

Notices of the Pagan Igorots in 1789

By

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Translated by William Henry Scott

Translator's Introduction

When 23-year-old Dominican Fray Francisco Antolín arrived in the Philippines in 1769, his first assignment was as missionary vicar of St. Catherine's, Buhay, in the Mission of Ituy. Ituy, or Tuy, was the name applied to the flatlands along the headwaters of the Magat River around Aritao, Dupax and Bambang in the present province of Nueva Vizcaya just north of the Caraballo Sur, and Buhay was located a few kilometers up a small tributary just south of Aritao. Some ten and twenty miles downstream was the so-called Mission of Paniqui around the present towns of Bayombong, Bagabag and Solano, and these two mission districts were considered to lie between the provinces of Pangasinan, Pampanga and Cagayan, and to fall under the jurisdiction of none of them. To the northwest of these missions—in the present provinces of Ifugao and Benguet, and Kayapa municipality of Nueva Vizcaya—were unexplored mountain ranges inhabited by totally unsubjected tribes called Igorots. It was the proximity of these independent, headtaking neighbors which required a military garrison in Aritao and another in Bagabag, and made Father Antolín's frontier assignment one of considerable adventure and hardship, and not a little danger.

These mountaineer Igorots had been a thorn in the side of Spanish sovereignty in the Philippines for two hundred years. They monopolized the richest gold mines in the archipelago, and collected tribute from lowlanders, carried them off into slavery or held them for ransom, and attacked them when they con-

verted to the missions; they made communications with Cagayan impossible for unarmed travellers, and absorbed any recalcitrant lowlanders fleeing government authority. They had just been the object of special government attention for the 25 years prior to Father Antolin's arrival. A series of military expeditions in 1745-1750 had cleared them out of the Ituy region to make the development of mission work among the Isinay people possible; indeed, the very fort at Aritao stood on the site of a former Igorot stronghold called Ajanas. Meanwhile, the Augustinian friars on the Ilocos coast had been enjoying considerable success with a policy of attraction until a punitive expedition by the Governor of Pangasinan wiped out their mission stations in the foothills of Mt. Santo Tomas southwest of Baguio. In 1758, however, a Royal Order specifically enjoined a policy of peaceful proselytizing and offered lifelong exemption from tribute to Igorot pagans who embraced the official Faith.

Father Antolin quickly showed more than a missionary interest in these montane pagans. On the one hand, everything about them seemed to him primitive, reprehensible or disgusting. They lived on the cold, cloud-covered heights of the barren Cordillera in dark, smokey huts devoid of furniture beyond a few baskets and wooden plates, were naked but for bark G-strings and cotton blankets bartered from the Ilocanos, lived off root crops at such a low subsistence level they were always hungry, defended themselves simply by throwing down stones and bamboo spears, sold adulterated gold in the lowland towns and contracted debts which they ran off without paying. Yet they somehow managed to maintain both their complete independence and their commerce with lowlanders. The dilemma intrigued the young friar: he began to collect notes, and the Igorots became a lifelong interest.

In 1771 he was recalled to Manila to lecture in philosophy and theology at the University of Santo Tomas, and there made good use of the best collection of occidental literature in the Orient. He culled every paragraph and chance reference to the word *Ygolot* or *Igorrote* from such standard Dominican, Augustinian, Franciscan and Jesuit historians as Diego Aduarte, Gaspar de San Agustín, Juan Francisco de San Antonio, and Francisco Colín, as well as from the first three volumes of Juan

de la Concepción's *Historia general de Philipinas* which was just coming off the press, and other histories still in manuscript form—the 1718 *Conquistas* of Casimiro Díaz, for example, which wasn't printed till 1890, or Antonio de la Llave's *Crónica*, which has never been published.

The Dominican archives were themselves a rich hoard because of the close identity of Church and State under the *Patronato Real*, especially in mission areas, and because they had absorbed the Jesuit library when that Order was expelled from the Philippines in 1768. Father Antolín also had access to government *Cedularios*, and both civil and military reports and proposals. He interviewed survivors of the expeditions of the 1750's, made use of lists of pagan settlements and sketch maps supplied by contemporary explorers, and had the personal diaries of several field commanders in his possession. Moreover, he made comparative ethnographic inquiries in a remarkable variety of other sources—about primitive customs, for instance, in Antonio de Ulloa's *Relación histórica del viaje a la America meridional*, or about Philippine fossils and volcanos in José Torrubia's *Aparato para la historia natural española*, eagle-stones or cat's-eyes in Noël Antoine Pluche's *El espectáculo de la naturaleza*, or about Brazilian placer mining in so unlikely a place as the 1768 *Narrative* of Lord Byron's grandfather.

Five years later, the Dominican authority on the Igorots was reassigned to St. Catherine's in Ituy, where he spent another ten years before being transferred to Dupax nearby. Considerable changes had taken place in the meantime. St. Catherine's has been moved down to Aritao, which was now considered safe enough to shift the local fort downstream to Carig in the Mission of Paniqui. A government monopoly on growing tobacco had been declared in 1780, but was winked at in the case of Igorots in the hope of attracting them. This policy of attraction was in full swing, and those who could be persuaded to come down to settle in the mission were given clothes, food, fields, carabaos and houses—although, Father Antolín noted, “you mustn't speak to them of prayers or Baptism during the first years because they say their heads are still too hard for learning, though they don't mind if their children are baptized and sent to school.” Even the fierce natives of Kiangán were beginning to come down to trade in Bagabag, occasioning “much sur-

prise at these so peaceful visits for that's not their custom." In 1788 Father Antolín finally began to commit his ideas to paper: writing letters of inquiry to other missionaries and sending new converts up to reconnoiter the legendary gold mines, he sent off a first draft on "the mines of the Igorots" in October, together with a comparison of conditions in the Philippines and America. No sooner did these works reach Manila than he was appointed Provincial historian, and in this capacity, in the summer of 1789, completed his *Noticias de los infieles igorrotos en lo interior de la Isla de Manila*.

