

# philippine studies

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Patricia O. Afable

*Philippine Studies* vol. 52, no. 4 (2004): 445–473

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Fri June 27 13:30:20 2008

## **Journeys from Bontoc to the Western Fairs, 1904–1915: The “Nikimalika” and their Interpreters**

Patricia O. Afable

*In the early twentieth century and starting with the 1904 St. Louis Fair, Bontoc people from the northern Philippines entered into business agreements to perform cultural activities in Western expositions and amusement parks. This article focuses on the young men who became mediators between local people and American government officials and exposition businessmen. Fluent multilinguals, they recruited and over eleven years guided these troupes through fifty cities in North America and Europe. Using archival documents and oral histories and taking a broad sociolinguistic view, this article presents these travelers' historical experiences and explores their contribution to an Igorot regional identity.*

**KEYWORDS:** *World's Fairs, Igorot, colonial history, interpreters, cultural identity*

In the early twentieth century, northern Philippine highland people entered into business arrangements to travel to North America and Europe to perform cultural activities in expositions and other fairs. The first and largest of these expositions, the St. Louis Fair, was held in 1904 in St. Louis, Missouri, to commemorate the centennial of the Louisiana Purchase. Over a hundred Igorot (also “Igorrote”) were among more than a thousand Filipinos who traveled to that Fair in the company of United States government officials. They came from three regions and today are classified as Bontoc, from towns along the middle Chico River (eighty participants); southern Kankanaey from Suyoc, on the upper Abra River (twenty-five participants); and Itneg from Manabo, also on the upper Abra (eighteen participants).

While it was part of the Spanish colonial classification that the U.S. government adopted, the ethnic label "Igorot" definitively entered early twentieth century American popular culture through the publicity surrounding the American acquisition of the Philippines and the exhibitions in 1904 and the years following. The Census of 1903, the first head count of the new colony, classified Igorot along with "Moro" of the southern Philippines, under the larger category of "Wild Peoples." In reaction to the stigmatizing meanings of "*Igorot*," many urban and educated northern highlanders abroad have embraced it with almost militant zeal, issuing a self-conscious call for reversals of past colonial categories (see *Igorot Quarterly*; Afable 1995). However, as a local self-designation today, the term is used only by some but not all northern Philippine highlanders.

*Nikimalika* (also *Nikimilika*), on the other hand, is the Bontoc expression among older people for describing those who went on the early journeys to "America" (*Malika*) (see Afable 1997, 2000; Millado 1999). Here, *niki-* is a past-tense affix meaning "participated in," corresponding to *naki-* in Tagalog. While the voyage to St. Louis was a special case, performances of dance and music in foreign contexts were not new to highland peoples, and Scott (1974, 145, 253) describes some high-ranking audiences: one for Governor Basco's party in Tagudin in 1785, and another for Governor Claveria's government by "ten delegations of pagans" in Manila in 1849.

### St. Louis, 1904

Of all the Philippine exhibits at St. Louis, the "Igorot Village" attracted the largest audiences. Living in houses that they themselves built out of wood and thatch that had been shipped from the Philippines, the Igorot performed dances to gong music at set times each day and presented exhibitions of blacksmithing, weaving, and metalworking. However, it was the publicity about their "headhunting" and the spectacle of the "dog feast," staged several times a week at lunchtime, which brought their Village the most notoriety and apparently the most gate receipts to the Philippine exhibition (see figure 1). Nineteen million people are said to have passed through the gates of the Fair. The



Figure 1. A poster advertising the Chutes Park (Los Angeles) “Igorrote Village” run by The Filipino Exhibition Company in 1905. The three “chiefs” are (left to right) Anawasel of Tucucan, Moling of Bontoc, and Domingo of Alab, all part of the group that went to the Lewis and Clark Exposition that year. (U.S. National Archives RG350/13431-21)

media coverage of the Igorot produced the longest-lasting stereotypes about them as “dogeaters” and no doubt fostered the early extension of this epithet to all Filipinos.

As the Fair drew to a close, several groups of American businessmen, encouraged by the success of the Village, got together with Bontoc people and organized similar exhibitions abroad for the following years. Between 1905 and 1913, over 200 more Bontoc men and women were involved in one- or two-year contracts for “Igorot shows” in international expositions, amusement parks, and state and county fairs in both North America and Europe. No people from Suyoc or Abra joined the trips after 1904.

This article charts some of the historical experiences of the northern Filipinos who journeyed to the West for these performances. Here my focus is on the young multilingual Bontoc men who became mediators between local people and American government officials, missionaries, and entrepreneurs. As assistants to exposition businessmen, they recruited and guided these troupes of performers through several dozen Western cities over more than a decade, while introducing them to exposition contracts and schedules, to letters, and to litigation against

their managers. With few exceptions, the recruitments after 1904 resulted from the original personal contacts made with Bontoc people at St. Louis and they reflected the kinship, affinal, and trading networks of these first interpreters' families.

There is no doubt that today the exhibition of people in the Fairs is overwhelmingly considered demeaning, exploitative, and based on racist assumptions. Much focus has been placed on the exploitation of the Igorot and, among Filipino-Americans discussing their separate history, in the way in which Igorot were seen in the early twentieth century as representing *all* Filipinos (e.g., *Filipino Students in America* 1906). My intent is to set these perspectives aside for the moment and to take up Marshall Sahlins' (1963) early call "not to underestimate [the local] people's historical agency and cultural integrity in studies of the disciplines of colonial regimes." Starting out with the idea that the Igorot had agreed to venture away from home for pay should at least dispel the notion that they were passive and silent participants in these exhibitions.

Using documentary materials in the United States and interviews with descendants in Bontoc and the United States, this article therefore represents a search for a native voice in the accounts of these prolonged encounters with the West. Archival sources<sup>1</sup> used in broader studies covering the Igorot of the Fairs from an American cultural historical viewpoint (Rydell 1984; Vaughn 1996; Breitbart 1997, among others) yielded the first clear view that such a quest would be productive. My approach here is a broadly sociolinguistic one: I am interested in the journeys to the Fairs as they form part of the greater communicative and learning situation that encompassed the schools, missions, garrisons, and foreigners' households in the very first years of the twentieth century. The larger question has to do with how culture and history gain value: Given the different histories of various parts of the Cordillera Central, how did identities beyond the kinship and local group develop and what forms did they take in these locales? Here I explore how the distinctive travels and performances of Bontoc people in the early 1900s shaped the content of an "Igorot" regional identity along the middle-Chico River and its tributaries.

