

## DISENFRANCHISEMENT *QUA* PATERNALISM: THE NON-CHRISTIAN FIEFDOM OF THE UNITED STATES IN THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

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The US Philippine colonial state balanced its policy of attraction towards Filipino collaborators by emphasizing the so-called "non-Christian tribes". This required an official definition of peoples belonging to ethnic groups deemed to be on the bottom of the Philippine socio-cultural hierarchy, a task complicated by the fact that the origins and manifestations of the Christian/non-Christian dichotomy were unclear and varied in most locales. By 1903, leading US officials realized political advantages could be gained by playing up the Christian/non-Christian dichotomy and they began to emphasize important differences between the two categories. Dean C. Worcester, an ornithologist who became head of Department of the Interior, was most important in this regard. He alleged repeatedly that there was much animosity between Christian and non-Christian groups and used this claim to create a legal fiefdom in Special Provinces of which he was the dominant architect and official. Ostensibly trying to protect non-Christians from their Christian counterparts, in fact, whether he acknowledged it or not, Worcester was positioning himself to profit from the legal disenfranchisement of non-Christian groups, especially those that were not Islamicized.

At the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century in the Philippines, only a comparatively small number of indigenes were Hispanicized in any significant degree<sup>1</sup>. A century later, social scientists tended to divide the population into several different categories. Common labels included "civilized" and "wild" tribes, or alternatively "Christian" and "pagan" ones (Hutterer 1978:139; additional labels can be found in Lynch 1992:Ch.8). Buzeta's dictionary (1850[1]:48-51) employed three categories: 'pure Indian', 'mestizo', and 'Negrito'. The U.S. colonial state balanced its policy of attraction by emphasizing the so-called "non-Christian tribes" (see Lynch 1992:Ch.8). This required an

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<sup>1</sup> Personal communication from William H. Scott dated April 1, 1986. For insights into the emergence of the dichotomy in northern Luzon, see Scott (1982), see also Lynch (1992:Ch.4).

official definition of peoples belonging to ethnic groups deemed to be on the bottom of the Philippine socio-cultural hierarchy.

The task was complicated by the fact that the origins of the Christian/non-Christian dichotomy varied in most locales. Dean C. Worcester, the American secretary of the Interior, considered the distinctions appropriate but found the labels misleading. Many of the non-Christian tribes were timid, and the Muslims were clearly not pagan. US president William H. Taft also realized that any effort to define and categorize the Philippine peoples on the basis of ethnicity was a formidable task. He stated in 1901 that

"the word 'tribe' gives an erroneous impression. There is no tribal relation among them. There is a racial solidarity among the Filipino people undoubtedly. They are homogenous... to me all the Filipinos are alike" (Storey and Lichauco 1926:173).

The following year, Taft testified during hearings in the U.S. Congress on the pending Organic Act that "The names of the tribes are confusing... The Jesuits give them one name and the travelers give them another." [Statement dated March 5, 1902] (*Committee Reports, Hearings and Acts of Congress...* 1903:146). Worcester shared the perspectives of his political mentor, in 1900 he acknowledged that "the information as to the number of individuals constituting these various tribes is extremely incomplete, and it is to be feared that even such figures as are obtainable are far from reliable" (*Reports of the Philippine Commission* 1900[1]:14).

By 1903, Taft and Worcester began to revise these insights, at least in public. Both men realized that political advantages could be gained by playing up the Christian/non-Christian dichotomy. And both began to emphasize important differences between the two groups. Worcester's lack of information, as well as lack of anthropological training, apparently failed to temper his newfound expertise. Instead he began to classify Philippine ethnic groupings, ostensibly according to race and culture, but actually according to language. Lopez likewise noted that "Worcester treated the Filipino 'tribes' as biological specimens. He perceived them as objective manifestations of the working of natural selection, with skin color as the measure of fitness" (1981:51; see also Sullivan 1986:282-6).

"The hand-list of the tribes of the Philippines that followed resembled [Worcester's] Hand-List of the Birds of the Philippines. It bore the marks of his training in zoology and botany at the University of Michigan; in its pretensions to scientific taxonomy it derived basically from the Linnaean

classification of plants and animals in the tenth edition of *Systems naturae* (1758)" (Drinnon 1980:293).

Worcester's list was based on a classification scheme made by Jesuit missionaries that identified 82 tribes (Elliot 1917:86), and was relied on in 1900 by the U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey to prepare an elaborate *Atlas of the Philippine Islands* (see Map next page).

Worcester's scheme included 84 tribes (four more than in his 1898 book). Each tribe was listed under one of three categories which purported to depict the "sharply distinct" Philippine races, namely: "Negritos", "Malayans", and "Indonesians". Worcester characterized the 21 Negrito groups, which included the distinctly 'Malay' Mangyans of Mindoro, as comprised of "weaklings of low stature" who were "at or near the bottom of the human series" in matters of intelligence. The 47 Malayan tribes were numerically dominant in the colony but not all were "civilized". The 16 Indonesian groups were located in Mindanao. Worcester described them as "physically superior not only to the Negritos, but to the more numerous Malayans as well" (*Report of the Philippine Commission* 1900:11-6, 12).

The legally determinative identification of non-Christian groups however, was to be found in the Philippine Census of 1903 and is appended to this article (see also the *Report of the Philippine Commission* 1904). Responsibility for preparing the list was delegated to the first director of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes, David P. Barrows, a 28-year-old anthropologist from the University of Chicago who was then serving as the Manila Superintendent of Schools. Barrows had received his doctorate in 1897 after submitting a dissertation on ethnobotany among the Coahuila Indians of Southern California. In 1907, Barrows compiled a list of "Foreign Scientists on Philippine Ethnography" during the late Spanish period and included it in an unpublished, handwritten monograph titled "Physical Anthropology of the Philippines" [David P. Barrows Papers/Carlton 2:33].

In preparing the official nomenclature for the non-Christian groups of the Philippines, Barrows relied extensively on the categorization scheme devised twenty years earlier by Rizal's friend, Ferdinand Blumentritt, and which listed 82 tribes.<sup>2</sup> Barrows was candid enough, however, to admit that there was "a superlative number of designations for what are practically identical people" (1905:453). Worcester endeavored in 1906 "by a concrete example to show the absurdity of the conclusions to which one is led who follows [the] classification of Blumentritt and the Jesuits" (1906:803), despite having

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<sup>2</sup> See Hutterer (1978:126-30) for background on "Philippine ethnography before 1900".

relied heavily on their work for his earlier classification scheme in the Schurman Commission report.

Blumentritt had never visited the colony but he believed that he could explain the presence of un-Hispanized populations and an overall social hierarchy among native peoples in the Philippines by a static, three-wave migration theory. According to the theory, the non-Christian tribes, at least in northern Luzon, comprised the first wave of Malays to reach the archipelago. The second wave, which eventually came to be Hispanized, "had a higher civilization and... conquered the older population groups and drove them from their homes along the coast into the hinterlands" (Blumentritt [1882]1980:14). In Blumentritt's opinion, the third, Islamic wave, "was halted and partly hindered by the arrival of the Spaniards" ([1882]1980:16). Although it remains ensconced in popular Filipino folklore, Blumentritt's 3-wave migration theory has been discredited as unsubstantiated, racist, and "not fit for Filipino nation building" (William Henry Scott, personal communication, October 1988).

Twenty-four years later, Barrows would proudly comment on his handiwork in categorizing un-Hispanized peoples. In Barrows' words, "This nomenclature has remained, with little modification, the official terminology of these people since that day" (Memorandum [typed] datelined Berkeley, California, November 28, 1927, Bureau of Insular Affairs personnel file).

### **Bureaucratic Beginnings**

The first Philippine (Schurman) Commission had grappled with various theories for ruling the Philippine peoples. The commissioners found merit in the British policies of indirect rule on the Malay Peninsula. They recommended, however, that similar policies in the Philippines be limited to "semi-civilized and barbarous people" (*Report of the Philippine Commission* 1900:101-2). The recommendation also called for entering into agreements with the leaders of these peoples as had already been done with the Sultan of Sulu.

The Schurman Commission's recommendations were reflected in President William McKinley's famous instructions of April 7, 1900, to the second Philippine Commission. In an oft-quoted phrase (which at best reflected ignorance of the Native American experience), President McKinley ordered the commissioners "to adopt the same course followed by Congress in permitting the tribes of our North American Indians to maintain their tribal organization and government". Less frequently quoted, but ultimately more significant, was the ensuing sentence: "Such tribal government 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" (McKinley's Instructions of April 7, 1900).

The reconstituted Taft Commission took official cognizance of the non-Christian issue and requested Otto Scheerer, a German expatriate living in Baguio, to appear before it. Scheerer complied on October 20, 1900. Besides speaking with the commissioners, he submitted various papers which laid out "his opinion as to the best method of dealing with the Igorottes, the native race inhabiting that region" (*Report of the Philippine Commission* 1901:78).<sup>3</sup>

The Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes (BNCT) was created, without the benefit of public hearings, on October 2, 1901 (Act No. 253). The bureau fell under the Department of the Interior, which was headed by Commissioner Worcester. Its primary task was to conduct ethnographic research among un-Hispanized peoples, including those in Muslim Mindanao<sup>4</sup>, with a "special view to determining the most practicable means for bringing about their advancement in civilization and the duty "to ascertain the name of each tribe [and] limits of the territory which it occupies." Illustrados soon objected (Drinnon 1980:301). They were ashamed of the cultural heritage they shared with indigenous upland dwellers and the BNCT reminded them of the link. Its name implied that ilustrado Christians were also tribal. The insult, however, was initially more substantive than the bureau itself.

The BNCT enabling act was short and only provided for four employees. The bureau, therefore, possessed no real power. Not too surprisingly, the first BNCT was short-lived. On August 24, 1903, it was reconstituted into "The Ethnological Survey of the Philippine Islands". The duties of the survey were expanded to include the conduct of "systematic scientific researches in anthropology and ethnology among all the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands" (Act No. 841). In 1905 another institutional metamorphosis occurred when the survey became a division of the Bureau of Education. The following year however, the Division of Ethnology was

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<sup>3</sup> Scheerer's report was published in the 1901 Report of the Philippine Commission as Exhibit F "The Igorottes of Benguet (Northern Luzon)" (1901:149-57), and Exhibit G "Agricultural notes in Benguet" (1901:158-61).

