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# The Word Igorot

WILLIAM HENRY SCOTT

**I**N the Spring of 1958, Representative Luis Hora of the Third District, Mountain Province, introduced into the lower house of the national legislature House Bill No. 1441 which sought to prohibit the use of the terms, *Moro* and *Igorot*, in laws, books and other printed matter and to substitute in their stead the terms, *Muslim* and *Highlander*. The Congressman explained his move in a letter to the editor of a Baguio newspaper.

The misnomer, "Igorot" and "Moro", were inventions of ruthless Spaniards in mockery against our tribes which they failed to subjugate or conquer in their insatiable lust and greed for colonialism... The word, "Igorot", as coined and applied by the Spaniards means a "savage, headhunting and backward tribe" of Luzon... (These people) are further described as of probable Malayan-Negrito stock since they share with the Negritos such features as dark skins, flat noses, thick lips, etc., and such cultural traits as the use of the bow, a non-Malayan weapon. This description, which was invented purposely to degrade our people, has no connection with ethnic classification of our tribes... The same is true of our so-called Christian brothers in the lowlands—the Spaniards called them "Indios" as being possessed of a lower mentality and not fit for higher education. And to correct all these injustices heaped against our honor at a time when we were helpless and prostrate is certainly the duty of this generation.<sup>1</sup>

The Hora Bill, subsequently defeated, and the torrent of editorials, articles, and letters to editors which appeared in the popular press both in Manila and in the Mountain Province

<sup>1</sup> *Mountaineer*, May 25, 1958.

called widespread attention to a controversy over the use of the word *Igorot* which had been going on locally since the Second World War. Two separate questions were actually confused 1) Who are the Igorots? and 2) Do they want to be called Igorots? The issue is by no means settled at the present time. Only a few months ago a prominent educator, born and raised in the Mountain Province, read a paper condemning the word as "colonial", while at the same time a local newspaper writer was reporting the awarding of the first degree of Doctor of Philosophy to one of his "co-Igorots".<sup>2</sup>

The present paper proposes to review the history of the word, *Igorot*, as it has been used in Spanish, German and English literature for the past 370 years.

According to Doctor Trinidad Pardo de Tavera, eminent Tagalog scholar at the turn of the century and partner of Doctor Jose Rizal in forming the official Tagalog alphabet, the word, *Igorot*, is composed of the root word *golot*, meaning "mountain chain", and the prefix *i*, meaning "people of" or "dweller in".<sup>3</sup> This prefix is common to many Philippine dialects today (e.g., *isagada*, "people of Sagada", or *ilagod*, "people downstream", from *lagod*, "downstream"), but the root word has all but disappeared in Manila. It can still be heard in provincial Tagalog, however, as "hill" or, in Pampanga, "hill up to the top", while in Kankanay or Lepanto *Igorot* we find the word *ginolot*, "native rice" (as opposed to *topeng*, second-crop rice newly introduced from the lowlands). Even the fact that *golot* is a place seems to have survived in the speech of those "Bagos" of the Ilocos provinces who are descendants of Igorots migrated into the lowlands, for there it is possible to say of people just arrived from the Mountain Province, "*Nagapodad golot*"—"They came from *golot*."

The word, "*Igorot*", therefore, appears to be perfectly indigenous in origin, and it is in this form that it early ap-

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<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* April 30, 1961; Allaga, Ernesto, "The People of the Mountain Province and Basic Problems Confronting Them Today." *A Commentary on Industrial Evangelism, Issue XVIII* (May-June 1961), United Church of Christ in the Philippines, Manila.

<sup>3</sup> Jenks, A. E. *THE BONTOC IGOROT* (Manila, 1905), p. 27.