### Local History and Multilingualism

The home territories of the Igorot of the Fairs, the upper Abra and middle Chico Rivers, lay astride the most traveled trade routes between the Central Cordillera and the Ilocano-speaking lowlands in the west. Long-range communication, multilingualism, and intermarriage among people of different localities and language groups have characterized this region for many generations. At the beginning of the twentieth century this southwestern section of the Cordillera range was most closely linked, economically, socially, and later politically, to Christian lowlanders, and subsequently to American administrative and educational efforts. The walk to the coast took two to four days, and men and some women from the highlands regularly earned money as carriers or porters for traders, government officials, missionaries, and foreign travelers. Bontoc settlement lay at the far interior end of this route.

Along these trails from western Luzon were carried the shell, bead, and brass ornaments, the brass and bronze gongs, the porcelain and stoneware plates and jars, the cotton thread and textiles, and the dyes that were traded in, sometimes from other parts of Southeast Asia, and that became the hallmarks of Cordillera dress, ritual culture, and identity. Spanish interest in the gold of this region was early: the first church in Kayan, one day's walk inland, was founded in 1668 by an expedition tasked with bringing back ore for government assays. Some measure of Spanish control did not come, however, until the mid-nineteenth century; Bontoc became a separate military command in 1858 (Scott 1975, 19).

The history of this region before the end of the nineteenth century is found in Augustinian documents (beginning with summaries in Perez 1902 and Scott 1974) and can be reconstructed from early-twentieth-century American missionary, military, and civil government reports. Angel Perez, a main source for the Augustinian accounts, was on the upper Abra River just in time to observe, if not to participate, in the Spanish preparations for selecting objects and people for the Madrid exposition in 1887. By the time he left in 1892, there were thirty-four schools in the most heavily populated barrios, including three for girls.

Staffed by Ilocano-speakers, the schools taught the rudiments of reading and writing Spanish as well as the catechism.

By the end of Spanish rule, there were forty children, most of them boys, who had been attending the Augustinian school next to the Bontoc garrison (Jenks 1905), on the left bank of the Chico River, below the old Bontoc community. Most of the people who had gone through it were children or friends of the Bontoc-, Spanish- and Ilocano-speaking mixed population of the garrison town. At the arrival of American military and civil government officials, Anglican missionaries (in 1902), exposition businessmen, and Belgian Catholic missionaries (in 1907), this group of literate bilingual people was the main source for the first houseboys and interpreters of these foreigners' households. All of the newcomers had prepared themselves for work in the Philippines by learning some Spanish before or soon after their arrival. On the other hand, the group of young Bontoc assistants, with their wide multilingual background, soon added English to their many communicative skills.

### **Bontoc Participation in Studies of their Language and Society**

By 1910 the Bontoc people had become the subject of the most voluminous American ethnological and linguistic studies of any rural people in the Philippines. The producers, their interpreters, as well as the earliest users of this literature were important actors in the establishment of American colonial authority in the upper Abra and middle Chico Rivers of the Cordillera Central. The Americans primarily consisted of the government anthropologist Albert Ernest Jenks and his wife, Maud Huntley Jenks; Episcopalian (Anglican) missionaries who began to arrive in 1902; and American military and civil government officials, especially Dean C. Worcester, David P. Barrows, Dr. Truman Hunt, Daniel Folkmar, John P. Early, and a number of Constabulary officers. Carl Wilhelm Seidenadel, another interesting player in these early cultural productions, met Bontoc people while on exhibition in Chicago in 1906 and 1907 and produced an English-Bontoc dictionary (1909).

### Albert Ernest Jenks

Albert Jenks' role in the Philippine exhibitions at the St. Louis Fair was substantial. His *The Bontoc Igorot*, published in 1905, was the first of the U.S. government's ethnological survey publications. The contacts he had made during five months of fieldwork in 1902 were decisive for securing a place for the Bontoc people at the Fair. The production in St. Louis of brochures, flyers, and other media reports on the Bontoc relied heavily on his manuscript notes. Jenks collected Cordilleran artifacts for the St. Louis exhibits (these activities in Bontoc, facilitated by his young household help, are well described in his wife's letters [M. Jenks 1951, 126]). While organizing the participation of southern Philippine people in St. Louis, he also directed more collecting expeditions in other parts of the country. Before these many thousands of artifacts were shipped out of the country to the Fair, Jenks completed the gargantuan task of producing their catalogue. Although appearing in 1951, Maud Huntley Jenks's letters, published as *Death Stalks the Philippine Wilds*, were written between 1902 and 1904. Antero Cabrera, Pitapit, Falikao, Bugti, Maklan, and Sitlanin were the young people who lived with the Jenkses.

### Rev. Walter Clayton Clapp

The most prominent of the early Episcopalian missionaries in Bontoc was the Rev. Walter Clapp, a native of Long Island, New York, and a graduate of the General Theological Seminary in New York. He and his wife traveled to the Philippines in 1901 but Mrs. Clapp fell ill during the voyage and died early in 1902. During Clapp's tenure in Bontoc, from 1903 to about 1915, he established the All Saints Mission, a co-educational primary school, and a dispensary, and in 1908 published the first Bontoc dictionary. His career in Bontoc paralleled that of Rev. John Staunton, who arrived in 1904 and built a more extensive Episcopalian mission in Sagada, west of Bontoc. Ironically, Clapp, at the age of 55, succumbed to typhoid fever during an epidemic in Pennsylvania in September 1915. The grammar studies that he began in Bontoc were augmented by one of his assistants, Margaret Waterman (1913).

Walter Clapp arrived in Bontoc about the time Jenks was finishing up fieldwork for his book, and the two of them shared assistants in their households and in their linguistic and anthropological work. In later years, some of these people, several of whom were mere teenagers in the Jenks and Clapp households when they started, were to become long-term interpreters for the Bontoc journeys to the Fairs. Others were to continue their formal education and to become high-ranking officials of the Bontoc or provincial government.

In the acknowledgments section of his dictionary, Clapp (1908, 148) thanked the following local people who assisted him: Antero Cabrera, Nicasio Balinag, Hilary Pitapit Clapp, Narciso Cariño, James Amok, Tainan, Anacleto Galo, and Pablo Lunar. Of this group, Balinag, Cabrera, and Pitapit were probably the most articulate English speakers in Bontoc by 1904; the last two were also the youngest.

