

# THE ARCHIVE.

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PHILIPPINE LINGUISTICS

ACCESSORY PAPER, No. 1.

1931-'32

## ON BAGUIO'S PAST

(Chapters from Local History and Tradition)

BY

OTTO SCHEERER

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHOR

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OTTO SCHEERER

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Kapitan Mateo Cariño, fronting page 28.

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## INTRODUCTION

Having been a resident of Báguio in pre-American days, I am often asked to speak about former conditions in this now far-famed mountain-resort of the Philippines. The following pages are intended to convey information of the desired kind up to the end of the Spanish regime.

Báguio and the country around it are the home of a group of Igórots [literally 'mountaineers'] called Ibáloys, on whose ethnography we have valuable papers from Worcester, Barrows, and others. To obtain knowledge especially of the life of the Ibáloys inhabiting Báguio and its outlying settlements in the past, two means are at our disposal. We may ransack the records Spanish authors have left us of former happenings in that area, or we may, by questioning the older tribesmen themselves, try to bring out what local traditions have survived the rush of modern times. I have drawn from both sources and, much as they leave to be desired, there is no reason for withholding from wider knowledge information the very insufficiency of which might incite the academic or patriotic interest of others to bring to light further material. In fact, unimportant as may appear today the part which Igórot records play in Philippine historical research, interest in them will increase as the mountain peoples of northern Luzon, gaining in numbers and culture, come to establish themselves more fully in the comity of their brothers of the lowlands and thus help to consolidate the Philippine nation.

In accordance with the foregoing this paper is divided into a review of certain Spanish chronicles and an account of original research of the writer.

Proper names spelled differently in distinct dialects are in this paper given the form they have in Inibáloy, speech of the Ibáloys, unless such form is fixed by official or scientific usage; e.g., the generally employed term **Igórot** is used for the idiomatic **Igúdut** of the Ibáloys. Obsolete names and such of doubtful correctness appearing in the chronicles are placed between apostrophes. Abbreviations used are: Inibáloy: Inb., Iloko: Ilk., Kan-kanáy: Kan., Tagalog: Tag., Pañgasinán: Pañg. The combination ñg stands for the velar nasal.

## FIRST PART

### I

Comments on name of Bágúio. Reference to chronicles on missionary work in Beñguet by Augustinians in 1755.

Turning in the first place to the old Spanish records treating of the country around Bágúio, we are struck by the absence in them of that city's name so familiar to us at present. We thus look for it in vain in Quirante's report on his expedition to the gold-mines in and around 'Antamog' in 1624, altho he seems to have visited all that neighborhood. The name Bágúio, spelled phonetically, presents itself as the Inibáloy term *bagyu* which denotes, in this as well as in the Ifugaw dialect, that submerged slimy waterplant with floating leaves that is known to botany as *Potamogeton*, and to the Tagalog as *lumot*. Old inhabitants assured me that this was the name given formerly to the watery bottom of the Kisad valley between Bágúio and Trinidad, tho none of them could tell how it had come to apply to the locality now so designated. For *baguio*, as the term generally current in the Philippines for 'typhoon', the Ibáloys have the word *puok*. As will appear further on, Bágúio bore in olden times the name *Kafágway* [Ilk. *kapaway*, stem *páway*, grassy clearing] which alludes to the center of the Bágúio basin, a piece of prairie that was more conspicuous before the creek Minak meandering thru it was expanded into the present Burnham Park Lake. As a matter of fact, all topographic designations used by the natives go very much into detail, covering often but a few hectares of land, and, with the frequent desertions by the Ibáloys of their settlements—as often as not a silent protest against outside interference—also the names of their former dwelling-places and adjoining useful grounds fall into oblivion.

The oldest extant Spanish records, now, that treat in detail cultural developments in and around the area at present constituting the jurisdiction of Bágúio, are accounts of certain missionary endeavors carried on there by Augustinian friars around the year 1755. Thanks to the great interest which the late Dean C. Worcester, former Secretary of the Interior, took

in scientific research of all kinds in the Philippines, those records were published in Spanish as part of *Relaciones Agustianas del Norte de Luzon* in Vol. III (Spanish edition) of the 'Philippine Ethnological Survey Publications' of the year 1904, and as this serial has long since been out of print, it will be of interest to give here, in English, annotated excerpts of that part of the accounts which refers to the attempted christianization of the Ibáloys around Báguio.

The records consist of a number of relations and letters written by three members of the order already mentioned who took personal part in the work of evangelization, namely, a Provincial, a Prior, and a missionary. Their writings, which partly overlap and thus check each other, are compiled in the following account.

## II

**Policy of attraction in dealing with Igórots inaugurated by Provincial P. Carrillo in 1753. Governor General Arandia patronizes Ibáloy delegation. Newly baptized mountaineers feted in Manila and Agoo.**

When in 1753 the Very Reverend Father Manuel Carrillo was appointed Provincial, that is, general superintendent of the 'Province' of the Augustinians, his first inspection in that year led him to the provinces of Pangasinán and Ilocos, and the great interest he took in the peoples living in the mountains of that region induced him to urge upon the ministers under his orders the adoption of an active policy of attraction towards the hill-tribes in their jurisdictions. Upon his second visit in the following year he greatly rejoiced to learn of the good reception which that policy had found on the part of the mountaineers. Informed of the doubts which some of his parish-priests entertained regarding the reliability of this favorable disposition of the Igórots, he took care to assure himself of their sincerity until he became ultimately satisfied in this regard. The news, therefore, that the Alcalde Mayór—or provincial governor as we say today—of Pañgasinán had inaugurated exactly the opposite policy, was to him a source of great vexation. Not content with having prohibited all commercial intercourse between the Cristianos of the lowlands and the pagan inhabitants of the mountains, that official was preparing at the time an armed force of 2000 men with which to invade the mountains 'á san-

gre y á fuego', with fire and sword. The mere rumor of this had been sufficient cause for the mountaineers to cease frequenting the Christian towns and to keep hidden in their mountains. Encouraged, however, by the assurance of the Provincial that he would take upon himself all responsibility, a group of seven Ibáloy headmen under the leadership of one Daxachen (1) [Ilk. Lakaden] from the mountains east of Agoo, ventured to meet him at that town around the end of the year 1754, handing him a petition which they had caused to be drawn up in the Iloko language and in which they asked for three things, viz., that they be given a missionary because they and the people of their townships wanted to become Christians; that there be returned to them a quantity of gold together with other articles which had been confiscated by the commissaries of the Alcalde of Pañgasinán from some fellow tribesmen intending to trade with the Christians, and that certain of the latter, imprisoned in Liñgayen for the same cause, be set free. Having been told by the Provincial that their petition could be granted only by the Governor General in Manila, to whom he was very willing to transmit it with his recommendation, and that there was reason to hope everything from the kindly disposition of that high official, as they might find, if they were to present their appeal to him personally, the petitioners resolved to return to their mountain homes in order to prepare everything for the trip to Manila, promising to be back in Agoo in twelve days. They assured the Provincial that, even in case that the gold were not returned to them, they would nevertheless become Christians, and that they would allow the missionary, for whom they were asking, to correct and punish them, because, as they said, they too used to meet thus all wrong-doing on the part of their children and townmates. But the trip to Manila as first intended by the seven headmen came to naught, because, having punctually returned to Agoo at the appointed time and having set out from there on their way to Manila, they were held up in Liñgayen, capital of Pañgasinán, by order of the Alcalde, who sent them back to their mountains. Either he had got wind of the opposition to his projected punitive expedition, or he feared that the Igórots wanted to appeal to the Govern-

(1) 'x' in Inibáloy words is used here and further on for the sound 'ch' in Scotch 'loch'.



or General for a return of the gold and other articles which had been taken from them. This setback notwithstanding, there was dispatched to Manila, under the guidance of some intelligent Ilokos and by round-about roads, another group of six Ibáloys who eventually arrived happily at their destination and delivered their petition, together with a recommendation from the Provincial in which he urgently deprecated any punitive expedition as planned by the Alcalde. The mission was very graciously received by Governor General Arandía who at once ordered the Alcalde of Pañgasinán to suspend until further notice the intended expedition and to allow the resumption of trade relation between the hill-men and the Cristianos. The Alcalde answered by an impressive exposition of the motives for his projected undertaking, and of the advantages to be gained by it. This answer failed, however, to alter the judgment of the Governor General; the Alcalde was ordered to suspend the expedition, to permit free trade between the inhabitants of the plains and those of the mountains, to set free all the hill-men he had imprisoned, together with the confiscated gold and other properties, and to publish and explain this decree to the mountaineers, warning these, however, that any treachery on their part would bring on the rigorous prosecution of the punitive expedition intended.

Notice of this decree was received by the Provincial in Agoo at a time when there were present a great number of Ibáloys to whom he had it duly explained and commented. His publication of the Governor General's favorable resolution in the very mountain homes of the Igórots resulted in a number of lists being drawn up of those villagers who offered to become Christians and faithful subjects of the king. The receipt of these lists in Manila so elated the Governor General that he personally headed a solemn religious ceremony in the suitably decorated parish-church of Tondo at which the six Ibáloy headmen received the holy baptismal water, and in which the most distinguished citizens of Manila were their godfathers. With the presence of the Governor General, the Ayuntamiento [city councillors], the high dignitaries of the Church and the prominent citizens at the head of the general public, the church was filled to the utmost, and the ceremony closed with a most pious act of the like of which hardly any precedent was on record: the Governor General, filled with sublime rejoicing, rose

from his chair and, approaching the newly baptized Ibáloys, who had been dressed in Spanish fashion, kissed the hand of each, leaving the numerous assemblage greatly edified with his action.

While this happened in Manila, a similar act, tho upon a reduced scale, took place on the day of San Matias Apostol [February 24] in the town of Agoo where the Provincial was entertaining great numbers of Igórots who kept coming down from their mountains and were handing in lists of fellow-villagers of theirs willing to embrace the Christian faith and to become servants of the king of Spain. On the day mentioned, nine adult Igórots, three men and six women, who had already been instructed in the doctrine and had insisently asked to be baptized, were conducted to the church in procession. Guided by the foremost headmen of Agoo as their godfathers, to whom a casual visitor, Don Pedro Vivanco of Manila, had associated himself, they went, with numerous following, thru triumphal arches and with the accompaniment of the ringing of bells, the beating of drums, and the crackling of exploding fire-works, to the portal of the church where the assembled priests received them in state. The Provincial himself led the hymns and performed the ritual of baptism whereupon a solemn Te-deum concluded the act. After the church function the principalía, that is, the present and past parish-magistrates and council-men of Agoo, with their customary hospitality, sumptuously feasted the newly baptized mountaineers and their followers, all of whom pronounced themselves deeply impressed with the religious rites of the Christians. During the following days many more tribesmen came down from the mountains, there being one day when as many as five hundred of them arrived. It seemed—says the Provincial in his account—a special providence of God that there should arrive at Agoo on that very day those same six Ibáloy headmen who had been christened in the church at Tondo, and who, having been made to enter Agoo on horseback, clad in Spanish fashion and each bearing the staff symbolizing the official dignity conferred upon them by the Governor General, now related the generous treatment they had experienced in Manila, dispelling thus all doubts and misgivings from the minds of their kinsmen who listened to them with open mouth and staring eyes.

The following, translated from a letter of Prior Córdoba to the Provincial P. Carrillo dated June 24, 1755, shows the characteristic complications which subsequently occurred in the restitution of the property confiscated from the Ibáloys: "Referring to what has been ordered by the Governor General, I have already written to you and sent you a copy of my order from the Alcalde Mayor in which he requires that the gold missed by the Igórots be searched for here, because that delivered to the said Alcalde had been given back and what has been restored after that order are seven tael and two reales gold, and there are yet lacking ten tael and two reales gold, besides four tael, seven reales and three grains also of gold which Lacaden refuses to receive, because, he says, these have been reduced in value, and this certainly appears to be the case, as it is evident that they have debased it with silver or copper or who knows with what; and so are missing also ten pesos in silver, and three blankets, and those who bore this said that they spent it and did not have wherewith to pay."

