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Volker Schult

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Volker Schult



After the defeat of Spain in the Spanish-American War in 1898 the United States of America became the new colonial master of the Philippine Archipelago. On 4 February 1899, however, war between the U.S. Army and the Philippine revolutionary forces, who had declared independence on 12 June 1898, began. Although fighting went on for years, the Americans started to establish a civil colonial administration in the Philippines. In July 1901 William H. Taft became the first U.S. civil governor of the archipelago and in September a comprehensive civil government was created (Miller 1982).

The policy-makers in Washington, especially President William McKinley and his Secretary of War Elihu Root, who were ignorant of the conditions in the Philippines, instructed the officers of the U.S. Army in Manila to deal with the many different ethnic groups in the archipelago in the same way as the North American Indians. Thus, President McKinley's instructions to the Philippine Commission on 7 April 1900 went:

In dealing with the uncivilized tribes on the islands the commission should adopt the same course followed by Congress in permitting the tribes of our North American Indians to maintain their tribal organization and government, and under which many of those tribes are now living in peace and contentment, surrounded by a civilization to which they are unable or unwilling to conform. Such tribal governments should, however, be subjected to wise and firm regulation; and, without undue or petty interference, constant and active effort should be exercised to prevent barbarous practices and introduce civilized customs.¹

These instructions were approved and ratified through the Philippine Bill, the Philippine Organic Act, on 1 July 1902.

On closer look the situation in the Philippines and the United States of America was quite different. Soon it became clear that the Philippines would not be an integral part of the U.S.A. After having prepared the Filipinos for western democracy they should be granted independence as soon as possible. The Americans' aim was to build in cooperation with the Filipino elite a Philippine nation. Thus, the ethnic groups in the Philippines could not be treated like the North American Indians but they were to be integrated into the mainstream of Filipino society.

On 2 October 1901, the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes (BNCT) was founded as part of the Department of the Interior. According to its dual function the BNCT was to investigate and analyze the conditions of the pagan and Muslim tribes and to conduct research studies in ethnology of the Philippine Islands. The Americans differentiated the Philippine population into Christians and non-Christians. In 1919 the Supreme Court of the Philippines made clear the point that the term "non-Christian" was free of any religious significance but was related to natives of a low grade of civilization.²

Dean C. Worcester was named secretary of the interior and held this office from 1901 to 1913. Worcester was one of the very few Americans with previous experience in the Philippines, having spent several months there as a member of scientific expeditions at the end of the 19th century. Worcester took charge of the American minority policy. Its established priorities were motivated by the incumbent's personal interest.³

The BNCT was reorganized in 1903 and its name changed to Ethnological Survey for the Philippine Islands. Its task was to conduct scientific research studies among the Philippine population. Merton L. Miller was appointed chief of the Survey. He confessed that the objective was not merely scientific but also political. The intention was to achieve a more effective administration and control of the non-Christian tribes by means of a better understanding of their customs and traditions. The Ethnological Survey was subject to the Bureau of Education. Worcester complained about his loss of authority. Finally, in 1907 the government placed the Survey under the control of the Bureau of Science that was subject to the Department of the Interior. Thus, Worcester was again in complete control of the minority policy (Act 841 1908, 87).

Very soon, however, it became clear that it was not appropriate and possible to treat the tribal Filipinos as the North American Indians. Gradually, the contours of a modified American minority policy

became manifest. The Americans felt obliged to civilize not only the christianized lowland Filipinos but also the natives in the mountainous areas of the islands. The highland population had become victims of exploitation by the lowlanders. By means of separate settlements and education the American policy-makers wanted to uplift the non-Christian tribes to protect them from exploitation. Thus, a concept of special administration was worked out, based in its first phase on a policy of segregation. The final aim was to uplift the non-Christian tribes so as to integrate them into the body politic. This implied that the minorities had to give up their cultural identity.

But how to start? Due to the non-existence of a comprehensive concept, the last sentence of the McKinley Instructions of 1900 which said "to prevent barbarous practices and introduce civilized customs" became important. Because no precise orders were given, the officers in the provinces used this sentence as a basis for a pragmatic approach towards a minority policy in the Philippines.

The Case of Mindoro

During Spanish colonial rule the island of Mindoro had been neglected. The Spaniards controlled only the few coastal towns. Attempts to christianize the Mangyan, the non-Christian tribe, and to induce them to settle down permanently failed to materialize. Thus, the Mangyan remained almost completely unaffected by colonial rule. During the 18th century frequent Moro raids devastated Mindoro and it was depopulated. Recovery was slow. Since the 1880s more settlers came to the island and they started to cultivate the vast tracts of idle land. Until the end of the Spanish rule, however, no roads existed connecting the few coastal towns. It was during that time that some anthropologists began to be interested in the culture of the Mangyan. The Philippine Revolution and the ensuing Philippine-American War at the turn of the century interrupted this delayed developmental process of Mindoro (Schult 1991b, 26; Postma 1977, 253-65).