Pitapit, who was christened Hilary Clapp and became Reverend Clapp's ward, started school with the Augustinians. Later, as the Episcopalian Mission's brightest pupil, he went on to join the first Episcopalian Church's Easter School class in Baguio City in 1906. The Mission sent him to a Canadian high school, where reportedly he gained honors in Greek. He gained admission to the University of the Philippines medical school and, after graduation in the late 1920s, became chief health officer of Bontoc. In 1942 he was appointed governor of the Mountain Province. That career ended with his assassination in early 1945, when he was caught in the struggles over territory between guerilla movements in the final months of the Second World War (Clapp 2000; Fry 1983, 211; Vergara 1995, 156).

Nicasio Balinag (born about 1882) was the son of an Ilocano soldier and trader who took on a clerical position in the Spanish administration of Bontoc. His mother was from Bontoc. Educated in the Augustinian mission school, Balinag assisted Jenks in the production of *The Bontoc Igorot* and served as a Mountain Province civil servant and interpreter for many years before becoming secretary to the Bontoc lieutenant-governor. He was appointed deputy governor of Bontoc from 1919 to 1924 and then of Kalinga from 1925 to 1935. He is said to have spoken Ilocano, Tagalog, Spanish, Bontoc, as well as some English (Fry 1983, 259). Daniel Folkmar (1905, 13), who became lieuten-

ant-governor of Bontoc in 1904, described Nicasio Balinag as the ideal interpreter: “[Nicasio] unites, with a very thorough insight into the subject, the ability, which not all natives possess, of sinking his personality, while interpreting, and letting the words of others come direct to me uncolored by any conceptions of his own.”

Julio Balinag, a brother, had been in the Bontoc constabulary force and also spoke Ilocano, Tagalog, Spanish, Bontoc, and some English. He served as an interpreter at the St. Louis Fair and the Exposition Board awarded him a “Medal of Honor with Diploma of Bronze.” The next year he traveled with Truman Hunt’s Igorot Exhibit Company and ended up reporting Hunt to the police for stealing from his employees. He served as government interpreter in the suits against Hunt.

### Antero Cabrera

Called Balonglong in his early years, when he was about 16 years of age, Antero Cabrera was picked by Hunt to help recruit the people who would travel to St. Louis. He became the most sought after interpreter for the Bontoc journeys abroad and he traveled to the West at least three times. Antero had been orphaned early and was adopted by the Cabrerias, an Ilocano trading family in Bontoc. He worked in the Hunt, Clapp, and Jenks households while attending the mission school, helped Jenks procure objects in various Chico River localities for the Fair exhibits, and obviously was recommended highly for the journey to St. Louis by Jenks himself. It would appear that Antero dropped his Ilocano or Christian surname shortly after the Fair and eventually made “Antero” the surname of his children.

Antero attended the school on the Filipino exhibition grounds at St. Louis and was described as its “star pupil.” Much was made in the press of Antero’s ability to sing American patriotic songs and of an Igorot delegation’s visit to the White House, where Antero acted as translator for “Chief” Antonio (Vergara 1995, 134). In 1905, when he returned to the U.S. with Schneidewind’s group of twenty-four people, he and two other boys (Bugti/Fegti and Felingao/Falikao, also from Jenks’ household) were enrolled in the Sixteenth Street school in Los Angeles during the year that the troupe spent in California. As they were

about to leave the school the following year, the headmaster sent the War Department a glowing report of their progress and recommended that they be allowed to stay on in the school to continue their education (Schneidewind to Worcester, 28 February 1906). Nothing seemed to have come from this recommendation, and the next time we hear about Antero would be in the spring of 1906, when Schneidewind's company was in Chicago. Also, during the early 1906 performances in San Francisco, this group of twenty-five people (see figure 2) was the subject of a physical anthropological study by the University of California professor, Alfred Kroeber (1906).

In 1907, Antero returned to Chicago with Schneidewind and some forty Bontoc people; this time he was traveling with a wife, Takhay

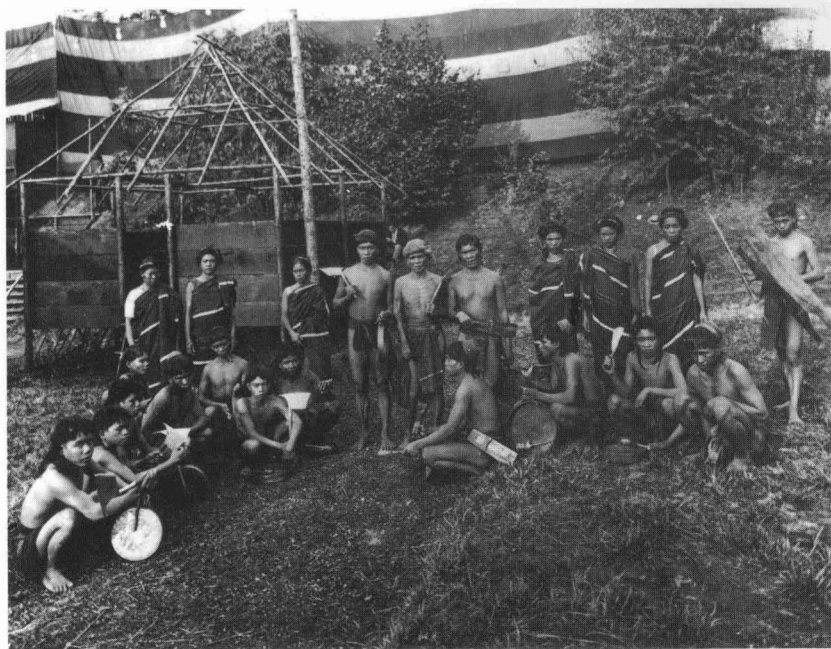


Figure 2. Members of the "Igorrote Village" at the Lewis and Clark Exposition, Portland, Oregon, 1905. The three men in the center are Anawasel, Moling, and Domingo. Antero is fifth from the left, squatting in front of a gong and displaying a "head-axe." Felingao is at far right, holding a shield and spear. (National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Neg. No. 85-13318)

(Isting/Cristina) Ulapan, who was also an orphan. Her parents had come from the Bontoc towns of Samoki and Gonogon. Antero's and Takhay's first child was born during this trip (this was Sylvia, named so, they say, because she was born in Pennsylvania), and the second (Maria) on the boat near Ilocos Sur, upon their arrival back in northern Luzon after being away two years. They went on to have ten children. Antero returned from the Fairs to continue his work as a government interpreter, and became a businessman and farmer. He was employed by Governor Early to conduct a census of Bontoc in 1911.