### III

**P. Vivar appointed missionary in Beñguet. First steps to christianization well received. Mission station established at Toñgdo. Ibáloy headman Kidit chief supporter of mission.**

It was at this time that, in view of the great numbers of Ibáloys desirous to become Christians, the Provincial ordered the Procurator General of his Order in Manila to apply to the Board administering the royal revenues for the concession of a number of missionaries endowed with the usual stipends. Two of such having been allowed, the Provincial appointed P. Francisco Rivero and P. Pedro Vivar for the apostolic service among the Ibáloys, giving at the same time orders that, pending the arrival of these missionaries, the Prior at Agoo, P. Francisco de Córdoba, was to visit the settlements in the mountains, both in order to satisfy their inhabitants who liked the Prior and who had been awaiting a visit of him all along, as also with the object of selecting the most suitable dwelling places for the missionaries.

The hinterland of the two coast-towns Agoo and Santo Tomás is formed by a mountain complex having its center in the elevated peak called by the Ibáloys Mañgítkíran, by the lowlanders Monte de Santo Tomás, with an altitude of over 7400'. According to the Provincial's plan, the Igórot settlements [called in Spanish 'rancherías'] on the western and south-western slopes and foot-hills of this complex were assigned to the care of P. Francisco Romero, while those situated in the deeply furrowed hills stretching to the north-west from the peak mentioned were to fall to the share of P. Pedro Vivar. A glance at the map will show that the general field of P. Vivar's activity was thus constituted by the valley which from Ariñgay on the coast winds up, once past Galiano, almost due east towards the western approaches of Báguio, where it receives the waters descending from the mountain Alagut, from the heights flanking the Jesuit Observatory on Mirador Hill, and from the upper reaches of the Báguio-Naguilian road; below of the Presidencia of Tuba these waters gather in what is locally known as the Tikin, farther down as the Kagadin

River. It is this stretch of country, together with Báguio, Loacan [Inb. Dwa-kan] and La Trinidad farther east and north, to whose attempted missionary conquest is limited the following excerpt from our old chronicles.

In obedience to the instructions received from the Provincial, the Prior of Agoo started from Ariñgay, at that time a 'visita' of the firstnamed town, in the early part of 1755—the chronicle says on the tenth of May, very probably an error for tenth of March—and, after travelling all day on foot, reached the rancheria called 'Buyan', whose chief, Tampo by name, with his family and a crowd of villagers received him most cordially, all kissing the Padre's hand after the manner of the Cristianos. Informed of the Prior's missionary aims, they all declared themselves willing to be converted. One woman, called Chanaw, lamented the fate of her husband, one of those imprisoned by the alcalde in Liñgayen; unwilling to join the religion of the captors of her better half, she said she wanted to hide herself away in the depth of the mountains and die there true to the belief of the Ibáloys; on hearing, however, of the Governor General's order that all Igórot prisoners in Liñgayen be set free, the prospect of an early reunion with her husband caused her to offer to be converted also, together with all her children. Having spent the eleventh in Buyan, the Prior on the twelfth, after passing a small settlement called Pintokoan, reached the village of 'Butiagan' [probably Bukdyagan, the modern San-Pascual], whither a number of headmen from other places in the mountains had gone to meet him, among them Daxachen mentioned heretofore. From the village Toñgdo, higher up in the valley, had come Kidit [Ilk. Gilit], Daoñgan [Ilk. Laoñgan], Gutub and others in order to conduct him to their homes. The natives of Butiagan who knew already how to cross themselves, and some of whom were able to recite the Paternoster, received the Prior with great delight, surrounding him and making him carry their babes. All present assured him of their readiness to profess the Christian faith. The fourteenth he passed at the small rancheria Apatut, where he found occasion to baptize, at the instance of Kidit, a leper who entrusted his son to the care of the Prior. It was thus only on the fifteenth that he reached Toñgdo. Already at some distance from the village he was received by all the people who, after kissing his hand, joyfully conducted him, between Daoñgan and Kidit, to their homes. They led him to Daoñgan's house, in front of which

they had already erected a huge cross. Here another headman, called Bulik, from the rancharia 'Albakan' farther east, arrived with his son Biran and other companions; they were received by the Prior's armed escort with a salute of guns, beating of drum, and sounding of fifes. After kissing the Padre's hand, they all sat down, the followers at some distance behind Bulik and Biran. The Padre explained to them the motive of his coming, his desire to have them adopt the Christian faith and vote allegiance to the king of Spain. To everything they readily assented; they left with an invitation to the Prior to visit them in their township. In Toñgdo, meanwhile the necessary preparations were made for saying mass, as it was Passion Sunday. This prospect filled the Ibáloys with joy, because, as they said, their township was already going to have a mass celebrated like as among the Cristianos. Altho keeping at some distance, they all assisted at the ceremony, the old people taking care that the boys kept quiet while it lasted. After the mass the Padre made a short address, explaining to them the sanctity of the law of God and exhorting them to constantly obey it, which they promised to do. At the end of the religious proceedings, the people asked the Padre for permission to have a dance after the fashion of the Cristianos. To this the Padre assented, giving orders that the drum be brought into play, and that the members of his escort start the dance; after these also the Ibáloys joined, the headmen and oldest people leading, and all performing with great decency. During the entertainment information was received that two headmen, Geriey and Patey by name, had arrived from the interior mountains to offer their obedience. They were received in accordance with their rank, and in response they made most ample offers in their own name as well as in that of their townships. On the morning of the sixteenth the Prior had a gathering of all the headmen, at which he read and explained the favorable decree of the Governor General mentioned above, which served to further confirm them in their good intentions. On the same day there arrived and presented themselves to the Prior a headman from Beñguet, called Amonin, and a great chief by the name of Baban, a sort of kinglet of the innermost mountains, who was received with all possible ceremony. When the latter was startled by the discharge of guns fired as a salute, he was reassured by the explanation that this was simply a sign of rejoicing over his ar-

rival and a distinction in use with the Spaniards for important personages like him. He, too, rendered obedience and showed his willingness to admit like the others all proposals regarding adoption of the Christian faith and allegiance to the king of Spain.

On the morning of the eighteenth the Prior received news that a certain Christian was being held captive in the mountains, wherefore he asked Amonin and other headmen that that individual be brought to him in order to treat about his ransom. This request was promptly agreed to and the sum of thirty-five pesos, the same for which the captive had been bought by his masters, was asked for his release. To help on the good work of the Padre the headmen themselves contributed seven pesos by way of alms, while the Padre gave what he had, pledging himself for the remainder. The captive thus was handed over to the Prior who then left Toñgdo with his followers and two days after reached Ariñgay whence he had started on his trip.

A second expedition into the same mountains was undertaken on the twelfth of May by the Prior in company of Padre Vivar, the missionary appointed for that region. After a visit to several rancherías in the foot-hills, the setting in of the rainy season induced the Prior to return to Agoo on the fifteenth, while the missionary continued ascending the mountains until he reached Toñgdo on the seventeenth. He was well received by Kidit and all the people, and was accomodated in a house expressly built for him. The next day he was presented with a young buffalo and a basket of sweet potatoes, and the construction of a church was begun, the Ibáloys bringing in the necessary timber. The church, an extremely modest affair, was finished and consecrated on the 24th, the erection having cost a great deal of labor, as the surrounding hillsides lacked suitable material. Of the township and its people P. Vivar gives the following description:

Toñgdo is the largest of the rancherías known to me; it consist of 220 souls of good friendly people of the most sincere nature encountered by me in this country. The town is situated four leguas east of Cava in a gully formed by a steep mountain, and in an environment that lacks even a small stretch of level space; being void of trees and bamboos the building of a house requires much work. For the great-

er part of the year they are short of fire-wood and from noon to sundown the place is enveloped in fog. Among the Ibáloys this town enjoys a reputation for the wealth of its inhabitants who are therefore respected and considered as nobles by the other communities whom they order like servants. Hither is brought all the gold that comes dirty from the mines; they refine it somewhat and take it down to Ilocos for sale, bringing up in return so many buffaloes and cattle that to this day I do not know where they are consumed. The chiefs of this town are 'Balasio' [probably a misprint for Balasig], Daoñgan and Kidit. The first of these is of noble heart, but is given to drink; he enjoys much respect and is said to possess five thousand pesos in cash alone. The natives say of him that the money multiplies in his hands. His nephew and successor Daoñgan is a sort of governor to them and is worth a thousand pesos. He is much attached to the Padre and so good-natured that, altho carrying the stick, symbol of his dignity, he is not capable of wielding it. Kidit, the third headman and the one to whom the beginnings of this mission are due, has the genius of a mandarin; he is of good service to the missionary, especially on expeditions; he is our spokesman, altho not so respected.

A few solitary shacks in the bottom of the gully below the Presidencia of Tuba, near a place known as Tele, were pointed out to me as all that now remains of Toñgdo.

#### IV

**P. Vivar's trip to Loacan. Village under taboo, but hospitality extended. Holy cross erected. Return by way of Chuyo.**

In July the missionary left Toñgdo for a first visit to Loacan, a rancheria one day east of his station. On the road he was repeatedly met by Ibáloy messengers asking him to abstain from entering the rancheria on that day, because a festival was just being held there and their custom forbade them to admit any outsider into their midst on that precise occasion.

At certain occasions an Ibáloy family will consider itself **pidyu**, that is, under a taboo or spell, and may then not be visited. One such occasion is the festival called **kosdey** which is held to implore from the spirits a prosperous growth of crops, and, being participated in at the same time by all the households in the village, results in a general ban on all visitors from outside.

Having announced his intended visit to Loacan already before leaving Toñgdo, Padre Vivar resolved to continue his trip to the end, which he did until encountering on the road the friendly chief Amonin who, after giving explanations regarding their peculiar customs during the festival in question, conducted him to a house prepared for him near the entrance to the village. He was here welcomed by several headmen, the most prominent among them being Baban and Bulso, both of whom attended upon him, assisted by a great number of people. On the following day a pig was slaughtered in honor of the visitor. For lack of a proper interpreter the Padre found some difficulty in explaining the spiritual object of his visit; he was assured nevertheless by his hosts that his mission would be made the object of a consultation with a neighboring village, the outcome of which was an agreement of the Ibáloys to have themselves put on the list. However, they said, they felt the necessity to give this matter further consideration, as they feared to offend their god by a change of religion; meanwhile the erection of the holy cross in their village was consented to.

In describing his trip from Toñgdo to Loacan, P. Vivar makes the remark: "Unto this place of Loacan all is mountain, without proper space for a town", a judgment probably due to his not having passed by what was then called Kafágway, the Báguio of our days, but to having followed old trails south of this rancheria. Such a route would have led him more directly to Loacan, but would have kept him from coming in sight of the Báguio basin. Similarly, his subsequent trip to La Trinidad led him evidently from Toñgdo towards the heights north of Irisan, leaving Báguio untouched towards the east.

In passing on the natural advantages of Loacan proper our missionary says: "The site of Loacan is better than that of Toñgdo, altho it takes carriers four days to reach it from Agoo, which distance, together with the difficulty of the trails, is the cause of great expense; thus one basket of rice brought here costs me three times its value, and other things similarly."

Altho he had originally intended to continue his trip from Loacan to Beñguet, P. Vivar saw himself obliged by the state of the weather to return directly to Toñgdo, finding thus occasion to visit the village of Chuyo [on the ridge leading from Baguio to the slope of Mt. Alagut]. Here he met Kidit, the chief promoter of the mission ["el todo de esta obra"], thanks to whose persuasions the villagers had themselves put on the



missionary's list. Once back at his headquarters in Toñgdo, the Padre received there the visit of 'Ayakan', chief of the mining place 'Pamutcutan' [probably Pañgutkutan], who came to invite him to visit his rancheria, a trip which P. Vivar promised for a more favorable time. He also heard that after his departure from Loacan people had arrived there from the mining region farther east, under leadership of one of their headmen; induced by Kidit, the party had wanted to meet the missionary, but had just missed him.

