as well as powerful officials from the central government such as the Secretary of the Interior and his entourage. Sometimes there were visiting officials from Washington, D.C. in the Philippines on official business. These gatherings were made possible by a budget of \$5,000 to \$6000, variously reported as the "Anti-Headhunting Fund" and "The Special Fund for the Promotion of Friendly Relations with non-Christian Tribes and the Suppression of Headhunting". These awesome gatherings created opportunities for the administration to impress on the people that headhunting was against the law, to encourage conflict resolution and friendly relations between the assembled groups who were often hostile to each, and to communicate its aims and plans to the people.

An intriguing aspect of these gatherings was the introduction of American sports as part of the activities. Secretary of the Interior, Dean C. Worcester, who reputedly was the one responsible for the introduction, viewed headhunting in the context of "sport" in which personal recognition, release of aggression and recognition of prowess were important considerations. Sporting events such as tug of war and foot races between former enemies were considered substitute and functional equivalents of headhunting. By this reasoning, hostile groups were seen to vent their mutual aggression by engaging in wrestling, tug of war and foot races. Certainly, it served to facilitate social interaction. Reportedly, the Igorots enthusiastically took to these events like ducks to water.

These affairs were moments of great tension and responsibility for the local government officials. Being essentially gatherings of enemy groups in one place, there was real danger of any misunderstanding, no matter how insignificant, triggering panic and fighting. The administrators were therefore constantly on alert. To minimize such danger, the village delegations were housed separately with constabulary patrols posted to keep an eye on their activities and to prevent them from quarreling with each other.

These measures—ranging from the use of force if necessary, to the establishment of peace agreements based on tradition, to huge government sponsored feasts featuring athletic and dancing competition in front of friendly and interested dignitaries from far and near—proved quite effective in the overall anti-headhunting campaign. Before too long, head taking diminished as an open practice. By 1910, the Secretary of Interior Worcester was able to tell the visiting Secretary of War, Dickenson, in Bontoc that headhunting was very much under control.

The firm establishment of the Mountain Province, the building of trails connecting once isolated villages and the different sub-provinces, and the control of headhunting transformed and reconfigured the Igorot world. Prevailing village atomism was replaced with organization, public disorder with order, isolation with contact, and the climate of suspicion and fear began to dissipate. Clearly, a new sense of order had been established in Igorot land: one that is based on the acceptance of the notion of the state and one whose affairs are governed by the rule of law.

Social and Economic Development

The new order provided a favorable climate for the introduction of such modernizing influences as schools and hospitals, trade, commerce and improved agriculture. Solid beginnings in these fronts were made during the period under review, 1900 to 1914, especially in regard to education.

In the case of agriculture, initial development took the form of a two-pronged program of crop diversification not only to improve the heavily starchy diet and to ensure a better food supply, but also to eventually produce suitable export crops for trade. In particular regard to export crops,

the possibilities of coffee, cacao, tobacco and sugar cane were noted by 1904. To facilitate crop diversification, experimental stations were established throughout the province by the Bureau of Agriculture and the Bureau of Science where new plants were propagated and then distributed through the local officials to the villages. The demonstration gardens of the schools (see below) also served as dispersal points of new plants. It was realized early on that given the difficulties of transport, the Igorots must raise non-perishable products so that they could be transported with ease and with a minimum of loss. Consequently, coffee and legumes were actively encouraged. The government experimental stations propagated and distributed thousands of Arabica coffee seedlings. In 1914, a significant volume of coffee beans was harvested and exported to the lowlands and despite the blight shortly after the 1914 harvest, the Mountain Province was the third ranking coffee producer in the Philippines in 1931. Coffee is still raised extensively in the region at present.

Regarding trade and commerce, the most concrete government initiative up to 1914 was the establishment of government exchanges, beginning with the first one in Bontoc in 1907. Others were established in the principal towns of the province--Cervantes, Kiangan, Banaue and Lubuagan. They were intended to stimulate commerce among the Igorots while at the same time to protect them from being cheated by outside traders. These exchanges bought Igorot manufactured products such as baskets and woodcarvings and sold goods imported from the lowlands such as salt, fabrics and clothes. The government encouraged people from outside the towns to trade by providing lodging houses and constabulary escorts along the trails to and from the towns with exchanges. These exchanges were closed in 1924 having served their usefulness in supplying the goods the Igorots needed and protecting the mountaineers from gouging by outside merchants. A wide variety of goods were brought by traders from the outside using the trail system and trading was in the open and fair.

Although the dire need for medical work was appreciated from the start of the American administration, it was informal for a long time. The medical kits of traveling officials and of the constabulary posts, which were readily shared with the people, were the first introduction of the Igorots to modern medicines. The people of Benguet were the exception in this case because they were welcomed to use a branch of the Manila Civil Hospital in Baguio that was established in 1901 (becoming the Baguio General Hospital in 1908). Up north the first medical facility was the Bontoc Hospital which opened in 1912 although a dispensary had been in operation at the Episcopal mission in nearby Sagada before that. A significant contribution to the development of medical care and public health was the offering of a crash course to a selected group of men from Bontoc, Kalinga and Ifugao at the Baguio General Hospital in 1912 to train them as health workers in the Mountain Province. Many other batches followed this initial class, the graduates serving in the Mountain Province health service, so to speak, as sanitary inspectors, nurses and vaccinators.