Antero's daughter, Victoria Apolinar, remembers him as an avid conversationalist who was always curious about the latest news from other places and sought out people who came in from their travels. He traveled to Kalinga and Ifugao with constabulary parties, to areas few Bontoc people had ever visited, and traded in a variety of things, including beads, stoneware jars, and cattle. Ilocano and American teachers, to help the campaign in Bontoc for families to send their children to school, often called upon the middle-aged Antero. He and his wife encouraged their eight daughters and two sons to get a good level of education and several of them became teachers in local schools.

Antero's second daughter, Maria, became a high-ranking member of the Episcopalian Church's Women's Auxiliary in Bontoc and Baguio. In the 1950s she traveled to the United States under a church grant and spoke to her audiences of the wonders that her parents had seen in the early 1900s. She married the Second World War hero and transportation magnate, Bado Dangwa, who after the War was elected governor of the Mountain Province through several terms. After Maria's death, Governor Dangwa married her younger sister, Lola Antero.

Antero's is a well remembered name in Suyoc (a day's walk from Bontoc) for he frequently traveled there to trade in gold with people he had met in St. Louis. His Kankanaey trading partner, Betuagan, who had been part of the Suyoc group in 1904, named his son Antero. In the 1920s, Antero manufactured brass earrings in the lost-wax method that he had learned from the Suyoc people; occasionally he made them out of silver from old Spanish coins. He died about 1940 and his wife passed away in the early 1980s (Apolinar 1997).

### Clapp's Other Assistants

Two other assistants in Clapp's dictionary work, James Amok and Tainan, also served as interpreters with Bontoc groups that traveled after 1904. Amok, Tainan, and Tongay were in Europe from 1911 to 1913 as interpreters for some fifty people. Others stayed on in Bontoc to become civil servants: Narciso Cariño, whose father was a Spanish-Ilocano teacher at the Augustinian school, was later employed in the governor's office at Bontoc. Anacleto Galo, whose Ilocano father had worked with the Spanish garrison and married a Bontoc woman, became a teacher in the Tucucan school after four years of education in Clapp's Episcopalian school. He entered the civil service in Bontoc and Ifugao, learned English on the job, and rose to become deputy governor of Bontoc in 1931 (Jenista 1987, 192). Pablo Lunar also rose in the civil service and was in-charge of waterworks in the Bontoc administration in the 1940s.

Certainly, these multiple journeys would not have been possible without the active and open participation of bilingual Bontoc men and boys in helping organize these lucrative exhibitions abroad. These interpreters became important assistants for their familiarity with exhibition schedules and orchestrated performances. More crucially, their knowledge of local kinship and other social networks facilitated the recruitment activities in Bontoc and ensured the stability of these groups of performers who had to travel and live together for many months at a time.

### The Entrepreneurs and the Tours

The period in focus here is the decade between 1904 and 1915 and the dates of journeys abroad are listed below. All the exhibitions after 1904 resulted from private arrangements between Bontoc people and American entrepreneurs. In summing up the figures below, it should be noted that some people went on more than one journey.

- 1904: about eighty people from Bontoc region, twenty-five from Suyoc, and eighteen from Abra to St. Louis, Missouri, from May to December; one birth, five recorded deaths;

- 1905: a total of seventy-five Bontoc people in two groups, the Hunt group and the Felder-Schneidewind group (at the Lewis and Clark Exposition, Portland, Oregon), returning in 1906 and 1907; one birth, two deaths;
- 1907: about forty people, a Schneidewind group, returned in 1909 from the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition, Seattle; one death, at least one birth;
- 1908: forty people, organized by Schneidewind, returned in 1909;
- 1911: fifty-five people, organized by Schneidewind, returned from Europe in late 1913;
- 1914: fourteen people from Tucucan, bound for the Panama-Pacific Exposition, San Francisco, organized by Harry Indian Miller and Harold L. Anfinger, former constabulary officers in the Bontoc district.

### Truman Hunt

American officials were, in many cases, recently discharged volunteers in the Philippine-American War whose initial experience in the Cordillera was in gold prospecting. Some of them stayed on to help organize the constabulary force in the highland districts. The most important official in relation to the stories of the Fairs was Truman Hunt, who became lieutenant-governor of Bontoc in 1903 after having been in-charge of the vaccination program of the Lepanto-Bontoc province. He was about forty years of age, had studied medicine for a couple of years at New York's Bellevue Hospital College of Medicine, and served with credit as an army surgeon in the campaign in Manila against cholera and the plague. In some records he is "Dr. Truman Hunt."

His friends and fellow soldiers, Alvin and Charles Pettit, were prospecting with him in the upper Abra in 1900 and eventually settled in Suyoc after helping Hunt organize a Suyoc delegation to the 1904 Fair. As Antonio Buangan (1997–2004) points out, Charles Pettit's marriage into a large extended family in the Suyoc region not only introduced him to the most successful local miners but also brought him many advantages in recruiting people from there for St. Louis. He later became a judge in nearby Mankayan. "Giyad," the name by which he

was known among his Kankanaey affines and neighbors, derived from that public title.

Hunt organized the exhibition of "Igorot" at the St. Louis Fair. He arranged for transportation to the U.S. and became supervisor of the Igorot Village. Hardly anything is known about the group of eighteen "Tinguianes;" they came from Manabo, Abra, and were handpicked by the prominent Villamor family. At St. Louis, Hunt had as assistants Julio Balinag and the Pettit brothers. Alvin Pettit was assigned to the Suyoc group while Charles had the title of "juror" in the Philippine mining exhibition. Hunt also ran a soft-drink concession near the Village.

A man named Antonio was designated "chief" of the Bontoc group. He was frequently photographed in St. Louis and his face appeared on brochures, leaflets, and postcards (see also Marcus and Fischer 1986 cover; Clifford 1988, 164), where his image was often captioned "Igorot Man." At the end of the Fair, he also won an award for his leadership, and upon his return he became the "presidente" of his hometown, Tetep-an, near Bontoc. In an official report from Bontoc in 1905, the lieutenant-governor describes Antonio as one of the "most Americanized and progressive of the [local] presidents" (Folkmar 1905).

In December 1904, Hunt returned to the Philippines with all the three "Igorot" groups and during that voyage entered into an agreement with his assistants to recruit fifty Bontoc people to go to the United States early in 1905. He called his business the Igorot Exhibit Company; his target was the Lewis and Clark Exposition in Portland, Oregon, but those arrangements failed. On this trip, Hunt took along Julio Balinag, who had picked up sufficient English in St. Louis to become his main assistant. Julio's wife, Maria, accompanied him.