<sup>4</sup> The position of BNCT assistant chief was created on March 3, 1903. His primary duties were "to investigate and report upon the customs and conditions of the Jolo Moros" (Act No. 645). Najeeb M. Saleeby, a Syrian who had arrived in the colony in 1900 as an army surgeon, was appointed.

transferred back to Secretary Worcester's Department of the Interior and placed under the Bureau of Science. There it remained, despite efforts by the Philippine Assembly to abolish it, until 1916 when the BNCT was revived by an act of the U.S. Congress (Acts No. 841, 1407/Section 23(b), and 1541). The most enduring accomplishment of these organizations were the publication of Bontoc and Subanon ethnographies (Jenks 1905, Brewer 1909), a history of Sulu genealogy (Saleeby 1908), and a compilation by Worcester on un-Hispanized peoples in Northern Luzon (1906).

The Philippine Autonomy Act (Jones Law) was passed on August 29, 1916. Section 22 reestablished the BNCT. Worcester observed that

"the Ethnological Survey was transferred to the Bureau of Education, as a division, in the belief that school teachers would be able materially to aid in its work during their vacations. This belief was not justified by the results and when it was realized that this transfer had made the Secretary of the Interior dependent upon the courtesy of another Department in securing the services of men absolutely necessary for keeping checks upon events in the wild man's territory, the division was transferred to the Bureau of Science" (Worcester n.d. circa 1914).

The BNCT and its successors devoted much of their resources to preparations for a Philippine exhibit at the seven-month-long 1904 Louisiana Purchase Centennial Exposition in St. Louis, Missouri. The decision to include a "thoroughly creditable exhibit" was initially made by President Roosevelt, War Secretary Elihu Root, and Governor Taft in the spring of 1902 (Niederlein 1903). Taft's colleagues on the Philippine Commission were also supportive. The Americans perceived the Exposition as an opportunity to generate support for the colonial endeavor among the U.S. public. In Taft's words, the Exposition "offered an invaluable opportunity... to give the American people and American capitalists a clear idea of conditions in the archipelago" (Taft Papers, U.S. Library of Congress, letter from Taft to the President, *pro tempore*, U.S. Senate, January 31, 1905).

Taft and his colleagues believed "it was of the highest importance" that the Philippine exhibit "should be as elaborate as possible" (Taft Papers, Series 8/Reel 434). Their vision was realized under the direction of a three-member Exposition Board which was established for "the purpose of securing, organizing, and making an exhibit of Philippine products, manufactured goods, art, ethnology, education, and customs and habits of the people" (Act No.514 of November 11, 1902; see also Fry 1983:41-2). The board spent over \$1.4 million and shipped over 13,000 tons of exhibits and

building materials to the United States. The net cost to the Philippine treasury was \$717,016. Other funds were generated by donations, admission fees, the sale of Exhibit assets and related paraphernalia, and money appropriated by the U.S. Congress.<sup>5</sup>

The exhibit covered over fifty acres (20 has.) and occupied about 100 buildings. Fifteen full-size replicas of Philippine village centers were constructed, seven of which depicted life among the non-Christian tribes. To make the villages seem real, it was decided to fill them with live people. Over 1,000 Filipinos, therefore, were also shipped to St. Louis. The conditions under which the non-Christians traveled were less than ideal. At least one Negrito died in an unheated railroad car as it passed through the U.S. northern plains [Cable from W.P. Wilson, Chairman of the Philippine Exhibit, to Secretary Taft dated March 28, 1904]. The following April 16, Clarence Edwards, director of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, telegraphed the quartermaster of the U.S. Army in Seattle:

"Fix up Moros the way you did last shipment of natives. Reports very satisfactory as to way started out but much complaint made the way railroad treated them after Billings by... putting the natives away from their subsistence, giving them freight engine which could not heat cars, and it is claimed three or four deaths resulted."

Edwards added that "treatment of train attendants on Burlington reprehensible".

### **U.S. Indian Precedents**

Shortly after the BNCT was created, its first director, David Barrows, was sent to the United States to visit Indian reservations and schools. During his travels, Barrows gathered information which would ostensibly help the BNCT fulfill its mandate. In particular, Barrows inquired into the effectiveness of the General Allotment Act of 1887. Ever since Chief Justice John Marshall's landmark decision in 1831, *Cherokee Nation vs. Georgia*, the U.S. Government had followed a policy of dealing with the Indians as tribes. The opinion written by Marshall described the tribes as "domestic dependent nations" whose relation "to the United States resembles that of a

<sup>5</sup> See e.g. Letter from Taft to the president, pro tempore, U.S. Senate January 31, 1905 requesting an additional \$100,000 appropriation to reimburse the Exhibition commissioners (Taft Papers, U.S. Library of Congress, Series 8/Reel 434). See also Act No. 827 which increased the regime's appropriation for the Exposition Board to \$500,000 gold.

ward to his guardian" (*Cherokee Nation vs. Georgia* 1831:17). A half century later, the allotment policy was designed to do away with tribal distinctions, to break down tribal ties, and to empower the government to deal with Indians as individuals. "Hailed at the time as the final, comprehensive solution to the Indian problem, the act linked citizenship to private [individual] land ownership" (Berkhofer 1979:174; see Cohen 1982:127-43).

Barrows returned to the colony after five months. He claimed to have not been favorably impressed by the allotment policy, but his dislike went much deeper. Barrows also disapproved of the tribal policy laid down by Chief Justice Marshall. More significantly, Barrows was willing to ignore the longstanding legal doctrine of aboriginal title whereby Native Americans were recognized as holding undocumented but constitutionally protected property rights over their ancestral domains (see e.g. *Fletcher vs. Peck* 1810; *Johnson vs. M'Intosh* 1823; "perpetual right of possession...as their common property, from generation to generation"). In a manner which would prove to be characteristic of the regime, Barrows avoided any explicit mention of aboriginal title. He also, contrary to his own rhetoric opposing the allotment policy, recommended that "the employment of the reservation system should be avoided in these islands, and the government should not cede or grant any public land to a tribe as a tribe" (Barrows 1902; see also Fry 1983:15-22).

Worcester, perhaps inadvertently, revealed at least a familiarity with the legal concept of aboriginal title in a speech before the YMCA on October 10, 1910. He claimed that "If original ownership is to be the determining factor in the sovereignty of these Islands, they should be turned over to the Negritos without doubt as they are universally recognized to be the aboriginal inhabitants of the islands."<sup>6</sup>

Nor is there any mention of the possibility that ancestral domains were not public lands in the personal collections of Barrow and Worcester. After five months in the United States investigating laws and policies pertaining to Native Americans, it is inconceivable that Barrows remained ignorant about aboriginal titles, the core issue concerning Native American rights. Barrows knew (and probably Worcester did too), but he kept quiet and thereby lent his support to the regime's clandestine effort to deny any recognition of ancestral land rights. Since the U.S. Constitution did not extend to the Philippine colony, Barrows and his superiors decided that aboriginal titles had likewise not spanned the Pacific (see Lynch 1992:Ch.15).

<sup>6</sup> There is as yet no directly persuasive evidence that Negritos were the first persons to inhabit the archipelago.



### Harbingers of a Policy

Other than aboriginal titles, the most important policy issue concerning un-Hispanized populations was that of local governments. The regime's first official response was made on November 22, 1900, when it enacted a law for the establishment of civil government in Benguet province. The law created a broad electoral franchise for electing "township" officials. Eligible voters included all males 18 years or older who had resided in a Benguet municipality for at least six months preceding an election (Act No. 48/Section 10). The commissioners, however, were not motivated by a commitment to representative democracy. Rather, they were determined to try and prevent a growing number of U.S. miners from gaining political control over the mineral-rich region (Fry 1983:9). This is bolstered by Act No. 49 which established the first provincial government under the U.S. regime in Benguet and provided for the appointment of the governor, secretary, and inspector by the commission.

Two months later, the commission promulgated acts for the organization of municipal and provincial governments in Hispanicized provinces. In an abrupt shift away from the earlier democratic dispensation provided for in Benguet, the commission severely curtailed the electoral franchise for peoples it had officially deemed to be civilized or at least Christian (Acts No. 82 and 83). It also expressly excluded from coverage any settlement of non-Christian tribes (Act No. 82/Section 1[c]).<sup>7</sup>

On April 9, 1902, the Benguet electoral formula was revived in a law providing for the establishment of local civil governments in Nueva Vizcaya (Act No. 387). Four of the last six sections of the law contained important exceptions which would prove to be a harbinger of more political and legal disenfranchisement among the non-Christian tribes. Section 68 noted that "a large majority of the inhabitants of Nueva Vizcaya are members of non-Christian tribes who have not progressed sufficiently in civilization to make it practicable to bring them under any form of municipal government". The commission estimated that the population of Nueva Vizcaya was comprised of 15,500 "Filipino Christians" and 60,000 "Igorots" (*Report of the*

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<sup>7</sup> Provincial governments in the northern Mindanao provinces of Surigao and Misamis were also denied any jurisdiction over "members or non-Christian tribes living therein" (Acts No. 127 and 128). For a discussion of local government in Hispanicized areas during the U.S. regime see Lynch 1992:Ch.11.

*Philippine Commission* 1901:271).<sup>8</sup> The commission-appointed provincial governor was authorized, subject to the approval of Secretary Worcester, "to appoint officers from among the members of said tribes, to fix their designations and badges of office, and to prescribe their powers and duties." In Section 69 the governor was authorized to dispossess and relocate non-Christian populations, subject to the approval of Secretary Worcester, whenever he deemed it "necessary in the interest of law and order". Failure to comply with the governor's directive made an errant native liable for a 60-day prison term. Section 70 made it the "constant aim" of the governor "to aid the people of the several non-Christian tribes of his province to acquire the knowledge and experience necessary for local popular government". Section 71 empowered the provincial board to determine whether "any settlement of non-Christians has advanced sufficiently" to be organized under the first sixty-seven provisions of the Act.<sup>9</sup>

Coincidentally, one week before the Nueva Vizcaya law was enacted, the Philippine Attorney-General Lebbeus R. Wilfley issued an opinion regarding land taxation in un-Hispanized areas. The attorney-general ruled that

"lands within the settlements of non-Christians are not subject to the land tax but those which are outside of these settlements and within the organized towns come under the provisions of Section 43[a] of the Municipal Code, and are therefore subject to the land tax" [dated March 31, 1902] (*Official Opinions of the Attorney-General* 1902:146).<sup>10</sup>

The tax exemption was less motivated by paternalistic considerations than a realistic assessment that most peoples who had lived outside or on the periphery of the Hispanic grasp were, almost by definition, reliant on subsistence economies, and possessed little, if any, money. Remarkably, however, in a subsequent opinion the exemption was also applied to people who would, by the same yardstick, be assumed to have money. Christians

<sup>8</sup> For an overview of policy recommendations by the governor of the province see Jenista (1987:28-31). The most important was to keep the Ifugao in contact with Americans by drafting the men into the Philippine military on a 6-month rotational basis. This recommendation bore fruit by 1903 when Ifugaos began entering the Philippine Constabulary and working among their people (Jenista (1987:42-7).