It was in the area of education that American effort was the earliest, most consistent and persistent. To the Americans, schools were probably the analogue of churches or chapels to the Spaniards. No sooner had the Americans started their work in the northern Luzon highlands than they were planning for Igorot education. For instance in 1900, it was "proposed to establish a school for English and rudimentary manual arts training at Baguio in the near future". In 1902 the Secretary of Public Instruction who was the former director of the Bureau

of non-Christian Tribes revealed a plan for Igorot education that was a “simple form of industrial training” geared to enable the Igorots to “make the most of the circumstances in which they live”. When the educational work got going, schools were started first in the Spanish-pacified Igorot territories of Benguet, Lepanto and Amburayan. As noted earlier, these were among the places in the mountains where the Spaniards had established schools toward the end of their hegemony in the Philippines late in the nineteenth century.

Referred to often as Igorrote Schools, the American policy was to teach the English language “with reading and writing....primarily that we understand him and he us” in the context of a vocationally-oriented curriculum that is “planned to meet the needs of the tribe”. This was clarified in some detail by a later announcement that:

A provisional course of study covering about four years has been outlined for the Igorrote Schools. It provides for instruction in the English language to a point where a child can read and write it readily for elementary arithmetic, for enough geography to give the child an idea of the world existing outside of his own wild mountains, and some study of the plant and animal life of his own mountain region. Industrial work is planned to consist of agriculture, elementary carpentry work and elementary iron work.

The American authorities were quite optimistic about the bright promise of educating their Igorot wards, believing in their superior intelligence and impressed by their splendid strength, conspicuous honesty and reliability, and their habits of industry. One official expressed the view that with the foregoing attributes, the Igorots “ought to develop into one of the most prosperous and pleasing mountain populations in the world.” Another opined, “Should the right method be discovered of getting in touch with them to the extent of bringing them out of their exclusiveness, the hill men of the Philippines ... become the ruling men of this archipelago.”

The first Igorot schools established were boarding schools much like the boarding schools among the American Indians. By 1904 there were such schools staffed by American and lowlander teachers located in the principal towns like Baguio, Cervantes, Bontoc and later on Kiangan. As discussed earlier, the pupils who were from villages far and wide were taught writing, reading and speaking the English language, arithmetic, geography, science as well as vocational subjects such as carpentry, basket making, pottery and agriculture. Demonstration gardens were maintained adjacent to the schools where new agricultural methods were taught and new plants were introduced, grown and cared for.

The response of the Igorots to these boarding schools was lukewarm at best, resulting in poor attendance. Igorot families were reluctant to send their children far away to school where they might not be safe from the danger of headhunters or from illness. It was also found that the boarding schools were alienating the pupils from their home communities. This led to the opening of so-called village schools beginning in 1907, taught by Igorots “as fast as they can be

trained as teachers” and by lowlanders who were judged to be qualified and to have the proper sympathetic attitude toward the Igorots. Eleven such schools were opened in Benguet, five in Amburayan, and thirteen in Lepanto-Bontoc. By 1912 this so-called “quantity not quality policy” resulted in schools all over the province, including Kalinga and Ifugao, receiving very little supervision. So the number of schools was drastically reduced and confined to the main towns where they were supervised by American head-teachers. But the curriculum remained focused on the teaching of English and industrial subjects.

On the whole, the initial Igorot response to the educational initiatives was halting. But, in time, after the people saw the benefits to be gained—such as enhanced employability, even downright preferential employment in government service, employment very early on as teachers when the authorities abandoned the boarding school model in favor of village schools, and preferential treatment of those who attended school in government land distribution—they moderated their attitude. Today the Igorots embrace the idea of schooling, which may very well be the ultimate American colonial legacy to the northern Luzon mountaineers, and many aspire toward higher education and professional training. The celebration by the Igorots—in the form of their international consultation in July 2004 mentioned earlier—of the centennial of the debut of Igorots in the modern world at the St. Louis World’s Fair in 1904 is a clear reflection of this legacy.

It was a great help to the American administration’s Igorot uplift program that missionaries of all faiths (including the Roman Catholics who returned to the area), started missions in the area and opened schools and hospitals. A remarkable phenomenon—in contradistinction to the Igorots’ earlier history with Spanish efforts to Christianize them—is that on their own the Igorots responded to these missionaries positively, converting to Christianity and sending their children to missionary schools. It is as if when the Igorots were forced to convert to Christianity, they resisted but when left free to decide on their own, they were likely to respond positively. Among the remarkable successes, especially in the missionary education of the Igorots, have been the Episcopalians, the Roman Catholics and the Evangelical United Brethren. Arising from these missionary efforts, it is a total misnomer to call the Igorots “non-Christians” today. Ninety per cent of them are formally Christians in the sense of baptism and church attendance.