In the summer of 1901 an American expeditionary corps started to occupy the island of Mindoro. It was one of the last strongholds of the Philippine revolutionary forces. Until 1903 the U.S troops were involved in a bloody guerrilla war. Almost all coastal towns were destroyed. The Mangyan were also affected by the fighting because many Mangyan still dwelled in the coastal plains. Although we do not have reports, it can be assumed that most of them fled into the

interior because that was the traditional way of the peaceful Mangyan to avoid conflicts. During the U.S. army's search and destroy campaigns in the wake of conquering Mindoro, Mangyan were used as guides and as living protective shields. Finally, the most wanted leader of the guerrillas in Mindoro, Valeriano Gasic from Naujan, was captured with the help of a group of local Mangyan on 11 November 1903. Thus, the fighting in Mindoro was over. The Mangyan were rewarded with hats, dresses, salt, rice, bolos, and cooking utensils (Schult 1991b, 46-49; 1993b, 77-90).

On 10 November 1902 the island of Mindoro was detached from Marinduque and given a separate provincial government. All areas with either a majority population of Moros in Mindanao and Sulu or so-called wild tribes, later on non-Christian tribes, were governed by separate legislation. This included the provinces of Benguet, Lepanto, Bontoc, and Nueva Vizcaya in North Luzon, as well as Palawan and Mindoro. In contrast to the regular provinces, no provincial elections were held, but the governor general of the Philippines placed authority over these non-Christian provinces directly in the hands of an American governor.

Captain Robert S. Offley became the first American civil governor of Mindoro. With regard to the administration of the Mangyan, Offley had to report directly to Worcester. Act No. 547 of 4 December 1902 provided for the establishment of local civil governments for the Mangyan. The provincial governor was authorized to appoint officers from among the Mangyan. In the interest of law and order, Offley was further authorized to resettle Mangyan on unoccupied public land. It was stated that the aim of the American governor was to support the Mangyan in acquiring the necessary knowledge so as to make them able for local popular government.

In order to standardize the administration of the provinces in the Philippines inhabited by different minority groups, except for the Moros, a Special Provincial Government Act was enacted on 14 September 1905. It provided for the administration and organization of special provinces. All officers were appointed by the governor general. They were under immediate supervision of the secretary of the interior, who was subject to the control of the Philippine Commission. No provincial elections were to be held and the power of the American governor and of the members of the provincial board was enlarged.⁴ Moreover, for the purpose of public works, for instance, improving the roads and trails, an annual tax of two pesos was imposed on every male inhabitant between eighteen and sixty years of age.⁵

In accordance with the above mentioned act, the local civil governments in those provinces were organized along the same line. In regard to Mindoro it resulted in the abolishing of the Mangyan Act of 1902. The single, but important change was that the provincial governor should not appoint officers for their settlements from among the Mangyan. This meant that the Mangyan were excluded from local government by law.

Geographical considerations were the decisive factor in establishing the first Mangyan settlements. The Americans founded the settlements of Lalawigan in the southwest, Budburan and Benli near Bulalacao in the southeast, Dulangan in the northeast, and Calamintao in the northwest of Mindoro. The small settlement of Lalawigan was established in April 1903. Approximately 80 Mangyan dwelt in that place. A *presidente* and a *consejal* were appointed. But no attempt was made to organize any form of township government. To emphasize his authority, the presidente was given colorful seals and ribbons. Then the Americans ordered these officials to keep the settlement clean, plant everything they saw fit, and encourage other Mangyan to join them.

These very general instructions revealed the lack of any definite line in the U.S. minority policy in Mindoro. No systematic approach was undertaken to change, for instance, the social structure of the Filipino lowland community. Thus, the exploitation of the Mangyan by the lowlanders continued during the American colonial government. Governor Offley admitted that he could only protect the Mangyan if they settled in separated villages. Even this modest attempt proved to be a failure. Due to inadequate means of communication and small numbers of U.S. officials, the local Filipino elite remained in control of most parts of Mindoro. Thus, the Mangyan still had to cultivate the Tagalog's lands, debt of servitude, i.e. slavery, continued, and children were abducted to make them work for their parents' debts. In the long run the Americans hoped to change the situation by means of educating the Mangyan according to western lines.⁶

School work among the Mangyan started at Lalawigan. The school building was finished in 1906. Budburan, Calamintao, and the small settlements of Banganay and Tii on the west coast followed suit. The supervising teacher for Mangyan work on the west coast became William E. Brown. He supervised the teachers who were lowland Filipinos. Very few children, however, visited school. For instance, only seventeen boys were enrolled in Banganay. The children were

taught hygiene, i.e. an occasional bath, and the making of nipa shingles and constructing houses. They learned farming, weaving and sewing. The language in class was Tagalog although English was also taught. That kind of school work meant that the indigenous culture of the Mangyan was completely ignored while the culture of the lowland Filipinos was idealized.

A severe setback in the Mangyan policy took place a few years later. In 1910 Governor van Schaick, Offley's successor, had to admit the failure of the school projects. Due to lack of funds, scarcity of teachers and students, the schools for the Mangyan had to be closed. A new beginning was made in 1912 with the opening of one primary school. Finally, in 1914 four schools for Mangyan existed. The annual enrollment was 125 and the average daily attendance only 78. Only six children were in grade 2 in March 1914. This reveals the high fluctuation rate. Compared to this, 50 schools with 89 teachers were available for the lowland population at the same time.⁷

Dean C. Worcester was very upset with the slow progress of the work among the Mangyan. He held Governor van Schaick personally responsible for that situation. In 1912 van Schaick resigned as governor of Mindoro. The Americans tried to keep on providing instructions in the four major settlements at least. But nothing could hide the fact that the minority policy in Mindoro had entered a state of crisis. In his annual report of 1913, Governor Stone admitted that the Mangyan conditions were not satisfactory. Apparently they had no rights which the Christian natives felt bound to respect. The only way to settle this question was the gradual assimilation with the Christian population. "Thus they will little by little cease to exist as a tribe and cease to be a problem." On the other hand, Stone recognized that

They have equal rights (if not greater, being the original owners) in the Province with the Christian native and these rights should be firmly protected at all costs (Annual Report 1913).