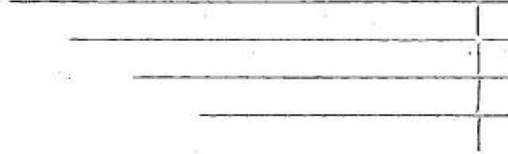
The number of inhabitants of Loacan and Chuyo together the Padre estimates to have been 36 families or 153 individuals.

## V

**The missionary visits Beñguet; is well received; describes the valley; meets captive cristianos; returns thru other rancherías.**

Having spent the months of heavy rains shut up in his house in Toñgdo, P. Vivar on the 16th of October set out on a trip to the valley of Beñguet, famous, as the Padre says, for the number of its inhabitants and not less for its situation. The Padre, who had been invited by one of the local headmen, Ulaw by name, was accompanied on this trip by several Ibáloys and by some Ilokos who wanted to avail themselves of the opportunity to sell their '*bandalas*', cotton fabrics largely used by the hill-people for clothing. After a day's march in northerly direction they came in sight of the valley, when one Ibáloy exclaimed: "Now, you Ilokos, look at this town which is better than any of yours!" The missionary was accommodated in a house that Ulaw had had prepared for him. With the assistance of the neighbors a small altar was erected where on the following day mass was said, again with a large concurrence of people. When thereafter the purpose of the Padre's visit was explained to the assembled headmen of Beñguet, a council was held by them which resulted in an agreement to have their names put on the Padre's list; also a cross was erected in a picturesque spot where the natives said they would build a church when they would be given a Padre. A question asked by the women as to whether they would be permitted to approach the cross, made the missionary wonder why there should be any apprehension in that respect. In this connection he was told that in a certain place to the north there were a rock with

a large cross sculptured on it by God who had come down for that purpose. But for its being two days distant, the Padre would have gone to view that rock. However he found out later that there was no real cross on it, but a figure in this form:



A somewhat similarly marked rock may be seen in a fold of the hill-side just west of the road leading up from Cruz, a barrio on the eastern outskirts of Trinidad, towards Lapitin and Takyan. The network of straight and curving lines on it are locally said to have been cut many years ago by a man named Bisañg who had been sent by God, altho the purpose of all this could not be explained. The shallow fissures in question may be surmised to owe their origin to a period of cooling-off in the plutonic past of the stone.

P. Vivar describes Beñguet as the most renowned place in the district on account of its circular plain of four leguas in circumference, surrounded by pine-covered hills. Along the base of these hills some two hundred or more houses were scattered; in the plain abundant springs fed a lagoon, half a legua in circumference, filled with eels and waterfowls. A rivulet girding the plain, the head-waters of the Bauañg River, was estimated sufficient to irrigate ricefields for some 400 individuals. In fact, the Padre reached the conclusion that Beñguet was the place most adapted for a mission-station, since, besides its climatic and other natural advantages, it offered ample field for proselytizing work thanks to a number of adjoining rancherias.

P. Vivar remarks here that the name Beñguet covered in fact also such other villages as 'Bugao, Acaba, Pijo, and Ylisañg', the two last of which are probably the present Pixo and Irisan. Besides 'pueblo de Beñguet' he uses the expression 'sitio de Beñguet'. Also today the name Beñguet, the official designation of the subprovince, is used locally often for the valley just described, with all the communities it includes.

During his stay the missionary met among other visitors two venerable bearded old men "of serene mind", who, upon the Padre's suggestion to have their beards shaved off, answered they could not do that, since God himself wore a similar beard. He also met two young Cristianos, a boy of fifteen from San Fabián in Pañgasinán, and a girl of sixteen from San Juan in Ilocos, both of whom had been made captives during the

feuds between the lowlanders and hillmen, and were, after passing thru several hands, serving at that time two headmen in Beñguet. He would have tried to buy them out, but the price asked for each was sixty pesos, while the missionary, as he writes, "found himself accompanied by only one peso, and that a bad one". Nor were the masters of the two slaves willing to part with them for anything but cash. So all the Padre could do for them was to give them good advice, hand them some rosaries, and write about them to their towns. He adds that the country of the Igórots was full of such captives.

Upon returning from Beñguet to Toñgdo P. Vivar took a south-westerly direction, coming first to a rancheria 'Boo' [probably Bua, now mere woodland], whose chief 'Bancran' was already on friendly terms with him and knew of his aims, so that there was no difficulty in having the usual list drawn up and the holy cross erected. A further sign of goodwill consisted in the slaughtering of a buffalo for the Padre's party. The next places visited were 'Luntañg' and 'Aliseng' [the first probably the group of houses called Demtañg, the other perhaps Irisa, both on the upper part of the present Baguio-Naguilian road], according to the Padre half a day's toilsome journey north from Toñgdo. The people of these two rancherias would have themselves listed only after communicating first with the chief of Toñgdo upon whom they were entirely dependent. They stated that they were no traders, and that also their forefathers had not traded, because some among them, who had done so, had died in consequence. They were poor people and some of them were robbers.

## VI

**Efforts to reform Ibaloy rituals opposed by natives of Toñgdo; trouble aggravated by outsiders. Precarious situation solved by missionary's removal to Guimutbuñgan.**

Returned to Toñgdo, P. Vivar directed his attention upon the rituals observed by the Ibaloyes at certain religious festivals beginning with the month of October. Confiding in the goodwill of the headmen, he intended to have them give up at those festivals the functions of the priestess, and their adoration of one half of a slaughtered pig, hung up over the entrance, from which they humbly implored the fulfillment of their prayers.

[The head of the pig being left whole, the rest of the body was halved lengthwise.] While the priestess promised, after some resistance, to abandon her offices, the tribesmen stoutly refused to renounce their veneration of the pig. When the Padre cut it into pieces, they would join these again together, and when he repeated the division, they raised their hands to grapple with him. Altho most of the natives of Toñgdo were sorry over this and gave him satisfaction, yet, at the next festival and for the same cause, some men went so far as to take a stone wherewith to strike him, and when he tried to argue with them, all their answer was: "That pig is our god and must remain our god."

The troublous situation thus created for the lonely missionary, who had for sole companion a cook, was aggravated—as it had probably been instigated—by a lot of rude outside Igórots just at that time present in Toñgdo; some of these, natives of the rancheria of Batan in the North, threatened to kill him one night for not handing out to them some of his wine. To make matters worse, an Iloko woman, who was being held captive near Beñguet and who had heard of the Padre's stay in Toñgdo, found means to evade the vigilance of her masters, and to take refuge in the house of the missionary, with the consequence that the latter found himself surrounded by all the men of Boo and was told that he had to pay 150 pesos for that slave, who had previously been sold for twelve reales [about one peso and a half]. P. Vivar fortunately had been able to send word of his precarious situation to the prior in Agoó who dispatched sixty armed men in his succor, advising him at the same time that it was the desire of the Provincial, just then on a visit in that coast-town, that he place himself in safety. Leaving the bulk of the armed force in Toñgdo and accompanied only by a few men and the slave woman, P. Vivar went down to a place nearer the coast, called Guimutbuñgan, where the Prior had promised to meet him. On the way down he had again some trouble with the Igórots who approached him in ugly mood. He succeeded, however, to induce a few headmen to come down with him and have the ransom for the slave settled by the Prior who eventually could buy her off with twenty pesos.

The trouble in Toñgdo here related developed mainly during October and November 1755. At the beginning of December the missionary went to take refuge at Guimutbuñgan, said

to have been a level place of small extent, three leguas of hard travelling from Ariñgay. Here he found the Prior from Agoó with whom he conferred on the inconvenience of Toñgdo as a mission station. As a result both religious resolved to call together the headmen of Toñgdo, Apatut, Ampusa, and Chamusil, from whom they obtained a promise "to unite and to open their fields in Guimutbuñgan". A beginning of this work was made in February 1756 at which time the missionary went up to Toñgdo to urge upon the people the farm-work promised by the headmen. His account of the events of the year 1756 closes with the remark that he found himself permanently and without further accidents settled at Guimutbuñgan on October 11, the last date he gives in speaking of his new surroundings.

## VII

**Review of missionary work achieved and of difficulties encountered.  
The Ibáloys characterized.**

The relation of P. Vivar's work in the mountains of Beñguet, as contained in Chapters III to VI of the present paper, is, for the best part, taken from a report written by him upon indication of the Provincial, and remitted to the P. Archivist of his order in Manila. It is found, without appended date, on pp. 134-148 of the chronicle *Relaciones Agustonianas*, along with some letters from P. Vivar to the Provincial which I have also used.

Before relating now the ultimate fate of the mission, which was soon to come to an unhappy end, a brief digest may find place here of the remarks found thruout the chronicle mentioned of the difficulties encountered by the priest and of the way how he himself evaluated his missionary campaign and his flock.

There can be no doubt that the greater part of the hardships so courageously undergone by P. Vivar was due to the unfortunate choice of his station. The entire stipend of the priest proved insufficient to pay but for carrying up to Toñgdo the bare necessities of his life, while the exertion of ascending from that place to other higher rancherías over trails passable only for mountaineers meant for him an unbearable fatigue. As early as June 24, 1755, that is, some weeks after the missionary

had stationed himself at Toñgdo, P. Córdoba, the Prior at Agoo, reported to the Provincial in Manila:

"It will not be feasible that the missionary remain in Toñgdo, because there is no room there for the pueblo, nor for planting a little rice for the Padre to keep chickens and pigs, x x x nor bamboo or timber for a church and convento, so that it has cost much trouble to build for him the small shed and the little lodge, using some men from Agoo and Ariñgay".

The Prior, in fact, asked P. Vivar to visit Beñguet as soon as possible, as he believed that better accomodation for him could be arranged there than in Toñgdo, the unfavorable natural conditions of which were described in chapter III.

A specific difficulty to be overcome by the missionary was the dispersed living of the Ibáloy's, whose scattered settlements are shown in a relation of the families who had been enlisted as prospective Christians. This list comprehends thirty rancherias [including seemingly some southerly ones] and is, in literal transcription, as follows:

<i>Pueblos</i>	<i>Tributos</i> (2)	<i>Almas</i>	<i>Pueblos</i>	<i>Tributos</i>	<i>Almas</i>
Toñgdo	64	300	Pintocoan	22	79
Beñguet	9	28	Sarrat	13	44
Acaba	20	75	Sacaba	21	104
Bugao	20	76	Banquelay	20	67
Pijo	11	43	Tunec	20	68
Boo	15	63	Ñgayotboñg	19	72
Luntuañg	14	44	Cubal	7	32
Alisañg	28	76	Quimoñg	6	28
Luacan	8	37	Balucoc	17	71
Muyo	18	70	Lasac	8	35
Parañgal	19	38	Palina	21	83
Apatut	20	135	Bilis	10	39
Ampusa	19	71	Sacleb	11	56
Dumasil	19	83	Poclet	4	12
Butiagan	26	91	Banquelay	6	14
Suma	310	1230	Suma	205	804

P. Vivar also complains that hardly anyone of the adult Ibáloys could spare the time for receiving Christian instruc-

(2) One 'tributo' is made up, upon an average, by a family of four or five 'almas', i.e., souls.

tion, since the men were constantly and indefatigably occupied in trafficking, while the women-folk, after preparing the early morning food for the family and for their pigs, were working in the fields the day over, returning from there, tired out, only in the evening.