The *Noticias* is divided into two parts, the first of which is here presented in translation. It comprises an introduction and nine chapters, the first six of which are a general ethnographic description—physical environment, population, character, customs, products, commerce, religion, government, arms, wars and slaves. Chapter 7 is an account of various exploratory trips into Igorot territory between 1739 and 1788, all based on contemporary reports or interviews with the travellers themselves. Chapter 8 contains other sources of information such as references in the Capitulary Acts, and Chapter 9 is an abridgement of two letters written by the Augustinian missionaries of Asingan and Agoon. The second, and longer, part is a collection of original source materials presented in chronological order and is a veritable little archive in itself which includes not only such scholarly apparatus as an index of references and an appendix of critics' comments, but a map, summaries of or quotations from many works now unobtainable, critical assessments of earlier writers, and the full texts of dozens of Royal Orders, official documents, contemporary correspondence, and even Manuel Carrillo's complete *Breve relación de las misiones de las cuatro naciones llamadas Igorrotos, Tinguianes, Apayaos y Adanes*, which had been published in Madrid 33 years before.

Father Antolín's work gives some historic dimension to the ethnography of the pagans of northern Luzon, and often adds new details. The use of bark G-strings 250 years ago is attested, and the presence of what is called an *ato* in modern Bontoc in the southern part of the mountain region—a kind of male clubhouse in which young bachelors slept together naked. Extensive commercial contact among the Cordillera tribes is indicated—a local trade in copper, gold, slaves and foodstuffs

which made the mountaineers at times independent of lowland imports except for cattle, cotton blankets and G-strings. The Ifugaos, who had no gold mines, traded rice in Nueva Vizcaya for animals, and crude iron tools which their blacksmiths made from broken pieces of cast iron obtained originally from the lowlands.

But more surprising is the amount and nature of Igorot contacts with the lowlands. Cattle were procured in numbers large enough to constitute real herds which the Igorots hired the poorer of their neighbors to pasture. Coin-of-the-realm was used for making purchases in the Christian centers, and crude copper pots sold in the nearby mission towns. G-strings were woven on Ilocano looms for Igorot consumption, and lowlanders travelled about buying up carnelian beads to sell them at one gold peso each. Moreover, both Spaniards and lowland Filipinos were personally involved in the lucrative but illegal gold trade. Slaves were also sold to lowlanders, either from enemy tribes or culprits from the slavers' own tribe, and Father Antolín believed that in one area slaves were kept as an actual social class, marrying among themselves and bearing slave offspring in exactly the manner reported of lowland Filipinos in the early years of the Spanish regime.

The *Noticias* also makes clear that Igorot resistance to Spanish conquest was deliberate and continuous. There appears to have been no time when they did not have just as much communication with the lowland population and authorities as they wanted—and no more. They successfully defended their rugged territory no matter how many invading expeditions burned their fields and towns, and took care to keep their trails and trade routes secret. Incidents are recorded again and again where missionary fathers were refused passage through the mountains for this reason as well as for fear of lowland epidemics like smallpox, the fathers sometimes returning to force their way with armed escorts. They sent no youths or women down to trade, deceived or pretended not to understand those who asked questions, and killed one of their own number for having disclosed a trail.

The Igorots were also self-conscious and outspoken about the virtues of their own culture and religion, considering the lowland settlements hot, diseased and troublesome. Father

Antolín himself admits a certain idyllic side to their way of life—"They have nobody to order them to row, to act as porters, or cut wood; they work and drink as they wish and when they like"—and comments that neither the lowland epidemics nor tax-collectors are hidden from them.

In setting forth this record of Igorot resistance and their defense of their own way of life, Father Antolín displays rather more objectivity than his contemporaries, but, like them, he falls short of the standards required by modern ethnographers. Eighteenth-century Spaniards considered that the *Indios* of America and the Philippines had been living in barbarian darkness before the civilizing advent of a Christian conquest, and the Igorots were clearly the worst of the lot. They scratched the earth for a miserable living but were considered grasping when they tried to improve it through trade and indolent when they didn't. Even their whole religion, Father Antolín wrote, was the worship of their bellies—that is, they prayed for their food—, though this could be logically explained as a deliberate scheme by the Devil. Their apparent contentment, however, he considered evidence of their small intellectual development, cultural backwardness and innate sloth—and, as a matter of fact, downright irritating. (Surely Divine Providence did not intend all that gold to be wasted on a handful of naked savages who didn't even know how to use it!) Worst of all, they were subjects of no national state, neither the Spanish Empire nor any other: they recognized no authority save their own chieftains, and reared their children in such "abject liberty" they were hardly different from wild beasts—and it is in these terms that Father Antolín more than once describes them.

A note on the translation.

The *Noticias de los infieles igorrotos en lo interior de la Isla de Manila, de sus minas de oro cobre, y su comercios y de varias entradas tentativas gastos hechos para su descubrimiento y pacificación* exists in Dominican archives in Manila in three hand-written copies each stitched into a booklet or *legajo* in the usual manner of Spanish archivists of the colonial period, averaging 150 pages of 20 × 25 cm. numbered on one side only. Although all are the work of clerical amanuenses, what is

evidently the original has profuse interlinear and marginal annotations and additions in Father Antolín's hand, most of which are incorporated into the text of the other two copies, which were evidently intended for the separate archives of the University of Santo Tomas and the Province of the Most Holy Rosary. A map appears only in one of these smooth copies, both of which have been microfilmed for the Mosher Library of St. Andrew's Theological Seminary in Quezon City. Stitched into the presumed original are many of the letters and documents quoted, and although the latest date mentioned in the text is in April 1789, additional information and letters from correspondents to whom Father Antolín had submitted his work for comment are appended, with dates as late as 1793. (Father Antolín died in August of 1796.)

The palaeography of the three manuscripts is typical of the late 18th century, and the orthography correspondingly permissive. Place-names appear in a variety of spellings, even on the same page, and in the present translation have been rendered in more modern and consistent form where recognized, or printed in italics where unidentified or doubtful. "P" for *padre*, "R.P." for *Reverendo Padre*, and "Fr." for *Fray* have generally been translated as "Father."