Due to the evident crisis of the Mangyan policy, high-ranking American and Filipino provincial officials were asked to propose plans for the future of the Mangyan.⁸ All of them agreed on the separation between Tagalogs and Mangyan and the establishment of a reservation system as essential features of a future minority policy. This seemed to be the only way to induce the Mangyan to settle down, to construct permanent houses, and to protect them from exploitation.

These recommendations, however, were motivated not only by humanitarian considerations but also by political reasons. The provincial government wanted to encourage migration to the still underpopulated island of Mindoro. It was intended to clear certain areas of Mangyan because these areas, declared as public land, were urgently needed as legal homesteads for settlers.

Despite these plans, which were made between 1912 and 1914, no immediate and decisive change in the minority policy took place. On the contrary, the situation even deteriorated. As long as pupils were supplied with rice, 20 to 30 children visited, for instance, the school in Budburan. After stopping the free distribution of rice due to lack of funds, the pupils, their parents, and the teacher abandoned the place. The same happened in Lalawigan. Moreover, it soon became clear that these places were badly chosen. During the dry period the inhabitants ran out of fresh water and during the rainy season the villages were flooded and hardly accessible (RPC 1911, 1:963; RPC 1911, 55).⁹

The year 1917 marked a watershed not only for the American policy towards the Philippines but also for the minority policy in Mindoro. In 1916 the Jones Law was passed in Washington granting the Philippines more internal autonomy. A Filipino took over as secretary of the interior. That was a first concrete step towards independence. The minority policy, however, remained under American control. In 1917 the defunct Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes was reconstituted under the direction of Frank W. Carpenter. The BNCT had general supervision over the public affairs of the territories of the Moros and other non-Christian tribes. Its main task was to elevate the level of civilization so as to make them able to be integrated into the Philippine nation. Then, the territories classified as special provinces would take their place as regular provinces.¹⁰

In 1917 the provincial government of Mindoro stated that the attempts to civilize the Mangyan had been a failure. Therefore, it was necessary to force them to settle permanently in one place. The place was Tigbao, east of Lake Naujan, where 800 hectares were exclusively reserved for the purposes of the Mangyan. Governor Morente ordered

all the Mangyans in the vicinities of the townships of Naujan and Pola and the Mangyans east of the Baco River including those in the districts of Dulangan and Rubi's place in Calapan, to take up their habitation on the site of Tigbao, Naujan Lake, not later than December 31, 1917. (Supreme Court 1920, 39:668)

The official, but not the true reasons for transferring the Mangyan to a reservation were:

1. The failure of former attempts for the advancement of the non-Christians.
2. The establishing of permanent settlements were the only successful method of educating the Mangyan.
3. The protection of the Mangyan.
4. The protection of the public forests, i.e. measures against kaingin-making.
5. The necessity of introducing civilized customs among the Mangyan (709).

The true reasons, however, were also revealed. The Mangyan did nothing for the advancement of the Philippines. Instead, they were a liability for the lowland Filipinos. And

Settlers in Mindoro must have their crops and persons protected from predatory men, or they will leave the country....If immigrations are to be encouraged to develop the resources of the great island of Mindoro, and its, as yet, unproductive regions, the Government must be in a position to guarantee peace and order (712-13).

A closer analysis of these measures reveals that particularly the Mangyan living in the northeastern plain were to be resettled on the reservation. This fertile but still mostly undeveloped area was the political and economic center of the island with a promising future. There, the provincial road connecting the island's capital Calapan with the thriving town of Pinamalayan was under construction so as to make that area accessible to new settlers. Gradually, the colonial government in Manila and the provincial government in Calapan succeeded in encouraging settlers from adjacent islands to migrate to the still sparsely populated island of Mindoro. An increasing number of settlers arrived in Mindoro and penetrated into the interior with the progressing of the provincial road. More and more land was cleared and cultivated. Thus, the government was afraid of possible land conflicts between settlers and Mangyan, since they did not take into consideration or simply ignored the fact that the Mangyan were traditionally a very peaceful community (Schult 1991a, 92ff.).¹¹

To clear the northeastern plain of Mangyan, the provincial government even used force to resettle them in some cases, for instance,

against Rubi and others who lived near Calapan. Eighty-nine Mangyan, however, managed to escape from the reservation in Tigbao and after a dangerous journey arrived at Manila. Here, Attorney Vicente Sotto took over their case. He argued that nobody, including the members of the non-Christian tribes, should be deprived of his freedom and confined on reservations against his will (*La Esclavitud* 1918, 23–24; *Quezon Papers* 1918).

Finally, in 1919 the case was brought to the Supreme Court of the Philippines for a judgment that established a principle. It decided that the special laws concerning the minorities and the resolution of the provincial government of Mindoro providing for the establishment of a reservation in Tigbao were according to law. The judges stated that the fundamental principle that all men are created equal had to be differentiated.