To more effectively silence those who would criticize him for not more actively catechizing the natives, our missionary dwells upon the problem of making himself understood by those whom he had undertaken to teach. In this regard a difference of opinion had developed between him and the Provincial, his superior. While he had chosen the Inibáloy, the idiom of the inhabitants of his precise district, the Provincial, when consulted, had ordered the Iloko language to be introduced there. Of this language only some five individuals in Toñgdo had a smattering, just sufficient for their trade to the coast. Thus, while declaring his superior's order much to the point for a large province, the missionary frankly stated his opinion that, to carry out that order in his district, the appointment of an Iloko teacher would be required for each rancheria, a measure for which he utterly lacked the means. Under such circumstances, he says, he had given up applying himself to "his Igórot dialect", in which he intended to prepare a catechism, and was now "awaiting the introduction of the Iloko".

The straightforward manner in which P. Vivar expressed himself is seen also from the beginning of the last chapter of his report:

"The 'Parturiunt montes' has resounded over these missions; may the merciful God give that the outcome may not be a 'ridiculus mus'." (3)

With the first part of this citation he alludes to the fame which reports on the initial successful enlistment of 800 Ibáloys as prospective converts to Christian faith had given to the undertaking not only in Manila, but as far abroad as Madrid and Rome, while the apprehension expressed in the second sentence is substantiated by the Padre's statement that on the day of writing his report there was not to be found in those mountains one single baptized adult Ibáloy, excepting one case

(3) An allusion to the line from Horace: "Parturiunt montes, nascetur ridiculus mus", The mountains are in travail, a ridiculous mouse will be born.

of extreme necessity. [This statement is very probably to be understood as founded on the fact that the difficulty of P. Vivar's intercourse with the grown-up individuals of his flock had caused these to remain as yet in that preparatory stage of Christianization known as catechuminate]. As for the mere enlisting of a ranchería the Padre gives it as his experience that, to attain such end, a word from the headman was sufficient, and that it could be carried out anywhere at the cost of a head of cattle, a pot of rice-wine, and a few beads. For the rest, the goodwill shown and the promises made by the Ibáloys were, in the opinion of P. Vivar, not foreign to the goodwill and help the mountaineers used to bespeak from the Padres on the coast in their trade-relations with the Cristianos; a needy missionary in the mountains, on the other hand, had little attraction for their money-minded inhabitants who, in fact, had come to nickname P. Vivar "el Padre miserable", in distinction to the Prior in Agoos who often made them presents. For all that, the missionary repeatedly asserts not having encountered any strong aversion against christianization, but rather a desire for it, and that, "while the crop was thus ripe for harvesting", what was lacking were the laborers, that is, more missionaries and more material help for their work.

In discussing the more or less creditable points characterizing the members of his flock, the Padre speaks of their mental faculties as comparing favorably with those of the Ilokos. He continues:

"They are curious and like to see rare things; they easily promise what is asked of them, especially if they are after something. So far they have not refused to me anything, difficult as it may have been, but the fulfillment was the arduous point. This peculiarity has given rise to the conception formed of these missions.

"They are manifestly obliging of disposition, which I have experienced personally, and which I see them showing to the Cristianos, notwithstanding the popular opinion that calls them cruel; this opinion, founded on the hostilities perpetrated by them among the Ilokos, has scant justification with him who is informed of the origin: let the Ilokos treat them justly, and the Igorots will always be found benevolent.

"They are chaste, of which they give proof, first, by punishing adultery with death, x x x secondly, by reserving usually a separate alcove for husband and wife x x x, and, thirdly, by the fact that, in the midst of all their drinking-



bouts and exposure of nudities, I have never noticed any unbecoming acts or words. They have one single wife assigned to them, by parental agreement from the age of six or seven years."

P. Vivar gives them credit for great industry, holding this, however, connected with their general covetousness. The life of robbers was engaged in only by poor men. In the frequent feasts which the wealthy were giving to their clansmen and followers, with numerous animals slaughtered and pots of rice-wine emptied, he sees a boastfulness calculated to enhance the rank of the host. His opinion of the people of Toñgdo in particular was already given above; he pronounced them "good friendly people of the most sincere nature encountered in this country". In the next chapter we shall hear what fate ultimately befell them and their neighbors.

### VIII

**The punitive expedition of 1759. Thirty five rancherías burned down.  
Flight of mountaineers. Mission abandoned.**

From chronicles and unpublished documents which served Isabelo de los Reyes for his 'Historia de Ilocos' (Manila, 1890), this distinguished Filipino writer has gathered interesting information on a punitive expedition undertaken by the Spaniards against the Igórots in 1759. The following is translated from the second volume of the work just cited, p. 178 et seq.:

"In 1758 the Governor General of the Philippines Arandía gave orders to the Alcalde Mayor of Pañgasinán, Don Manuel Arza de Urrutia, to assemble men of that province and of Ilocos in order to punish the Igórots dwelling in the mountains from Santo Tomás to Galopen, and from Asiñgan to San Fabián, because they used to infest the towns of those two provinces with their forays.

"Another motive, in fact the principal one, for this expedition was to make them pay tribute, and to force them to form pueblos and to adopt the ways of civilized life.

"The Alcalde assembled the gobernadorcillos [municipal presidents] of the towns and the parish-priests in a conference in which it was resolved to undertake the expedition between January and May of the following year. Among other preparatory measures it was agreed that the eleven rancherías in Pañgasinán, whose Igórot inhabitants spoke Iloko, should pe-

netrate into the neighboring mountains and take part in the attack together with the body of the expeditionary force, under penalty, in case of refusal, of being treated as enemies. The parish-priest of Agoo, Fr. F. J. de Córdova transmitted, this order to Daxachen [Ilk. Lakaden], chief of the ranchería Butiagan, who declared himself willing to obey and to form with the neighboring villages a township; he presented 77 tributantes [payers of tribute], who, together with the persons under age, gave a total of 336 souls.

"The main body of the expeditionary forces consisted of 12 Spaniards, 1959 natives, 15 mestizos and 6 artillery-men with lantacas [light field-guns].

"On February 22, 1759 they took up the march from San Fabian in direction towards the valley of Beñguet, where they were to unite with the columns which at the same time started from Agoo, Baoañig and Baknotan, altho, due to an insuperable obstacle, they had to direct themselves towards Sobosob where they arrived the same afternoon. On the following day they burned down the ranchería of Balañgabañig with its plantations; here one Ampugey, who had committed many misdeeds in San Jacinto, was made prisoner. Next day the houses and fields of the ranchería Sokiao were reduced to ashes.

"The three companies which started from Agoo, Bjoañig and Baknotan, numbered together 250 men; they arrived at the ranchería Apatut and defeated in the beginning Kidit [Ilk. Guilit], chief of Toñgdo, a large ranchería of valiant men; but after making peace, and when the expedition was already on the way to Ariñgay, they were suddenly attacked and defeated with many casualties by Kidit, and had to fortify themselves in Guimotboñigan, beleaguered by the enemy.

"Apprised of this, the Alcalde of Pañgasinán went to their rescue, but the Igórots fled upon hearing of his approach with a large force. The column from Baknotan killed seven Igórots, but could not advance, as the most difficult points were occupied by the hillmen.

"Once all forces of the expedition were united, they counted 1365 men between Ilokos and Pañgasinán, and on March 11 they reassumed the march to punish those of Toñgdo and other rancherías that had helped these. Passing thru the rancherías of Bonoy, Kaoañig, Luat and Paonay, they arrived at Lumtañig on the 15th of the same month, after having burnt houses and plantations.

"On the 16th a serious engagement is said to have taken place with the Igórots who fought with bravery. After five hours of hard fighting and having suffered over 200 casualties, the mountaineers abandoned the field. But my attention is seriously aroused by the fact that on our side we had only one man slightly wounded in the head. The forces of the expedition reduced to ashes the houses, plantations, and ani-

mals of Lumtafig and Boa [sic]. At this rancheria was a temple.

"On the 18th they arrived at Toñglo and found it deserted. This township as well as the rancherias of Ampusa, Tanobon, Ambalete, and others, in all thirty-five, were burnt down. Thereafter . . . , as always!, no result whatsoever."

The concluding remark of the foregoing account is not to be taken too literally, for, little as the policy prescribed by Manila and executed by Pañgasinán had come nearer its desired object, a disastrous effect of lasting consequence had been produced by it in the mountains of Beñguet, as will be seen from the following official report taken by me from *Igorrotes, Estudio geográfico y etnográfico* by P. Angel Perez, vol. I (Manila 1902).

In the year 1760 Fr. Miguel Espeleta, Bishop of Cebu, had become Acting Governor General of the Islands. Due, it seems, to a royal order from Spain, Espeleta requested the Provincial of the Augustinians, P. Pedro Velasco [elected in 1759] to report on the causes leading to the abandonment of the missions in the mountains east of Agoo, and on the possibility of their reestablishment. The answer of the provincial was, in substance, as follows:

that the two missionaries who had been in charge of those missions, namely, P. Vivar and P. Romero, had informed him that "finding themselves peacefully and contentedly established in their missions", living on quite familiar terms with the Igórots whose children used to pass a good part of the day in the parish buildings with the padres whom they treated as if they had known them all their lives, they saw themselves unexpectedly assailed and set upon ["asaltados y cercados"] by Don Manuel de Arza, Alcalde Mayor of Pañgasinán, who, upon order of the Acting Governor's predecessor, Don Pedro Manuel de Arandía, had entered those mountains with soldiers and armed forces, destroying and burning down whatever Igórot settlements and houses he found, killing and capturing many Igórots, new Christians as well as catechumens living in the missions, together with many others still pagans; that it was also publicly averred that he sent to Manila under conduct of a relative of his one or two champanes [small sailing ships] filled with Igórots who were shipwrecked and drowned;

that the survivors of the assault, panic-stricken, took refuge in the remotest and most inaccessible mountains, and that among those very Igórots who had been baptized solemnly in the church of Tondo in the presence of Governor Aran-

día by the undersigned Provincial himself, at that time the prior of the Convento of San Pablo in Manila, there were some who in the meantime had permanently settled in Agoo and Bauan, incorporated with the rest of the townspeople, but who now insisted upon going back to the mountains, all entreaties of the Padres to the contrary notwithstanding;

that the reporting provincial, P. Velasco, after having, during his visit to Ilocos, ordered all priests to activate the conversion of the Igórots and to inform them that the enterprise of the Alcalde of Pañgasinán was very wrong and much to be deplored by all Christians, went back to Tondo and, once apprized there of the Royal Rescript which had been found by the Acting Governor among the papers of his deceased predecessor Arandía, as well as of the order issued by the former, he gave strict orders to the priors of Agoo and Bauan to the effect that, accompanied by some of the domesticated Igórots now living in those towns, they proceed to the places of the destroyed missions and into the mountains beyond as far as feasible, with the object of assuring the fugitive mountaineers of the high esteem of H.M. the King, whose royal intention it was to grant them Padres who were to educate and teach them, promising at the same time that they would not be harmed in future, but treated well as his vassals;

that to this the Igórots answered they would not again trust the padres for whose sake they had abandoned their former homes and done their best to become Christians, for they now saw that the padres had deceived them and taken them to where their kinsmen had been killed and made captives; they added, however, that the loss sustained by them in gold and precious objects of which they were robbed by the expedition of the said Don Juan Manuel de Arza exceeded four thousand pesos, and that if restitution for it were made, they would believe in the assurances that were being made them;

that after having gone to meet the Igórots a second time and having tried to persuade them, the padres had become convinced that, even with an indemnification for the alleged losses, no missionary would be assured of his life in the abandoned missions, so that, for the present, a reestablishment of these was out of the question (4).

The report, which contains other instructive remarks too lengthy to be reproduced here, mentions the fact that numbers of Igórots, who had been left untouched by the punitive expedition, continued to come in to live with the lowlanders, and that at that time Agoo had twelve converted Igórots and nine catechumens, Ariñgay twenty catechumens, and Bauan three converts and five catechumens.

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(4) The mission at Trinidad was established only in the following century.