The word *indio*, which the Spaniards applied to the indigenous peoples of America and the Philippines, became an accepted American designation but a term of opprobrium in the Philippines during the Revolutionary period and has therefore been avoided in this translation, being used only in lieu of any other single term comprehending the native populations of both America and the Philippines. The term "Indies" has been retained for the Spanish colonial possessions in the eastern and western hemispheres, however. The verb *reducir*, by which the Spanish missionaries meant to convert, resettle, subjugate and civilize pagan populations, has been variously translated with these several verbs in English.

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NOTICES OF THE PAGAN IGOROTS IN THE
INTERIOR OF THE ISLANDS OF MANILA, OF
THEIR GOLD AND COPPER MINES, AND
THEIR COMMERCE, AND THE VARIOUS
EXPEDITIONS, ENDEAVOURS AND EXPEN-
DITURES MADE FOR THEIR DISCOVERY
AND PACIFICATION

Fray Francisco Antolín, O.P.

*Non quia difficilia sunt, non audemus sed quia non audemus,
sunt difficilia.* Seneca, *Epist.* 104.

Many things would be easy if we only undertook them, but because we do not undertake them, they become difficult. Fortune aids the courageous and rebuffs cowards.

Introduction

Much has been written in the histories and accounts printed in these Philippine Islands of the Filipinos and the conversions in the lowlands and coastal regions because exploration and navigation is easier there, but very little has been written of the highlands and mountains because of the difficulty and ruggedness of their trails, and this little is so confused and scattered that a clear impression cannot be formed. In particular, very few reports speak of the so-called Igorot pagans of this Island of Manila, and those that do, do so only very confusedly because of their lack of consistency or thoroughness.

It would be very important and useful if somebody were to write of these pagans and their mountainous lands which are right in the midst of the Christian provinces, specifically and with exactitude, giving clear details which might serve for the enlightenment and instruction of those who live so near them by reason of their ministry or office of converting their paganism, or at least to be safe from their frequent ambushes and deceptions.

Ever since the Spanish establishment in Manila, many preparations have been made, various towns and missions founded, and expeditions and endeavours undertaken, for the pacification of these Igorots and discovery of their mines. But all these reports which ought to be so useful for the common instruction and benefit are overlooked for want of some account or article which would treat of them at some length. Considering that these are forgotten, and the want of public notices, it is probably not strange that these pagans still remain in the evils of their heathanism and that their gold mines are almost dormant and without profit inasmuch as they only get gold when they make up their minds to buy animals from the Christians, eat them, and get drunk in their fiestas and pagan banquets—just enough to keep themselves independent and separate from the Christians, with grave danger and harm to their souls, and almost without any hope since, although they are practically under our very noses, nobody seems to remember them.

In view of these considerations, and for the common good both of the said pagans and the Christians of the neighboring provinces, and for the aid of the missionaries, I will collect and arrange in this work various notices, documents and notes pertaining to the Igorots, which, with no small effort and care, I have been gathering together since the year 1769 when I was assigned to be missionary of Ituy so close to those pagans. With such an opportune occasion, I was able to make various observations and researches which will be set forth in this paper with great brevity as extracts and summaries of the various reports and miscellaneous papers.

It will be divided into two parts to be consecutive and instructive with some separate explanations of certain points worthy of being treated at greater length added afterwards so as not to interrupt the thread of the narrative. At the very last will be placed various citations of authors and some brief notes which are so necessary in this sort of work which is based for the most part not on my own reasoning but on the authority of others. "My citations, besides being faithful and exact," a judicious contemporary writes, "will be more frequent than is customary; I feel very different from those who boast of being originators of what they write without acknowledging any

obligation to the authors from whom they copy.”¹ More than this, I know I live in a century of much hair-splitting, one when very few are believed for their words without stating the sources and reasons supporting them.

Another matter I might mention is that what will be said here of the pagan Igorots should not be taken as strange or improper for a missionary, a lover of the common good. *The Laws of the Indies* very much favor this sort of work. Consider the following law from the *Compilation*: “Those who set out as explorers should procure some native interpreters, and by these means talk to, and converse with, those of the land, obtaining knowledge of their customs and qualities, and the things for which their country is known; what things they most appreciate; if there are metals, spices, drugs and precious stones, domestic or wild animals, agricultural products, good virgin timber, and all the other things mentioned in the *Laws*; and render proficient reports of it all.” (Law 9, title 1, book 4, of the *Compilation*)

PART ONE

Chapter 1

Description of the Mountainous Land of the Igorots

The pagans of the Igotot nation, commonly called Igorots, have had and still have their own language and definite territory. They live by themselves, separated from the Christian Filipinos, and inhabit one continuous land which appears to be wholly mountainous. It is not so very far from the City of Manila, being only about 30 leagues across level land. The Christian provinces of Ilocos, Pangasinan, and Pampanga and the highland missions of Cagayan are much closer, since it is in between them and dominates them. Almost all the rivers of these pro-

I. See the *Index of citations* beginning on p.241. These are Father Antolin's own annotations, and they will hereafter be indicated by Roman numerals, the translator's by Arabic numerals.

vinces have their origin in the Igorot mountains. This proves it is a land of considerable altitude, composed of watersheds opposite one another and ranges which overlook the lands of the Christians which are all around them.

Among the many mountains which can be seen, the highest is in the interior, which the Igorots call Pola or Polac.¹ It is visible on clear days from Dupax, in the mission of Ituy, and several times I have observed that the sun at dawn illuminates it before the other mountains around it. The Igorots say that standing on its peak, the opposite plains of the two seas of this island can be seen—that is, the Ilocos coast and the *contracosta* of Baler. According to what they say, its great height seems to have given rise to a fable among the Igorots that the whole earth was inundated by a deluge in ancient times, and that only one man and one woman survived, mounting its crest, and from these are descended all the Igorots. This is believed among them as the tradition of their elders, and thus they are very far from believing themselves descendants of the Chinese.