Theoretically, one may assert that all men are created free and equal. Practically, we know that the axiom is not precisely accurate. The Manguianes, for instance, are not free, as civilized men are free, and they are the equals of their more fortunate brothers. True, indeed, they are citizens, with many but not all the rights which citizenship implies. . . . If all are created equal before the law, all must be approximately equal in intelligence. If the Philippines is to be a rich and powerful country, Mindoro must be populated and its fertile regions must be developed. The public policy of the Government of the Philippine Islands is shaped with the view to benefit the Filipino people as a whole. The Manguianes, in order to fulfill this governmental policy, must be confined for a time, as we have said, for their own good and the good of the country. . . . Segregation really constitutes protection for the Manguianes. (*Supreme Court* 1919, 713, 719)

This legal problem was solved in favor of the government. Another problem, however, still remained. The stigma of being classified as a special province weighed heavy on Mindoro's politicians. Most of the island's elite lobbied in Manila for a revision of this status. They made references to the latest census of 1918 which showed a total number of 60,804 Christians, whereas the total number of Mangyan was given as only 11,127. Moreover, improvements in agriculture, infrastructure, health policy, and in the reduction of illiteracy were emphasized. Finally, they were successful. In 1921 Mindoro became a regular province. From then on the local elite was in complete control of the provincial policy.¹²

The main problem of the provincial government was now to secure enough funds to implement the reservation policy. But in 1923 Governor Liboro had to confess the final failure of the reservation in Tigbao due to lack of funds and the refusal of the Mangyan to settle in that place. The 1920s revealed the inconsistency of the minority policy. Mangyan schools and settlements were opened and closed down almost annually. Exploitation of the Mangyan, corruption of officials, and lack of funds were common patterns.

No decisive changes in the Mangyan policy were made. Instead, only new administrative measures were taken. For instance, in 1927 the BNCT extended its work to 17 regularly organized provinces where non-Christians lived, among them Mindoro. The BNCT focused on the establishment of permanent settlements and the advancement of the economic conditions of the non-Christians. In 1929 the BNCT appointed three superintendents of non-Christian tribes, each responsible for one of the three Mangyan districts of the island. Their task was to foster the political, social and trade relations between Mangyan and Christians, their economic development as well as their advancement in civilization.

Although Governor Ignacio ordered the school superintendents to take care that more Mangyan pupils attended school regularly, even by using force, the results were very poor. Enrollment of the five Mangyan schools increased from 143 pupils in 1930 to 207 in 1932, but the actual rate of attendance decreased by more than fifty percent after six months in a given school year. Governor Ignacio acknowledged the importance of Mangyan teachers to instruct the pupils because they would be trusted by their fellow Mangyan. This was a step in the right direction but due to lack of funds because of the Great Depression this idea was not realized.¹³ The journalist Conrado Nicasio commented on the Mangyan policy in 1923:

In spite of strong efforts of the government officials to educate Mangyans, failure and only failure was the result. The catching and holding of the Mangyans in order to keep them in permanent settlements was the principal difficulty. The Mangyans, conservative in customs and habits, could hardly be kept in settlements (Nicasio 1932, 6:54).

In the 1930s the influx of new settlers increased rapidly. Land-grabbing and conflicts became a permanent problem. Thus, from 1933 the authorities established a comprehensive policy of reservations in

Mindoro. The Mangyan reservations were extended to the area surrounding already existing schools and settlements. Between 1933 and 1939 a total of eight reservations, two in Calamintao, one each in Anduyanan (Paluan), Barrio Mag-asawang Tubig (Naujan), Sitios Tibong and Sabang (Pinamalayan), Barrio Dulungan (Baco), and two in Barrio Camurong (Abra de Ilog), came into existence. The size varied between 16 and 243 hectares.¹⁴

Manuel Quezon, President of the recently established government of the Philippine Commonwealth, decreed on 24 October 1936 the abolishing of the BNCT, which, in his opinion, was a relic of colonial rule. Instead, the task of administering the minorities in the Philippines was assigned to the Department of the Interior. For the administration of the Muslims, the office of the Commissioner for Mindanao and Sulu was created. Quezon denied the necessity for specialized rule for the minorities in Northern Luzon, Mindoro, and Palawan. Thereby, he indicated that the Filipinos had advanced sufficiently in nation-building so as to integrate the minorities into the national community.¹⁵

The situation of the Mangyan in Mindoro, however, remained essentially unchanged. The conditions of exploitation continued to exist. Lowland Filipinos and officials took further advantage of the Mangyan settlements. The German S.V.D. priest (Society of the Divine Word) Father Müller, in charge of Naujan/Pola parish, immediately recognized the real reason for a recently founded Mangyan settlement near Lake Naujan by Governor Garong in 1937. The small barrio was established because of the lowland Filipino's need for easily available and cheap manpower (Müller letter 1937; Müller 1939, 230).