This report was dated from Tondo July 7, 1760. The punitive expedition took place in 1759. A biographical note on P. Vivar in *Relaciones Agustiniánas*, p. 133, states that from his station among the Igórots he went in 1757 to take charge of the parish of Candon in Ilocos Sur, and thence, in 1759, to Bacarra, also in Ilocos Sur. It is thus not readily understood how P. Vivar could be quoted by his provincial as having been overtaken by the punitive expedition of 1759 while living, as alleged, in his mission in Beñguet, a discrepancy as to time and place for which I have no explanation. It will, however, help a more intimate understanding of the report, if I indicate the state of relations which at the time had prevailed between Governor Arandía and the Church by translating here a passage from Retana's edition of Zúñiga's *Estadismo*, (I, 566 \*):

Arandía, Don Pedro Manuel de. Born at Ceuta, of Basque parents. Governor General of the Philippines since June 1754. x x x Made an expedition against the Igórots with little or no success. In exchange he overawed the Moros and was much appreciated by the Sultan of Jolo. He issued certain 'Instructions' which displeased the parish-priests and were not approved by His Majesty. x x x He hurt so many particular interests that he finished by making himself generally unpopular. He began well and ended badly. Righteous in the beginning, he was afterwards... It is known that he left ₱200,000.—He died in Manila May 31, 1759, after a long illness produced by the unending troubles he created for himself. A confidant of his was the notorious Orendain.

## SECOND PART

## IX

**A comment on the punitive expedition of 1759 and a glance at Bágúio in 1893.**

As the punitive expedition against the Igórots in 1759 was the consequence and manifestation of a complete reversal in the benevolent attitude previously observed by Governor Arandía towards the mountain peoples, so this expedition had for consequence a corresponding change in the relation of the latter to the Spaniards, manifesting itself, as we have learned, in a considerable back-sliding of the Ibáloys in what advancement they had made towards Christianity.

Kidit, in a beginning the chief supporter of the new religion, had been forced into the role of a leader of his countrymen against the armed forces of Spain. It appears now strange that, while Kidit's aid of P. Vivar is well remembered in Bágúio, I did not seem to be able to evoke any recollection of Kidit's heroic defense of Toñgdo, nor of the devastation of that region, in the mind of my otherwise well posted informants whose statements will follow. In compensation, I had before me, at my visit, the mute evidence of the conditions in which the warlike action of the Spaniards had left the surrounding country for more than a hundred years. In 1893 not one single Christian, either old or young, was found by me among the natives of Bágúio; Chuyo, the prosperous village of prospective Christians of P. Vivar's times presented itself as a bare hillside of pastureland for cattle; the sites where Toñgdo, the gold-trading center and mission station, and other rancherías mentioned in the chronicles had stood, survived but as vaguely remembered names of localities now either unhabited or marked at best by a couple of solitary shacks; Bágúio itself, the old Kafagway, was a lonesome ranchería showing hardly a score of dwellings scattered here and there over the surrounding hills and sentineled, in a central location, by a desolate-looking tribunal or council-house.

What had remained unaltered was the kindly disposition, the industry, sincerity, and honesty of the Ibáloys of P. Vivar's times. As leading figure of the surrounding country there was Kapitan Mateo Cariño, now deceased, to whom and to the

members of whose family is due the best part of the following information on the past of a clan of which they, direct descendants of Baban and Kidit, already known to the reader, were leading members.

## X

**Social organization of the Ibáloy tribe. Lines of descent and life of ancestors remembered among wealthy families. Amkidit revered as common progenitor.**

The subprovince of Beñguet, of which the present city of Bágúio with its surrounding territory form an enclave, is peopled by two distinct groups of mountaineers. In the northern part—and beyond it—dwell Igórots generally known as Kankanáys, while the southern portion is the home of the Ibáloys. Physically of a sturdier stock than their northern neighbors, the Ibáloys present themselves socially as a peaceful and industrious population of about 35,000 souls, chiefly given up to agriculture, animal husbandry, and mining. With the exception of a few larger communities, they live generally in small settlements scattered over hills and valleys. From the mass of the common people, in their majority possessed only of the bare necessities of primitive life, a number of wealthy families stand out who are found, singly or in groups of a few households, in or near the the more important townships, and who give to the tribal life a distinctly plutocratic character. These rich people, designated as *baknañg*, in contradistinction to the *kailian* or commoners, are as a rule more or less closely inter-related, due not only to long continued intermarriage, but also, if we are to believe traditions current among them, to their descent from a common ancestor making them members of a clan. It is true that not all such members attain notability which may be achieved only by the amassing of wealth and the keeping up of one's prestige by popularly attended periodical festivals, called *pachít*, at which great numbers of animals are sacrificed and pots of rice-wine emptied. Wealth, besides in form of cash buried in pots under the house, most often consists in rice-fields and other plantations, in herds of cattle, or in mining property, and as such possessions have their place in nature in distinct localities, so also their owners often pass their days residing alternately in different rancherías, having in each a more or less substantial

dwelling in charge of a member of the family. Illiterate as even the socially prominent families formerly were, oral tradition had, up to recent times, preserved among them the memory of the names and fortunes of their forbears. Certain venerable old men and women, especially versed in Ibáloy family chronicles, were able to point out to the writer the line of their ancestors for a considerable number of generations. Taking up with their own genealogy that of the leading families in other rancherías, collaterals of theirs, and tracing the origin of all to one common ancestor, they virtually established the existence of what was called above a clan. It is true that the relation of episodes in the life of the earliest forefathers revealed the legendary character of such stories thru their dramatic dressing and the profusion of details. True also that the custom of individual Ibáloys to change their name at some turning point of their life would in some cases introduce an element of doubt. On the whole, however, there is hardly anything in such traditions that could not very well reflect actual facts.

The following is taken from my notes on the reported common ancestor. Aware that the family tree of the clan to which Baban and Kidit, the helpers of P. Vivar, belonged, sprang from a case of intermarriage between Kankanáys and Ibáloys, I began by taking up first the former's end of the story, in order to see how it tallied with subsequent information from the other side. Over a pot or two of old rice-wine and a spread of native dishes as a befitting introduction to a discussion of the life of the ancestors, an account was obtained from certain Kankanáy headmen of Buguias the substance of which is here rendered in a way to reflect somewhat the original wording in the dialect of that ranchería:

In olden times there lived an ancestor of ours by name of Baglaw in the rancheria Iliseb. He married Luyag, a daughter of Suñgdaen [Inb. Suñgchuan] in Buguias. They had five children, the eldest being their daughter Diya. Diya became the wife of Agsawal, a man of Kabayan [large Ibáloy town south of Buguias]. They had their house in Ambuse, a suburb of Kabayan. There they had a child, Kadaegan by name [Inb. Karegan]. Then the cholera came and the people in Ambuse died. Among those spared were Agsawal with his wife and child. They hurried away frightened and passed on to the rancheria Banayakaw [Inb. Banadyakow, north of Tublay]. Here they had another child, a daughter named



Damya [Inb. Chamdya]. Damya used to wash gold at Labañg. Then Gilit [Inb. Kidit] came and marriage negotiations began. When Damya consented, the marriage was held. Among their children was Badœy [Inb. Baruy], their eldest son.

The Kidit here mentioned is an earlier bearer of this name than the one of P. Vivar's time. It is he who is revered by the ruling families as their common ancestor and his name is commonly heard used with the enhancing prefix *am*—as Amkidit. Born in Chuyo near Báguio, he married, as will presently be related, at Inkelchis near Akupan where his eldest son Baruy was born. Later children were born at Ambuse, Amkidit's subsequent place of residence.

Another of his sons was Tamulchug who married in Kabayan and became the ancestor of the leading families of that town. He had a daughter by the name of Chañgunay who married a man from Tinek. There was also a daughter called Naay who married in Chakdan [Ilk. Daklan] and gave rise to the prominent people of that place. A son named Mayœngmœng settled in Buguias and is the ancestor of the Ibuguias [i.e. people of Buguias]. Another son, Puñgol, stayed in Ambuse and from his marriage there many families at that place had sprung. Puñgol's brother Banasen became grandsire of the Iatok. Other sons of Amkidit were Mayañgkaw, Suñgchuan, and Agsawal, the last named of whom married in Batan. Another son, Kituñg by name, went to Kafágway to trade, where he married Kintana and settled at Andebuok [the place of the present sub-provincial governor's residence]; to him were traced many families of Kafágway.

A similar fruitfulness of conjugal unions as here shown in the case of Amkidit is of rather frequent occurrence among the Ibáloys, as will be seen from other instances to be mentioned further on.

## XI

### Traditions relating to Amkidit and his first-born son Baruy.

A number of tales exist concerning the life and family of Amkidit, reputed founder of Beñguet's nobility. The most attractive of them is known as 'Chiva ne Chamdya Iambuse' [Story of Chamdya of Ambuse] and relates Amkidit's marriage negotiations with the Kankanáy maiden Chamdya. It affords

an insight into several typical phases of Ibáloy life and is rendered here—like other traditions hereafter—in a way calculated to reflect, even at the expense of good English, some of the flavor of the original narrative.

A very long time ago there was a woman in Ambuse whose name was Chamdya. When she heard that the people of Akupan [SE of Loacan] had become rich with mining gold, she had some loads of rice carried there for sale. When she had sold the rice, she told her companions to return to Ambuse. She bade them bring more rice and also some *buvud* (5), for she wanted to make rice-wine [*tafuy*] in Akupan where already her rice had found ready buyers. Such undertakings she made her constant occupation.

Then, when she saw how well the people of Akupan were working, and how women like herself were washing gold, she too began to wash gold. She stayed at Inkelchis, a place belonging to Akupan, because just there much gold was recovered. It is said that she ordered her companions to build a house for her at Inkelchis.

At that same bygone time there was a judicious man living in Chuyo at the foot of Mount Alagut. His name was Kidit, he being a son of Milo and Kanadya. This man went to Akupan where he wanted to buy gold. He there came to meet Chamdya. Upon seeing her, he asked if she had any gold. Then Chamdya is said to have answered: "Here is a little, a weight of five pesos (6). Kidit bought that gold and said: "Do me the favor, sister, not to sell your gold to others. I myself shall always buy whatever weight of gold you have", to which Chamdya replied: "I don't mind. We shall see; in case I have any gold." They say that this was how they first came to speak together and became friends. From that time on Kidit closely observed Chamdya's conduct.

When he saw that Chamdya was a wise girl, he let his father know that he had seen a fair maiden in Akupan whom he wished to marry. It is reported that his father said: "What is the name of that woman?" to which Kidit answered: "Her name is Chamdya". Said his father: "To what community does she belong?" Kidit replied: "She says she is from Ambuse." Again Milo spoke: "Wait, we had better ask her companions if she is of good character."

Then, when they knew that her conduct was blameless, they sent Sagid to treat with Chamdya about the marriage. When Sagid asked Chamdya what she thought of having Kidit for husband, her reply was: "Oh, how illy matched we

(5) Dry cakes of rice-powder mixed with certain vegetal ingredients producing fermentation.

(6) The gold was poised on the scales with certain Spanish silver coins.

would be! As for me, I am poor; I am too poor, indeed, to be his wife. I feel rather ashamed. To this Sagid responded: "Altho you are poor, yet Kidit has set his mind on you as his wife. It is the common lot of your sex that, if a man likes a woman, he chooses her." Then Chamdya said: "As for me, my kinspeople are found in all the towns of the Fasduñg, even among the Busols are relatives of mine. Surely the expense will deter him." (7) In return to this Kidit's answer was: "I do not care. Let the expense be what it may, I will stand it." In such way their marriage was settled and Kidit built a house in Inkelchis where they lived later. They traded in gold and became very rich.

Kidit was a judicious man. Whatever he told the people was faithfully observed by them. He said: "Work, so that you may have your livelihood. Do not steal, let us be honest people". Such precepts were followed by all.