<sup>9</sup> Act No. 411 of May 28, 1902 extended the Nueva Vizcaya law to the upland province of Lepanto-Bontoc. Except for the "pueblo of Cervantes, the capital of the Province" however, every township / municipality was covered by Sections 68 to 71.

<sup>10</sup> See also Opinion dated July 24, 1902 (*Official Opinions of the Attorney-General* 1902:254).

who owned land within non-Christian settlements were likewise exempt from the payment of real estate taxes on land within ancestral domains.

The Attorney-General justified this on the false assumption that "it is probable that it was not contemplated (by the commission) that members of Christian tribes would hold land in the territories occupied by the non-Christian tribes" [Opinion dated February 7, 1903] (*Official Opinions of the Attorney-General* 1903:540). As a result, an incentive was provided for collaborating local elites to extend their claims and recognized land rights into ancestral domains.

Secretary Worcester often fretted in public that non-Christian peoples would be "taken advantage of by better educated outsiders if Philippine-wide law codes were put into force" on ancestral domains (Jenista 1987:129) yet he raised no public objections to the Christian tax exemption. (In addition, Worcester's personal collection at the University of Michigan provides no indication that he raised any private objections.)

### **Township Governments and Special Provinces**

The Nueva Vizcaya model for local governments provided Worcester with the means to secure his authoritarian grip over un-Hispanized populations outside of the Moro province. On May 28, 1902, it was extended to the Province of Lepanto-Bontoc, and soon after to the provinces of Paragua (Palawan), Abra, and Mindoro. Within three years, the Nueva Vizcaya model had also been extended over the provinces of Bataan, Zambales, Misamis (except for Muslim areas), Pangasinan, Ilocos Norte, Isabela, Tayabas, Antique, and Ilocos Sur (Act Nos. 410/Section 2; 411; 422/Section 18; 445; 500/Section 18; 546, 547, 548, 549, 550; 579; 753; 855; 1113; 1145; 1268; and 1306).

But Worcester did not wait for a provincial act to stake his claims. By March 1903 over 463 municipal-level non-Christian governments had been established throughout the colony. They were even located in provinces generally considered as having been thoroughly Hispanized, such as Cebu, Bulacan, Laguna, Pampanga, Tarlac, and Rizal. As of March 2, 1903, the provincial breakdown was: Abra - 40, Albay - 12, Ambos Camarines - 15, Antique - 10, Basilan - 2, Bataan - 21, Benguet - 17, Bulacan - 3, Cagayan - 37, Capiz - 7, Cebu - 1, Cotabato - 4, Davao - 5, Ilocos Norte - 17, Ilocos Sur - 43, Iloilo - 28, Isabela - 33, La Union - 18, Laguna - 1, Lepanto-Bontoc - 15, Mindoro - 6, Nueva Ecija - 46, Nueva Vizcaya - 10,

Pampanga - 3, Pangasinan - 8, Paragua - 4, Principi<sup>11</sup> - 4, Rizal - 4, Romblon - 8, Sorsogon - 3, Surigao - 13, Tarlac - 11, Zambales - 11, Zamboanga - 3.<sup>12</sup>

On September 14, 1905, Worcester's jurisdiction was further enhanced by two laws enacted by the commission. These laws established a colony-wide policy for provincial and municipal governments in non-Christian areas north of Muslim Mindanao (Act Nos. 1396 and 1397). The Special Provincial Government Act (SPGA) and the Township Government Act (TGA) had been drafted by Worcester (Worcester 1914:560). They repealed all previous legislation pertaining to local governments in non-Christian, non-Muslim areas. Along with the act providing for the organization and government of the Moro Province (Act No.787), these laws placed "under the very direct control of American officials" (Worcester 1914:441), at least twenty percent of the colony's population, and well over half of its natural resource base, including areas rich in minerals and forest products, i.e., all of Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago, the provinces of Palawan, Benguet, Ilocos Sur, Samar<sup>13</sup>, and the old provinces of Mindoro, Lepanto-Bontoc, and Nueva Vizcaya. Even portions of the regular province of La Union inhabited by non-Christians were placed under special U.S. control (Act No. 1403)<sup>14</sup>.

The public rationale for these "special" laws was that the wild nature of un-Hispanized peoples required special forms of governance. The SPGA and the TGA effectively empowered the Secretary of the Interior to appoint all local officials in the provinces and municipalities covered, and to give orders to provincial and municipal governments in special provinces and overrule their decisions "[w]henever in his opinion such a course [was] in the public interest". The power to "annul the action of any provincial board in organizing any settlement of non-Christians" was so broad that Worcester could wield it "even though such actions had previously been approved by him" (Act No. 1397/Section 66).<sup>15</sup> The SPGA authorized the commission to

<sup>11</sup> [Ed's note: the district of El Principe: presentday Aurora and Quezon provinces.]

<sup>12</sup> Letter and statement dated August 5, 1904, from Merton L. Miller, acting chief, Ethnological Survey, to Frank W. Carpenter, acting executive secretary, as amended by a cable dated September 3 from Governor Wright to the Bureau of Insular Affairs (Bureau of Insular Affairs 1900-1913:1066-45 and 46). The compilation was made pursuant to a request from the Bureau of Insular Affairs. The initial cable noted that in Benguet and Lepanto-Bontoc "all towns are rancherias".

<sup>13</sup> Act No. 1398 made the SPGA and TGA applicable to Samar.

<sup>14</sup> Act No. 1403 was repealed on May 15, 1907 by Act No.1646.

<sup>15</sup> For Worcester's account of local government in the special provinces, including Moro Province, see Worcester (1914:559-636).

appoint five provincial officials: Governor, Secretary, Treasurer, Supervisor, and Fiscal. Residence in the province was not required as a precondition to any appointment. The Provincial Governor was obliged to visit every township and settlement in the province at least once every month, and to make an annual report for the Governor-General every July. The Governor, the Treasurer, and the Supervisor constituted the Provincial Board which was empowered to enact provincial ordinances and make decisions regarding public works. In 1913 Worcester admitted that "The powers conferred upon officers of the so-called special government provinces... are necessarily arbitrary and therefore liable to abuse" (*Annual Report... 1913:24*).

When a Provincial Board decided that "the inhabitants of any township or settlement have advanced sufficiently in civilization and material prosperity to make such a course possible", it was authorized, subject to prior approval by the Secretary of the Interior, to remove existing tax exemptions. Non-Christian tribes, however, were not automatically exempted from all taxes. Section 19 of the SPGA provided for a unique tax reminiscent of impositions made on subjugated populations during the Spanish regime. It authorized an annual tax of two pesos on all males over eighteen but under sixty years of age. Anyone who became delinquent in the payment of the tax was obliged to "work for ten days on the roads, trails, or public works in the province under the direction of the provincial supervisor, either performing such work in person or providing a substitute to perform it". Subsection (c) empowered the Provincial Board, if the Secretary of the Interior approved, to exempt people who "have not advanced sufficiently in civilization to make the collection of this tax practicable". Worcester's criterion was "never to impose taxes on a wild man until he can be made to realize that direct good to him will result from their collection" (Worcester 1914:561-2).

Worcester referred to the imposition as the "most important tax in the special government provinces". He claimed that the colonial regime "paid for all labour on the first trails constructed and it was only when the people themselves learned to comprehend the usefulness to them of the improved means of communication that I made them public improvement tax applicable to them" (Worcester 1914:562). Worcester even claimed that "[i]n the course of a year the people of each of the non-Christian tribes do many things for us simply because we want them to" (1914:566).

Despite Worcester's self-serving pronouncements however, complaints about forced labor were widespread in Ifugao and Bontoc, and presumably wherever else the practice existed. In Ifugao, there was "clearly more active evasion of this measure than any others imposed" by Worcester's white subordinates. Nevertheless, by 1908 over twenty thousand Ifugao men were

paying their tax by way of manual labor, mostly as trail builders. Scores however fulfilled their obligations by serving as *cargadores*, or porters, when Worcester would make his annual visits laden down "by gifts, cameras, and even a phonograph with which he recorded Ifugao dance rhythms" (Jenista 1987:137, 145).

The TGA echoed the earlier lay organizing municipal level governments in Nueva Vizcaya. It authorized every male over the age of 17 to vote for his respective township president and vice-president, as well as his barrio councilor, provided that he had lived in the community where he wanted to vote for at least six months prior to the election. Eligible voters could also be disqualified for being delinquent in the payment of taxes, or for giving aid and comfort "in any manner whatsoever... to any person or organization in the Philippine Islands in opposition to or in arms against the authority or sovereignty of the United States" (Act No. 1397/Section 8).

The electoral disqualification criteria were seldom invoked. Most townships were governed pursuant to Section 61, which authorized provincial governors, subject to the approval of Secretary Worcester, to appoint township officers in areas where non-Christian inhabitants had "not progressed sufficiently in civilization to make it practicable to bring them under any form of municipal government". Section 62 was more ominous and seemed to be inspired by the Spanish policy of *reduccion*, i.e., resettling the natives near the village center. Subject to Worcester's approval, it authorized the provincial governor, whenever it was

"deemed necessary in the interest of law and order, to direct members of such tribes to take up their habitation on sites on unoccupied public lands to be selected by him and approved by the provincial board. Members of such tribes who refuse to comply with such direction shall upon conviction be imprisoned for a period not exceeding sixty days." (Act No. 1397/Section 62).

Barrows registered objections to the power when it first appeared in the Nueva Vizcaya model of 1902. Soon after, he was excoriated by Worcester who insisted that there would be no reversion to a policy of *reduccion*. In Worcester's own words, the intent was to "provide means for dealing with headhunters or other vicious natives living scattered about in such a way as to make it practically impossible to reach them in case they misbehave.... there was never any thought of compelling mountaineers to reside in the lowlands" (Jenista 1987:31-2). Unfortunately, this provision was invoked by the provincial governor in Mindoro in 1919 to do precisely what Barrows

feared and the action was upheld by the Philippine Supreme Court (*Rubi vs. Provincial Board of Mindoro* 1919:660).

Neither the SPGA nor the TGA made any provision for providing the process, let along the compensation, to peoples unwillingly removed from their ancestral domains. In addition, no un-Hispanicized group was ever certified as having advanced sufficiently in civilization (although isolated communities may have been). The criteria for such a determination were purely subjective, and had it been made, Worcester's political control over the areas covered would have been put at risk.