The school system also remained inadequate. The German traveler Fr. Paul Schebesta visited the Mangyan school of Saklag in San Teodoro in 1938. Three Tagalog teachers instructed 23 Mangyan children. In the nearby valley, fields and gardens were cultivated. The children were instructed in the planting of bananas, pineapples, coffee, and other crops. The school sold these crops to a Tagalog middleman in the vicinity of Saklag who received much of the profit. After having finished school and field work, Schebesta watched the performance of Mangyan children, reciting poems and singing songs in Tagalog and English. He wrote:

Mir kam die Sache unsäglich dumm vor; gewiss war die Arbeit des Lehrpersonals, das aber nur des Soldes wegen diente und sich nach Erlösung aus der Einsamkeit sehnte, anzuerkennen; was da geschah

war aber alles verlorene Liebesmüh', weil so gar nicht nach dem Empfinden und den Bedürfnissen der Mangyanen angepasst (Schebesta 1947, 135-36, 139, 147-48).

(The event seemed very stupid. Sure, the work of the teaching staff, who, however, worked only here because of money and who long for deliverance from their loneliness, had to be appreciated. But what happened here was completely futile because it was not according to the way the Mangyan felt and not adapted to their needs. [author's translation])

Even before the outbreak of World War II in the Pacific in 1941 only five Mangyan schools with approximately 200 pupils existed throughout Mindoro. The schools were still run and supervised by lowland Filipinos (*Tribune* 1941; 40, 44-45). World War II and the Japanese occupation of the Philippines aggravated the situation even further. For fear of the Japanese, many Mangyan and lowland Filipinos went deeper and deeper into the interior of Mindoro. After the war the influx of new settlers increased rapidly. Land-grabbing became a severe problem in Mindoro. The Mangyan were deprived of their land and sometimes killed. Even still existing reservations were no obstacle to the settler's drive for land.

The Case of North Luzon

A variety of ethnic groups lived in the mountainous area of North Luzon. From among these ethnic groups the Ifugaos are selected as a sample for this article because they were the most important tribe, outnumbered the others, and their history is rather well documented.

The Ifugao had been undisturbed by Spanish colonial rule for two centuries. From the 1750s the Spaniards started a policy of persuasion and punishment. Neither method, however, turned out to be successful. Most of the Ifugao refused taxation and baptism. As a result, only 8,000 baptized Christians were counted at the turn of the century. It was only from 1889 that the Spaniards tried to intensify their rule, but they met with fierce resistance. Thus, at the end of their colonial rule only a few military garrisons were established, some horse trails built, coffee, cacao, and citrus fruits introduced, as well as smallpox and syphilis. The most important outcome, however, was the creation of a clear distinction between those Filipinos dwelling in the lowland areas, baptized and accustomed to western

life style, and those people living in the highlands having avoided Spanish influence.¹⁶

Thus, most of the Ifugao territory remained a *terra incognita* to the new colonial masters, the Americans. The census of 1903 gave evidence to this. A ridiculously low number of mountaineers was counted. A prerequisite to American policy was the bringing of an effective American government to the Ifugao. This meant the establishment of peace and order as well as the elimination of head-hunting, intervillage warfare, and slave-catching. Because of the Ifugao's tradition of warfare, this proved to be a difficult task. It took the Americans until around 1910 to pacify the area. This was only possible after the organization of a constabulary force consisting of native warriors. Slavery within Ifugao territory and slave-trade conducted between Ifugao and lowlanders came to an official end (Jenista 1987, 33, 38).

In 1900 Dean C. Worcester presented and supported a model legislation for the establishment of local and provincial governments for the predominantly tribal inhabitants of Benguet Province in North Luzon. Under the supervision and authority of American officials the "primitive" tribal people should govern themselves, unmolested by the lowland Filipinos. First township elections were held in 1901 and by 1905 the province was divided into sixteen townships.

This so-called "Benguet Law" became the model for the Special Government Act of 1905 which introduced special legislation for the non-Christian tribes all over the Philippines. Worcester was now in full control of these areas. He justified this law with the cultural difference between the highland peoples and the lowlanders. The non-Christian tribes should not be subjected to Filipino officials because the latter permanently exploited them. Thus, Worcester was an outspoken opponent of an integration of tribal areas into the Philippine nation. Instead, these regions should remain under American influence.

Filipino politicians suspected another motive behind these steps. They feared that these provinces would be dismembered from a future Philippine nation. Worcester's reasons were ambivalent. Apart from a genuine interest in protecting the inhabitants and promoting their welfare, there were designs to prevent the integration of tribal peoples into the Philippine nation and to exploit these undeveloped territories economically (Sullivan 1992, 158, 162-63).¹⁷

Worcester fostered the plan to consolidate the whole of Luzon's Cordillera Central into one special government province under his personal control as secretary of the interior. He emphasized the fact

that the implementation of public works still met with problems due to lack of manpower and rivalries between the provinces of North Luzon. On 18 August 1908 Act No. 1876 was passed, establishing the Mountain Province comprising seven sub-provinces. Each sub-province was administered by an American lieutenant-governor under Worcester's authority.¹⁸

Indirect rule became one of the main patterns in administering the Mountain Province. The village headmen, the natural leaders, were appointed cabecillas representing the people. They had to report directly to the American officers. The introduction of the western legal system was implemented carefully and combined with traditional customs. This approach proved to be successful. It was made possible because Worcester gave his lieutenant-governors responsibility to act in their own way as long as results in pacification, trail-building, and friendly relations between the tribes and the American authorities were achieved. The special legislation and the relative unimportance of the Mountain province to the Manila government gave them this flexibility to govern according to their own way.