In time Chamdya became pregnant and gave birth to a son, named Baruy. He was their first child. As to the reason for calling him Baruy, they say that, when his mother, upon her delivery, was giving the child his first bath in the creek at Inkelchis, a small fish, of those called *paideñg* or *baruy*, came up to the knee of the child. Some time after the birth of Baruy Chamdya said to Kidit: "Listen, I should like that we go to my town of Ambuse. I wish to see my brothers and sisters there. I am longing for them". To this Kidit said: "Good, I agree to that visit; I too wish to see your family." They went to Ambuse and by the time when they spoke of returning to Beñguet, Chamdya's brothers said: "We wish you would make your home here in Ambuse; our mind will be sad, if you go back to your town in Beñguet." Kidit consented and they built a house also in Ambuse and stayed there a long time, in fact, that was the place where Kidit spent his old age.

Amkidit's admonition, briefly mentioned in the foregoing, enjoining his people to work and to be honest, is the key-note of his public-spirited endeavors to ameliorate the general character of his people, endeavors evidenced also by another story presenting him bent upon suppressing banditry among the Ibáloys and establishing among them tribal unity. An impelling mo-

(7) Fasduñg is the Ibáloy name of the valley of the river Agno. From south of Itogon up to Kabayan the valley is peopled by Ibáloys, farther north by Kankanáys, and to NE lies the Kabusolan, the country of Ifugaws who used to raid the adjacent parts of Beñguet, and thus were formerly called busol, i.e., enemies, by the people of Beñguet. In speaking of the cost of the marriage, Chamdya refers to the custom which expected an Ibáloy of rank to give a feast, with slaughtering of some animals, in each of the town where relatives of the bride were living.

tive for him to take the lead in this respect was the fact that rapacious descents upon the Christian lowlanders undertaken by Igórots coming from points in the Agno valley and passing thru the territory of the Beñguet highlanders made these liable to punishment for misdeeds committed on the coast by their neighbors coming from said river. After stating that robberies of cattle had been perpetrated by men from the Agno also among their fellow-tribesmen in the highlands, the story says that Amkidit, before departing with his wife for Ambuse, instructed his brother in Beñguet that no more of such valley people should be allowed to come up to Beñguet. When in Ambuse, he induced a certain principal man there, Maxay by name, to accompany him back to Beñguet to assist at a meeting—said to have taken place at Bet-di, near what today is known as Akop's place on the Mountain Trail—with the object of marking off a boundary line [*keteg*] beyond which those from the Agno thenceforth were not to pass. This inhibition, which Maxay was to make known thruout the Agno valley, worked considerable hardship on the inhabitants, since these depended for their clothing and other articles on purchases they used to make on the Ilocos coast. It had, on the other hand, the result of improving the general character of later arrivals in Beñguet from the Fasduñg. With Amkidit himself residing in the valley, the people petitioned him for his intercession on their behalf, so that, after some length of time, again a meeting was convened by him of the leading men of Beñguet and Maxay—according to tradition just outside of the present La Trinidad at a place called Kurus [Cruz]—at which Maxay was told that his people might thenceforward be allowed to come up to Beñguet and to work there, provided they made their arrival known by reporting their names so as to avoid unpleasantness. Another tradition has it that this agreement was given a special solemnity as follows:

When Amkidit and Maxay had come to meet a number of influential men of Beñguet, the former addressed the assembly thus: "Now, my brothers of Beñguet and brothers of the Fasduñg, since you from the Agno have hearkened to my injunction and have promised to see to it that no bad people from the Fasduñg will be allowed to come up to Beñguet, your coming here will henceforth be permitted." Then Maxay said: "In order that nobody, either of the present or a future generation, may change this covenant, it will be proper that we seal our pact by drinking spiced blood [human blood

seasoned with chili-pepper].” So they killed two slaves, one of Maxay and one of Amkidit, and after mixing their blood all those present at the meeting drank of it. Then Amkidit said: “This is to evidence that our blood has become one. Henceforward there will be amity between the people of Beñguet and that of the Fasdunig. If any ill is to befall us, we will stand to each other.”

When Amkidit's eldest son Baruy had grown up, his father one day said to him: “It will be well that you return to our former home in Beñguet and look after our lands around Kafagway. They must be taken care of. However, do not build your house in Chuyo, as it is our belief that, to live long and to prosper, a son must not build his house at his father's birth-place. Loacan will be a better place for you.”

Advice of the kind here quoted was in former times customarily given by parents to young Ibáloys about to set up their own house, the object being to have them living away from the possible evil influence of the spirits of departed elders, as also to render them more independent and enterprising.

Thus Baruy went to Loacan where he eventually married Sa-but, the daughter of Pel-ing. Following the example of his father, he too took great interest in bettering the character of the people in his part of the district by suppressing all robberies and inducing the people to lead an orderly, well-behaved life.

When Baruy bethought himself of their land in Deb-añg [the Labañg of the maps, near the southern boundary of the subprovince], he sent there two women, Chañgunay and Kawani, daughters of his cousin. He told them: “Go to Deb-añg, make your home there and plant sugar-cane.” So the women went to Deb-añg, had a house built there and planted an extensive piece of land with sugar-cane. When the sugar-cane had grown up, they made molasses. Upon weeding the field and pulling out the grass, they noted particles of gold adhering to the roots. In this way the discovery of gold at Deb-añg was made. Then they thought: “There may be also gold in the creek” and upon exploring the sand carried by the water, they found indeed gold of which they recovered a good deal. They went back to Loacan to tell Baruy of their find. The latter had already discovered a gold deposit at Kadañg and he amassed subsequently considerable wealth by trading in this metal.

As Amkidit had been helpful in securing the communication between Beñguet and the west coast against robbers, so

Baruy became instrumental—tho rather accidentally—in facilitating the traffic towards the south.

After his father's death trouble had developed in the southern part of Beñguet bordering on Pañgasinán. Cattle-rustlers in the latter province used to take the stolen animals across the border to Sayañgan, a place in southern Beñguet, for selling them to the people there, who resold them to Igórots farther back in the mountains. As the passage north from Sayañgan was, however, obstructed by a rocky barrier impassable for the animals, the up-country buyers used to slaughter them at the intervening place of Amdiañg near the rocks in question, carrying away only the cut up parts. In time the cattle-stealing in Pañgasinán took on larger proportions and led to vigorous action on the part of the owners. Accused of being the thieves, a number of Igórots of Sayañgan were arrested and imprisoned in Pañgasinán. Thereupon a man was sent to Loacan to appeal to Baruy for help towards release of the prisoners. According to tradition, this appeal invoked the memory of Baruy's father. As Amkidit once corrected the conduct of the Ifasduñg, so now his son was asked to teach the people of Sayañgan better ways. Baruy consented and went to Pañgasinán where he satisfied a mulctuary punishment of six hundred pesos for the imprisoned Igórots whom he brought back to Sayañgan. Upon arriving here, Baruy assembled the people and told them to let this case serve them as a lesson, warning them against taking part again in any cattle-stealing. To reimburse him for his outlay in liberating the prisoners he received forty karabaws. There being, however, no road over which he might have taken these to Loacan, he ordered twenty of his men to cut out from the rock at Amdiañg a passage for them, which is pointed out there to this day. This accomplished, he had the animals led thru with the exception of one, the uncommonly wide spread of whose horns prevented it from passing, so that the cut had to be suitably widened. The opening of this passage greatly facilitated the traffic to Pañgasinán and this route was frequented thenceforth also by traders from the Agno valley.

Baruy's wife bore him a son named Bigagwan who in time married Sulikam of Loacan. From this marriage sprang two sons, Sañgi and Kumicho.

As for Sañgi, he had a crowd of children. The way how he came by them was that, when his wife became old, he took to himself another younger one, saying: "Don't you people be angry, if I leave the old woman. I do not mean to act badly by her, but the chances are that I can increase the number of

our, people." Thus his first wife was not sent away by him and was called away only by death. By his second wife he had eight children, when she too died. So he married again at Ilañg, but also this wife died after having born him seven more children. He then married once more, Kadmali of Andebuok, who gave him six more children. Sañgi had meanwhile become quite old and, at his death, was buried under his house, leaving his wife a young widow.

Sañgi had not lived in easy circumstances; he was a poor man all his life. His brother Kumicho, on the other hand, amassed considerable wealth by trading in gold which he used to buy in Antamok and Akupan and to take personally to Liñgayen for sale. From his wife Maxaicha, a native of Puginis, he had two sons, Baban and Gwaygwaya, and a daughter, Sulikam.

The traditions regarding Amkidit and his son Baruy related in the foregoing have been brought down, by the statements just made on the latter's descendants, to the person of Baban, the same whom P. Córdoba mentioned in his report on the first visit to Toñgdo as what he termed 'a great chief, a sort of kinglet of the innermost mountains'. It is from a subsequent alliance between descendants of Baban and such of his sister Sulikam that the present Cariños of Báguio have sprung, so that the information furnished me by the latter, and given on the following pages, has the character not so much of tradition as of family memoirs. Before proceeding, however, with these memorial accounts, a comment may be inserted here concerning the traditions heretofore related.

The most striking feature of those old stories will probably be found in the spontaneous endeavors for raising the ethical level of the community, which leading members of the tribe made long before the establishment among them of any outside authority. From a people so frequently branded as savages, this would indeed be hardly expected, unless consideration were given, on the one hand, to the civilizing effect of their own industriousness, and, on the other, to the influence of experiences made by them in contact with the outside world. A few citations will illustrate the situation.

In his *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas* (Mexico 1809), Dr. Antonio de Morga has this to say of the 'Igolotes', i.e., our Igórots: "They have rich mines and many such of gold on silver, from which they extract only sufficient quantities for

the necessaries of life; and with the gold, imperfectly refined, they come down to certain places to barter with the Ilokos, when they exchange the gold for rice, hogs, karabays, wrappers, and other necessaries; and the Ilokos refine the gold to a finish and put it in circulation thru the whole country. And altho special endeavors have been made to find out from these Igolotes their mines, their mode of exploiting them, and the way they have of refining the metal, there has been no possibility of knowing this, because they are on their guard with the Spaniards who will go after them on account of the gold, of which they [the Igórots] say that they keep it more securely in the earth than in their houses."

When Judge Morga, already a few decades after the occupation of Manila by the Spaniards, had thus given evidence of his penetration of tendencies existing among his countrymen, the Spanish government later forbade its subjects, under penalty of one hundred blows and two years forced labor, to trade or to have any intercourse with those infidels in the mountains who paid no tribute to his Catholic Majesty, because, as long as they could exchange their gold, wax, etc. against articles which they lacked, and which were necessary for their subsistence, they would never allow themselves to be converted (*Legislacion ultramarina*, anotada por Joaquin Rodriguez San Pedro, Madrid 1865, I, 256, § 75).

In spite of repeated attempts of the government to thus boycott the unbelieving mountaineers in order to bring about their conversion, the Ibáloys continued in their disregard of governmental policies and, in so doing, came near wrecking an important source of revenue of the islands. Says Sinibaldo de Mas in his *Informe sobre el estado de las islas Filipinas en 1842* (Madrid 1843), chapter 'Población', page 11:

"These idolaters [the Igórots] cultivate in some regions immense fields of tobacco which they introduce into the provinces. The consequence is the ruin of the tobacco revenue, the necessity of maintaining guards and troops to check this lawlessness, the extortions which these very officials commit in the towns, and, in short, so many expenses and troubles that it has been necessary more than once to send out special commissicners, and this has come to be a question of arduous solution. In other regions they molest the peaceful Christian towns and render the roads so dangerous that it is not possible to pass over them without an escort."