### Felder and Schneidewind

A second company, the Filipino Exhibition Company, was launched in 1905 by Edmund Felder and Richard Schneidewind. They had met at the Fair when Felder was the Executive Officer of the Philippine Exposition Board. Schneidewind had served in the Philippine-American War and mustered out in 1899; he was briefly married to a woman

from Santa Cruz, Manila. At St. Louis he ran a tobacco concession in addition to being supply officer for the Visayan Village. The two men made their contacts with Bontoc people in St. Louis and arrived in the Philippines in early 1905 to meet up with their new friends.

Felder's and Schneidewind's business arrangements with Bontoc people proved to be advantageous to both sides, for there were three more tours abroad, including exhibitions in European cities that ended in 1913. Their most important interpreters were Antero, Bugti (Fegti), Felingao (Falikao), Tainan, Tongay, and James Amok, all young people who had previously worked with Jenks, Clapp, or Hunt. In the 1970s the names "Pildil" (for Felder) and "Ricardo" or "Likadso Sinadwin" were names remembered by Antero's widow, Takhay, in an interview by the Isleta Pueblo Indian scholar Theodore Jojola (1978).

### **Carl Seidenadel**

Dr. Carl Wilhelm Seidenadel, a native of St. Louis and briefly a member of the University of Chicago Germanic department faculty, found an "Igorot Village" in Riverview Park in Chicago in 1906 (a Schneidewind group) and spent five months studying Bontoc language with performers there. This resulted in a 592-page volume, published in 1909, that included grammatical analyses, numerous texts and illustrations, and an English-Bontoc dictionary that went far beyond Jenks's and Clapp's early work. Antero, Julio Balinag, and Fanged of Bontoc; Agpauwan of Alab; and Anawasel and Fumnag of Tucucan were among Seidenadel's main assistants in this research. Seidenadel took great pride in conducting his linguistic cultural study backstage, away from the scheduled cultural performances that were part of the front stage "work" of the Igorot Village. Antero's prior experience with dictionary work in Bontoc proved to be crucial to Seidenadel's project, and he was responsible for editing out texts that had numerous Ilocano borrowings (Afable 2004).

### **The Tours after 1904**

Within North America, the different "Igorot" tours run by Hunt and Schneidewind spanned cities from California and Seattle to New Ha-

ven and New York, and as far north as Winnipeg. The pattern was to spend the winters in southern cities and to move north only when the parks opened there in the spring. The later tours differed, as the businessmen became more knowledgeable about audiences and venues; thus, the 1908 and 1911 tours involved indoor exhibitions in the U.S. and Europe, which meant they could spend winters in northern cities.

In an attempt to make sure that their wards were well cared for, the U.S. government (through the Bureau of Insular Affairs) tried to keep track of the companies while these traveled across the country. The archival records used here are a result of these investigations. For example, one of these documents (RG 350/13431) is a contract signed between Richard Schneidewind and twenty-five people in Los Angeles in March 1906. (This is the group referred to in figures 1 and 2.) Schneidewind agreed to give monthly salary raises to the oldest members of his troupe as follows: "Domingo, Anauasal, Moling and Pilar Godia from Aug. 1st, 1905 to Feb. 28th, 1906, \$7.50 . . . and from March 1st, 1906 to date of return to Bontoc, \$10."

The rest of the group had slightly lower wages: Antero, Bugti, Changai, Atuliao, Chapas, Anloae, Fumnag, Felingao, Ugoay, Ugoag, Malecdon, Bakaki, Mana, Ampakao, Agpawan, Fanacan, Suyo, Gitano, Livonan, Caoay, and Cawani received US\$5.00 a month from 1 August 1905 to 28 February 1906. After that, their monthly wages increased in small increments to US\$8.00 until their return to Bontoc that autumn. This contract provided for all transportation expenses to and from the Philippines, and lodging and food while in the U.S. and while in transit. In the list of names at the end of the document, the only signatures are of the English-speaking assistants: Antero, Felingao, and Bugti. All the other names were marked with an "X." At that time, the rate of exchange was US\$1.00 to P2.

The people were transported from one venue to another by train. Standard equipment for performances included sets of gongs, shields, spears, baskets, hand-woven clothing, and blankets. By the time of these tours, a government exchange in Bontoc was selling some of these objects, so Schneidewind bought everything he could get—spears, shields, head-axes, baskets, and woven cloth—to be used on the set or to be sold to audiences. In some places women set up looms and

men did blacksmithing. They also built stonewalls, houses, and models of the stone-paved meeting places (*ator* or *dap-ay*), where they staged mock “trials” and other “educational” performances. People earned extra money selling small woven items and rings and bracelets made of grass fibers, and the men made pipes, spears, and shields to sell. Because of the outcries against dog feasts in St. Louis, the slaughter of dogs was not an important feature of the displays after 1904, although they apparently continued. Nevertheless, sensational illustrated descriptions of this “custom” as well as of “headhunting” appeared prominently in the companies’ advertising brochures.

For the most part, the exhibition of Bontoc people after St. Louis took place in amusement parks and county or state fairs in over fifty cities across the United States. In that age before radio and commercial movies, the display of exotic objects and peoples in midways and sideshows was a major source of entertainment throughout the Western world (see Vaughn 1996). For some years, “Igorot” filled a niche in this entertainment industry, along with Native American peoples and Africans; and these displays were never too far from the stalls for “dwarfs,” “bearded ladies,” and the like.

One report says that in 1906 in New Orleans Hunt was charging 25 cents entry fee for people to see the “Igorot shows.” They were obviously quite lucrative: one report projected that Hunt earned as much as US\$3,000 a month (RG 350/13847). Once, he tried to stage “Igorot shows” in New Orleans with African-American actors. While these imitations did not succeed and had to be shut down after a few days, this startling news tidbit reveals to us something about the hold that “Igorot” performances had on a portion of the American public. On another plane, the Hunt experiments represent to us the extreme in decontextualization of Bontoc life and culture that went on on stages across North America in the early 1900s.

### Some Memories

Oral accounts from descendants in Bontoc and the archival material give us fragments of a complexly remembered and interpreted story. Takhay, Antero’s wife, recalled how her husband, the “interpreter”

(*intilpiti*), was in school in Bontoc when he was approached by “Sinadwin” (Schneidewind) and asked to gather together “forty people, ten older men, ten women, ten young men and ten young women,” to go to a fair (*karnabal*) to show our “customs” (*ugali*) (Antero 1978).