It was this kind of personal government, expressed especially in the respect for the Ifugao culture and customs, that made the Ifugao sharply aware of their identity, as the scholar Frank Jenista wrote. The development of an ethnic consciousness among the Ifugao was one of the most important changes effected by the Americans. One important feature of the American experience in the Cordilleras was their personal ties with Ifugao. Most of the American officers stayed exceptionally long in office, from six to nineteen years. They had a language ability and showed respect for the local customs. Some even entered into personal relationships with Ifugao women who became their wives (Jenista pp. 191ff., 240, 251-53, 267-68).

Public works and instruction were the most important means to bring North Luzon under American control. The road building program had political and military reasons. The constabulary gained better access to the interior, and administrative control was made more efficient. Another reason was to foster the economic development of the region. An extension of the local mining industry and a stimulation of internal trade and commerce was intended. But the building of roads and trails proved to be very difficult and expensive. It took the Americans several years and much money until a first trail from the sub-province of Ifugao to Bontoc and further to Nueva Vizcaya was constructed in 1908. By 1912 more trails were finished in Ifugao (Fry 1983, 76; Jenista 1987, 136-40).

During the first decade of American rule, public instruction lagged behind pacification and trail-building efforts. In 1904 the first public school was opened in Ifugao. Americans and lowland Filipinos took over as teachers. At first the school met with good response. But then it declined because of lack of interest. Different expectations of the Ifugao were responsible for this development. The Ifugao expected immediate results in material welfare and progress through public instruction. Due to a decreasing rate of attendance, the school had to be closed. American teachers, among them Otley Beyer, tried to persuade the parents to send their children to school again by providing the pupils with free lunch. That was successful only as long as the children received the promised food.

Only two public schools were in operation in Ifugao in 1914. Fifteen years later their number increased to twenty-five. In 1932 approximately 805 children attended classes. First, the students were hired in government offices but as their number increased jobs became more scarce causing employment problems in the years following. Despite the government policy to promote qualified Ifugao to official positions, a significant number of jobs, e.g. teachers and higher officials, were filled with lowlanders. Around 1911 the first inroads of Ifugao in positions of secretaries and clerks in government offices were made (Jenista 1987, 146 ff.).

A turning-point in the American policy in the Philippines was the appointment of Francis Burton Harrison as governor general in 1914 and Worcester's previous resignation from office as secretary of the interior. He took the view that the pace of Ifugao assimilation into the Philippine body politic had to be accelerated. Harrison's policy of Filipinization had direct consequences also for the Mountain Province. More and more lowland Filipinos replaced Americans in offices. In 1915 only one Filipino served as fiscal in the Mountain Province. In 1916 a Filipino lowlander was appointed the first full-time provincial governor, and one year later all posts were filled with Filipinos except for the lieutenant-governor of Ifugao.¹⁹

In the years following, the relation between highlanders and lowland Filipinos deteriorated. Before the 20th century, animosities between them had emerged as a result of the lowlander's alliance with the Spanish colonial government. They came as soldiers into the mountain region, used force or cheated the highland people. With the opening of the Cordilleras through trails and later on roads, more lowland Filipinos penetrated the Mountain Province. Many of them came as businessmen and merchants looking for easy profit. American

officials tried to limit the ways of exploiting the highlanders. In 1907 the first provincial exchange was opened in Bontoc to protect the mountaineers against the cheatings of lowland merchants.

In this context it should be mentioned that quite often Ilocanos served as middlemen to the highlanders. They played important intermediary and leadership roles on a local level. These Ilocanos had moved to the Cordilleras in earlier years or were even born there. They spoke the local dialects and were acquainted with the customs. Frequently, they could bridge the gulf between lowland Filipinos and tribal people and ease rising tensions.

There were cases of land-grabbing because lowlanders used the western legal system to their advantage by applying for land titles. This problem increased after the American officials left and were replaced by Filipinos. The exploitation of the many natural resources of the area commenced on a larger scale. In the 1930s prospects of a comprehensive economic development of the Mountain Province were developed. Mining remained the most important industry but the copper industry also became of increasing interest. Plans for the use of hydro-electric power were made and the tourist industry was to be promoted. Its center was Baguio City, the summer capital of the Philippines, and residence of many high-ranking Filipino and American officials and businessmen from Manila. After World War II the problems in the Cordillera area worsened due to an increasing influx of new migrants looking for land and wealth (Fry 1983, 171ff., 214; Jenista 185-87, 190-92).

Mindoro and North Luzon Compared

The American minority policy in the Philippines was shaped along the same administrative lines. The McKinley instructions of 1900 set the framework. The Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes was founded as a central office responsible for the minorities. Finally, provinces with a majority of non-Christians became special provinces under the Special Provincial Government Act in 1905. Dean C. Worcester as secretary of the interior was in charge of the minority policy. Due to the vague instructions from Washington and Worcester's personal interest in the minorities, he mainly shaped the concrete policy towards the non-Christians.

The final aim of the government policy was to uplift and educate the minorities so as to integrate them into the mainstream of Filipino

society. The methods and steps to implement this policy in Mindoro and in North Luzon were very similar. The first step was to pacify the areas, then to extend administrative control and to gain access to the provinces by improving the infrastructure and to the non-Christians by means of public instruction. The implementation and the results of this policy during American colonial rule, however, were quite different in Mindoro and in North Luzon with noticeable consequences until today.