They are also agreed that winds blow so cold and intemperate there that only the most robust hikers dare to brave the passage, and that a group was once caught in a storm on the heights and their chief was only able to save himself by getting under a cauldron or *carajay*² he was carrying. The fact is that this mountain can be clearly seen from the mission to be without trees or underbrush, with only some patches of grass from place to place, and white rocks which the Igorots say are very sharp and hard on the soles of the feet when they pass there on their trips and hunting. This very high mountain cannot be seen from Ilocos, Pangasinan or Pampanga because it is covered by other peaks and hills outside it. *The General History of the Philippines*, which is now in press, makes mention of the mountains of Kingay, inhabited by the Igorots.¹¹ These must be the ones near Agoon, but I have not found other works which call them this.

Mount Pulog bears north-northwest from Dupax, that is, more to the north than to the west. In it the three principal rivers of the Igorots take their origin, which flow in opposite

1. The Ibaloy people, who consider this mountain sacred, call it Polak, but it appears on modern maps as Pulog.

2. A kind of large iron frying-pan.

directions—to the west, that of Tagudin in Ilocos;³ to the south, the Agno in Pangasinan; and to the east, the Matunod in the missions of Ituy. The other small rivers and their sources can be seen on the map, and of these I shall speak more below.

These rivers, large and small, presuppose a variety of sources and springs, which, passing through such mountains and lands as those of the Igorots and draining them of their many minerals, will certainly produce and retain a variety of salts and other crystals such as common salt, niter, sulphur, saltpeter, alum, copperas, arsenic, vitriol, verdigris, rock crystal, lapis-lazuli, agate, goldstone, marble, marl, chalk, clay, ochre, and an infinity of other particular mixtures and petrifications which are generally produced in mountains and terrain similarly full of minerals. These mountains are still unknown through scientific explorations, nor are there any specific reports of what is in them. I certainly do not propose to write a complete natural history of these mountains; I know only too well my inadequacy for this. But I will not refrain from stating something of what I have seen and observed as a contribution toward a description of these mountains.

In the foothills of the mountains overlooking the missions, I have seen a variety of springs more or less salty and full of sediment.⁴ Some give common salt, fine and white like that of Pangasinan if it is evaporated in boiling water in a jar or alembic, and coarse and grainy as in Pampanga and Manila if this operation is done in platters of earthenware placed in the sun and wind. The Igorots deep in the interior provide themselves with this artificial salt, and even the Christians of the missions. Between these salt springs and on their sides are to be noted much stone and many rocks, mottled white and very hard and solid, of which some are without doubt true marble, which is being formed from the more solid and mineral content of these waters which, flowing out of their springs, evaporate the more volatile and acid of the salts in the sun and wind, and begin to deposit the heavier sediment on the banks, and little by little they become petrified and form white stone which no longer has the taste of salt. Then when the rivers and torrents pass through, they crumble and decay,

3. That is, the Amburayan River, which empties into the sea near Tagudin.

4. The largest of these have given the town of Salinas its name.

separating and rolling along with the current. The rivers of the Igorots are full of these white rocks, and in the missions an excellent lime has been made from them for the churches, being heated in a furnace with a very hot fire, usually for a week.

I have also seen some figurines or images made of rocks or stone from the mountains of the Igorot lands overlooking San Jacinto in Pangasinan: they are of alabaster, softer than marble and easier to work though not so white. I have others in my possession of rock crystal, glossy and rather transparent, which are obtained in Agoo in the part of Ilocos near the Igorots, which easily turns to calcium and makes a white mortar if placed in the fire. I have also obtained round eagle-stones, smaller than a hen's egg and of a ferrous color, which produce a sound inside when shaken.⁵ I easily broke one open and found a hard nucleus or heart in the middle of it, which is what makes the noise, moving about inside. These eagle-stones are found around the towns of Caranglan and Pantabangan in upper Pampanga, which are near the Igorots. They even attribute various powers to these stones, but I believe they have no more power than any other pebble and that they simply get the reputation for these virtues because they are so extraordinary.^{III}

From another Igorot spring they brought me some water more salty and disagreeable than seawater. I placed it in a pot on the fire to break it down by evaporation, and it left a sticky tar which, when tasted, had a very sharp flavor as sickening as English purgative salts, and made me feel like vomiting. I conjectured by the appearance and taste that, by means of science and some admixture, this brackish water could serve as a source of copperas, arsenic, tartar, verdigris, or some similar things since it also has the taste of sulphur and saltpeter.

Just because the rivers and water-sources among the Igorots are many, it is not to be inferred that they are as long as the Niger, Danube, Rhine, Tajo and Marañon Rivers, or the Amazon, or even the Cagayan. In the Philippines it rains more than in other places, and the sea is close enough to give off vapours, clouds and fogs which cause a diversity of rivers and springs more copious in a small land than in other more exten-

5. Formations of limonite, a natural ferric hydrate, which often occur in iron-shot sands as hollow concretions.

sive lands. This great number of downpours, continuing at times for whole weeks, also cause many cliffs, gorges, precipices and declivities in the mountains and uplands, forming rapid and meandering streams which break off and erode the wet land along the banks and slopes. This is the picture one should have of the highlands of the Igorots, and not seek plains or fields there. A land truly rugged and even inhospitable—like the terrain in Quito, the hill of Potasi,⁶ and the rocky steeps of Chile, too; but the precious metals which are locked up within their bosom by the Author of Nature, has made them inhabited and populated. In confirmation of this, the testimony of Herrera, historian of the West Indies will be placed here, describing the lands of Cibao or Hispaniola, in which gold is produced:

“The people who accompanied Columbus on his second voyage did not believe that there would be gold in Hispaniola until they saw it. They entered into Cibao, a rugged land of high, rocky sierras, and called it Cibao from *ciba*, which is ‘rock.’ There were few woods, and thus a most arid land save only in the river beds and streams, which are very many, and in all of them gold is found. It abounds in tall pines scattered about, which don’t bear fruit. It is a healthy land, the breezes gentle, the waters sweet and crystalline. There Columbus discovered many sources of gold, one of copper, another of *azul fino*, and another of amber, and for this reason and because the land was very rugged and the horses could not travel through it, he decided to build a fort for the security of the Christians. All the gold of Cibao is in fine particles though there have also been some fairly big nuggets.”^{IV}

A manuscript which will be cited below says:

“The mountains in which the Igorots live are rough and broken, and only from place to place are there some small valleys with any significant number of Igorots, divided into various villages of several houses each. In the interior there is a rather large lake, according to what they say, from which two rivers take their origin—the one called the Agno, which runs all through the province of Pangasinan, and the other, the Tagudin in Ilocos. These rivers, and other smaller ones, have

6. Site of the legendarily rich silver mines in Bolivia, located at an altitude of 13,600 feet.

much gold of the best quality, and more so up at their headwaters.”^v

I haven’t gotten any information about this lake even though I have asked the Igorots many times;⁷ and of the people I’ll speak later. All these rivers, which in the wet season come down rapidly and copiously with much gravel, sand and stones, are passable in the dry months, and a horse can ford them.

Father Murillo shows the size and location of this land in his maps, marking “Igorots” in the place that belongs to them, but doesn’t indicate the rivers, towns and mines because in a general map it isn’t possible to show everything—or, it might better be said, in his time there wasn’t so much information as now.^{vi} He gives the widest part of this Island of Luzon through the central part as two degrees of longitude, and Father Colín’s map the same, which would be 50 leagues wide. But, in fact, this length is only a calculation and based on the degrees of longitude of the sea outside, which up to the present time are uncertain and questionable.

Father Mozo, OSA, in his book, *Missions*, p. 62, says, “The Igotot, or *Igorrote*, nation covers a territory of some 30 leagues, from the boundary of Pampanga to Ilocos.” This is not an excessive estimate, especially if you add the irregularities of its perimeter. Through the district of the mission, too, it extends practically to just below Bagabag, but this is the outer edge of its perimeter. Still, there have been no exact measurements made of the interior and center of this wide island. The intervening mountains make it appear wider than it really is. It seems to me, an imaginary line drawn from the beaches of Ilocos across Igorot land to the opposite coast of Baler would only be one degree and a half in longitude, which is some 30 leagues, allowing 20 to the Igorots from Agoo to the mission of Ituy, and ten from Ituy to the other coast.

The size of the Igorot territory was formerly greater than it is now, because they occupied some slopes and savannahs near their mountains for their gold-panning and hunting, and charged their Christian neighbors land rentals in rice and animals for the fields built on their land, and if they didn’t give it, they

7. The fact that Mt. Data, on whose southeastern shoulder the Agno River rises, is flat on top and swampy in the rainy season has often caused such a mountain lake to be reported.

seized it. So it used to happen in the missions of Ituy when the Igorots were bolder, and the same toward Pangasinan and Ilocos. Later, they would make ambuscades, assaults, robberies and killings on the Christian trails, and burn towns and churches. But the long-suffering and constancy of the Christians made them withdraw little by little and retire farther into the interior, even as the light of the sun dissipates the shadows and drives the beasts to their dens.

As to their extent now, they occupy an irregular quadrilateral whose sides would each be from 12 to 26 leagues long. According to this estimate, the most abundant gold mines, called Pancutcutan,^{VII} which are in the most interior at the base of Mount Pulog, would be ten leagues from the land of Ilocos as the crow flies, the same from Pangasinan, and six or eight from the mission. But the Igorots take longer because of the many zigzags and slopes, and when they drive animals bought from the Christians, it takes them weeks because they travel slowly and make stops so the animals won't die. The mission of Ituy would then be parallel to the province of Ilocos, and about 16 leagues away as the crow flies. As I figure it, Agoo and Aritao should be in the same parallel of latitude, and the town of Asingan and Pancutcutan—that is, the mine—on the same meridian of longitude.

It has already been said that the Igorot mountains are in the middle of, or dominating, Ilocos, Pangasinan, Pampanga and the missions. The Igorot land starts from Asingan, and it is not even now known how far it goes since all the way to the seacoast of Cagayan are mountains peopled by Tinguianes, Gaddanes, and other pagans of different tribes. On the east they continue with a chain of mountains which passes through the Caraballo, Santor and Gapan, and reaches all the way to San Mateo, near the City of Manila. This must be enough for making a map, then, though still imperfect and too little, especially toward Ilocos on which I have very little data. But maps, like everything else, are perfected little by little.

Chapter 2

Their People and Number

If the aim of this work were to be exhaustive and repeat all

the short notices there are of the Igorots, it would be too bulky and tedious. Some writings of importance merit praise more for what they omit than what they tell us, especially those which in recent years have come to us from our Spanish Peninsula dealing with the Indies with dignity and precision, their discovery, their inhabitants and their produce.^{VIII} They are excellent works and move even the laziest student of the Indies to their imitation. But to desire to get an exact count of the natives of the Indies before they are well-explored, says one of these, would be the same as trying to tell the number of trees in a wide forest at a single glance: anyone would laugh at a man so bold as to claim soberly that he had a forest of exactly 50,000 trees.^{IX} Some works say that the Igorot nation is very populous, and their houses and villages many, but this claim is only very vague and betrays a note of exaggeration. Here only some reasons will be considered to persuade anybody that this land is moderately well populated with pagans.