The only possible avenue of redress was through a "popular representative". The position, however, may have been designed to provide Worcester with an independent channel by which he could monitor and accumulate documentation for future use against his official subordinates.<sup>16</sup> The office of popular representative had originally been created only for Abra and Ilocos Sur. It was subsequently extended to all townships and settlements organized under the TGA. It authorized local presidents to elect the representative by majority vote at their first provincial meeting each year. The representative's duty was explicit:

If the residents of the townships and settlements of the province shall at any time feel themselves to be seriously aggrieved and shall be unable to obtain relief from the provincial governor, it shall be the duty of the popular representative, either in person or by written communication, to lay their case directly before the Secretary of the Interior.

Colonial officials were enjoined to transmit promptly any communication from the representative and to facilitate any journey he might make to Manila on official business. Except in cases of treason, felony or breach of the peace, the representative was "privileged from arrest at any time when arrest will interfere with discharging the duties of his office." He was also immune from all liability for any statements made in his official capacity (Act No. 1397/Section 65[c], see also Acts No. 546 and 1306)<sup>17</sup>.

Section 7 of the Organic Act ensured that even after the Philippine Assembly was established in 1907, Worcester could retain his powers over

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<sup>16</sup> Worcester had a penchant for accumulating evidence which he could subsequently use against other government officials when it suited his purposes.

<sup>17</sup> On March 31, 1908, the commission made provincial officials in the special provinces concurrent justices of the peace with power to try violations of township ordinances (Act No. 1816/Section 22).

the Special Provinces and Township Governments. Technically, these powers were shared with other commission members, but, in matters pertaining to non-Christian tribes, Worcester enjoyed an almost free rein. Upon his recommendation, the commission would extend laws enacted by the Philippine Legislature to "that part of the Philippine Islands inhabited by Moros or other non-Christian tribes."<sup>18</sup>

### **The Moro Province: U.S. Army Enclave**

Secretary Worcester would have liked to possess legal jurisdiction over all un-Hispanized peoples, including Muslims. Apparently, he first envisioned the BNCT as his primary control mechanism. The small staff and early demise of the bureau, however, made it necessary to devise an alternative strategy. This became even more pressing once it became evident that the battle for military control over most of Mindanao and Sulu was going to be protracted. The realization prompted the commission to enact a different scheme for organizing local governments in areas inhabited by Islamicized peoples. The resistance of the Moros to the colonial reimposition, however, was fierce and implementation was delayed. While testifying before Congress on behalf of the pending Organic Act, Taft described the commission's dilemma by way of an oxymoron.

We have not organized the Moro provinces... because they do not desire popular government. They are in a tribal state, exactly as the North American Indians were, under datos and sultans, and they have no other conception of a government than that controlled by their chieftains [Testimony dated February 21, 1902] (*Committee Reports, Hearings and Acts of Congress Corresponding Thereto ...* 1903:19).

Although the U.S. Indian analogy had initially been applied to all the Philippine peoples, later usage tended to limit the term to Islamicized groups. This tendency was reinforced by U.S. military campaigns waged against the Muslims (see e.g. Gowing 1983:21-41, Miller 1982:196-218). On October 30, 1899, Mindanao, the Sulu Archipelago, and Paragua (Palawan) were placed under a newly created Military District of Mindanao and Jolo, which was redesignated on October 1, 1902 as the Department of Mindanao (Gowing 1983:40-41). The area covered was divided into two subdistricts. The first and much smaller one encompassed most of the migrant Christian

<sup>18</sup> For a listing of laws extended during Worcester's official tenure see Acts No. 1965, 1966, 2007, 2014, 2062, 2177, 2181, 2190, 2269, 2276, 2399, 2402, 2403.



population along the northern coast of Mindanao; it was headquartered at Cagayan de Oro until May 15, 1901, when the area was separated from the military district and the civilian provinces of Misamis and Surigao were established (Acts No. 127 and 128).<sup>19</sup> At that time, Zamboanga, the headquarters of the other subdistrict, became the *de facto* regional capital.

Initially, relations in the department between Moros and U.S. soldiers were friendly. No formal agreements were signed with local leaders except for the Sultan of Sulu—U.S. Brigadier General John C. Bates entered into a formal written agreement with the Sultan of Sulu on August 20, 1899, whereby the sultan agreed to “sovereignty of the United States over the whole archipelago of Jolo” in return for, among other things, monthly salaries payable to the Sultan and other important Tausug leaders. (The agreement was never ratified by the U.S. Senate; instead it was unilaterally abrogated by President Theodore Roosevelt on March 2, 1904 [Gowing 1983:31-7, 117-22], Forbes 1928:472-4).

Nevertheless, U.S. military officials “promised that due consideration would be given to Moro laws and customs” (Gowing 1983:37). By the spring of 1900, the military situation had begun to stabilize in the northern two-thirds of the colony and an increasing number of soldiers were being assigned in Moroland. Fighting soon broke out and the Americans learned firsthand about Moro courage and prowess.<sup>20</sup> They also reached the conclusion that Muslim Mindanao could not be governed in the same way as areas inhabited by Hispanicized Filipinos or the other so-called non-Christian tribes.

After extensive consultations between U.S. civilian and military officials in the colony, the Moro Province was established by the commission on June 15, 1903, and existed concurrently with the military’s department (Act No. 787, see also Act No. 1283). Like the Special Provinces, the Moro Province was placed under the direct supervision of the Civil Governor, who was authorized, subject to the Commission’s consent, to appoint a Governor, Attorney, Secretary, Treasurer, Superintendent of Schools, and an Engineer. From 1903 until its reorganization in 1913, three U.S. Army major generals served as governor: Leonard Wood, Tasker H. Bliss and John J. Pershing.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>19</sup>On June 23, 1902, however, the northern portion of Paragua was likewise separated from the military district as was the remainder of the island the following May (Act Nos. 422 and 747). The island was renamed as Palawan on June 28, 1905, by Act No. 1363.

<sup>20</sup>For insights into U.S. attitudes towards the Moros see Gowing 1983:44-7.

<sup>21</sup>For an historical overview of their tenure in office see Gowing 1983:107-255.

The Commission divided the province into five districts, each of which had its own capital. The districts and their capitals were Sulu, Jolo; Cotabato, Cotabato; Davao, Davao; Lanao, Iligan; and Zamboanga, Zamboanga. Within the districts, the council provided for the creation of municipalities or tribal wards. Municipalities were established, largely along the lines provided for in the Municipal Code, in areas of high population density which also had a large number of "civilized" residents, i.e., Christian Filipinos, Americans, Chinese, and other foreigners. Everyone else lived in tribal wards, a phrase which presumably was inspired by Chief Justice Marshall's famous language in *Cherokee Nation vs. Georgia*. Tribal wards were "delimited in such a way that each ward, as far as practicable, would comprise a single ethnic group or homogenous division thereof" (Gowing 1983:113-4)<sup>22</sup>. As such, the policy applied to "the various Moro ethnic groups labeled 'non-Christian tribes' and not to the individual Maguindanaon, Maranao or Taosug." This, in turn, contributed "to the growth of Moro cultural sub-nationalism" (Mastura 1984:73).

In a distinct variation from its other schemes for local government, the commission created a six-person Legislative Council which was made up of all the appointed provincial officials except for the Engineer. The council was empowered to raise revenues by way of taxation, establish schools and municipal governments, provide for public works, create tribal courts, and codify and invoke customary laws. General Wood characterized the first council as being made up of "average" material (Gowing 1983:112).

Unlike anywhere else in the colony, U.S. officials assumed that the indigenous populations within the Moro Province possessed a sufficient body of customary laws for resolving conflicts and otherwise preserving peace and order. Hence, the commission authorized the Legislative Council to

"enact laws which shall collect and codify the customary laws of the Moros as they now obtain and are enforced in the various parts of the Moro Province among the Moros, modifying such laws as the legislative council think best and amending them as they may be inconsistent with the [Organic Act], and to provide for the printing of such codification when completed in English, Arabic, or the local dialect as may be deemed wise" (Act No. 787/Section 13[jj]).<sup>23</sup>

<sup>22</sup> See Gowing 1983:116 for a diagram of local governments in Moro Province.

<sup>23</sup> The provision continued:

"The Moro customary laws thus amended and codified shall apply in all civil and criminal actions arising between Moros. In all civil and

Although no one on the council possessed any anthropological training, considerable efforts were spent during its inaugural year gathering information on local custom laws. The council was unimpressed with its collection. General Wood concluded that "the Moros and other savage peoples have no laws—simply a few customs, which are nowhere general, varying from one valley to the next, from one island to another." He added that "nothing has been found worthy of codification" (quoted in Gowing 1983:129). Wood recommended that the council immediately adopt the same system of laws being enforced elsewhere in the colony. This would, among other things, have authorized the government to ignore customary laws which pertained to land rights and inheritance.

On October 6, 1905, the Legislative Council adopted Wood's recommendations. Instead of any official reliance on indigenous legal systems, Tribal Ward Courts were established. The ward courts were equivalent in stature to the Justice of the Peace Courts created in Hispanized provinces. Except for cases involving allegations of first degree murder, they possessed jurisdiction over all criminal and civil actions in which only indigenes were involved. They could impose sentences of up to twenty years' imprisonment. With few exceptions, the courts were also bound by the same procedural and substantive laws and rules as their northern counterparts. In the words of a district of Sulu governor,

None of the justices or auxiliary justices were lawyers or knew anything about the law.... The law establishing these courts specified that the justice need not follow technicalities of law and that if they were convinced that the accused was guilty they could convict him and render judgment. Records of evidence were not required to be kept. This meant that district officials could accuse a Moro in the field or anywhere and immediately sit as a court and render judgment without much formality (Paul D. Rodgers, as quoted in Gowing 1983:131).

These remarks reflect serious constitutional shortcomings concerning potential deprivations of liberty and property before the accused is accorded due process of law. They highlight the regime's inclination to dilute the constitutional guarantees in the Organic Act. Indeed, the only recourse available to someone convicted in a Ward Court was to appeal to the

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criminal actions arising between members of the same non-Christian tribe other than Moros, unless otherwise provided by the council, the customary laws of such non-Christian tribe, if consistent with the Act of Congress above-mentioned and if defined and well-understood, shall govern the decision of the cause arising".

governor of Moro Province who had the power to pardon and modify or reverse any sentence. It is doubtful, however, that an aggrieved non-Christian would have had much, if any, access to a powerful U.S. Army general intent on subduing recalcitrant natives.