At first we must take natural differences into consideration. Mindoro had a total area of around 10,000 km² and the Mountain Province of 16,500 km². The total number of population was very unequal. According to the census of 1918, the Mountain Province comprised some 165,000 non-Christians and 11,000 Christians, whereas the respective numbers for the Province of Mindoro were 11,000 and 60,000. Even if we assume that the number of Mangyan was grossly underestimated, the numeric relation between Non-Christian groups and lowland Filipinos was very different (*Census 1918*; Schult 1997).

That means that in the Mountain Province the non-Christians composed the majority of the population and due to their total number they were of greater interest to the government in Manila than the Mangyan. A lowland-highland dichotomy causing frictions was at no time of the American colonial rule of such importance in North Luzon as it was in Mindoro. Thus, right from the beginning the American officials could focus much more on the specific problems of the mountaineers of North Luzon.

In both cases the first step to establish American colonial rule was to conquer and pacify the provinces. Peace and order was restored rather quickly in Mindoro. The resistance of the lowlanders was broken until 1903 and the Mangyan posed no threat to the Americans because they were traditionally very peaceful. The Ifugao were different. They were warriors and even headhunters. It took the Americans much more time, around until 1910, to pacify North Luzon and to eradicate slave-catching. Establishing an effective administration of the Mangyan, however, proved to be a problem. The Mangyan were very mobile because of their system of swidden agriculture and they dwelled in scattered small settlements. Moreover, when confronted with dangerous situations or with intruders they simply retired into the almost inaccessible interior of Mindoro. Thus, they evaded effective administrative control.

The Americans' attempt to induce the Mangyan to settle permanently was a complete failure. The introduction of small reservations was also no adequate means to control and administer the Mangyan. The Americans failed to impose a superior authority on the Mangyan. Contrary to that, they were quite successful in establishing a rather efficient system of indirect rule in North Luzon. With the help of a constabulary composed of natives and village headmen, who reported directly to the lieutenant-governors, the Americans succeeded in establishing their authority over most of the tribes for the first time in the history of North Luzon.

Public works, such as road- or trail-building, and the introduction of public instruction met with difficulties in both provinces due to topography, scarcity of funds, and, in the latter case, also lack of acceptance by the native population. The opening of schools for the non-Christian tribes was done at a slow pace in both cases. At the end of the American period, however, the policy of education of the Mangyan had completely failed, whereas it was comparatively a success in the Mountain Province.

The Mangyan were forced to settle in permanent settlements and their children induced to attend the schools. The curriculum was according to western lines and the teachers were either Americans or lowland Filipinos. The only motive for the Mangyan children as well as the Ifugao at the beginning was the free distribution of rice. The important difference, however, was that the Ifugao had the chance to be employed at least as secretaries or clerks in the colonial administration. The Mangyan were denied all equivalent job opportunities. On the contrary, all of the influential and lucrative jobs were occupied by lowland Filipinos, thus increasing the deep rift between these sections of the population.

Nearly all roads in Mindoro were built along the coast. The result was that the lowland Filipinos almost exclusively took advantage of the public works projects. The opening of lowland areas through roads caused an increasing influx of new settlers and a further retreat of many Mangyan into the mountain areas, making the Mangyan a neglected minority. To avoid possible conflicts between settlers and Mangyan, a policy of reservation was introduced in Mindoro during American rule. There was no need for this kind of policy in the Mountain Province where the influx of lowland Filipinos took place on a lower level.

Consequently, the problem of exploitation of the minorities by lowland Filipinos was in no way of such importance as in Mindoro.

The main concern of the American governors was to protect the Mangyan from exploitation by settling them down permanently. Apart from the Mangyan's dislike for various reasons to live in permanent settlements, a correct supervision by the very few American officers in Mindoro was impossible. Thus, again lowlanders had to be entrusted with this task. No American was ever a full-time minority governor and he could only spend a very limited span of time for Mangyan affairs. The focus of the Americans was on the developmental problems of the coastal areas. The Mangyan played only a minor role. No wonder that no intensive personal ties between Americans and Mangyan were established.

On the other hand, the American governors and lieutenant-governors of the Mountain Province could devote their full attention to the Ifugao's concerns. Thus, the administration of the Mountain Province took place on a very personal level. Worcester and his officials spent much of their time on the affairs of this region. Many U.S. officers admired the culture and the customs of the Ifugao and some even married native women. This interest was not exclusively due to personal or paternalistic motives but also economic reasons, for instance, in the mineral wealth of the area. Economic interests and its consequences finally caused more problems to North Luzon but this was only severely noticeable after World War II.

The most important outcome of the U.S. minority policy and difference between both areas was that the Americans initiated a process of an ethnic consciousness among the Ifugao and a feeling of being proud of their indigenous culture. Frank Jenista concluded:

The strength of the Ifugao-American relationship also affected the participation of Ifugao in the Philippine nation. The success of American pacification efforts, the establishment of governmental structure and the education of Ifugaos to fill these official positions were the American accomplishments which enabled the Ifugaos to enter the Commonwealth as a unified, largely self-governing province (Jenista 1987, 268).