It is universally well known that men multiply in proportion to the abundance of food, and the true origin of sparse population is a scarcity of foodstuffs and the difficulty of procuring them. "Without Ceres and Bacchus, Venus grows frigid," Terrence said.^X For the most part, these pagans make use of the gold from mines and placers for procuring provisions from the Christians of Ilocos, Pangasinan, Pampanga and the missions. They generally buy nothing more than animals to eat, like pigs, carabaos, cows and chickens, from the Christians. In Ilocos they buy whole herds. Although it is not in the missions that they buy most because gold is little known or appreciated here, the Igorots still get about 600 head in one year or the next. It doesn't seem that they try to buy rice, corn, camotes or other necessities from the Christians, which is a sign they have all they need of these. As a matter of fact, in some valleys and slopes their land is fertile, soft and porous, and can easily be worked with some wooden shovels without needing animals to plow it. They find the hardness and solidness of the land in the Christian lowlands strange, for the land in the lowlands is packed down with the pressure of the rains, the tread of the population and the vibration of carts. It is a land, as the saying goes, worn out and baked by the lowland sun. Not so these valleys and woodlands of the pagans, which enjoy greater fresh-

ness and humid vapors which cause plants to bear more fruit with less labor. Although the agriculture of the pagan Filipinos is most primitive, they do not have those duties, sometimes enforced, which the Christians have, like government service, running messages, making roads, attending church, and various personal tasks incompatible with working and cultivating their fields. It is to be concluded, therefore, that there is no lack of food or population. A manuscript about the Igorots says this: "Their common food is camote, gabe, ubi and squash, all of which they plant abundantly, as well as much meat of pigs, cows, carabao or deer, too, which they catch in the foothills of the mountains."XI

The sparse population of *Indios* is also usually attributed to smallpox, venereal disease and leprosy, or to wars, deforestation, tribute, division of land, migrations, and similar things. Yet the Igorots have practically none of these. They take sufficient care of the mountain passes to prevent the entrance of smallpox and other epidemics from the Christians. They don't navigate seas or rivers, nor do they leave their land. They have nobody to order them to row, act as porters, or cut wood; they work, eat and drink as they wish and when they like. They have few long-range wars. And then, their people do not have those backward handicaps we find in other places. The very fact of having maintained themselves as an independent republic this long, exploiting their mines and placers, which is work that requires robustness and many hands, without the Christians and other pagans having been able to seize their mineral wealth, implies an abundance of people and population. If they were few and not disposed to cooperate among themselves, they would not have been able to resist becoming Christians and obedient vassals until now, inasmuch as there have been many expeditions and endeavors, as will be said later.

Considering these reasons alone, it could be said, as some think, that the Igorots are very numerous and divided into many households and villages. But there are other sufficiently weighty reasons to support the view that their number and rate of increase is small. The men pass much time in idleness, fiestas, visiting and drunkenness. When necessity finally moves them, they make their rugged trips, climbing and descending the slopes in the greatest exposure and discomfort when they go to trade

or hunt. The domestic duties fall on the women and even the labor and care of the fields, since they treat them like slaves. A modern authority says: "The small appreciation which the American Indians have of their wives surely contributes to making them less fertile; women among barbarous tribes are little esteemed and treated like slaves, and among the Americans they are relegated to the lowest grade of despoite."^{xii} The same thing is true among these pagans, and even more so because of their vain superstitions.

If they have many children, they kill them for whatever bodily defect they may have, or in the manner of their delivery. Father Gaspar's *History* says, "The Ilocanos have various superstitions, and one is simply to kill those little creatures who are born with their umbilical cord over the neck or head, because they say they would be unlucky or die quickly." The manuscript on the Igorots already cited says that they kill those who are born weak, one-eyed or one-armed because they apparently would not be able to take care of their parents. If the delivery is difficult or transverse, they usually kill the poor creature because it wanted to kill its mother!

They take no care of their sick since they know no more remedy than the sacrifice of animals and anointing the patient's head and feet with their blood. The women leave their houses to give birth in a hut in the fields or under a tree on the banks of a stream of water where they can wash themselves afterwards.

But let this be enough to demonstrate that the Igorot population can be reckoned as moderate—although it could no doubt be much increased by putting an end to these impediments, as has happened among the Christians of Pangasinan and Ilocos.

The Royal Order of the year 1758 to Bishop Fuentes refers to the pagan Tinguianes in the Ilocos regions very near the Igorots, saying that, according to official information of the Royal Purveyor, they reckoned this nation as being composed of 100 villages and 10,000 Tinguianes.⁸ I don't know how many they may be now since I am not well informed about those parts of Ilocos, but I consider it to be most likely that all the Igorots

8. The Royal Order to Governor Pedro Manuel de Arandía dated June 18, 1758, is included in Part Two of the *Noticias*. It responds to a letter from the Bishop of Nueva Segovia (i.e., northern Luzon) requesting exemption from tribute for those Tinguianes who are presumably God-fearing and loyal to the Spanish

who consider themselves one nation and speak the same Igorot language (though with different intonations) exceed the number of Tinguianes by five times, considering their commerce with the upland Cagayan towns, for though they are isolated, they extend all the way from one side to the other and make business with their gold in the four provinces already mentioned.

Chapter 3

Character, Customs, Products, and Commerce

Let us now draw aside the veil and investigate this nation already well known by its trade. Let us avoid general concepts of what they have in common with other *Indios*, which would clarify little or nothing, and proceed to particular details. We might begin with a comparison of the Igorots and the neighboring Ilongots, since things compared are better understood. These two nations of mountaineers live in the midst of the Dominican missions of Ituy and Paniqui, composed now of nine towns and four outstations, whose villages have 14,000 souls, the most part Christian, along both sides of the land route from Cagayan and its Rio Grande. Looking westward from these towns and from the road, are found the mountain Igorots, and to the east the Ilongots, administered by the Franciscans. They are of different dialects and customs.