It must be deplored that the unfortunate 'lawlessness' here denounced as perpetrated by cultivating for trade immense fields of tobacco, operated against the Ibáloys themselves, inasmuch as it left them without that encouragement which, under other circumstances, the government would have dispensed to such diligent agriculturists without any doubt. As regards the disturbance of public order by their brigands, this was, as we have seen from the traditions, since early times spontaneously condemned by the sane element of the tribe. The traditions as well as the testimony of P. Vivar make it sufficiently clear that there was no general lawlessness in Beñguet; those mountains harbored some rancherías whose inhabitants, taking advantage of the seclusion of their homes, dedicated themselves to a life of robberies. With the bulk of the population characterized by industriousness, the leading personalities, who took an interest in the general uplift of the tribe, represented that conservatism which naturally springs up with the creation of property, and desires to render secure the fruits of achieved labor. Besides, those spontaneous efforts to suppress brigandage sprang not necessarily only from the desire to avoid retaliatory measures. According to P. Delgado, the historian, the Ilocos coast was peopled at the arrival of the Spaniards by civilized communities who had trade and intercourse with other oriental nations. At those times, Japanese, Chinese and Bornean traders used to arrive there in quest precisely of that gold which was brought down from the mountains back of the coast. These relations, together with the later established fact that some wealthy Ibáloys had settled among the Ilokos, may well have produced among parts of the mountain people the desire to follow the example of their neighbors on the coast and to work for a more advanced civic life.

As regards the killing of the two slaves at the establishment of the line of demarkation between the Beñguet highland and the Agno valley, this is the sole instance on record of human sacrifice among the Ibáloys. But even if it should have had the character of a practice observed to keep in remembrance the conclusion of an intertribal covenant, the inhabitants of Beñguet of those early times can hardly be expected to have had more regard for human life than that recorded of leading elements in mediaeval Europe.

## XII

Notes from the family chronicle of the Cariños of Báguio. The beginnings of Spanish administration of Beñguet as viewed by the Ibáloys.

As already indicated in the last chapter, the following pages contain biographical data on the ancestors of the Cariño family of Báguio, followed by notes on the beginnings of Spanish administration in Beñguet. All of these remarks are an almost literal rendering of information taken down in the local dialect from the lips of Bayosa, the first mother of the family mentioned, and from several other members of the same kinship, all of unquestionable authenticity, tho already much advanced in age. A more concise view of the lines of descent involved in the biographical notes will be obtained from a reference to the family tree given in the Appendix.

BABAN was married to a girl of Sapdit, Dugay by name, from whom he had three sons, Kidit [i.e., Kidit the second], Ulaw, and Bugnay. They had their home in Dentañ near Sapdit, but later went to live in Toñgdo, where Baban had a house built and fields cleared. Here he engaged in the gold trade to the coast, acquiring thereby great wealth. An intimate friend and business associate of his was one Chanoo, an Ibáloy who had settled in Ariñgay and occupied there a prominent place as one of the richest inhabitants. Of Chanoo's brother, Bugtong Bunkawisan by name, it is said that he had the fancy, whenever he came up to Toñgdo, to bring along seedlings of rattan which he planted in the woods of Mt. Alagut and Mt. Mañgitkiran, and that this accounts for the present abundance there of this most useful climbing palm. It is remembered that upon arrival of the Padre [P. Vivar] in Toñgdo, Baban was asked by him to assemble all the villagers, as the Padre wished to become acquainted with them. Baban was to tell them that they need have no fear, since his intentions were the best. When all were assembled, the Padre told them that he wished them to become his friends, and that he desired to study their customs and to baptize them, since that was the order of God, their creator. Some of the people consented to become Christians; others were unwilling and went away. Asked by the Padre about the location of other rancherias, Baban told him of Chuyo where his brother-in-law Kañgkañg, husband of his sister Sulikam, lived with many kailians. The Padre was accordingly conducted to Chuyo by Baban's son Kidit.

KIDIT married twice. His first wife was Sonay, daughter of Doñgboy of Kafagway, who bore him two sons, Apulog

Minse and Kumicho [i.e., Kumicho the second]. His second wife was Avukay, daughter of Pagid of Diyañg near Tuba. Having lived for some time in Puspusok near Kisad, Kidit later permanently resided at Binin, higher up the valley than Toñgdo, where he laid out some rice-fields. He was a popular leader of exemplary conduct, eager to civilize his tribal followers and ever ready to take a stand against bad men and wrong dealings. Upon the early death of his brother Ulaw, he adopted the deceased's children and brought them up as good citizens. Having conducted P. Vivar to Chuyo, as directed by Baban, Kidit put him in touch with the inhabitants of the place. Lending himself to the Padre's views, he did his best to persuade those living dispersedly around Chuyo to give up their unsteady habitations and to take up a fixed residence within Chuyo proper as a common center of settlement. He was moved to do this by the consideration that a good understanding with the Padre would prevent invasions of the mountains by lowland soldiery to whose fire-arms the Ibáloys had to oppose only their primitive weapons. A more sedentary life of the kailians, besides, could only be in the interest of the propertied class of Ibáloys. Kidit not only prevailed upon his fellow-tribesmen to allow themselves to be converted, but is reported to have embraced the Christian faith himself. In this connection it is remembered that at a former time a Catholic graveyard was established at a place called Oñgasan, now known as the Sanitary Camp.

APULOG MINSE was the most prominent among the children of Kidit. Born at Puspusok, he in time married Bunaay of Kavudyaw, sister of Adarug, and became the most prominent man at Báguio. He derived much wealth from trading in gold and cattle, for which pursuits he counted with good friends on the coast. He made frequent trips to the other rancherias of Beñguet, as he liked to keep in touch with his relatives. When upon a visit to Tublay, he induced Pablo Cariño, son of his cousin Biguñg, to send his son Mateo to Báguio, as he wanted this young man to marry Bayosa, granddaughter of Apulog Minse. Thus the Báguio branch of the Cariños became established. When Apulog once left his residence at Tamool [now location of the Baguio city-storehouses] and went to Antamok to buy gold, he there happened into a festival at which a quarrel arose between one Baloñg and one Kigwas. A fight ensued [a rare occurrence at an Ibáloy drinking bout] during which Baloñg threw a stone at Kigwas and, in so doing, accidentally hit Apulog on the forehead, who died of the injury. Accused of homicide, Baloñg was sent to Lingayen, where he died in prison.

KUMICHO, Apulog's brother, became, thru his son Ap-san Karantes, the grandsire of two notable families of Bá-

guio. He was the grandfather of Mateo Karantes [also called Kustasio] of Loacan, and of Kuidno Karantes of Lu-ban.

DANĠVIS was the most distinguished of Apuloġ Minse's children. Thru his marriage with Kabifġkut [also named Maxaicha] he became the father of Bayosa already mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. Having for godfather the Spanish Comandante Enrique Oraá, Daġvis was baptized with his brother Pablo and the latter's son Juan Cariño, Daġvis receiving the name Enrique Ortega. Despite of his conversion, his wealth and public services, he met with great affliction in later life thru the action of Oraá's successor, as will be related further on.

It will be well to say here a few words about the descendants of Baban's sister Sulikam, among whom arose the most influential Ibáloy of his time.

SULIKAM bore her husband Kaġkaġ three children, one of whom, a son, was called APULOġ ANAS. With the help of his brothers and of an uncle, Anas engaged in the breeding of karabaws, in which he was so successful that he came to considerable wealth. With his wife Tekkel, he lived in Chuyo and there gave repeatedly those big slaughtering feasts, known as *pachit*, that are calculated to show rank. They had a son by name of BIGUĠ who, having married in second nuptials Savina of Loacan, granddaughter of Amonin of Chuyo, became the father of PABLO CARIÑO. The latter had been born in Pugis, being there known as Dirut; he later moved to Tublay where, with his name changed to Mawmaw, he acquired much wealth. As already mentioned, he was baptized under the sponsorship of Comandante Oraá and at this occasion received the name Pablo Cariño, with which he is known as the head of the Tublay branch of the Cariños. From his wife Kalmin Chaxadi he had a number of children, the eldest of whom was Juan, to whom the before mentioned Spanish comandante had given, at the baptism, his own name Oraá. This JUAN CARIÑO ORAA, born in 1849, elder brother of Mateo Cariño of Báguio, became the most distinguished member of his family and tribe. In different capacities he rendered the government valuable services for which he was decorated with the *Gran Cruz de Isabel la Católica* and with the *Medalla del Mérito Civil*. Under Aguinaldo he later was Provincial Governor of Benguet, and from 1916 until his death in 1923 he represented the Mountain Province in the Legislature in Manila.

The preceding biographical notes have introduced a num-

ber of those Ibáloys who were principally concerned in the beginnings of Spanish administration of Beñguet. The first Spanish executive in the district was Don GUILLERMO GALVEY. Altho Beñguet was formally constituted a *Comandancia Político-Militar* only in 1846, it had already for a number of years been subject to what was called the *Comandancia General de Igorrotes*, a governmental unit, with office in a coast-town, having as chief duty the general control of the mountain people and the collection of the tribute called *reconocimiento de vasallaje* from those tribes who recognized the sovereignty of Spain; another important activity of this center was the persecution of the unauthorized planting of tobacco and of the illegal introduction of this commodity into the lowland provinces. Galvey, who in the late twenties was *Comandante General de Igorrotes*, reported his first expedition to Beñguet as made in January 1829, after he had spent many days in the foothills destroying large fields of tobacco planted by the Ibáloys. This first expedition, consisting of two officers, three sergeants, six corporals, and fifty troopers, accompanied by 200 carriers, had an encounter with the inhabitants of Trinidad valley, in which a number of these were shot, others made prisoners, and some 180 houses burned down. After this military success, Galvey returned to the coast. He finishes his report saying:

This expedition, tho short, served me well for those I made later, as the Igórots of Beñguet shortly afterwards asked me for peace and have since been my friends. On different expeditions I have passed eight or ten times thru their valley and, far from attacking me, they have treated me with kindness, providing me with rice, cows, and other articles of food. Still, as a consequence of the expedition and of small-pox, this town has been reduced to about a hundred houses. I am, however, doing everything possible to make it flourish again, and my highroad reaches there. [For a full translation of the report see the appendix to my paper on the Nabaloy dialect, *Ethn. Surv. Publ.*, II, 2, Manila 1905.]

It appears that Galvey's second visit to Beñguet was undertaken not long after the one just mentioned, and that it is the one to which the following reminiscences of the old folks at Bágúio have reference.

Bigung [the son of Apulog Anas already mentioned above] was a brave and fearless man, familiar with life in

the lowlands where, thru his traffic in gold, he had many friends. When he heard of Galvey's arrival in Agoo, he went to meet him there and accompanied him to Beñguet. Upon arrival here, Biguñg assembled the leading men at his house where a head of cattle was slaughtered in honor of the Spanish official. Orders were also given to the townspeople to hunt a deer for their guests. There were not lacking some who were afraid and kept away. The men of better judgment, however, who had been assembled by Biguñg, stayed and were treated by Galvey to bread and sardines and to cigars of the government monopoly, handed around while Galvey patted the headmen on the back and assured them, thru an Iloko interpreter, of his desire that they now become good friends.

When Biguñg was asked by Galvey to accept an appointment as kapitan of Beñguet, he excused himself, since he feared that his acceptance of that post would lead to his being killed by some of the tribesmen who believed that, but for his making friends with Galvey, the latter would not have come up to Beñguet. In substitution, Biguñg proposed to Galvey a relative of his in Kafagway, Pulito by name, a man of good character who would probably have no objection to act as kapitan. When Pulito agreed to accept that post, Galvey presented him with a fine shirt and a hat; bidding also Pulito to stand up before him, Galvey invested him with the *baston*, the staff of office, and charged him to take good care of the people of Beñguet. Pulito thereafter remained in office four years. He was an ancestor of the late Kapitan Piraso's wife Daviñgit.

Galvey thereupon invited Biguñg to be his companion in visiting other towns in Beñguet. Biguñg thus conducted Galvey to Kabayan whither they went on horseback, followed by many people. They passed the night there in the house of Tempak, a responsible and valiant man. They set about to assemble those men who were known to them as important, but found this very difficult, as the people were afraid and a number of them had left their homes. However, they prevailed upon Tempak to become kapitan and he accepted. He was the great-grandfather of Mildya, first wife of Juan Cariño Oraa. Upon their return to Beñguet, Galvey had a small house built for himself. He was the first governor of Beñguet.