Despite these fundamental shortcomings, considerable success was apparently achieved in establishing local governments among the Moros. But the cost was high. The Americans persisted in attempts to divest the sultans and datus of their traditional prerogatives and many bloody battles broke out, particularly during the tenure of General Wood (Gowing 1983:148-66). Throughout General Pershing's term of office (1909-1913), the Moro Province was, with notable exceptions<sup>24</sup>, generally peaceful and prosperous. On December 15, 1913, therefore, control over the Moro Province passed into civilian hands and the following year it was reorganized as the Department of Mindanao and Sulu (Act No. 2408).

### **Worcester: The White Apo**

Secretary Worcester coveted the U.S. Army enclave in the southern third of the colony. He wanted to possess the same powers in Islamized areas that he exercised in other non-Christian territories. When he realized that this would not be possible, Worcester waged a vigorous campaign to at least expand his turf by establishing a special province in north-central Mindanao. His efforts were crowned with success in August 1907 when the commission split the Bukidnon plateau off from the regular province of Misamis and incorporated it into the Special Province of Agusan in Act No. 1683 (see the *Report of the Philippine Commission* 1908:12-4). The Bukidnon plateau which was well-suited for cattle raising and the mineral-rich Cordillera mountain range of northern Luzon proved to be Worcester's favorite upland locales.

Even before his legal authority over the Special Provinces was secured, Worcester began exploring his northern realm. Worcester's interest in Benguet was first piqued in 1892 by a forestry official he met in Mindoro. The forester claimed that Benguet was "a region of pines and oaks blessed with a perpetually temperate climate" (Worcester 1914:66). Worcester began to assemble information on the province in 1899 while he served on the Schurman Commission. His first trip to Benguet was made less than two

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<sup>24</sup> One of the most infamous battles ever fought between Moros and U.S. Army troops occurred during five days in mid-June 1913. Referred to as the Battle of Bud Bagsak, it is uncertain how many Moros were killed because news of the fighting was strictly censored by the Army, but the estimated range was between three hundred and several thousand men and women (Gowing 1983:240-1).

months after his return to the colony on June 3, 1900, as a member of the Taft Commission (Sullivan 1986:290-5). Besides the attractive climate, Worcester's interest in the province was piqued by "mineral deposits of great wealth". He returned many times throughout his official tenure and always stopped off in Baguio, which under his supervision became the prosperous summer capital of the colony.<sup>25</sup>

Initially, these exploratory journeys, hard and sometimes dangerous, were made on foot, with Worcester and his companions visiting small villages and sleeping in native homes. The trips became annual events after 1905 when the SPGA obliged Worcester "to visit and inspect" each Special Province (Act No. 1396/Section 29). Worcester commented, tongue-in-cheek, that the provision was the handiwork of some of his "Filipino friends" who "not moved solely by anxiety for the public good, favored and secured a legislative enactment which made it [his] duty to visit and inspect" what he referred to as "five so-called 'Special Government Provinces'". He claimed he would always feel indebted to them for the opportunity to become intimately acquainted with some of the most interesting peoples of the Philippines" (Worcester 1914:89).<sup>26</sup>

Although he did not strictly comply, the inspections enabled Worcester to escape the hostile atmosphere in Manila for two to four months each year. The long absences often subjected him to adverse criticisms, but Worcester seemed largely indifferent. In his words, "I thoroughly enjoy" these inspection trips "and have devoted to them every moment which could be spared from other duties" (*Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1913*:25). However, despite his many trips, Worcester never managed to make an inspection of Mindoro or "so much as set foot in the wild man's territory in Negros or Panay." A "reasonably thorough inspection of Mountain Province and western Nueva Vizcaya, meanwhile, involved a 500- to 700-mile horseback ride and took at least six weeks.

Worcester's subordinates were apparently expected to prepare elaborate welcome parties when the interior secretary traveled (Sullivan 1986:322-2).

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<sup>25</sup> Worcester was "the key instrument in advocating Baguio's genesis" (Reed 1976); Sullivan wrote that "it is clear the [Worcester] conceived Benguet as an ideal American 'heartland' in the Philippines, a secure base in the event of a lowland rebellion" (1986:297). He added that this "is one aspect of Worcester's enthusiasm for Benguet which scholars have overlooked".

<sup>26</sup> For an account by Worcester of his early official northern forays see Worcester 1914:534-56.

President Wilson's Philippine emissary, Henry J. Ford, reported back in 1913 on "allegations of maladministration in the Special Government Provinces related to commercial activity by officials, and the coercion of tribal people in order to ensure that Worcester's annual progress through the territory was indeed triumphant" ('Supplementary report on the situation in the Philippines' by Ford, cited in Sullivan 1986:7-8).

Large congregations, which in the Mountain Province sometimes numbered as many as 10,000 people, would greet Worcester on his forays into the special provinces.<sup>27</sup> Great feasts were often held, and Worcester would decide administrative matters, arbitrate disputes and otherwise preside over the crowd's activities (Hutterer 1978:137; see also Worcester 1914:564-7; Fry 1983:1-4, 22-4, 35; Jenista 1987:97-101). Worcester constantly exhorted the people and his subordinates to improve the local transportation and communication systems. By 1906 his efforts paid off and he could travel in relative comfort on horseback throughout much of the Cordillera. This life as a "'white Apo' in the back country of the Philippines liberated him from the constraints of political and bureaucratic society" (Stanley 1984:140).

Worcester's first visit to Bukidnon was in 1907. He had received reports of landgrabbing by lowland migrants even before he arrived (Edgerton 1984). The visit enabled him to investigate conditions "on the ground" and accomplish three things: he installed his official subordinates (Worcester 1914:610)<sup>28</sup>, confirmed the reports of abuses being inflicted by lowlanders, and, most importantly, Worcester grasped the enormous economic potential of the plateau and began designing money-making schemes. Those eventually implemented included cattle ranches and coconut plantations (Sullivan 1986:314).<sup>29</sup>

<sup>27</sup> The Mountain Province was created by the commission, pursuant to a motion by Worcester, on August 21, 1908. For the committee report which recommended the change, see Report of the Philippine Commission 1908:221-7. For the commission's deliberations on the motion, see pp. 227, 235-8, and 241-4.

<sup>28</sup> For a discussion of the background and activities of Worcester and his subordinates in the sub-province, see Worcester 1914:609-31; Edgerton 1984:178-86; Edgerton 1981:369-70; Sullivan 1986:349-52.

<sup>29</sup> Sullivan was citing diaries kept by Worcester during his "Northern Trip, May 22 to June 22, 1907," and his "Southern Trip, September 16 to October 17, 1910." See also the *Ninth Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1910*:16. Citing Worcester's "Notes on a Trip to Mindoro and Bukidnon, January-February 1910" Sullivan concluded that Worcester only recognized the cattle-raising potential of Bukidnon during 1910 (1986:350-1). By

Worcester's wide range of responsibilities, which included "most of the really creative programs of the early American period" (Stanley 1984:139), often kept him in Manila. This obliged him to rely on a host of subordinates who worked in the field. The most important were the governors of the Special Provinces who were appointed by the governor-general upon Worcester's recommendation. Most notable in this regard were the tenures of Jefferson D. Gallman in Ifugao, Walter F. Hale in Kalinga, William Pack of Bontoc, and Frederick Lewis in Bukidnon.<sup>30</sup>

Developments in Ifugao were extensively chronicled by Frank L. Jenista in his book *The White Apos: American Governors of the Cordillera Central*. According to Jenista, Governor Gallman, under the guidance of Secretary Worcester, was able to garner respect as the supreme leader and decision-maker in the province by developing a "highly personalized, loosely structured, two-track legal system which utilized varying degrees of Ifugao and American law" (1987:109). On more local levels, many of the traditional Ifugao dispute-mediators, or *munalon*, were appointed as *cabecillas*, an office institutionally akin to the *cabezas de barrio* in the Hispanicized communities. The lines between the two systems became blurred as the *cabecillas*, with the support of local officials, "came to have a de facto role as local judges" (Jenista 1987:109).

Disputes which could not be resolved on the local level could be passed on to local Justices of the Peace or the Court of First Instance. Governor Gallman and his successors, however, were usually called to mediate (Jenista 1987:110, 119). The most common cases involved disputes between Ifugaos over land rights (Jenista 1987:119-121). The many requests for the provincial governor to intervene in the conflict were due in large measure to the fact that

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1913 however, Worcester also believed that "rice can be grown in Bukidnon as what is grown in the United States, and the company which goes into this business on a large scale should make money" (Worcester 1914: 891). See Lynch 1992:Ch.16 for an analysis of the impact of this, and other business pursuits on Worcester's official performance.

<sup>30</sup> During an inspection trip through Mountain Province with Governor-General Forbes in June 1913, Worcester separated Governor William A. Miller "from the service" for "torture". Apparently in order to punish the perpetrator of some unknown act, Miller had the culprit handcuffed to a beam for several hours with his hands above his head [Letter from Forbes to Lindley M. Garrison, Secretary of War, dated June 21, 1913] (Bureau of Insular Affairs 9892-211). Forbes expressed astonishment in his letter at not "receiving a single complaint from the people". He added that "When I reach a town under Filipino administration, I am likely to be flooded with complaints".

"Ifugao law was used almost exclusively, even when it conflicted with the provisions of the official law codes. In effect, the apos set themselves up (with Worcester's concurrence) as buffers between the Ifugaos and outsiders, whether American or Filipino" (Jenista 1987:134-5).

The concept of a buffer was dear to Worcester. It provided the primary public rationale for the distinct system of laws and local governments which were established, at his urging, in un-Hispanicized areas. Limiting prohibitions on usurious interest rates, slavery and the sale of human beings, and alcohol to selected un-Hispanicized provinces implied, however, among other things, that it was all right to engage in such conduct elsewhere. This may not have been what Worcester intended, but it does highlight his myopic focus on problems concerning non-Christian peoples. During the waning years of Worcester's official tenure, he repeatedly attempted to bolster the SPGA and TGA buffers. Act No. 1639 of May 1, 1907 made it a criminal offense for any Christian to sell or otherwise provide non-Christians with "ardent spirits, ale, beer, wine, or intoxicating liquors of any kind, other than the so-called native wines and liquors". It was likewise made illegal for non-Christians "to buy, receive, have in his possession, or drink" any non-native alcoholic beverages<sup>31</sup>.