Conclusion

All considered, the Americans appear to have been a singular success with the Igorots, especially in regard to their efforts to stop headhunting. One reason for their success was the previous experience of the Igorots with the Spaniards which was mutually unsatisfactory. The Spaniards were offended and frustrated by Igorot recalcitrance and apostasy while the Igorots put up with forced labor, confiscation of food, physical or corporal punishment, burning of villages and persistent effort to convert them to Christianity on the part of the Spaniards. It is not hard to see, under these circumstances, how the Igorots quickly embraced the Americans, including their anti-headhunting campaign, when they arrived proffering friendship, compensation for labor constructing trails or other work like being guides and bearers and neutralism to native beliefs or religion, not to mention their sponsoring big feasts for the public.

Another reason was headhunting itself. The practice had the cumulative effect of creating mutual fear and isolation building over time to uncomfortable levels of insecurity and of severely limiting mobility for trade and social contact with other people. It seems logical to view the quick positive response of the Igorots to the American administration and the reduction in headhunting as the result of a deeply felt need for peace and security by the people who, in fact, were only too glad to have the protection of a powerful third party: the government.

Still another reason was Dean C. Worcester himself whom we already met. His enthusiasm for the work, palpable enjoyment of his contacts with the Igorots, tendering huge parties and his creative introduction of sports much enjoyed by all, generated goodwill for the government and for himself personally. This predisposed the people to follow-or at least listen to- his pronouncements concerning headhunting and other vital matters like trail construction and the establishment of schools. At the same time, his proven capability to exert coercive power if need be, through his men in the field, convinced the Igorots that they had better listen to the big White Apo or chief and obey the law.

In the final analysis, it may well be that the American success with the Igorots was due to the American administration's adherence to President McKinley's suggested policy, noted in an earlier section, toward the "uncivilized tribes of the islands" such as the Igorots. Very briefly summarized, the suggestion was to leave the culture be, but wisely, firmly and actively, "to prevent barbarous practices and introduce civilized customs." To the Americans, headhunting was the one barbarous practice to be prevented and eradicated and we have seen how they assiduously applied themselves to get it under control. Except for that, they did not interfere, per se, with Igorot culture especially in regard to the one dearest to the Igorots: their animistic religion and all its rituals and their sense of custom law justice with the notable exception of headhunting. It was as if the American message was "obey the law and stop headhunting and you can keep all the rest of your culture including your paganism". To the Igorots, giving up headhunting was an inconsequential price to pay for keeping their religion. Besides, there was so much to gain by doing so as long as the government guaranteed the peace, which was the case. So they were quite happy with the Americans and were willing to listen to them and to try their schools and other civilizing offerings.

It is interesting that American commentators of the period, whether Democrats or Republicans, took a uniformly approving and positive view of the administration of the Igorots, attributing success to the kindly and friendly approach and to the respect and justice given to the Igorots. According to Francis B. Harrison, the first Democrat to be governor-general of the Philippines who went there in 1913 prepared to change the policy toward the non-Christians, if need be, Igorot "hostility vanished like mists before the sun" as soon as they realized "that no wrong was intended, that justice and absolute honesty in the keeping of promises and

in payment of services rendered were the order of the new day." This is practically a restatement of the explanation by Worcester, a staunch Republican partisan who seriously questioned the fitness of the lowlanders to govern the non-Christians and who resigned as Secretary of Interior over the non-Christian issue when Harrison took over the reins of the American colonial government in the Philippines. In fine then, the record of the United States in northern Luzon is a national achievement of which Americans can be justifiably proud.

The twentieth century was a period of drastic and fundamental socio-cultural and political change for the Igorots. At the end of the nineteenth century Igorot traditional culture was intact despite more than three hundred years of Spanish missionary and military efforts to put them in the Spanish column. The Igorots were not part of the Filipino nation except only geographically. The end of the twentieth century presented the Igorots in a far different light. They were no longer the almost totally unlettered humanity who were independent "infidels" beyond the pale of modern civilization to the embarrassment of the Spaniards like the governors general Primo de Rivera and Valeriano Weyler. Instead, the Igorots, had become very much a part of modern Filipino society participating in its political, economic, educational and to a certain extent its social system. This bright development, I believe, is due to the huge success of the American civilizing venture just reviewed and the continuation of the civilizing program by the Filipino authorities when they took over. Put this way, the Igorots are seen as a case of a group sundered and separated from their lowland cousins and neighbors—the Christian majority—by one colonialist, the Spaniards, and put back together with them by another, the Americans. The irony here is that it was once thought by the Filipino nationalists that the American interest in the Igorots was a classic instance of divide and rule. But it worked the opposite way: the American administration of the Igorots viewed in the long perspective was a solid contribution to nation-building, not to national dismemberment as once suspected.

In light of recent studies questioning the motivation behind the American special relationship with the Igorots, especially that of its architect Dean C. Worcester, I would like to conclude on a personal note.

As an Igorot, I have no complaints about how history unfolded for us this past century. Rather, I am grateful that Worcester and the Americans took interest in the Igorots, whatever motivations other than human service they may have harbored, as charged by critics of the initiative. Their enlightened policy and administration provided the Igorots a common experience and beginning toward modern civilization. For the first time, I believe, they were treated with dignity and consideration as a human resource for their own good not as a resource to be exploited for the colonizer's good, be it for religion or church and the bank.