pears in Spanish records, e.g., the ARTE Y DICCIONARIO DE LA LENGUA IGOLOTA of Fray Esteban Marin who died in 1601. The substitution of the "r" for "l" probably came about through "overcompensation", that is, since many Northern Luzon dialects have "r" and render an "l" in its place, either they or others familiar with this fact may "overcompensate" by making the reverse substitution. The latter spelling, at any event, did not become popular until the 18th century, when Antonio Mozo, who spelled it "Igolot" in his 1763 NOTICIA HISTORICO NATURAL, commented: "Corrupting the letters they are wont to call it Igorrot"<sup>4</sup> Of course, there is no record that the subject people ever called themselves Igolots—but then they didn't call themselves by any other one name either. The very names of the five sub-provinces of the present Mountain Province, which have figured so often in the current controversy and which form the initials of the intercollegiate BIBAK organization (viz., Bontoc, Ifugao, Benguet, Apayao and Kalinga), were imposed on the mountaineers by American authority in the present century in accordance with American ethnological surveys. Fifty years ago nobody in Tucucan thought of himself as having any identity in common with the enemy people of nearby Bontoc, nor did the Ifugaos of Mayoyao and Kiangan.

We do not know when the word, "Ygolote", was first used by the Spaniards, but it could not have been before 1570, the year of Martin de Goiti's first landing in Manila, and probably not before 1571, when Pampanga and Pangasinan were penetrated, or 1572, when Salcedo made his exploration of the north-west coast of Luzon. The word was already in common usage by the 1590's when various expeditions were sent out to locate the source of the gold which appeared as ornaments in the Manila area. There is no reason to doubt that this was the very word by which the Spaniards came to know of the gold-mining highlanders in the first place. Fray Gaspar de San Agustin, whose 1698 CONQUISTAS DE LAS ISLAS PHILIPPINAS is our

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<sup>4</sup> Mozo, Antonio. NOTICIA HISTORICO NATURAL (Madrid, 1763). (In Blair and Robertson LXVII, 1907, p. 81.)

earliest source for Salcedo's explorations, says matter of factly that Pangasinan and Ylocos were rich provinces when discovered because of "the commerce which they have with the mountaineer Indians, called Sambales and Igolotes; who possess the richest mines in the whole island."<sup>5</sup> The natural sense of this statement and the use of the word "called" (*llamados*) is that these were the normal names by which these groups were designated by Filipinos.

It took the Spanish fifty years to locate the coveted Ygolote gold mines, and their first search was up the valley of that river called the Rio Grande de Pampanga into what is now Nueva Ecija, and across the crest of the Caraballo Sur into the headwaters of the Rio Grande de Cagayan in Nueva Vizcaya, which they then followed down to its mouth at Aparri. Two years after the founding of Manila the first expedition had penetrated more than a hundred miles into the hills of Pampanga, and in both 1591 and 1594 full-scale expeditions traversed the whole distance to Cagayan, always being told that the Ygolotes and their precious mines were in the mountains on their left but being unable to make the necessary side excursions because of the vigor of the inhabitants' defense and the ruggedness of the terrain. During the next 25 years more information was gathered about the Igorots, which suggested that they could be more readily approached from the west coast. Thus in 1624, in response to a directive from the Spanish throne, Don Alonso Martin Quirante led a force of more than 1800 men from Aringay to Antamoc, where a garrison was maintained for five months while the mining techniques were investigated and samples of ore assayed. The following year it was decided that the low quality of the gold and the inaccessibility of the mines would prohibit economical operation, so all forces were withdrawn. Forty years later another expedition which penetrated to the very center of the Cordillera brought back equally unencouraging reports, moving an Augustinian historian to comment piously: "It appears

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<sup>5</sup> de San Agustin, Gaspar. *CONQUISTAS DE LAS ISLAS FILIPINAS* (Madrid, 1698), II: xv.

that divine wisdom does not choose that they shall fall into our hands, for it was very certain that we would make ill use of that benefit."<sup>6</sup>