Their mountains present a very different appearance. Those of the Ilongots are black with woods and underbrush, and are much frequented by mists, clouds and rainstorms. They do not display the pine forests of the Igorot mountains. As they have so many rivers and forest lands, they abound in fish and such game as deer and boar hidden and flourishing among the trees. They also abound in roots, rattan, palms, and various fruits which the natives and animals eat. There is plenty of honey and wax from the many bees that suck the blossoms there. Since it is a wet land, it produces plenty of sugarcane,

King but resist baptism because of the tribute-paying which such submission would entail. The King grants the request as an inducement to all pagans avoiding baptism, and will personally present one chalice and paten, and a bell, to each new church established for such converts.

sweet potatoes, squash, cucumbers, mustardseed, and whatever vegetables they plant. It is not a land of minerals, because metals never form in wet, shady lands unheated by the sun. Even though silver coins are very little used there, they buy spears, knives, strange cutlasses, iron arrows, pots, clothes, salt, mats, and other little commodities from the Christians with tobacco, which they have always planted, nowadays more than before. They don't buy animals or food, nor wine, since they have a surplus of all of these. They neither buy nor sell slaves. There are about 5,000 Ilongot, Ibilao, and Italon souls. They are intractable, and killers, and are continually at civil war among themselves and with the Negritos along their borders.

Although there are many among the Ilongots with cracked skin and scabeous because they warm themselves too much by the fire, there are plenty among the young people with white faces and good features who, if they were well dressed, would pass in Manila for mestizos without even being the descendants of any foreigners but only having been raised with little sun and much shade and fresh air—unless, to speak facetiously, they are descendants of Chinese or Japanese who arrived by air. The women file their teeth for the sake of good looks. The Franciscan missionaries have founded some missions there, and made a map with a *Relación* printed in the year 1755.⁹ The lack of gold or any other valuable metal is the cause of their little commerce and their land not being one to be coveted, nor has it been practical up to the present to explore it and subjugate it by arms. Only these religious have gone in as apostles, although the people and land are so ungrateful that the harvest doesn't correspond to the labors of the missionaries.

The Igorots, who are to the west of Ituy, are very much different. They live in really bare and naked mountains. Honey and wax are very scarce for want of flowers. For illumination, they use pine chips, the tree which is most abundant. Even their pasturelands are few because every year they burn them in the dry season. Father Colín says in his *History of the Philippines*, page 24:

9. *Relación, fiel, verdadera, y diaria de los felices progresos de esta Misión del Señor S. Antonio de Padua de los Montes de Emotlen*, by Fray Manuel Rodríguez Blanco de Jesús María y José de Olivencia, O.F.M.

“It is a large land, that of these mountains of the Igorots—a warlike people with large bodies—, as was seen in the year 1623 when an army marched for six days at the rate of three leagues a day on a journey for their conquest or pacification. They passed through many forests of wild nutmegs and then pines with their spreading tops and freshness, also uncultivated for fruit, a land and place of happy appearance which is not so covered over or shady as other forests and mountains in these islands, and finally they reached a peak of the hills where the Igorots have their principal settlement among the rich gold mines, which gold they get and trade to the Ilocos and Pangasinan for supplies, clothes, and what else they need. They also trade rich stones of carnelian, not in the raw but worked with much skill. But these are not from there, but brought from India in ancient times through Borneo.”

I have heard nothing of these nutmegs of the Igorots, but a Royal Order which will be placed farther on says something about them.¹⁰ The Visayas and other parts of these islands have them, as I have been assured. About the pines, it is certain that those there are very tall and thick for I have seen them up to 30 feet, and that they make a great shade and kill the vegetation around them with their seedlings and falling needles. Of the carnelian stones, Father Colín speaks again on page 50:

“They must doubtless be those I have sometimes seen Igorots with, which they much esteem. They are in the shape of the beads of a rosary, very hard and smooth, somewhat transparent and approaching a real red in color. I have seen them round, square and oval. The Igorots wear them as ornaments, strung as necklaces, and they value them more than other fake beads of glass which are now coming from China and have lowered the price of all precious stones. The Pangasinan merchants look for this kind of stones to buy from the new Christians of the missions and take and sell them to the Igorots and Tinguianes of Ilocos at a peso in gold each.”

Pluche says in his *Pageant of Nature*, in Vol. 6, dealing with quarries: “Of the stones which are semi-transparent, the

10. The Royal Order to Governor Alonso Fajardo dated October 9, 1623, is included in Part Two. It orders samples of these supposed nutmegs to be sent to Mexico for forwarding to Spain.

principal is the sardonyx or carnelian, which is the color of meat, or a very pale red, and sometimes approaching orange."

Of the expedition mentioned I will speak more later.¹¹

It has already been said of the Ilongots that they hardly know the color of silver or gold, but the Igorots know it very well, understanding and reckoning it. To weigh the gold they have their curious balances with weights placed in a little box, which they have bought from the Christians, not having the ability to make them themselves. These balances or scales are not found among other pagans of the island but the Igorots have many, which is a sign of their great traffic in gold. Some believe, and have written, that the silver which goes up to the Igorots they monopolize there, burying it in jars. But I don't know how this could be believed of a people so sharp in matters of self-interest and personal advantage. They have been coming down to the upper towns of the missions frequently these last years to buy animals and clothes, and they pay for almost everything in minted silver. A few times they have come down with pure gold dust, but usually in cast pieces mixed with some other metal, for which reason the Christians of the missions usually won't take it.

They also make their purchases with knives, spears and other iron tools which they make up there in a crude manner, using hard stones as anvils and hammers. For this purpose they buy broken plows and tools from the Christians, heat them with hot coals of pine with a bellows of a tree-trunk pierced through, and with these only the Igorots glory in blacksmiths without ever having worked any iron mine! They must exploit copper mines somewhat, since they descend to the missions with plenty of kettles and pots which serve as stewpots for cooking food. They are of true copper but very crude and uneven, made without skill or dexterity, which is a sign of their being their work, for they fuse the metal together in the fire with the

11. The reference in Part Two adds that the expedition was under the command of Sergeant Major Francisco Carreño, and that the Igorots made a peace-pact with them. "Since our leader, the Sergeant Major, trusted them too much, they treacherously attacked when they were more careless, and thus the day was lost for, the Maestre-de-Campo of the Filipinos being killed and the head of the troops wounded, supplies being short, and the rains about to come, it seemed better to retreat and leave this enterprise to be made the next year with greater numbers and better preparations."

earth in which they get it from the copper mines, according to what they have told me.