Shortly before leaving office in 1913, Worcester alleged in a public report published by the regime that slavery and peonage were commonplace throughout the colony, and that the Philippine Assembly had taken no action to prevent it (Worcester 1913, see also Sullivan 1986:352-62). Worcester conveniently overlooked his own failure to respond to the alleged problem in Hispanicized regions. His remarks were generally understood to be an effort to prolong the American presence in the colony by discrediting Philippine political elites.

Ostensibly, Worcester wanted to provide un-Hispanicized peoples with enough distance from their Christian counterparts "until gradual familiarization with the [colonial] legal system prevented unfair advantage" (Jenista 1987:129). This type of reasoning presumably provided the official public rationale for exempting un-Hispanicized areas from coverage under

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<sup>31</sup> See also Acts No. 2071 of August 7, 1911, prohibiting "slavery, involuntary servitude, peonage, and the sale and purchase of human beings" in Nueva Vizcaya, Agusan and Mountain Provinces; and 2193 of October 24, 1912, prohibiting employers in non-Christian areas from compelling their employees to purchase any merchandise, commodities, or personal property. See also Acts No. 1426, 1817, 1876, 2061, 2067, 2268, 2287, and 2301.



the Land Registration and Public Land Acts (Act No. 926/Section 78/1224)<sup>32</sup>. Familiarization was to take place by means of formal education, but few resources were invested. In Mountain Province, for example, there were only 3,205 students in public schools by February 1914, although the total population of the area was estimated at a quarter million. In Harrison's words, "A tendency had appeared to maintain the mountain tribes like ethnological specimens in a vast reserve" (Harrison 1922:125). Jenista, nevertheless, insisted "Worcester recognized that over time the highlanders could not be left as they were but had to be prepared for participation in Philippine political life (1987:189).

Rather than creating a viable buffer, Worcester's obsessive focus on the so-called non-Christian tribes exacerbated the ethnocentrism and prejudice which permeated the colonial regime. It also exacerbated the many problems confronting un-Hispanicized peoples, and served to strengthen and entrench the prejudice of lowland elites towards them. One year after Worcester resigned from his official positions, Act No. 2406 was passed by the Philippine Legislature. It authorized a 35,000-peso appropriation to promote the union of Christians and non-Christians. Although not specified in the act, the union was clearly meant to take place on terms established by Christian elites. From then on, the Philippine state consistently promoted westernized, integrationist policies<sup>33</sup>.

More importantly, Worcester's obsession reified the legal disenfranchisement of his self-appointed constituents and prompted policy-makers to overlook similar problems among the Hispanicized masses. This was particularly true of undocumented ancestral-domain rights.

Worcester, of course, would have disagreed with any such assessment, especially insofar as non-Christians were concerned. Among his many traits, Worcester was a stubborn and sometimes skillful propagandist who often appeared to believe his own public rhetoric, even when it was riddled with falsehoods. In 1910, barely one year after the U.S. Supreme Court's landmark decision on Philippine ancestral land rights, *Cariño vs. Insular Government*, Worcester boasted,

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<sup>32</sup> See Lynch 1992:Ch.16 for discussion of other rationales.

<sup>33</sup> The first significant policy change came in Section 10, Article XV of the 1973 Constitution, but its actual impact was minimal. See also various provisions in the 1987 Constitution, i.e. 2:22, 10:15-21, 12:5, 13:6, 14:14 and 17.

"Before we came here they [the non-Christian tribes] had no rights which anyone was bound to respect. Now they have learned that all men stand equal before our law"<sup>34</sup>.

In his annual report (*Ninth Annual...*) prepared the same year, Worcester added: "The wild man has now learned that he has rights which are entitled to respect... He has found justice in the courts. His property and his life have now been made safe" (1910:76).

#### APPENDIX— Classification of non-Christian Tribes (1903)

Source: *Census of the Philippine Islands taken under the direction of the Philippine Commission in the Year 1903* (1905:468-477)

##### *Classification of non-Christian tribes.*

LOCAL NAME OF TRIBE USED BY ENUMERATORS AND OTHERS.	Proper tribal name.	Explanatory notes.
Aburlin (Tarlac) - - - - -	Negrito - -	These Aburlin enumerated in the town of Moriones are Negritos. The name is purely local, and I have never encountered it before. It may be allied in derivation to the name "Abunlon" for the mixed Negrito-Malayan of Zambales
Aetas (Isabela, Pampanga, Tayabas, Bataán, Bulacán, Antique).	- - do - -	Aeta is the oldest known name for Negrito. It was in use long before the Spanish conquest and appears in Chinese writings of the thirteenth century as "Haitan". Various derivations have been proposed for it, but it probably is derived from the Tagalog "itim," black (Malay, "hitam"). The word Aeta has many modified forms, such as Ita, Eta, Aita, Agtas, etc.
Aeta Aburlin (Zambales) -	Negrito - -	Usually "Abunlon," a name locally applied to the mixed Negrito-Malayan savages of Zambales

<sup>34</sup> Remarks made while introducing Secretary of War Dickinson to the Members of the Mountain Club of Bontoc, August 3, 1910 (Bureau of Insular Affairs 3833-26). See Lynch 1992 (Chapters 15 and 16) for discussion and analysis of the Cariño decision and the regime's (non)response to it.

LOCAL NAME OF TRIBE USED BY ENUMERATORS AND OTHERS.	Proper tribal name.	Explanatory notes.
Aeta Buquit (Tárlac) - - - -	Negrito -	"Aeta Buquit" means simply "Forest Aeta."
Aeta Mitas (Antique) - - -	-- do --	Misspelling for "Aeta Mixtas," meaning "mixed Aeta."
Agtá (Ambos Camarines)	-- do --	Variation of Aeta.
Agtas (Isabela) - - - - - - -	-- do --	Do
Aitas (Negros Oriental) - -	-- do --	Do
Alamit (Nueva Vizcaya) -	-- do --	Igorot population living along the Alamit river in Quiañgán district. They belong to the dialect group "Silipan."
Apayaos - - - - - - - - - -	-- do --	The people living in the district of Ayan-gan, in the commandancia of Quiañgán.
Ata and Ata Ang (Dávao)	Ata.	
Atid (Ambos Camarines) -	Negrito - -	The word is either another local variation of Aeta, or comes from "Ati," which is explained in Noceda's and Sanlucar's <i>Vocabulario de la lengua Tagala</i> as a hail used by the Aetas when calling one another.
Ayangan (Nueva Vizcaya)	Igorot - - -	They belong to the dialect group Bunna-yan.
Bagobos (Dávao, Cottabato; very few in latter region).	Bagobo - -	Primitive Malayan tribe, pagan, with some late Christian converts, living on the west coast of Davao and interior.
Balugas (Nueva Écija, Tayabas, Tárlac).	Negrito - -	"Baluga," in the Pampango language, means half-breed or mixed blood. It has quite a wide use to indicate Negrito-Malayan roving savages.
Banao - - - - - - - - - -	Igorot	
Bañgon (Mindoro) - - - - -	Mangyan.	This name has been recorded in a slightly different form, Bangat, for the Mangyan about Bulalácao and Pinamalayan. It is mentioned by Blumentritt. I can not discover its derivation. Bañgon in Tagalog means "to rise up."
Banuaon (Surigao) - - - - -	Manobo -	This word is locally used for Manobo both in Surigao and Butúan. It is derived from " <i>banua</i> ," meaning land, country, and the Visayan suffix <i>non</i> , meaning "a native of", "inhabitant of." The word may be translated, "people of the country, aborigines."

LOCAL NAME OF TRIBE USED BY ENUMERATORS AND OTHERS.	Proper tribal name.	Explanatory notes.
Batac -----	Batak ---	A Malayan race in northern Paragua with considerable Negrito blood, but probably with Malayan element predominant.
Batañganes (Mindoro) --- Bilanes (Dávao) -----	Mangyan. Bilan ---	Generally accepted name. Blumentritt suggests their name is derived from Bulúan, the name of the marshy lake on the boundaries of their habitat. "They must then at first have been called Tagabuluan" (compare Taga-belias).
Bilans (Cottabato) ----- Bunnayan (Nueva Vizcaya)	-- do -- Igorot ---	(See above.) Bunnayan is the name of the dialect spoke by the powerful towns in the center of the commandancia of Quiañgan.
Buquidnones (Negros Oriental).	Bukidnon	People of the "Buquid" or mountain forests. Compare with the Tagalog "Tagabuquit" and the Bornean "Orang Buquit." These peoples are the primitive Visayan who escaped conversion when the islands were Christianized. They are known under a variety of names, "Remontados," or people who have taken to the mountains, "Monteses" mountain folk, "Babylanes" on Panay, "Pulijanes" in Negros, etc.
Buquit (Mindoro) -----	Mangyan	Abbreviated from Tagabuquit or Buquidnon. In Tagalog, "Buquit" means the rice fields adjoining towns.
Calaganes (Dávao) ----- Calingas (Isabela) -----	Bagobo. Igorot. --	Spelled also <i>Kalinga</i> . The word in Ibanag and several northern dialects means "enemy," and has been applied by the Christianized population of the Cagayán river to several groups of head-hunting Igorot. Its use as a dialect name should be confined to the Igorot in the vicinity of Ilagan and perhaps also to those of the comandancia of Apayaos, province of Cagayán.
Catalañges (Isabela) -----	-- do --	This word is not used in the census enumeration of Isabela; the term has wide currency and appears on Spanish maps and in various writings to designate the

LOCAL NAME OF TRIBE USED BY ENUMERATORS AND OTHERS.	Proper tribal name.	Explanatory notes.
Catalañges -Continued.	Igorot -- Cont'd.	Igorot people living in the mountains east of Ilagan. There is, however, no such tribal name. The word is not current as the name of a people nor understood in Isabela province. Catalañgan is the name of the river flowing into the Cagayán, along which many of these people dwell. They speak the same dialect as the Igorot known as "Kalinga."
Catbaganes (Tayabas) - - -	Bukidnon	This name is generally used in Tayabas to designate the pagan-Malayan population in the mountains of that province. They are primitive, unconverted Tagalog or Bicol, and are the same wild element known in Ambos Camarines as the "Igorrotes" or "Cimarrones," of Mt. Isarog. I can not discover the derivation of the word "Catabagan." It is also spelled "Catabangan."
Cristiana Negrita (Sorsogón).	Negrito - -	These Negritos, according to letters received by this bureau from Gov. J. T. Livingston, are domestics (actually slaves) in the houses of the Bicol inhabitants. They may be remnants of aboriginal population which occupied this region previous to the arrival of the Malayan tribes, or they may have passed into Sorsogón by purchase or otherwise from Albay, where they are much more numerous and still maintain separate communities
Dadayag - - - - -	Igorot.	Ennig is a variation of Itneg, the dialect spoken by the Tinguianes and by Igorot, of allied blood (northern Bontoc), in the Saltán valley.
Dumagat - - - - -	Negrito.	
Ennig (Lepanto-Bontoc) - -	Igorot.	Epocao is misspelling of Ipokao, a word in nearly all Igorot vocabularies meaning "people." It has many variants—"Ifugao," "Ipukao," etc.
Epocao, Ipucao (Lepanto-Bontoc)	-- do --	
Eta - - - - -	Negrito.	