When Pulito had finished his four years of service as kapitan, he was succeeded by Chokorog, grandfather of Kamdas, Piraso's son-in-law. The way how Chokorog discharged his duties does not seem to have been satisfactory to the people, so that already after one year in office he asked the Governor to relieve him from his post for being unable to bear the unruliness of those under his control. He was followed by Am-

pagey, a man of good character, who received orders from the then Comandante B. to see to it that the Ibáloys became Christians. Not being able to achieve this, he was whipped by the Comandante and his life was otherwise made miserable. As it appeared that the people did not follow him, he was removed from office.

The successor of Ampagey as kapitan was Apulog Minse who held that post for four years. During all this time Comandante B. continued in office, so that Apulog was continuously forced to comply with the desire of his superior that the Ibáloys be induced to become Christians, and that they build good roads. This caused the people much hardship and aroused their hostility. A number of them took to flight, unwilling to be baptized or to work on the roads without proper remuneration. Apulog then told the comandante that it would be better not to press the people too much, as they were becoming disaffected. He accompanied these representations with some presents in gold, whereupon they became good friends.

Upon Apulog Minse's leaving office, he was succeeded by Kaldyas, the father of Ugasdya, wife of Kustasio Karantes. Kaldyas had during his term of office the same difficulties as Apulog, but maintained himself in the good graces of his superior by making him many presents. He gave him gold and a milch-buffalo.

Kaldyas was followed by Enrique Ortega Dañgvis, father of Bayosa. At his time the comandante was one A., of whom it is said that he was very cruel. He mulcted the kapitan and others, if they did not make him presents in the form of cattle, eggs, chicken, rice, etc. He told Dañgvis that for an intended expedition to Loo and Mankayan he was to collect one hundred men who were to accompany the soldiers as carriers, and that, if Dañgvis were unable to assemble that number of men, he would be dragged over the ground tied to a horse. The kapitan thus was much troubled when the people showed themselves unwilling to go to Mankayan, the natives of which place, they said, were their enemies. At last, however, Dañgvis managed to collect the required number of carriers who started for Mankayan in company of the soldiers. It is related that at their arrival at that town all the inhabitants had fled, having left their houses and their pigs, and having buried their rice under the houses. Not finding any people, the expedition adopted a waiting attitude, when, after some days, an old man from Mankayan turned up, half starved, to whom the soldiers said: "Go back and call your companions and tell them that we are good people who have been ordered by the comandante of Beñguet to civilize you here." The old man having gone to call the others, some of them came and made friends with

the alferes [sub-lieutenant] of the soldiers. Among them was a wealthy man, Tobal by name, who was said to be the kapitan. He was given the *bastón* and ordered to tell his people not to be afraid, since the comandante as well as the Ilokos meant well with them. The soldiers then returned to Beñguet with the carriers.

Successor of Dañgvis in office was Makay. During his term the comandante ordered the soldiers again to Mankayan, so that Makay had the same difficulty as Dañgvis in procuring a crowd of carriers. He held office for two years.

The next kapitan was Apsan Karantes. During his term, the Spanish comandante in Beñguet was one Oraá of whom it is said that he was a good official and rather fond of the natives, altho he taxed them severely with work. He improved the road to Beñguet and ordered the people to build their houses so as to form solid villages, as he saw in this the means to promote their civilization. Thus even those of Akupan were obliged to have their houses in Báguio which meant a great hardship for them. Apsan Karantes died while yet holding office and his untimely death is connected with the excessive trouble he had in discharging the duties imposed upon him.

The next kapitan was Kampolet, grandfather of Antondyo Dimas. During his tenure of office and while Comandante Oraá was absent on official business in Manila, the latter's house in Beñguet was destroyed by a fire imputed to the carelessness of one of his servants. Oraá's departure was made use of by many people whom he had concentrated in Beñguet and Báguio, to scatter and to return to their original homes.

Kampolet was succeeded by Dovo Badyatiñg, the father of Alumno and Gwaxat Swildyo, of whom the last mentioned died as president of Tuba in 1931. While Badyatiñg was in office the district had as comandante a certain V. [around 1885] who has left the worst reputation with the Ibáloys. He is said to have made the life of these mountaineers thoroly miserable by frequently imposing fines upon them and beating them for not complying with his orders or for some small fault. He oppressed the people by demanding from them, at unreasonably cheap prices, whatever aroused his desire. With such treatment the temper of those under his rule went from bad to worse and they resolved to use all lawful means to get rid of him. Intending to send a group of leading men to Manila in order to lay their grievances before the Governor General, they collected among themselves contributions to defray the travelling and other expenses of the missionaries, getting together one thousand pesos. The men selected for the mission were Kustasio Karantes of Loacan, Bilit of Atok, Banigwas of Tublay, and Katarino of Beñguet.



After departure of those just named, one Ibáloy, by name of Alos, turned traitor and told the comandante all about the complaint to be laid against him. The action taken thereupon by V. was to accuse five of the principal natives of the district of being vagabonds without home and thus dangerous characters. These five were Ortega Dañgvis, father of Bayosa, Pablo Cariño of Kapañgan, Penañg, a wealthy man of Beñguet, Madtini, kapitan of Tublay, and Peril, another wealthy man of Tublay. Cariño, old and unable to walk on account of rheumatism, was thrown into jail in Beñguet; the others were deported to Jolo where Madtini subsequently died. For two years the persons mentioned were kept as prisoners in Jolo, while the complainants sent to Manila had to stay there, afraid of being put into prison in case of returning to Beñguet. However, one of the latter, Bilit, an energetic and intelligent man, did not relax in his endeavors for the release of his fellow tribesmen, and, with the help of a well-paid lawyer, ultimately obtained action on the part of the Governor General in their behalf. An agent was sent to Beñguet to ascertain the position of those unjustly deported, and the findings of this emissary having revealed their honorable standing, they were brought back from Jolo. On their return Penañg found himself without the fifty pesos which their conductor exacted from each of those under his control, and only the kindness of Kapitan Juan Baltazar in Arifngay who lent him that sum, made it possible for him to continue the return voyage to Beñguet. On reaching Naguilian he fell seriously sick and relatives of his, who had come to meet him there, transported him the rest of the way on a litter. Upon arrival at their home in the mountains, the sick man was already unconscious and on the following day he expired.

The preceding notes, closely rendered from original information, just give an idea of how the memory of a past administration lives among its former subjects. While apparently not quite correctly informed on all governmental proceedings mentioned, the persons from whom those statements proceed are in no way given to hateful inventiveness and their declarations are at all events made in good faith.

In more recent times, the district was governed successively by the commandantes Martinez, Lanza, Cereceda, and Bejar, of whose courtesy the writer preserves a grateful memory. At the end of July 1899 the last named officer left the capital of the district, which had recently been transferred to Pugis in the Trinidad valley, and withdrew, at the head of the entire Spanish civilian and military colony of Beñguet, to Bontok. The circum-

stances motivating this exodus were connected with the well-known political events which at that time led to a change in the sovereignty of the islands. For the first, however, the tranquil life at Bágúio remained entirely unaffected.

We leave then 'Baguio's Past' at the end of a period during which the native inhabitants of the Philippines were distinguished as 'Indios', 'Igorrotes', and 'Moros', while they are viewed at present as 'Filipinos' and 'Non-Christians'. May the time arrive when they are all rated as Filipinos.

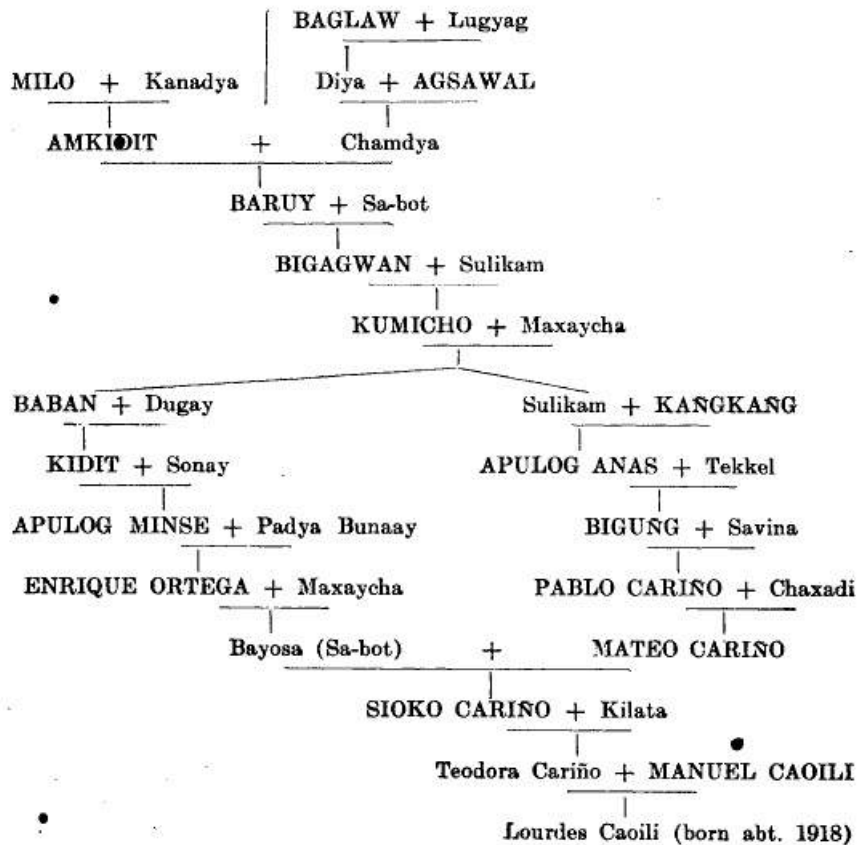
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[APPENDIX

## APPENDIX

The traditions recorded on the preceding pages involve a chronological question which, not being of immediate concern to the story-tellers, has remained untouched by them. The reader, for his part, will desire to be informed of the time to which those traditions go back, that is, he wants to learn, at least approximately, the year in which Amkidit laid the foundation for his clan. The time from that progenitor's union with Chamdya till today is taken up by a known succession of generations. By counting these, and multiplying their number with the average number of years to be reckoned for each one generation, the whole lapse of time can be roughly determined.

The family-tree of the Cariños of Báguio, showing their descent from Amkidit presents itself as follows:



From the maiden Lourdes Caoili to Amkidit there are shown here eleven and a half generations. Assuming for each of these 30 years, they represent 345 years or a lapse of time going back to the year 1587, that is sixteen years after occupation of Manila by the Spaniards. The family tree here given traces the descent from the common ancestor with the help of one individual member from each successive branch of the family concerned. In this connection it will be of interest to give, by the summary following, an idea of the full number of individuals to which the family circle in question has grown out, as it shows again how prolific are not few Ibáloy unions.

*Descendants of Kapitan Mateo Cariño and his wife Bayosa, beginning with nine children:*

1. *Sioko*, born about 1877, married to Kilata, daughter of Akop and his wife Chanal. Kilata bore her husband 17 children of whom 9 died and 4 males and 4 females are living. Their eldest daughter, Mrs. Teodora Caoili has 5 children (2 girls, 3 boys) living. Another daughter, Tamay has 4 children;
2. *Sefa*, with 2 sons from her first, and 1 daughter and 2 boys from her second husband;
3. *Juan* †;
4. *Dr. José Cariño* (M.D., Rush Medical College, Chicago), father of 1 daughter and 2 boys;
5. *Donato*, † 1929, left 1 boy and 4 girls;
6. *Savina* † left 1 boy and two girls;
7. *Kindya* bore her husband 13 children (6 boys, 7 girls), of whom 11 are living;
8. *Helen* (Principal, Tuba Central School);
9. *Castro*.

This constitutes a total of 64 descendants, 50 of whom are living.

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(From left to right)

Miss HELEN CARINO, Mrs. KASINTA  
Dr. JOSÉ CARINO, Mrs. BAYOSA CARINO



Kapitan MATEO CARISO of BAGUIO