It is hard to imagine the political and social development of the Igorots without the positive influences of the American administration: the establishment of communication links like the trails and roads, the control of headhunting and the gentle establishment of state law and organization, the political amalgamation or organization of the different ethno-linguistic groups into administrative units, the establishment of schools and the encouragement of education and finally, economic development. I commend the succeeding administrations in the Philippines—the government during the Common-



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ground stained red. By dusk, the “alawin” of each farmer would be full of “kal-lakal” (earth cricket), yuyu and other crustaceans which is palatable to the Ipuggo household.

Meanwhile, a separate rice paddy is prepared as “panopnakan or punhopnakan” (seed bed). There, the “ipuggo” rice grains still in the stalks are neatly lined in the soft mud. Seedlings are sown according their variety. After several weeks, the seedlings have fully grown and ready for transplanting. All the rice paddies would be eventually ready to accommodate the seedlings. This stage is called “Ahi Tunod” (rice planting) which is from January through February. The “Ubbu” continues to be in place and active. From the “panopnakan” (seed bed), the rice seedling that are ready for transplanting, are gently uprooted and hand carried to the field where it would eventually re-planted. The farmers who are all lined up would gently separate each individual seedling from the bundle and plant it.

The “Gab-gab” tree is endemic in the mountain ranges of Ifugao. If left undisturbed, would grow to a huge towering tree. The tree is not a choice for firewood, but is used by the early Ifugaos in making the “hap-piyo (shield) because it is very light when dried. It is also impregnable and serves well in parrying the bolo and spear in close quarter combat. It has big bright red flowers that make the whole tree crimson from December through February. The flower appearance is similar to the “Euphorbia pulcherrima” commonly named “poinsettia” although the former is large. The tree also is a habitat for numerous birds and wildlife. The bright red flowers from “gab-gab” sprout during the planting season. This is called “mun-hablang”. When the bright red flowers fade away, it signals the end of the planting season. Villagers would fast track the plating before the flowers of the “gab-gab” tree disappear as it would not be only a bad omen but a taboo as well.

As if by nature, the yellow colored “tiwad” bird would suddenly be out of sight. Two months after the rice had been planted, weeds and grasses that is outgrowing the palay needs to be removed. The communal “ubbu” would again be activated to clean the fields. The weeds and grasses on the walls would be scraped (dal) by use of the long handled spade (ga-ud). The dikes will also be cleaned with the use of the “pag-gawe” (short handled utility bolo used in cleaning the dikes). The rice field itself will be cleaned of the weeds and grasses using bare hands. This is called “mun-kagoko”.

Four months after planting, the palay have grown enormously to about four to five feet in height. The immature palay would start to show up at the end of the plant. The “tuwali” folks call it “mun-hulit”. The tip of the palay would bulge as evident of the fast sprouting palay. Then the young green palay would come out slowly. This is the time when the farmers would gather vines and strings from tree barks from the mountains and tie it around the fields. Scare crow (kig-lo) made from reeds shaped as a man would also be set in place. A shade or shanty (al-lung) is set up in the “dolya” (edge of the rice fields where several varieties

of vegetables are planted) for the “mun-adug” to shelter. The “mun-adug” is the person responsible in driving away the rice birds (buding) feeding on the young palay. The strings and vines that connect the reeds and scarecrows will be pulled enabling it to shake thereby scaring and driving away the rice birds. As the palay would mature, the fields would turn in to bright gold. The Ipuggo farmers then start preparing for the most awaited harvest. Thin stripes of about one centimeter in width and a foot long in length would be meticulously sliced from the “a-no” and “bikal” (wild bamboo vines) or “kawayan” (bamboo) using a sharp “uwa” (knife). The stripes are bundled and hung to dry up which produces a flexible and durable tying material. This is used to bundle (“botok”) the harvested “Ipuggo” rice. This process is called “mun-ul -yun”.

The palay is now ready for harvest. This is called “Ahi-ani”, meaning harvest season. This is from June to July. With the communal “ubbu” system active again, the harvest workers which are predominantly women would arrive at the “payo” (field) early in the morning and start harvesting the ripe palay with the use of the “gamulang”. The “gamulang” is a special palay scythe used solely in harvesting the Ifugao native rice varieties. The sharp blade resembles a half moon horizontally embedded in the handle. The “mun-ani” (harvester) would grab the palay and pull it against the blade thus severing it from the sheaf. It is also used in trimming the edge of the “nabtok an pa-ge” (bundled palay). The “mun-ani” would form a line and move systematically forward harvesting the ripe palay. One of the “mun-ani” (harvester) using a light bamboo pole would move ahead to bend the tall palay stalks forward to enable the harvester to reach the ripe palay stalks which are bent in a uniform level. The harvested palay is bind with the “botok” and strewn in the field. Meanwhile, the owner or one who is tasked by the field owner would go about picking choice rice stalks to be used as “bi-nong-o”. The “binong-o” is a choice palay preserved as seedling for the next planting season. It differs from the standard bundled palay in terms of size and top trimming, the latter in bigger bundle and untrimmed stalk edge and the other in a neatly top trimmed smaller bundle. As soon as the harvest have commenced, the “mun-ani” would start singing in chorus the “Hudhud”. The “munhaw-e” (lead singer) would lead and sing solo portions of the “hudhud”. Able bodied men start to gather and carry the bundled palay to the “alang” (granary) using the “batawil”. The “batawil” is a wooden pole designed to carry the harvested palay by straddling and balancing it from the center. Children would join the work force by running errands such as fetching water from the “ob-ob” (spring) with the use of the “aluwog” (bamboo designed for fetching water). The “aluwog” is a choice bamboo which has a bigger diameter cut to the desired length. The nodes are removed except the one at the base. Artistic designs such as lizard, snake and other designs are etched in the “aluwog”. When fetching water, the open end of the bamboo is filled with water and carried by the shoulders in an upright position to avoid the spillage of the water.