In general, the Bontoc people speak of their ancestors as mostly young adventurers who “ran away” to Malika, teaming up with their neighbors, families, and other relatives, in the hope of bringing back money and White people’s goods. They brought back coins in small white canvas bags, beads which they divided among the female family members (some beads are still called *minalika*, “in the American way”), and, in Takhay’s case, petticoats, ruffled blouses, and long skirts in a trunk. A few brought back photographs and medals from their adventures. However, most of these souvenirs were lost during the Second World War.

Over seven decades after the 1907 trip to Chicago, some of Takhay’s clear memories were about how the people at the Fair called them *Igoroti* (presumably the Spanish pronunciation of Igorrote) and how the *Malikanos* were kind and indulgent. Others found Americans somewhat gullible, for they would buy anything offered them for sale, like roughly-made spears and hastily-braided grass rings and bracelets that the makers learned to brand as “Igorot” and hawk to their audiences. The performers picked up coins that the crowd threw on the ground while they danced, and divided the hoard among themselves at the end of the day. There were jokes about the young men who became “chiefs” during the Fairs, and about the people getting so tired of the fatty dog meat that they would bury it at the edge of the grounds.

Fumnag, a Tucucan man who was among Seidenadel’s assistants, brought back stories of a powerful earthquake that hit Chicago (26 May 1909); these earned him the nickname “Sikago.” It is said that he rescued a man who had fallen into a ditch during the earthquake and was amply rewarded for the gesture. His daughter, Mrs. Paulina Chollipas, became a school teacher in Tucucan in the 1930s and was assigned the enviable task of giving “Christian” (usually Western) names to the new children at the beginning of each school year (Botengan 2000).

Stories are told of the two-day walk to the coast at Candon, in Ilocos Sur province, waiting for the boat to Manila, and then boarding

the ocean-going ships for a month-long voyage into the unknown (“They were seasick all the time,” one said). They left behind many furious parents who, in succeeding years, would get together with local officials and missionaries to prevent more journeys out of Bontoc. The tales of these exciting adventures were such that some men in the larger Christian towns near the lowlands put away their trousers and donned loincloths to gain entry into these troupes and travel abroad.

Fry (1983, 41) points to a 1916 government inquiry into the influence of the travels on Bontoc society and found that only a few people had benefited from their sojourns abroad. The extended journeys to the Fairs, when viewed within the larger scope of globalizing forces that swept through the Cordillera region in late Spanish and early American times, appear somewhat quirky and, while uncommon, were considered exceptionable by many Bontoc people. Many comments surfaced among descendants about how the young travelers had gambled their money away, come home “spoiled,” become “dandies,” and unable to return to the rigors of rural agricultural life. Bontoc officials were also alarmed at the number of revolvers that some of the men had brought home (Folkmar 1906). Also, in retrospect, those who left home for the Fairs did not acquire the prestige that went to members of that generation who stayed behind, continued their education with the missions, and went on to become the fluent English-speaking Mountain Province civil service, clergy, and teaching force of the next two decades.

### **“Offstage” with the Hunt Group**

The archival materials (RG 350/13847) document some unanticipated tragedies in these travels that tested the creativity and commitment of these young mediators. The most prolonged series centered on Hunt, the man who managed the original St. Louis Fair exhibitions. At the end of that Fair, Bontoc people complained about Hunt’s renegeing on his promise to send money to the travelers’ families in Bontoc. They appeared in Cervantes (the capital of Lepanto-Bontoc) to bring it up with Daniel Folkmar, Hunt’s successor as lieutenant-governor, but they were basically ignored. While this was going on and despite these pro-

tests, however, some fifty people, with Julio Balinag as interpreter, agreed to travel with Hunt in 1905, and they guided him to the port at Candon through a circuitous route to avoid officials in Cervantes and other main towns. Upon arrival in California, Hunt divided the group into three, managed one group and put the other two in the care of partners.

The list of towns and cities where Hunt's groups traveled is long. One of his assistants counted a total of fifty cities for all three groups. Hunt's own party, consisting of nine couples, was in New Orleans from December 1905 to February 1906, following the pattern of spending the winter in the south. During that period his group performed in Tampa, FL; San Antonio, TX; Dallas, TX; Memphis, TN; St. Louis, MO; Louisville, MO; Kansas City, MO; Lincoln, NB; and Springfield, IL.

Hunt turned out to be a corrupt and unscrupulous businessman, and this became clear once he was on his own with a private company. He defrauded the people under his care and allegedly assaulted three of them to steal their money. Bontoc members of his party ended up reporting him to the police in three cities, and Julio Balinag played a major role in U.S. government investigations that lasted many months.

To evade inspections, Hunt moved his troupe from place to place every few days. By the time the authorities caught up with him, it was a year later, in Sans Souci Park in Chicago. The government report described the eighteen people as temporarily living in three small tents situated beneath the trestlework of a roller coaster, under the most unsanitary and uncomfortable conditions. Not only had he completely ignored the people's needs for decent accommodation and for privacy, he had also not paid their salaries. One report said that the Bontoc people were owed a total of US\$15,000 by the end of their exhibitions. (That estimate appears to be based on US\$20 per month for fifty people, over a fifteen-month period.)

As a result of complaints filed by Bontoc people and of the U.S. War Department's investigations, suits were filed against Hunt in Chicago, New Orleans, and Memphis in 1906. In the Chicago case, Julio Balinag, Katonan, Dalasan, Minidol, Pomecda, Fomeloey, and Dengalan

accused Hunt in the Cook County Court of robbing them. As a result the court was able to return some money to the complainants.

Dengay (or Danguì) and Feloa went to the police in New Orleans and again in Memphis about money stolen from them. In order to prosecute Hunt, the U.S. government asked these men, the plaintiffs—Julio Balinag, his wife Maria Balinag, and Tainan—to be witnesses and interpreters until the court cases ended. Asterio Favis, a Vanderbilt University student from Morong, Rizal, was also asked to be a translator in the government case.

In two trials in Tennessee for stealing money from Dengay and from Feloa, Hunt was convicted and sentenced to eleven months and twenty days in the first case, and six months in the workhouse in the second. The detail that is of most interest to us, given the social attitudes in the southern United States at the time, is that the juries at these trials, which in 1906 would certainly have been all White people, ruled in favor of the “Igorot.” The judge set aside the verdicts and ordered a new trial in February 1907; it was later declared a mistrial. However, Hunt served time, about eight months in a Memphis prison, while he waited for the court’s dispositions. Given educational opportunities a century ago, it is also striking that Hunt’s lawyer in Chicago was a woman, a Mrs. Antoinette Funk.