LOCAL NAME OF TRIBE USED BY ENUMERATORS AND OTHERS.	Proper tribal name.	Explanatory notes.
Gaddanes, Gaddang (Isabela.)	Igorot - - -	A branch of the Igorot occupying western Isabela and speaking the dialect Gaddán. They are commonly known by this name. A branch of their tribe occupying Nueva Vizcaya was Christianized in the latter part of the eighteenth century and occupies the northern towns of the province.
Gibabaun (Dávao) - - - - -	Mandaya.	
Guanga (Dávao) - - - - -	Bagobo.	
Ibilao (Isabela, Nueva Écija).	Ilongot - -	Ibilao, or Ibilaw, is the name under which the Ilongot, peculiar head-hunting savages of the Caraballos Sur and mountains of Nueva Écija and Príncipe are designated by the Isanay municipalities of southern Nueva Vizcaya. The etymology of this word is unknown. The Ilongot have also been called Italones, meaning, in Gaddán language, "people of the mountains."
Ifugao (Isabela) - - - - -	Igorot - - -	(See comment on Epocao.)
Igorrotes (Ilocos Norte, Pangasinán, La Unión).	- - do - -	This word in Spanish form, "Igorrote," has had long and wide use. It is used in its original form, "Igolot," by Morga, 1609. It means in several Malayan languages "people of the mountains." Some writers have tried to restrict its use to the tribes of Benguet and the southern ramification of the Cordillera Central. Meyer and Schadenberg limit it to Benguet and Lepanto, but in point of fact its use in northern Luzón is much wider. It is a meritable designation in point of etymology, and is so well known, both scientifically and among Filipino peoples themselves, that I have adopted it as a general designation for the whole body of primitive Malayan tribes of northern Luzón who are of the same physical type, speak closely allied languages, and present the same grade of culture. I use it to include several subgroup names, such as Gaddang, Dadayag, Mayoyao, etc.,

LOCAL NAME OF TRIBE USED BY ENUMERATORS AND OTHERS.	Proper tribal name.	Explanatory notes.
Igorotes—Continued.	Igorot — Cont'd.	whose members are not separated by tribal organization, since such does not exist, but simply by slight differences of dialect. I prefer to use the word in its Filipino form, and as it is pronounced locally "Igorot;" same form for both singular and plural.
Illano (Zamboanga) - - - - -	Moro - - -	Variant, Illanum. The word means "people of the lake." It is used to designate a Mohammedanized or Moro tribe living on the south coast of Mindanao from Punta Flechas to Polloc. I have added to the various titles of the Mohammedanized tribes, the popular term "Moro."
Ilongotes (Isabela, Nueva Vizcaya, Tayabas, i.e. old Príncipe	Ilongot - -	(See note on Ibilao.) I prefer Ilongot, the Filipino pronunciation, both singular and plural, in place of the Spanish form "Ilongotes."
Infieles (Capiz) - - - - -	Bukidnon	Infieles of Panay are unconverted remnants of the original Visayan population.
Infieles (Ilocos Sur, Pangasinán).	Igorot. - -	The Spanish classified the inhabitants of the Philippines ecclesiastically, into <i>Cristianos</i> (Christians), <i>Infieles</i> (pagans), and <i>Moros</i> (Mohammedans). The word <i>Infieles</i> should be dropped.
Ipukao (Lepanto-Bontoc) -	Igorot.	Variant of Isinay.
Isanay (Nueva Vizcaya) - -	- - do - -	Do.
Isinac (Nueva Vizcaya) - -	- - do - -	Isinay is the language spoken by the Igorot of the hills in western Nueva Vizcaya, and by a part of the population of the towns of Aritao, Dúpax, and Bambang, who are of Igorot origin, but whose ancestors were converted in the latter half of the eighteenth century.
Ita - - - - -	Negrito - -	(See Aetas.)
Itneg - - - - -	Igorot - - -	(See Ecnig.)
Joloano (Zamboanga) - - - -	Moro - - -	Joló is a corruption of Sulu. I have preferred the correct form "Sulu" for the people, leaving Joló as the name solely of the island and town. The archipelago, however, is commonly and preferably

LOCAL NAME OF TRIBE USED BY ENUMERATORS AND OTHERS.	Proper tribal name.	Explanatory notes.
Joloano -Continued.	Moro - Cont'd.	called Sulu archipelago.
Kalibugan (Isabela) - - - - -	Igorot.	Kalibugan is the name locally applied to the Mohammedan proselytes from the pagan Subanon. In some cases they are mixing with Sámal Moros and Yakan Moros, but they are still predominantly Subanon in blood and language.
Kalibugan (Zamboanga) - -	Moro - - -	
Kalingas (Cagayán) - - - - -	Igorot - - -	In using this word to designate the Kalinga subgroup of the Igorot, I prefer to use the native form "Kalinga" for both singular and plural.
Mangian (Mindoro) - - - - -	Mangyan	Of the derivation of this word Dr. Pardo de Tavera says: "In Tagálog, Bicol, and Visaya, <i>manguian</i> signifies 'savage,' 'mountaineer,' 'pagan negroes.' It may be that the use of this word is applicable to a great number of Filipinos, but nevertheless it has been applied only to certain inhabitants of Mindoro. In primitive times, without doubt, this name was even then given to those of that island who to-day bear it, but its employment in three Filipino languages shows that the radical <i>ngian</i> had in all these languages a sense to-day forgotten. In Pampango this radical ending still exists and signifies 'ancient,' from which we can deduce that the name was applied to men considered to be the ancient inhabitants, and that these men were pushed back into the interior by the modern invaders in whose languages they are called the 'ancients.'" ( <i>Etimologia de los Nombres de Razas de Filipinas</i> , Manila, 1901.)
Manguanga (Dávao) - - - -	Mandaya.	Variant of Mangyan, the form I prefer, as it more exactly represents the local pronunciation.
Manguianes (Mindoro) - - -	Mangyan	
Maguindanao (Cottabato, Zamboanga, Dávao).	Moro - - -	The word means "people who come from the lake" (danao, lanao), and has long



LOCAL NAME OF TRIBE USED BY ENUMERATORS AND OTHERS.	Proper tribal name.	Explanatory notes.
Maguindanao -Continued.	Moro - Cont'd.	been used to designate the warlike Mohammedan tribes of the Rio Grande. These tribes were almost the first Moros with whom the Spaniards came in contact, and their name passed to the island itself. Those of Zamboanga (Sibuguey and Dumanquilas bays) and of Davao are emigrants from the Rio Grande.
Malanao (Laguna de Lanao)	-- do --	Derived from the very common prefix <i>ma</i> , meaning "people of," and <i>lanao</i> , "lake." This term has long been in use to distinguish the Moros living on the watershed of Lake Lanao.
Mamanuas (Surigao) - - - -	Negrito --	Mamana is derived from prefix <i>ma</i> and <i>manua</i> , a common variant of the word <i>banua</i> (Polynesian <i>fanua</i> ) meaning "land," "country." We may translate the word "aborigines."
Mandayas (Cottabato, Davao)	Mandaya -	Derivation not known.
Manidi (Ambos Camarines)	Negrito --	Derivation not known.
Manobos (Cottabato, Surigao, Davao).	Manobo -	This word in Bagobo dialect means "man" (Pardo de Tavera.)
Manovos (Surigao) - - - - -	-- do --	Misspelling of Manobo.
Mansaca (Davao) - - - - -	Mandaya.	
Mayoyao - - - - -	Igorot.	
Montaños (Iloilo) - - - - -	Bukidnon-	Spanish designation, meaning "mountain people." I prefer to drop it altogether and use the Filipino term, Bukidnon, meaning the same thing.
Montes (Misamis, Iloilo) -	Bukidnon	Spanish ("wild," or "mountain bred") variant of <i>Montaños</i> .
Montescos (Antique) - - - -	-- do --	Do.
Monteses Negros (Negros Occidental).	Negrito --	Variant of the old designation, "Negrito del monte."
Moro Filipinos (Iligan) - - -	-- do --	(See Malanao.)
Moros (Malabang, Paragua Sur, Cottabato, Joló, Dapitan, Zamboanga, Misamis).	Moro - - -	I always use this word with the tribe name attached, as "Sulu Moros," "Yakan Moros," etc. The word is Spanish and means "Mohammedan," or "Moor," as this latter word was currently used in English three centuries ago. It is not a proper ethnologic designation, but is a

LOCAL NAME OF TRIBE USED BY ENUMERATORS AND OTHERS.	Proper tribal name.	Explanatory notes.
Moros—Continued.	Moro — Cont'd.	convenient name for all the different peoples and tribes of Mindanao and the Sulu archipelago who profess the religion of Islam. Its use in this sense is very old and will doubtless survive.
Moros Joloanos (Siassi) --	-- do --	(See Sulu.)
Moros Sámal (Tawi Tawi)	-- do --	(See Sámal.)
Mundos (Iloilo) -----	Bukidnon	(See above.) I do not know the derivation of this curious word. It has been used also for the "Remontados" of Cebú, but it should not be retained.
Negritos (Isabela, Ilocos Norte, Zambales, Tayabas, Negros Oriental, Iloilo).	Negrito --	"Little Negroes;" this name was early applied to these pygmy blacks by both Spanish and Portuguese. In the <i>Relación de Encomiendas</i> of 1591 there is employed the other diminutive form of negro, <i>negrillo</i> , and this same form is used by Chirino, 1604, but De Quatrefores has distinguished the use of these two terms, employing "Negrillos" for the pygmies of Africa only, and "Negritos" for the pygmies of the Malay archipelago and in this he has been followed. I consider Negrito the best term to use for these Philippine aborigines. There are many other local designations current in this archipelago—Aeta, Ita, Eta, Agta, Aita, Baluga (Pampanga), Dumagat (Pacific coast of Luzón), Mamanua (Surigao), etc. In some cases the race is mixed with intrusive Malayan blood. I have accordingly used the term Negrito wherever the original race and type appear to predominate and have discarded it where the principal element is Malayan, as is the Batak, Tagbanúa, and Mangyan.
Negritos Attás (Cagayán) -	-- do --	(See above.)
Negros (Cápiz) -----	-- do --	(See above.)
No Cristianos (Mindoro) --	Mangyan.	(See above.)
No Cristianos (Igorrotes) (Benguet).	Igorot --	(See above.)
No Cristianos (Negritos)	Negrito --	(See above.) (Nueva Vizcaya).