According to Ifugao traditions, the harvested palay is not brought to the house of the rice field owner but instead to the granary (alang) where it will be stored. It is a tradition that only palay representing the regular consumption is withdrawn from the “alang”. The “alang” usually is built at the edge of the rice fields (dolya). It is analogous to the Ipuggo hut but of smaller proportion. Similarly, it has also four posts (tukud) which about five feet in height. The posts are of choice sturdy tree trunks. It also has the traditional “lidi” placed in the posts before the “kuling”. The “alang” has no

window and has only one detachable door. The door has neither hinges nor padlocks. The floor boards (*dulong*) are of choice hard wood. The walls (*ding-ding*) are of weaved bamboo or hard wood boards and the “a-top” (roof) is of thatched reeds or cogon grasses. No one lives in the “alang”, but the surroundings are meticulously spick and span. Sometimes some granaries are grouped together. Other people build their granaries right in their backyard, as it is not a tradition that the palay be stored in the homes. Some “*kakadangyan*” (wealthy) have exceptionally two or more granaries.

To enter the “alang” (granary), one has to put a ladder (*tete*) to the door after it is detached. The door is not fixed and has no hinges. The “tete” (ladder) is removed and hanged in the side of the granary and the door put in place when closing the granary. Some granaries (alang) have the “*pi-le*”. The “*pi-le*” is a stone that is sculptured resembling a man or just plain granite stone placed outside the granary. It represents another deity that guards the “alang” and the rest of the property against intruders. Another figure that is prominent in the rice fields is the “*pudung*”. It is no less than a couple of cogon grass with an overhand knot in the end. This is visibly displayed in areas where there are plants. The “*pudong*” connotes that it is forbidden to gather anything without the consent of the owner.

The “*bulul*” and its paraphernalia are placed near the door of the granary. The “*bulul*” is the Ifugao deity responsible for guarding the granary. It is primarily associated to rice production and bountiful harvest. The “*bulul*” is wooden statue of a man standing or sitting. It is accompanied by two wooden pigs and the “*tingab*”. The “*tingab*” is the ritual box in the form of a “*balunglung*” (carved wood where the early Ifugaos feed their pigs). Inside the “*tingab*” is the “*buga*” and “*palipal*”. The “*buga*” are five small black granite stones that is believed to be mysteriously disappearing and returning by itself. It is an integral part of the “*tingab*”. The “*palipal*” is made from “*u-go*” (type of bamboo). It is approximately about a foot in length with the internodes intact in both ends. One of the ends is split at the center up to about $\frac{3}{4}$ of the length. Approximately about half of an inch is removed in the center in one of the split section. This enables it to cock up when the “*palipal*” is briskly raised up during the ritual. When it is brought down and slapped against the palm, it produces a slapping sound. The “*bulul*” and the “*tingab*” are passed on from generation to generation precisely to the first born or most favored child of the family.

Meanwhile, under the “alang” (granary), a group of “*mumbaki*” is busy performing the “*hongan di pa-ge*” (Feast of the Palay) ritual. A “*dot-al*” made of “*bila-u*” (weaved mountain round reeds) is spread for everyone to sit or squat on. Fronting each of the “*mumbaki*” is the “*hukap di hukup*” or a *liga-u* (*hukup* cover or rice winnowing tray) where the *moma* (betel nut), *hapid*, and a cup of “*baya*” are neatly arranged. A jar (*a-ngang*) of “*baya*” is set alongside. Each of the ritual ministers are given a cup of wine each. The “*tingab*” is brought out from the granary and placed alongside other

“*baki*” paraphernalia. The “*bulul*” with the two wooden pigs however remain inside the “alang” during the ritual. Sacrificial animals such as the native pig and several chickens are brought to the “alang”. Each of the “*mumbaki*” chants or say his portion. The *mumbaki* who is assigned to offer and appease the “*bagol*” starts his “*baki*” opening prayer in part, “*bakiyon dakayun bagol ad daya ya ad lagud*”, (praying to you deities from the east and the west) while the one assigned for the departed forbearers starts reciting the genealogy of the family (*ton-ton*).