During the period of these explorations, the Spanish records refer to those pagan mountain peoples whom the lowland Filipinos distinguished from themselves as Igorots (i.e., Ygolotes). This included many dwelling in the hills and mountain regions outside the boundaries of the present Mountain Province, people who in more modern times adopted Christianity and lowland ways of life. The hill peoples around Bayombong, Caranglan and Pantabangan, for example, were given plows and taught new farming techniques by the Spanish friars in the 18th century. Manaoag was established in 1605 as a missionary center for the conversion of mountain pagans, and the population of Pangasinan was listed as containing 11,000 Igorots only a hundred years ago. The coastal foothills of the Ilocos region from Vigan to Pangasinan appear to have been occupied steadily by such peoples up until the present time: Buzeta's 1850 *DICCIONARIO GEOGRAFICO* describes the area by dozens of references like *rancheria de nuevos cristianos y catecúmenos*, *guardia ó bantay para vigilar los Igorotes*, *nuevo pueblo formado de infieles*, and *pueblo de los Busaos (una de las tribus independientes)*. Within the Province, it included those people occupying the western, southern and southwestern faces of the Cordillera, that is, the Kankanays, the Inibalois and the Ifugaos. (The Ifugaos were called *igorotes del Quiangan* or *Igorotes Ifugao* by the first student of their religion and customs, Father Juan Villaverde [d. 1897], and as late as 1907 were called not only Igorots but "the true Igorots" by no less an authority than H. Otley Beyer, who married one of them.<sup>7</sup>)

The Igorots seem to have made a deliberate and successful resistance to Spanish settlement in their territory; Morga in 1609 said they had lessened their mining activities so as not

<sup>6</sup> Diaz, Casimiro. *CONQUISTAS DE LAS ISLAS FILIPINAS* (Manila, 1718). (In Blair and Robertson XXXVII, 1906, p. 250.)

<sup>7</sup> Beyer, H. Otley. "The Igorots". *Philippine Education*, September, 1907, p. 14.

to attract invasion,<sup>8</sup> and in the middle of the next century they were reported to be glad to have members of their families settle as baptized Christian traders in the lowlands but not to have Spanish missionaries reside among themselves.<sup>9</sup> The Spaniards quickly learned that they were brave fighters and fierce defenders of their mountain homelands and that they collected the heads of those they defeated in combat, and so described them as *robustos, bien configurados, infieles, salvajes, cruel* and *cortacabezas*. (They were not the only Filipinos with this custom, of course; Morga writes of the lowlanders in his time: "When they go in pursuit of their opponent, they show great dexterity in seizing his hair with one hand, while with the other they cut off his head with one stroke of the *bararao* [a kind of dagger] and carry it away. They afterward keep the heads suspended in their houses, where they may be seen; and of these they make a display, in order to be considered as valiant and avengers of their enemies and of the injuries committed by them."<sup>10</sup>) Yet early Spanish historians were able to write of these bark-clad savages with rather surprising objectivity. The following is an account of Doctor Juan Manuel de la Vega in a review of what was known of the Ygolotes and their elusive gold mines in 1609:

The people are light-complexioned, well-disposed and intelligent. It is reported that about 18 or 20,000 Indians use lance and shield. They are at war with their neighbors up to certain boundaries. Beyond these boundaries these people trade with one another; for the Ygolotes descend to certain towns of Pangasinan with their gold and exchange it for food—hogs, carabaos and rice—taking the animals alive to their own country. Until the food is consumed, or but a little time before, they pay no heed to securing any gold. Then each man goes to the mine assigned to him and they get what they need, according to what they intend to buy, and not any more. They are a people as void of covetousness as this; for they say that they have it there at hand for the times when they need it.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> de Morga, Antonio. SUCESOS DE LAS ISLAS FILIPINAS (Mexico, 1609). (In Blair and Robertson XVI, 1904, p. 102.)

<sup>9</sup> Mozo, Antonio. *op. cit.*, p. 88.

<sup>10</sup> de Morga, Antonio. *op. cit.*, pp. 81-82.

<sup>11</sup> de la Vega, Juan Manuel. EXPEDITIONS TO THE PROVINCE OF TUY (1609), (In Blair and Robertson XIV, 1904, p. 302.)

During the second century of the occupation of Northern Luzon, after their search for gold had been disappointed, the Spanish did not generally extend the use of the word, Igorot, to other mountain tribes along the outer edges of the Cordillera. The Augustinian historian, Casimiro Diaz, in 1718, for example, speaks of the Payaos to the north of the Igorots, "living in the darkness of their blind paganism, protected by the inaccessibility of those lofty mountains, and exempt from the yoke of subjugation", and of the Calanasas, a small group in what is now Abra.<sup>12</sup> Mozo in 1763 speaks of four tribes living in the mountains of Pampanga, Pangasinan and the Ilocos—the Igot, Tinggian, Apayao and Adang. On the other side of the Cordillera, where energetic but shortlived missionary ventures had got as far upstream as Tabuk, the pagan inhabitants were referred to in the Dominican records by the names of the villages or areas they inhabited, and neither the word, Igorot, nor any other general designation was applied to them.