### **Schneidewind’s 1911 Group: The Amok-Tongai Letter**

Although Schneidewind’s cordial relations with Bontoc people continued for many years, in contrast to Hunt’s, his exhibition business in Europe in 1911 was doomed to fail from the beginning. Along with a Captain Baber, who was working for “Magic City” in Paris, Schneidewind took fifty-five Bontoc people to France in the spring of 1911. England, Belgium, and the Netherlands were among the other places this ambitious group reached. However, the bosses were not familiar with entertainment businesses in these countries and it would appear that Schneidewind’s large party was turned out into the streets more than once (RG 350/13431).

This time there is clear evidence that Bontoc elders, the Bontoc Lieutenant-Governor John Early, officials of nearby towns, as well as the Episcopalian Bishop Brent were adamantly opposed to any more exhibitions. They presented a united stand against Schneidewind when he arrived to enlist Antero's and Bugti's services in 1911. However, Schneidewind had arrived in Bontoc with the prior approval of Governor-General William Cameron Forbes's office of his plan to take a group of Bontoc people to Europe. Despite the protests from the highest offices in the Lepanto-Bontoc region, Forbes gave them no support and invoked the Bontoc people's and Schneidewind's rights to free enterprise. He argued that there was no law that would stop the Bontoc people from contracting with Schneidewind. Mountain Province Governor William Pack took Forbes's stand and defended it to his fellow officials in the north. It appears that Antero and Bugti did not make it to Europe and Schneidewind employed Amok (James Amok) and Tongay (Ellis Tongai) to be translators. Tainan, the teenager who had been detained by U.S. courts to act as a translator in the Hunt cases, also went to Europe in 1911.

The Lepanto-Bontoc officials, all the way to the foothill Ilocano town of Cervantes, resorted to a variety of tactics to prevent Bontoc people from boarding their boat in Candon. Bugti was jailed on the pretext of his not having paid the cedula tax and Antero was ordered to continue the work on the Bontoc census that he was being paid to do. The officials imposed quarantines in the large upland towns before the coast. In the end, however, they succeeded only in delaying the group's departure, as Schneidewind's capable assistants found alternative trails to the coast. One final attempt was made to derail their journey, this time by Lepanto Lieutenant-Governor Miller, who concocted a telegram urging the French consul to inform the Marseilles port authorities of the impending arrival of several dozen Igorot afflicted with trachoma. That too was ignored, presumably after the French consulted Forbes' office.

Within two years Schneidewind ran into deep financial trouble, and things came to a head in Belgium in the winter of 1913. A report about cold and starving Igorot wandering the streets in Ghent reached American newspapers (Rydell 1984, 282); and they came under the in-

vestigation of the U.S. consul at Ghent. At this time, Schneidewind had convinced some of his group that, if they could wait until they got to the 1915 Exposition in San Francisco, they would be able to earn good money.

Schneidewind's main interpreters, Ellis Tongai and James Amok, opposed him and took matters into their own hands. Writing on behalf of "Your obedient servants, The Natives of Bontoc Province," the pair sent a two-page letter to the President of the United States," asking for help to be transported back home to Bontoc (RG 350/13431). Addressing him as "Our Father," the pair eloquently detailed to President Woodrow Wilson the group's problems, particularly about not being paid for many months and the deaths of nine members of the group, including five children. Schneidewind would not allow them to return to Bontoc, saying there was no money, but the interpreters swore that they knew where it was: "I know that the money to send us back is there in one of the English banks, I think Lloyd's bank. . . ." It also mentioned their distrust of the consul at Ghent, who was willing to hear Schneidewind out but not them: "The reason we went straight to you Our Father because we can not get no help of justice to our American Consul in Ghent [*sic*]." They signed their names with the title "Interpreters of the troop."

Despite a sympathetic report from the consul about Schneidewind, and also despite the wish of half of the Bontoc group to continue trying their luck in Europe that winter, the U.S. government officials decided they had had their fill of the "Igorot problem." In December 1913, the consul escorted the Bontoc people to Marseilles to catch a boat for Manila. An intriguing mystery in this story is that one man separated himself from the group in Ghent and was last seen boarding a train for Brussels.

In 1914 legislation was passed by the U.S. government in the Philippines to put an end to exhibitions of Filipinos. As for Schneidewind, Rydell (1984, 284) traced him to the Panama-Pacific Exposition in San Francisco in 1915, where he was managing the Samoan village. In 1918 he was a streetcar employee in Detroit, and in 1928 he was selling cars there and inquiring about how to expand his trade to the Philippines. He lived in Stamford, Connecticut, into the late 1940s.

Hunt, on the other hand, worked as a physician and spent the last years of his life in Marion, Iowa, where he died in 1916, just short of turning fifty-one. He left a widow (Sally née Gallagher), whom he had met at the St. Louis Fair, and a son, who died in his twenties and left no heirs. Nothing is known about his first wife, a Filipino he had met in Manila.

### **Conclusion: Cultural Identity and the Legacy of the Fairs**

The events related here demonstrate some of the relationship building and decision making that one expects in long-term encounters among people in any entertainment business. However, that these exchanges took place a hundred years ago between Bontoc people and American entrepreneurs in extended tours for Western audiences makes us take a second look at the indigenous contexts that engendered them. I begin, as a way of looking at aspects of accommodation and appropriation at the Fairs, by highlighting the experiences of the brokers, that cohort of young multilingual people from Chico River communities whose communicative and organizational skills put them at the center of these encounters.

By 1915 no rural area in the northern Philippines had as many well-traveled people as Bontoc did. Through their experiences and the communicative and organizational skills of their young interpreters, Bontoc people gained entry, however fleetingly, to the world of entertainment contracts, receipts and letters, and the judicial system of the United States. That members of troupes often came from traditionally feuding communities on the Chico River attests to the complex and unconventional decisions that must have preceded these travels. There is little doubt that these long journeys across the sea presented irresistible moneymaking opportunities in the company of families (including small children), friends, and neighbors. Some of these tours ended in deaths and the loss of property for many individuals. For most, however, seeing the West, even from the limited vantage points that were available to them, included many positive experiences that had long lasting

consequences on the way in which Bontoc people thought about the lives of White people and what it meant to be urban and educated.