The front and hind legs of the pig are tied with “*u-we*” (*rattan twine*). A sharpened wood with a palay tied to the edge is pierced below the rib cage. The wood is pushed halfway enabling the pig to stay alive. This makes the pig scream (*mun-uwik*) as the “*baki*” progresses. At a certain portion of the ritual, two of the “*mumbaki*” briskly stands up and take one “*palipal*” each from the “*tingab*” and circles the granary while chanting his “*baki*” portion. Every time they come fronting the pig, they would pause and point the “*palipal*” to the direction of the pig. Then simultaneously would raise the “*palipal*” and briskly bringing it down to his open palm producing a flopping sound. The pagan priests will then say in unison, “*umali kayun bagol*” (“*bagol*” come and join this feast). There are occasions wherein instead of circling the granary, the *mumbaki* would stand up, recite his “*baki*” while simultaneously pointing the “*palipal*” to the sacrificed pig. Finally the sharpened wood is pushed further inside the ribcage. The sacrificed animal is carried to an open fire and burned off the hair. When done, the pig is brought back to the “*mumbaki*” who makes an incision in the abdomen. The legs are pushed downwards to give room for the internal organs to be pulled out. The intestines are pulled out but leaving them intact. The bile is examined by the “*mumbaki*” who gives his prognosis. The other “*mumbaki*” would also examine the bile and concur or point out their respective prognosis. According to the old *Ipuggo* tradition, dark colored bile that appears visibly in the liver bespeaks that the sacrifice is well accepted by the *aammod* and deities. While discolored or abnormally thin and pale bile means that the offering is not accepted. The pagan priests shall discuss among themselves the unfortunate situation and what additional rituals to be performed to appease the deities. Additional rituals are performed until the bile of the sacrificed animal is found to have the accepted appearance. The meat of the pig is cut into pieces and cooked in the “*lambike*” (large pot). Only salt is added to taste. Sometimes, when feasible, some “*kutlong*” (soft core from the mountain reed and “*al-laga*” (large red tree ants) are added to flavor the soup.

The wings and feet of the chicken are held by one of the “*mumbaki*” while another holds the head. The “*mumbaki*” who is holding the head, pluck out feathers in the neck to expose the skin. A small incision is made on the neck letting the blood to drip into a coconut shell. The “*baki*” continues until all the chickens are sacrificed. The chickens are given to a male who would clean it from its feathers. The pinions are removed before burning the rest of the feathers in the fire. Burned feathers are systematically dust off from the chicken until cleaned. A slice is made to enable the thigh to be pushed outward. Another incision is made on shoulders and holding the chicken firmly, the breast is pulled out from the rib cage exposing the liver, gizzard and intestines. The bile is examined. The procedure in making the prognosis is same as with the sacrificed pig. Afterwards, the gizzard and intestines are removed but leaving the liver and bile intact in the ribcage. The breast portion placed back into

the rib cage bending the feet and neck to lock the chicken in place. The whole chicken is cooked and salted to taste.

When the rice, chicken and pork are cooked, a portion of it is placed in another “hukup” and lay it along side other baki paraphernalia. The ritual continues. No one is allowed to eat until the “bukad” (food offering prayer) is finished. Customary, as soon as the “Hongan di Pa-ge” is on progress, one of the male would take hold of the “dip-dipu” (small conical drum made from wood and animal skin) and beat it to its rhythm. As the sound reverberates in the rice fields, it connotes that a “hongan di page” is on going for a bountiful harvest. This signals an invitation to the villagers to come and partake of the feast. Finally the ritual is finished. To everyone’s delight, each take his share of boiled rice from the “hukup or liga-u” and automatically returns to their respective places. and waits for the person distributing the “atal”. The “atal” is the viand which is a chunk of meat or a cut portion from the chicken. Soup is placed in prepared bamboo internodes while the rice is placed on prepared banana stalks. The liver, neck and head of the chicken are not included as “atal” but are given for free to whoever asks for it. With a little grain of salt and “paktiw” (red hot peppers), everyone would enjoy the meal.

The harvested palay is counted by the bundles as follows: “hin-hongol” – five bundles; “hindalan” - twenty bundles; “nabongle” – fifty bundles and “hin-upu” as one hundred bundles. The harvested palay is spread under the “alang” to dry up. Customary, to Ifugao beliefs, the “bulul” will take charge in keeping the palay safe while it is still outside the granary. When the palay is ready to be brought inside the granary, another ritual called the “tuldag” is done. A minimum of six chickens are offered as sacrifice to the “bagol” and “aammod”. The occasion is never without a jar or if not feasible, a bottle of “baya”. After the ritual, the palay is brought inside the granary and piled by variety. The common rice variety is the “Ipuggo” which have large white grains. It produces a luscious aroma when it is being cooked. Another variety which has appendages or tail on the grain. is called the “abul”. The maroon colored grains when husked is called the “bulkitan”. The glutinous rice (dayakkot) variety is: Ing-gu-pul which has maroon grains; Ha-ut which has white grains; and a rare variety which is called the “In-dal-dal-u” which has a predominant dark brown stripe on the un-husked grain.