It should be borne in mind that at no time during the Spanish period was an overall survey made of the peoples inhabiting the Cordillera Central, nor was there any way of correlating the information gleaned along the Cagayan side with what trickled down through trade with the Ilocos coast. When Buzeta compiled his 1850 geographical dictionary, he had to rely on such peripheral data and could not locate accurately or distinguish the near and more remote tribes. Tetep-an, for instance, is a Bontoc-type village between Sagada and the provincial capital, yet Buzeta describes the Itetepanes as being in trade with the Gaddangs of Isabela and as manufacturing that red-dyed rattan which is actually made in the Barlig-Lias area. Again, in describing the Igorots of Benguet, he says that they live in bamboo huts but that higher in the mountains are some who build better houses out of pine and use as weapon and tool a unique instrument with a double-edged blade like a Roman sword; he is obviously here referring to the Ifugaos, yet the word, Ifugao, itself he knows only from Nueva Vizcaya sources which report them as using headaxes and bow and ar-

<sup>12</sup> Diaz, Casimiro. *op. cit.*, pp. 239-240.



row.<sup>13</sup> The word, Bontoc, doesn't even appear in Buzeta's dictionary, and was applied in 1885 to the people of both Bontoc and Ifugao by a German scientist (Schadenberg) who hiked across the Cordillera from west to east in that year, while the 1888 *GUÍA OFICIAL DE FILIPINAS* doesn't even appear to know that the Chico River flows into the Cagayan.

In the middle of the 19th century the Dominicans began missionary work in Mayoyao and Kiangan and the Augustinians in La Trinidad, and they called the people among whom they worked Igorots, as they had been called before. When this work was expanded to Cervantes and Lepanto in the 1880's, and as far north as Basao (Tinglayan) in 1892, the term was extended, too, so that all these people were included in the well-known *IGOROTES* of the pioneer missionary, Father Angel Perez. No connection was seen, however, between the Kalingas of Basao and those of the Tabuk area where priests from the Cagayan valley had pressed upstream as far as Naneng by the end of the Spanish regime. The pagan tribes who practised a semi-sedentary shifting agriculture in the foothills and gentle slopes of the lower Chico valley were not referred to as mountaineers but by a variety of local names of more or less validity, e.g., Aripanes, Calauas, Catalanganes, Calingas, Dadayags, Gadanés, Irayas, Itaves, etc. The fact that the word, Igorot, was meanwhile being applied to more than one group was already evident to Ferdinand Blumentritt, a friend of Jose Rizal, whose studies of Philippine ethnology were so astute he was able to produce a map in 1882 of the Mountain Province more accurate than that in the Spanish *GUÍA OFICIAL DE LAS ISLAS FILIPINAS PARA 1889* without even setting foot in the country, while an official publication of the *EXPOSICIÓN GENERAL DE LAS ISLAS FILIPINAS* in Madrid in 1887 admitted that "the name of *igorrote* is among Filipinos synonymous with *infidel*, by which they designate whatever races or individuals, whether savage or pacified, as have not embraced the Christian religion, or who, after being baptized,

<sup>13</sup> Buzeta, Manuel. *DICCIONARIO GEOGRAFICO, ESTADISTICO, HISTORICO DE LAS FILIPINAS* (Madrid, 1850), pp. 52-54.

have reverted and become *cimarrones* (runaways)".<sup>14</sup> Thus as the word, Igorot, received publicity, it increasingly suffered the loss in popular parlance of its original Filipino meaning of "hill people" or "dwellers along the mountain chain", which nicely parallels the decline of the English word, *heathen*, from its original meaning of "dweller on the heath" to its present meaning of "pagan".