The Ifugao and the other ethnic groups thought that their situation would also improve after the independence of the Philippines in 1946. But they met with the objective of the Filipino government to integrate the minorities into the nation with no consideration of their cultural identity. This awareness of an ethnic consciousness was one of the main factors for the increasing resistance of the ethnic groups in North Luzon against their exploitation through big business

and Filipino politicians. Thus, North Luzon had become one of the major areas of the guerrillas of the New People's Army and other resistance groups since the 1970s.

No such development took place in Mindoro until recently. In spite of similar American minority policy in regard to administrative regulations and methods, the outcome was quite different. As we have seen, the conditions of both regions were unequal. The peaceful and comparatively small number of Mangyan never posed a threat to the American colonial government. Therefore the Americans devoted their personnel to other regions, such as North Luzon. The availability of American material and human resources as well as the individual priorities of the American incumbents played a vital role. And last but not least, the specific culture and customs of the indigenous people involved had their effect in the results of this policy. The limited contact between the Americans and the Mangyan and the much more intensive relations with the Filipino lowlanders, who composed the majority of Mindoro's population, were an obstacle to the development of an ethnic consciousness among the Mangyan. Thus, this policy caused among the Mangyan a sense of inferiority making them a continual victim of exploitation until recently.

Notes

1. These instructions were written by Secretary of War Root. He indeed was the chief architect of the American colonial policy towards the Philippines.

2. Supreme Court 1920, 661, 664; Act 253 1964, 103-4; Lopez 1976, 106-7.

3. For a biography of Worcester see Rodney J. Sullivan (1992).

Worcester was one of the most influential members of the American colonial government, though it was generally agreed upon that he was not a good administrator. He started many things but did not always carry them out. He was responsible for almost every key program of the government. Worcester's power base was in Manila and in the special provinces, in particular in North Luzon. These provinces were "his" territories. Here, he was "the Big Apo from Manila" and "his" natives respectfully said, "the voice of Worcester is the voice of God." He was a master of intrigue and kept dossiers about Filipinos, and Americans as well. This gave him extraordinary power because he used his information effectively (Stanley 1984, 117-41).

4. Mindoro remained a special province until 1 July 1921. The members of the local elite complained about this fact and blamed the Mangyan and the Americans. Mariano Leuterio, Juan Navarro and others sent a memorandum to U.S. Secretary of War Dickinson in 1910 explaining "el triste y deplorable estado de nuestra provincia." They argued that the majority of inhabitants of Mindoro were discriminated and the island made a second class province only because of the fact that a small number of pagans, i.e. Mangyan, were living in the island's interior. Even under Spanish colonial

rule Mindoro had been regarded as a regular province (*Exposición Contra el Regimen de Tribus Infieles Implantado en la Provincia Cristiana de Mindoro*, I.F. 1910. Manila: Imprenta de I.R. Morales). The *Census of the Philippine Islands* 1903, vol. II, 14, gives a number of 7,264 Mangyan and 32,318 Christians. The *Census* 1918, vol. II, 100, shows a number of 11,127 Mangyan and 60,804 Christians. It seems the local elite deliberately underestimated the number of Mangyan in 1918 so as to have arguments that Mindoro was being made a regular province. For a more thorough discussion of this point see, Jürg Helbling/V. Schult.

5. Act 500, 547 1903, 121–28; Act 1396 1905, 5:11–29; Schult 1993a, 15–18.
6. *Manila* 1905, 1, 5; RPC 1905, 542; RPC 1906, 316; Offley 1918.
7. RPC 1907, 332; RPC 1908, 355–56; Nicasio 1932, 9; HDP 1953, 72, 74; Report 1911, 73; 1912, 72; 1913, 79; 1914, 141.
8. For more details, see V. Schult (1991b, 77–78).
9. For a more detailed memorandum of the four major settlements, see “Th. Weeks to W. Denison, Re Mangyan Settlements in Mindoro,” Manila, 31 July 1915, in *MPP* No. 11.
10. Report of Gov. Gen. 1919, 12, 30, 53–54; Lopez 1921, 113–16.
11. The number of population increased rapidly from 71,931 in 1918 to 131,569 in 1939. Particularly the municipalities in the northeast of Mindoro were affected by this increase, for instance, Calapan from 7,284 to 17,158; Naujan from 9,139 to 19,170, and Pola from 4,307 to 10,107 (Schult 1991b, 65ff.).
12. *Census* 1918, 2:100; Report of Gov. Gen. 1922, 52; Liboro 1920, 7:96.
13. Navarro 1923–24, 17–21; *Phil Education* 1927, 24:222–23; Report of Gov. Gen. 1927, 116; Annual Report 1929; Villar 1933, 10–11; Alvano 1934, 384.
14. *Executive Orders* 1934, 345–47, 686–87; 1935; Redavia 1960; Agpalo 1972, 238–45.
15. Act 75 1968, 357–58; Lopez n.d., 116–17.
16. Scott 1982; Jenista 1987, 4–11; McCoy and de Jesus 1982, 55.
17. Worcester was blamed for having created the Mountain Province because of his personal interest in the Benguet Consolidated Mining Co. and land ownership. Benguet Consolidated had already started its operations in 1907. According to Howard Fry (1983, 71, 85), these assumptions were well founded.
18. Jenista 1987, 54–56, 61, 82, 89–90; Fry 1983, 42, 78–79; Sullivan 1992, 150–51, 155.
19. Jenista 1987, 130, 154–55, 189, 194, 254; Sullivan 1992, 163–64.

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