Descendants tell us that the most important outcome of the journeys was the overwhelming desire among their ancestors for education for their children. The creation of Bontoc as the Mountain Province capital in 1908 pushed local people into the center of Cordillera bureaucracy from the beginning, and English language, bilingualism in general, and school knowledge were new bases of power that the journeys to the Fairs clearly reinforced. In all Cordillera regions outside of Baguio City, the mission and government schools of the Bontoc and Sagada area were, by the 1920s, the most successful in their recruitment of pupils. In the 1930s young students, male and female, embarked on the five-day trek from Bontoc to the only teacher-training (“normal”) schools in Trinidad and Baguio—a measure of their and their parents’ commitment and enthusiasm. The 1930 opening of the “Mountain Trail” (now Halsema Highway) made this dream even more possible.

Today the Mountain Province, in which Bontoc is located, is the source of most of the several thousand northern highlanders who now live and work abroad, primarily in North America. This mobility has largely come with the success of Catholic and Episcopalian mission schools in the largest towns and their push for high achievement among their students. Now proclaiming the identity of “Igorot” and calling it “a name of pride” rather than a “name of shame” (Bishop Francisco Claver, quoted in Bacdayan 2001), these expatriates have formed themselves into the Igorot Global Organization (IGO). In recent years, a small Philippine chapter, consisting mainly of professionals in Baguio City, has actively joined its international activities. In July 2004 IGO sponsored a grand reunion of 1904 Fair descendants in St. Louis, Missouri, to coincide with the Fifth International Igorot Conference. There they held an ecumenical memorial service for their ancestors, especially for those who died while in America a century ago. In addition, they staged performances of dance, music, and song; displayed the latest fashions using traditional textiles; and coordinated exhibits of weavers, carvers, and other craftspeople from the northern Luzon highlands with no less than Missouri Historical Society curators.

Over 500 people registered for this conference and some traveled from Bontoc especially for this auspicious celebration.

These twenty-first-century affirmations of Igorot identity among symbolic, if not literal, descendants of the Fairs' Igorot make us ask what connections might be made between those long ago journeys and these modern-day assertions in exile of difference and distinctiveness. The Nikimalika story is remarkable for the large number of participants, the length of time involved, and the variety of experiences they had. We do need to hark back to the mediations and the nuanced translations of cultural content that were refined over many months of well-orchestrated performances in faraway "Igorot Villages" in America and Europe. Over that decade, the Igorot shows also involved a large array of objects from home, in addition to songs, dances, music, and other activities (including singing American songs) that were arranged for foreign stages and became badges of their identity.

How then did the journeys to the West foster changes in the way that Chico River people came to represent themselves in the early 1900s? For one thing, the Nikimalika story helps to explain how middle Chico River people—those from Alab, Bontoc, Samoki, Tetep-an, Tucucan, Talubin, and neighboring communities—who had always identified themselves by their home territories and their kin networks, have come to embrace the regional self-identity of "Igorot" so much more enthusiastically and self-consciously than others in the Luzon highlands.<sup>2</sup> It also helps us to understand how, in their constructions of "culture," particular objects ("g-strings" and other "costumes," shields, spears, "head-axes," "head-baskets," gongs, beads, *Tridacna* and *Conus* shell ornaments, textiles, baskets) and activities ("Bontoc war dance," "wedding dance," "headhunting," and *cañao* "feasts"), more than others, evolved into long-lasting emblems of northern mountain life. Early in the American regime, an extralocal and extrakin-group "mountaineer" or "highlander" (Igorot) identity along the Chico River would incorporate American idealizations and decontextualizations of the ritual and material culture of that place and time.

The Bontoc journeys to the West had far-reaching cultural consequences that have not been so readily documented. As that generation welcomed the missionaries' schools and embraced the White officials'

prescriptions for bureaucracy and law and order, they also did, in terms most relevant to this study, reward the learning of outsiders' languages and cultures as they explored new forms of presenting their traditions, histories, and selves to others. I suggest we begin by allowing that, a hundred years ago in that place and to many young people, the paraphrases of Albert Jenks's *The Bontoc Igorot* by colonial officials, Episcopalian and Catholic priests, Constabulary officers, gold prospectors, and their choreographic and performative interpretations on Malika's stages by young Bontoc-Ilocano-Spanish-English interpreters embodied the most modern ways to be.

## Notes

I wish to thank Victoria Antero Apolinar, Kate C. Botengan, June Prill Brett, Antonio S. Buangan, Lola Antero Dangwa, Alice Anawasel Fakat, Virginia Antero Panay, Harold C. Conklin, Ted Jojola, Cherubim Quizon, and an anonymous *Philippine Studies* reviewer for reading earlier versions of this paper, for information about early 1900s Bontoc, or for information about their ancestors. Special thanks go to Keith Eirinberg for sharing his extensive knowledge and materials on the St. Louis Fair and other exhibitions. A version of this paper was read at the Seventh International Conference on Philippine Studies in Leiden, The Netherlands, in June 2004.

1. The main archival materials used in this paper are deposited in the U.S. National Archives and Records Administration (College Park, Maryland) and consist of numerous files in Record Group 350 (the Bureau of Insular Affairs documents). References in the text to files in this collection will give the file number following the record group number (e.g. RG 350/13431). Each file number may encompass other subfiles.

2. Contrary to the general assumption, the use of "Igorot" as a self-identification (rather than as an outsiders' social classification) did not evolve in all parts of the Cordillera region at the same time. In some areas (such as Ifugao, Kalinga, Apayao, and Abra) it never happened. Before 1900, the adoption of "Igorot" as an ethnic name (and the ethnic process itself) was much better established in areas further south, in the copper-, gold-, and cattle-rich areas where the trading encounters with outsiders had been longest and most intense and diverse. Guillermo Galvey's extended ethnographic explorations in the early 1800s confirm that "Igorot" were a small ethnic unit confined to the region from the Pangasinan foothills to the Agno River headwaters (Mas 1843; Scott 1974, 221; Afable 1998). Several days' walk to the south of the Chico River Bontoc, this was inhabited by

peoples who came to be called Ibaloy and southern Kankanaey. In the early 1900s, the construction of an American "hill station" in Ibaloy territory at Baguio created a strikingly different multicultural context for negotiations of Igorot identity. Thus, within the Cordillera, the use of Igorot as a self-identification by members of Bontoc, Kankanaey, and Ibaloy ethnolinguistic groups reflects particular histories and does not necessarily mark solidary relations among people called by that name.

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