With the advent of the Americans at the beginning of the twentieth century, both the word, Igorot, and the peoples to whom it was applied came into new and often startling prominence. In the first official census report, Doctor D. P. Barrows wrote: "I have adopted it [the name, Igorot] as a general designation for the whole body of Malayan tribes of northern Luzon who are of the same physical type, speak closely allied languages, and present the same grade of culture",<sup>15</sup> and the first fullscale anthropological study of any Filipino group stated: "In several languages of northern Luzon the word 'Ig-o-rot' means 'mountain people' [and it] is now tentatively adopted as the name of the extensive primitive Malayan people of northern Luzon, because it is applied to a very large number of mountain people by themselves and also has a recognized usage in ethnologic and other writings."<sup>16</sup> Devotion to the young science of anthropology and the new "manifest destiny" attracted American attention to the "wild men" of Luzon and led to the exhibiting of a whole live village of them at the 1904 St. Louis Expedition where thousands of U.S. citizens thrilled to the display of naked tattooed musculature and purchased spears hammered out before their eyes on a primitive Malayan forge. Educated Spanish-speaking Filipinos of Manila reacted to all this with sharp resentment, fearing, not without reason, that the impression would be created that the Filipinos generally were uncivilized naked savages—which is how they were subsequently described at least once on the floor of Congress in Washington.

<sup>14</sup> *Memoria of the Exposición General de las Islas Filipinas en Madrid* (Manila, 1887), pp. 100-101.

<sup>15</sup> CENSUS OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS (Manila, 1903). Vol. I, pp. 471-472. (Quoted in Blair and Robertson LXVII, 1907, pp. 73-74 n. 20.)

<sup>16</sup> Jenks, A. E. *op. cit.*, p. 27.

American awe of the Igorot's adjustment to a cruelly inhospitable environment and his 350-year resistance to Spanish conquest was not shared by urbane lowland Filipinos who considered such failure to accept Spanish culture utterly deplorable. To the majority of them, the new awareness of their highland brethren increased the derogatory connotations of the word, Igorot. Mr. Bernardino Carino, a public school supervisor in the Mountain Province, describes the situation as follows:

In 1905 before I entered a public school, when a boy appeared dirty, his mother would reprove him, "You, Igorot, go to the well and take a bath!" To us, then, igorot meant "dirty" . . . In bygone days in the lowlands, when a boy would go up the house without greeting the elders and kissing their hands (good evening Apo, Tia, etc.), the mother would blurt at him, "Go down and enter again, you Igorot!" The boy had to obey and do the right thing. *Igorot* to us meant also *impolite* or *lack of proper breeding*—lack of good manners and right conduct.<sup>17</sup>

Meanwhile, the actual political formation of the Mountain Province in 1907, with its six sub-provinces—one of which, Lepanto-Amburayan, was abolished in 1920 — caused a new "tribal" consciousness among younger generation highlanders. So, too, American administrators assigned to newly opened areas of Ifugao and Kalinga were impressed by differences between these well-fed dignified Spartan-looking warriors and the docile rag-clad root-eating Benguets who inhabited the colder heights of the Cordillera which had passed unnoticed by the Spaniards entering both Benguet and Ifugao from opposite lowland sides, and they resisted with some emotion having *their* people called Igorots. The sub-provincial loyalty which has since developed is one of the most impressive accomplishments of American administration in the Mountain Province, for few of the names themselves had been in general use and some were highly peculiar. Ifugao, for instance, is a lowland mispronunciation of the common word for "people" in several Mountain dialects and is certainly not used even today by old men of Banaue, let us say, to distinguish themselves from the old men of Bayyo on the Bontoc side of the mountain; nor, as

<sup>17</sup> *Mountaineer*, February 14, 1960.

a matter of fact, is it used by other highland illiterates, who quite consistently call all people of Ifugao culture *Ikiyangans*. Even local placenames have been modified in the process, educated people of Imbasing, Fontok and Fanawol nowadays pronouncing these places Ambasing, Bontoc and Banaue in allegiance to the spellings common to textbooks, roadmaps and government proclamations.