Few weeks after the harvest, the tender palay that was left during the harvest becomes full green unripe grains. This is the time when the young unripe palay is gathered to be made as “bal-lu”. The “bal-lu” is prepared by separating the grains from the stalks, roasted and pounded in the stone mortar. Preparation is usually at night when the weary farmer brings it to the delight of the family. The glutinous variety (dayakkot) is preferred for this delicacy.

A few days after all the rice fields had been harvested, the villagers prepare for the “bakle” (thanksgiving feast). The preparation of the “bakle” starts with the drying of the newly harvested “ipuggo” in the “hay-ung-ngan”. After

palay had been dried, the stalks are manually pulled out (i-nulut) one by one to separate the palay from the straw. The palay is pounded in a stone mortar (luhung) with the use of the “al-u” (pestle). The rice bran from the pounded rice is separated with the use of the “liga-u” (winnowing rice tray). Once during the half way of the pounding called “nahul-hul” and second after the pounding is through (na-lop-a). Fine rice bran called “upok” is set aside as supplementary food for the pig. Rice intended for food during “bakle” is set aside in a “kulbung” (rice container made up of weaved rattan) together with the glutinous rice (dayak-kot). The Ifugao traditional baya (rice wine) is prepared to grace the occasion.

One of the elders in the village typically from an influential family set the day of the “bakle”. The community celebrates the occasion altogether. The “bakle” is the grandiose celebration and thanksgiving after the harvest. The “dayakot” (glutinous rice) is saturated with water for a few hours then pounded in the stone mortar to produce fine flour. Three people would do the pounding to the rhythmic sound of the “al-u”, at times deliberately hitting the mortar to produce the sound akin to the beating of drums. It is however the tempo as to where the pounding pace would be based. Sometimes pestles would break or split up when it hit constantly the edge of the granite mortar but it is considered as the spirit and joy of the “bakle”. With the use of the “bila-u” (rice winnowing tray), coarse rice is separated from the fine flour. The coarse rice is again pounded until all the rice is of fine flour quality. The flour is then made into dough. When “lungi” (sesame seeds) is available, it is mixed. Rattan (littuku) and banana (balat) leaves are used to wrap the dough. The wrapped dough is tied securely by strips from the banana stalks and neatly piled in a “lambike” (big pot) and cooked. The cooked “binakle” is served to every one. Some portion is given to visiting relatives and other visitors to be brought home. Child visitors on the other hand have a special treatment. A chicken or duck is given as a gift. This is called “awil” in the tuwali tribe. This customary gift giving is not limited only during the “bakle” but on all occasions when a child visits a settlement for the first time.

While the pounding of the rice is ongoing, the “munbaki” is also busy performing customary rituals. It is his obligation to perform all the rituals in every home if no other “munbaki” is available. Several chickens are offered as sacrifice in this occasion and will be cooked as viand except one which is given to the “munbaki” for his services. The tradition is called the “nun-baki-yana” (payment or share from the sacrificed chickens). Immediately after the fine flour is made into dough, a small portion of it is brought briskly to the “alang” (granary). It is molded and placed in the shoulders and feet of the “bulul”. From morning till dusk, merriment of the village is continues. The following day however, is the “tungo or tungul” (day of rest). It is the concluding day of the festival. Performing any type of farm work is strictly prohibited; neither are boisterous and loud noises. Silence for the whole day in the village is generally observed.

The Ifugao native rice wine or “baya” is prepared to grace feast, rituals and special occasions. It is made by cooking together in ratio and proportion the “Ipuggo and dayakkot” (glutinous rice) and fermented by the use of the “binokbok”. The “binokbok” is the sun baked dough mixed with the roots of the “on-wad”, a type of grass herb abundant in the rice fields. The “binokbok” can also be dried in the “hay-ungan”. The “binokbok” which is crushed to fine powder is

sprinkled to the rice, mixed thoroughly, and then placed in a “lopoh-han” layed out with banana leaves. After three days, the rice which is already moist because of fermentation is placed in the jar (angang) and securely covered with banana leaves. The rice wine (baya) is extracted after two weeks or more by draining the wine from it. The longer the fermentation is, the stronger the wine is (nap-got).

Immediately after the “tungo” or “tungul”, would be the season for the “Kiwang” (August through November). “Kiwang” in the “tuwali” dialect literally means to step aside or dodge off, stepping aside in the sense that the field is temporarily free from the rice crop. But this would not make the rice field idle. The rice stalks and weeds are uprooted and piled in several small mounds in the field. This is called the “pingkol”. This is applicable for fields which have a normal supply of water coming from “ob-ob” or “ot-bol” (spring), “wa-el” (brook) or by nature, normally watered the whole year round. The “pinkol” is then planted with “kolet” (cabbage), pechay, “balantina” (egg plant) and other vegetables. Insecticides, fertilizers and other farm chemicals are not used in the rice fields. The dikes are also planted with “bulligan” (winged beans), “antak” (sting beans), “bulhe” (beans), “aba” (gabi) and many more. Endemic native beans varieties such as the “itab” and “gay-yak” would also be seen robustly growing on the walls of the rice fields. The “kunde” (edible grass) and native “alay-yon” (spinach with thorns) would be abundantly growing on the dikes. The “tang-hoy” (water crease) would grow robustly in the “guhing” (dike opening) to any shallow part of a watered field.