LOCAL NAME OF TRIBE USED BY ENUMERATORS AND OTHERS.	Proper tribal name.	Explanatory notes.
No Cristianos (Zambales) -	Negrito --	This term has been adopted by the Philippine government to designate the pagan and Mohammedan peoples of the Philippines as distinguished from the Christianized.
Nomadas (Rizal) - - - - -	Bukidnon	Nomads or "Remontados." This term here refers to a group of wild Tagalog people, who tradition says ran away from the town of San Mateo, and whose descendants to-day roam the mountains back of Montalbán in association with the Negrito.
Nuevos Cristianos (Pangasinán).	Igorot ---	"New Christians" was a term employed by the Spanish to designate the newly baptized pagans of northern Luzón and Mindanao. Practically all those whom I have seen have relapsed into paganism since the end of Spanish rule.
Palawanos and Palauanas (Paragua Sur).	Tagbanúa	"People of Palawan;" so in the census are designated two groups of natives numbering 338 in all. I think they are aborigines, i. e. not Sulu or Sámal immigrants, and so have included them with the Tagbanúa.
Paranancs (Cagayán) - - -	Negrito --	Derivation and significance of this word are unknown. It is used to designate a ranchería of 84 people in the municipality of Baggao.
Salvaje (Pampanga, Rizal)	-- do --	Mixed Negrito-Malayan savages who wander through the mountains. Predominant type and mode of life are Negrito.
Sama Bitali (Zamboanga)-	Moro ---	(See Sámal below.) There are many local names applied to themselves by the Sámal dwelling along the coasts of Zamboanga.
Sama Lipid (Zamboanga) -	-- do --	Local variant for a small group on an island off the coast of Zamboanga.
Sama Lutangen (Zamboanga).	-- do --	These people represent an intermediate stage between the "Sea Gypsy" and the settled Sámal. Some of them have built houses over the water and are abandoning their sea life; other Sama Lutangen still live on their boats.

LOCAL NAME OF TRIBE USED BY ENUMERATORS AND OTHERS.	Proper tribal name.	Explanatory notes.
Sama Narvan (Zamboanga) Sámal (Zamboanga, Basilan, Dávao).	Moro - - - - - do - -	Local distinction for Sámal. (See above, "Sámal Laut.") The Sámal are an exceedingly important element in the Sulu archipelago. Their former locus, where the pure Sámal dialect was spoken, is in the islands between Basilan and Joló, especially Tonguil and Balanguingui. These were the very latest pirate haunts to be broken up by the Spaniards. The Sámal are now scattered along the coast of Zamboanga and nearly everywhere in the archipelago of Sulu.
Sámal Laut (Zamboanga; also throughout Sulu archipelago, southern coast of Mindanao)	- - do - -	The word means "Sámal of the Sea," and refers to the habits of these people who live almost wholly upon the water, in their small boats, fleets of which shift from island to island with changes of the monsoon. These people are found throughout the entire Malay archipelago, and are variously known as "Orang Laut" (Men of the Sea), "Sea Gypsies," "Bajau," the latter, the name given them by the Bugis of Célebes. They come originally from Johore, and the islands in the Strait of Malakka and are only imperfectly Mohammedanized, some being quite pagans. The "Sámal" who occupy many large towns in the Sulu archipelago and along the coasts of Zamboanga are, in my opinion, descendants of the "Sámal Laut" or "Bajau," who have left life in their boats for the more settled life of the beach. They have gained in material conditions and in the depth of their Mohammedan profession by this change, and feel strongly the difference between themselves and their affilés, the "Men of the Sea."
Sangil (Dávao) -----	- - do - -	Sangil is a local term apparently derived from the volcano of the same name. It is sometimes applied as a collective title for pagan tribes of that region and some-

LOCAL NAME OF TRIBE USED BY ENUMERATORS AND OTHERS.	Proper tribal name.	Explanatory notes.
Sangil—Continued.	Moro— Cont'd	times to the Maguindanao Moros, who have settled between Craan and Makar.
Sanguil (Davao) ----- Silipanes (Nueva Vizcaya)	Bilan. Igorot ---	The Silipan is a strong dialect group in the comandancia of Quiañgán.
Simaron (Ambos Camari- nes).	Bukidnon	Simaron is a corrupt spelling of Cimarron, for which see above.
Subanon (Zamboanga, Misamis).	Subanon -	The word is compounded of "suba," river, and the suffix "non," and means people of the river. This word is a good tribal designation and is of general use, and has been known a long while. Combes in his <i>Historia de Mindanao y Joló</i> , 1667, employs it frequently. The tribe is an important one.
Subanos (Zamboanga and Dapitan).	-- do --	Spanish form of Subanon.
Sulu (Zamboanga) -----	Moro ---	Sulu is the native designation for the island and people of Joló; the latter form is a Spanish corruption of the same word.
Sulu—Continued.	Moro - Cont'd.	Sulu is pronounced in a number of ways, "Suul," "Sug," and "Sulug," probably the latter is more frequent, but I have preferred to have it Sulu, the form which has had long standing.
Tabanúa (Paragua and Paragua Sur).	Tagbanúa	Composed of the Malay-Polynesian word <i>banua</i> ( <i>manua</i> , <i>famua</i> , etc.) and the prefix <i>taga</i> . The word means "people of the country," "aborigines." It is the generally accepted and well-known designation for this tribe of Paragua.
Tagablis (Cottabato) ----	Tagabili -	People of Bili, which perhaps means Lake Bulúan; also appears sometimes as Tagabaloy.
Tagacaolos (Cottabato, Davao).	Bagobo -	Probably derived from the word " <i>olo</i> ," meaning "head," and thus "source" (of a river), the particle <i>ka</i> "toward," and the prefix <i>taga</i> . The entire word meaning "people who go up toward the source of the river," to distinguish them from the "Tagabawa," people who live in the lowlands, <i>bawa</i> meaning "down," the "region low down."

LOCAL NAME OF TRIBE USED BY ENUMERATORS AND OTHERS.	Proper tribal name.	Explanatory notes.
Tagaud (Dávao) - - - - -	Mandaya.	(See above.)
Tagbanúa (Paragua and Paragua Sur)	Tagbanúa	(See above.)
Tandalanes (Paragua) - - - -	Batak - - -	I know nothing about this term; it is used as the tribal name for a ranchería of seventeen people in the Batak region.
Tigaonon (Surigao) - - - - -	Negrito - -	This word seems to be compounded of the suffix <i>non</i> and Tigao, a town across the mountains from Butúan, on the Pacific coast side of Surigao. The word would mean "people of Tigao." They are probably mixed Mamanuas.
Tinguianes (Ilocos Sur, Abra).	Igorot - - -	This word is derived from <i>tingues</i> , meaning "mountain," a Malayan word, archaic and almost unused now in Tagalog, and the suffix <i>an</i> . The word was formerly employed in Laguna de Bay to designate the "people of the mountains," the "Tagabundok," but this use has almost disappeared. For nearly two centuries it has been used to mean the pagan people of Abra. These people are, in my opinion, simply Igorot in descent. Their dialect, "Itneg," is spoken by the Igorot of northern Bontoc and the Saltán river valley, but they have developed toward civilized life, being about on the same plane of culture as the Ilocano, and are well known both in these islands and in writings on the Philippines.
Tinguianes (Nueva Écija) -	Igorot - - -	These so-called "Tinguianes," belong to the same dialect group as the Igorot of Benguet.
Tirurays (Cottabato) - - - - -	Tiruray - -	According to Dr. Pardo de Tavera, this word is derived from <i>atew rooter</i> , "people living above," i. e. up the river.
Vilanes (Dávao) - - - - -	Bilan.	
Visayan (Negros Occidental)	Bukidnon	These are un-Christianized remnants of the old Visayan population.
Yakans (Zamboanga, Ba- silan).	Moro - - -	Important Mohammedanized tribe of primitive Malaysians occupying all the interior of Basilan.

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- Act No. 1306. Annexing the Province of Abra to the Province of Ilocos Sur and providing for the establishment of local civil governments for the Non-Christian tribes in Ilocos Sur (February 28, 1905).
- Act No. 1363. Changing the name of the Province and Island of Paragua to that of Palawan (June 28, 1905).
- Act No. 1396. Special Provincial Government Act (September 14, 1905).
- Act No. 1397. Township Government Act (September 14, 1905).
- Act No. 1398. Applying the Special Provincial Government Act and the Township Government Act to the Province of Samar (September 15, 1905).
- Act No. 1403. Removing members of the Non-Christian tribes in the Province of La Union from the jurisdiction of officials in the province and placing them under the officials in the Provinces of Benguet and Lepanto - Bontoc (October 12, 1905).

- Act No. 1407. Omnibus reorganization of the central government, including abolition of the Ethnological Survey and the transfer of its functions to the Division of Ethnology, Bureau of Education (October 26, 1905).
- Act No. 1426. Providing a method of apportioning internal revenue collections to special provinces and township governments, except those of Moro Province, and creating a "Non-Christian Inhabitants' Fund" and a "Township Settlement Fund" (December 16, 1905).
- Act No. 1541. Division of Ethnology Transferred to Bureau of Science (October 6, 1906).
- Act No. 1646. Repeal of Act No. 1403 (May 15, 1907).
- Act No. 1817. Amending the powers for the giving of bonds by sheriffs in provinces inhabited by Moros and other Non-Christian tribes (April 3, 1908).
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- Act No. 2061. Establishing a sales agency for articles manufactured on Non-Christian provincial schools (April 10, 1911).
- Act No. 2062. Making certain acts of the second legislature applicable to Non-Christian territories (April 18, 1911).
- Act No. 2067. Providing for the investment of portions of the gold standard fund to assist in the construction of sugar centrals and other purposes in Non-Christian territories (July 24, 1911).
- Act No. 2071. Prohibiting slavery, involuntary servitude, and peonage in Nueva Vizcaya, Agusan, and Mountain Provinces (August 7, 1911).
- Act No. 2177. Making certain acts of the second legislature applicable to Non-Christian territories (March 16, 1912).
- Act No. 2181. Amending Act No. 2177 (April 24, 1912).

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- Act No. 2268. Providing for two additional Constabulary officials and additional appropriations in Non-Christian territories (February 17, 1913).
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