As more and more mountaineers became educated, however, and thereby competitors for appointment in local government offices and schools, a desire was felt for a pan-provincial designation which would identify the native-born from lowlanders. Almost with a sense of defiance some adopted the controversial name; the Keesings noted in the southern part of the Province in 1933 that "a slogan, 'The Mountains for the Igorots', is there being vocalized in the same larger cultural sense as is 'The Philippines for the Filipinos'."<sup>18</sup> In 1953-54 the Mountain Province ranked eleventh in the nation in the collection of real property taxes, the average attainment of its high-school seniors in a surprise government examination was higher than the national median, and an Igorot topped the English exam administered to 3,000 University of the Philippines freshmen. With such demonstrations of political and academic maturity, the word, Igorot, sounded much less embarrassing, and it was warmly promoted by Baguio journalist, Larry Wilson, in books and articles. "Despite its former implication," he wrote, "we use the general name, 'Igorot', for a strong, virile, hard-working, worthy mountain people without any ethnic significance."<sup>19</sup>

But by far the greatest prestige won for the name of Igorot was their military conduct in the defense of the Philippines against Japanese invasion. As one Igorot said a few years ago: "Allow me to repeat General MacArthur's tribute to the Igorots in a communique dated February 22, 1942, and let you feel for yourself if, after reading it, your blood will not tingle, and

<sup>18</sup> Keesing, Felix M. and Marie. *TAMING PHILIPPINE HEADHUNTERS* (Stanford, 1934), p. 130.

<sup>19</sup> Wilson, Laurence L. *THE SKYLAND OF THE PHILIPPINES* (Manila, 1956, 2nd edition), p. 79.

your eyes not well in tears, and it will make you proud to be an Igorot."

During a recent enemy offensive, the 20th Japanese Infantry made an attack on a position held by a single Igorot company. To a man, the Igorots died in their foxholes, without flinching or thought of retreat, but exacting a tremendous toll from the Japanese. To restore the situation our high command ordered an immediate counterattack by a tank unit supported by infantry. The infantry soldiers were Igorots, eager to even the score for their lost tribesmen.

The bamboo jungle and the heavy, irregular terrain of the section of the front were almost impenetrable and apparently made it impossible for the tanks to operate. Without a word, the Igorot commander hoisted his men to the tops of the tanks in order that they might guide the machines through the matted morass of underbrush, the thickets and trees. The exposed Igorot soldier on the top of the tank served as the eyes of the American driver. The guide signalled the driver with a stick, and with an automatic pistol fired continuously as the unit closed with the enemy.

Bataan has seen many wild mornings, but nothing to equal this. No quarter was asked. Always above the din of the battle rose the fierce shouts of the Igorots, as they rode the tanks and fired their pistols.

When the attack was over, the remnants of the tanks and the Igorots were still there but the 20th Japanese Infantry was completely annihilated.

In recounting the story of the battle to an assembly of his officers, General MacArthur said: "Many desperate acts of courage and heroism have fallen under my observation on many fields of battle in many parts of the world. I have seen last-ditch stands and innumerable acts of personal heroism that defy description, but for sheer breathtaking and heart-stopping desperation, I have never known the equal of those Igorots. Gentlemen, when you tell that story, stand in tribute to these gallant Igorots."<sup>20</sup>

These things being considered, perhaps the alacrity and warmth with which the mountaineers rose to the defense of the word, Igorot, in the face of the proposed Hora Bill was not so

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<sup>20</sup> *Mountaineer*, July 20, 1958.

surprising as it seemed. The editor of one of the leading Baguio papers made three points: (1) "Will calling an Igorot a Highlander guarantee the removal of any stigma that has been carried up to the present against him?" (2) "The term 'Highlander' will lead to the loss of our identity as a people; anyone who lives in an elevated place, where mountains and hills are found, can correctly be called a Highlander." (3) "If the measure is enacted into law, it will mean that the people of the province are ashamed to be called Igorots . . . and that they are willing to turn their backs on their cultural heritage that is distinctly Igorot, superior in many of its aspects to that of other ethnic groups in the country."<sup>21</sup> Correspondents reinforced the points and added others. "It will give a wrong impression if we would be called otherwise," wrote one<sup>22</sup> and another: "Experience shows that only nitwits—and there are not many of them—who actually never saw us, think and spread the pernicious idea that we are an unusual or inferior people."<sup>23</sup> Columnist Jose G. Dulnuan added a little spice to the argument that "the name, Mountaineer, does not change the Igorots," by writing: "You may call a congressman, the 'gentleman' from the Mountain Province, but he may be no gentleman at all", and then concluded with a neat summary of the sentiments expressed by many:

I am an Igorot. Let me be treated as I deserve—with respect if I am good, with contempt if I am no good, irrespective of the name I carry. Let the term, Igorot, remain, and the world will use it with the correct meaning attached to it.<sup>24</sup>

A few dissenting voices also found their way into print, most of them from mountaineers who, like Congressman Hora, had spent enough time with lowlanders to have suffered the popular discrimination and prejudice—ex-Representative Henry A. Kamora, for example, who 30 years ago published a pamphlet entitled, "Why Benguet Sub-Province Should be Made a Separate Specially Organized Province". More recently Mr.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.* May 11, 1958.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.* May 18, 1958.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.* July 20, 1958.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.* May 18, 1958.

Ernesto Allaga, Principal of Kalinga Academy and a native of Ifugao, has pointed out that "socially, of course, . . . the Mountaineers are derogatively called Igorots or Natives" in the Highland Mission Conference of the United Church of Christ in the Philippines, to which he belongs, and that "educated people of the Mountain Province outside of Benguet and Bontoc resent being called Igorot". (See Bartolome C. Cadiente in the *Philippines Free Press*: "I still maintain that an Ifugao is an Ifugao, not an Igorot.") Mr. Allaga states that the word is a misnomer, foreign to most of the mountain peoples, and a vestige of colonialism with derogatory connotations—which nicely summarizes the case for the opposition.<sup>25</sup>

Both before and after the proposed "Igorot Bill" the terms "mountaineer" and "highlander" have been the most common English words used publicly to describe native-born Mountain Province folk as a whole, although the word, Igorot, has not disappeared from the public press, either then or now. For years there was a weekly column called "The Igorot Philosopher" in the *Mountaineer*, the BIBAK Association was described by its president (a Kalinga) as an "organization of Igorot students in Baguio City and its suburbs",<sup>26</sup> and when General Carlos P. Romulo ill-advisedly remarked in his book, *MOTHER AMERICA*, that the Igorots were not Filipinos, "this same segment of the city's student population rose up to voice their denunciation of the author's passing comment".<sup>27</sup> The Manila press also employs the term with unprejudicial dignity, reporting how "Undersecretary of Agriculture Jaime N. Ferrer, in a new ruling, recognized the rights of five landless Igorots even as against the conventionally cognizable claims of a landed Christian,"<sup>28</sup> or the story of the "distinguished full-blooded Igorot", Don Agaton Alzate (1830-1894), "whose work and services to the Castilian government earned for him various *diplo-*

<sup>25</sup> Allaga, Ernesto. *op. cit.*, p. 3, 9.

<sup>26</sup> *Mountaineer*, August 6, 1961.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.* July 16, 1961.

<sup>28</sup> Allantigue, Max. "Igorot Land Custom Recognized" (1957-1958?; Unidentified clipping from Manila newspaper.)

*mas de méritos* and the much coveted *cruz sencilla de Isabel Louisa*.”<sup>29</sup>

In summary, the following can be said about the use of the word, Igorot. It is an indigenous Filipino word originally meaning “mountaineer”; it appears in the earliest Spanish records of the conquest of Luzon, and it was ultimately applied by the early Spaniards to pagans living in the mountains of Pangasinan, Ilocos Sur, Benguet, Bontoc and Ifugao; it was used by some American anthropologists to designate all mountaineers of supposedly “Malayan stock”, by others for the Bontocs and Benguets, and by still others for the Benguets only, being finally rejected as an unscientific term because of this confusion; it has at present the derogatory connotations of “unchristian” and “uncivilized” to some lowlanders, but is used in books and newspapers without such connotations to the applause of some native mountaineers and the dismay of others.

One is reminded of the history of the names of certain European tribes in the English language. The name of the Vandals became a common noun for one who deliberately causes needless destruction of property, but the name of the Goths, once taken to mean “barbaric, crude”, has come to be applied to one of the world’s most sublime forms of church architecture. It would thus be rash to try to predict here the future of the word, *Igorot*—whether highland pride or lowland prejudice will finally determine its meaning.

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<sup>29</sup> Bautista, Rafael A. “Unsung Igorot Hero”. (*Sunday Times Magazine*, October 2, 1960).