The “dolya” is a permanent part of a rice field not utilized for rice plating because it is not watered. It is generally of higher elevation. It is however maintained and planted with various plants, root crops and vegetables such as the native “kuldi”, “gat-tuk” (sweet potatoes), “luktu”, “laya” (ginger) and many more. Wild ferns (paggalat), and shrubs like the “but-gi” which has sweet red fruits, and the “pinit” (wild straw berries) almost grow every where. The “gampa” (weaved rattan basket which is spherical in shape) is used to carry agricultural products. While the “dolya” and the “habal” (slash and burn agriculture) have similar produces, both differs in terms of location and permanency of use. The “habal” is a clearing in the mountain sides and could be temporary or permanent place for agriculture.

During the “kiwang” children would gather “umuk” (the core or pith of a palay) which grows from the harvested crop. Native shells such as bat-tikul, ginga, kuwiw-wiw, aggudung, and hiyok would be abundant in vast rice fields. The “al-lama” (freshwater crabs) is caught in quantity. The freshwater crabs are wrapped in banana leaves and stays overnight or two days to putrefy. It is then mixed with the “puhun di balat” (banana blossom) then pounded in the stone mortar until it becomes putty. Cooked and salted to taste, would be a fine delicacy. The mud fish (dolog) and yu-yu (Japanese eel) is also abundant in watered rice fields. It is simply salted to taste; ginger (laya)

and garlic (amput) added, wrapped in banana leaves and roasted in the fire. This is called “inutum”. Another method of cooking is the “tinang-bul.” It is placed inside a cut bamboo and roasted in the fire. Leaves of the “aba” (gabi) could also be prepared and cooked through “inutum” or “tinang-bul”. The “alawin” (piece of bamboo with an open end used to accommodate things gathered in the rice field) finds it as an integral attire of anybody going to the fields. It is tied and hung in the waist and would be virtually filled with all edible things while the farmer goes about through the rice field. Other native trades that are used to catch fish and the Japanese eel (yuyu) in particular are the “gubu” and “dol-ak”. The “gubu” is a cylindrical shaped fish trap made of weaved rattan or bamboo stripes that is opened and closed in the other end. The open end is concave and gradually decreases in size just enough for the fish to pass through. Sharp bamboo spikes are placed facing inward in the small opening which prevents the trapped fish to get out. The “bubud” or refused fermented rice from the “baya” is made as bait. The “dol-ak” is a kind of vine that creeps in the forest floor. It stuns the “yuyu” when the water is laced with it. Water is first drained out from the paddy. The vine is pounded and placed against the water that is released into the drained paddy. This stuns “yuyu” which surfaces from the mud making it easy to catch and gather the fish in large quantity. The “kat-tad” is the Ifugao ingenious fish trap purposely for the “dolog” (mud fish). It is a cylindrical shaped weaved bamboo that is opened in both ends. The handle is less than a foot wide while the opposite end varies in size from 1.5 feet to 2 feet in diameter. The user would briskly prod the “kat-tad” from place to place as he goes about in the field. A sight bumps on the “kat-tad” indicates a catch. In the absence of the “gubu”, “kat-tad” and “dol-ak”, Ifugao folks catches fishes and crustaceans with their bare hands.

Not long, the “kiwang” season would come to its end and it would be the time to mend destroyed parts of the “paluk” (irrigation). The “ga-ud” (spade) which had been idle for a short while will be again the principal tool in cultivating the rice fields. As the planting season is only a few weeks away, the “guhing” (water gates) of watered rice fields are opened (i-kulu) in preparation for the drying up of the field. It is at this most awaited time of the season when the whole village would flock to the rice field to catching the “dolog” (mudfish), shells and other crustaceans for free

Apu Inggulu told me during her time as a young woman, the Ifugao lad, before reaching adolescent, would by instinct, laying bird traps in the fields. He knows where to find the “hobang” (bird’s trail) and where he would strategically put his “hulu” and “appad”. The “hulu” is a sturdy twine from the “u-noot” made to a lasso and position where the bird would pass. The “unoot” is a type of palm that has coarse thread like fibers on the trunk. The “appad” is an assembly of a sturdy twine and a tree branch/bamboo that springs up when the lock is disengaged. The lock is wedged on a stick that holds the bent bamboo in place. When the unsuspecting bird steps on the stick, the weight brings down the stick thereby releasing the wedge. This releases the lock thereby enabling the bent bamboo to spring up. The process pulls the twine tightening the loop on the bird’s feet. The “appad” is position on places where the birds frequents. Barefooted but very agile, the Ifugao lad’s hunting grounds knows no boundaries and limits. By nature, manga-iw (gathering firewood) and “mun-anup” (hunting) are inseparable. Knows how to use the “liyok” (termite) as “tap-pang” (bait) in bird traps he makes in the forest. Among the traps he is an expert is the indigenous



Ifugao Hearth



Mt. Sto. Tomas in background

Tropospheric Scatter Transceiver on Mt. Cabuyao