Those who live by working the gold, copper and iron in the manner stated, care little about making fields. And why should they wear themselves out in agriculture when the gold, knives and pots they make suffice for everything? This is not to deny that other Igorots, who do not work so much with metals, plant and cultivate some valleys and remote pieces of good soil for rice, camotes, beans, onions, sugarcane, tobacco, squash, and other vegetables. They plant all of these and sell and trade them from one village to another.

According to what they informed me, there is a lack of ducks, crows and other big birds, but they have some little ones. There is also a lack of guavas and bananas, mangos, *buyo*,¹² coconuts, palms, broomsage, nettles and other plants and flowers which thrive so well among the Christians because of greater care, methods of transplanting, and the manure of many animals.

But from this it is not to be taken as a completely barren and miserable land, for it abounds in precious metals, and what else we don't even know is to be found there. The fact is that the Igorots are contented in it, and that it costs the missionaries much battling, strife and diligence to get them out of their lands and make them live among Christians. They give many reasons for not coming down. They say that the towns of the Christians are very hot, that there is much smallpox and many epidemics, that there are crimes, robberies and conflicts between people, and that there are many to give orders and make the poor people work. Much less are the tribute, monopoly, and government officials hidden from them. And even though they also have to be subject to their relationships or the pressures and whims of their leaders up there, these are lighter and they can evade them. In short, they do not envy the products and conveniences of the Christians, and only seek free trade in blankets, G-strings and animals for their gold, and with this alone they keep themselves perfectly happy in their mountains. If they had something of the character and industry of the Chinese they would feel the need of other things and buy them, but they

12. Betelnut.

are mountain *Indios* perfectly content with little.

The men have the custom of adorning their bodies with permanent ornaments of little cost but much pain, for they prick their legs, arms and faces, putting powdered soot on the needles in the manner of our sailors and the Filipinos of the Visayas.

Chapter 4

Other Properties of This Nation

“A difficult undertaking it is to ferret out the customs and characteristics of the Indians,” wrote Captain Don Antonio Ulloa, “and state precisely the true properties of their character and nature. In some things it is hardly possible to form any other idea than that of their similarity to the beasts. On the other hand, never will there be found minds more adaptable or cunning, more developed in shrewdness and foresight. This disparity would mislead even the most competent man, for if he formed a judgment simply from first appearances, he would not be far wrong in giving them credit for being a quick, subtle and intuitive sort of people, but on longer consideration of their primitiveness and rusticity, their extravagant views, and their way of life, it would not be very strange for him to rank them not very far from the level of dumb beasts.”^{xiii}

The same picture which Ulloa points of the Indians of Quito and Peru applies in great part to our Igorots. When they come down to sell gold to the Christians, much covetousness can be observed in them and sly cunning for tricks with their gold, though they are not themselves fooled when they purchase animals, so they seem to be as wise and competent in matters of their own interest as the Chinese. Considering the contentment they take in their own land with their poor clothes and rough food, sleeping on the trails wherever night happens to catch them, and praising the government of their leaders, it might be said of them that they are very like those whom the ancients feigned enjoyed the blessings of a Golden Age. But they are *Indios* just like the rest—difficult to understand because of the variety and contradiction of their actions and customs. The gold which occurs in their mountainous land with more abundance than anywhere else moves them to a certain amount

of hard work and shrewdness—such as their strength to dig the mountains, soak in the placers in the rivers, and climb up and down to make their sales and purchases—, but they do these things for the sake of their gold without ever leaving their own little Indian world.^{xiv}

They desire gold and use it only to serve their God, which is their bellies. The meat of the pig is their major delight, and for variety they also eat carabaos and cows. They are so voracious when hunger grips them that they know no bad meat, not even the rotten. I have seen them seek out dogs, dead horses, snakes, monkeys and bats and eat them with relish. In the more interior of their mountains there is little fish and game so they come down to the plains of the Christians to hunt with nets and little dogs. Those who live on the frontiers practice this most, even the children. When they catch some boar or deer, they carry them to their villages on their shoulders for their old folks to eat, and their women, who, as has been said, are the main ones to take care of their crops.

With their gold they also buy-G-strings and blankets to cover their bodies. The poor use white because it is cheaper, and they are willing to pay as high as ten pesos for them, and as much as five for the G-strings, and they put some little plates and tubes of gold on them as decorations and marks of distinction. They don't plant or buy raw cotton since they seem not to know how to spin or weave it, nor do all of them have opportunity and means to buy cloth from the Ilocos. Those who are near the missions make up this lack with a shrub which they plant, very similar to flax, which the natives of the mission call *aramay*; its thread is very strong and very good for fish-line, nets and small cordage to be exposed to water a long time.¹³ It would be good to call it "thread-shrub" in Spanish. It grows taller than two meters, and when it gets that high, they cut the straight, thin branches, and the roots sprout again each year. I have not seen seeds in its flowers, so it must be propagated by its roots, and in any soft, moist soil.

The cut branches have a white, smooth and light pith inside like flax, and similarly an outer bark full of thin fibers or threads, long and strong. I tried placing these branches to soak

13. The plant is a kind of ramie, *Boehmeria multiflora*.

a few days in a river, and found the operation as successful as with flax and hemp. But the pagans just strip off the bark without soaking it in water, making thin strips; and these strips or strings they then pass between the fingers of their hand and a small blade to remove the outer bark, which is a green skin of no use. These strings, once cleaned, are put in the sun to bleach a bit, and then they proceed to twist them, producing a sufficiently thick thread of two strands, with no more equipment than the movement of the palm of the hand over the thigh. In this manner they get a very rough but strong cord, and then weave it by their method without a loom, and of this they make their blankets, G-strings or underskirts. The pieces become white and straight when placed in a lye of ashes and are then pressed. I sent a piece of this to the Society of Manila,¹⁴ and they praised its strength as being equal to the canvas of Spain. This thread-shrub could be of much use to these islands if it were propagated. In the garden which the Society of Manila had made in Malate, this thread-shrub is planted, brought from China; and it seemed to me on examining it that it was of exactly the same kind as that of the Igorots and the missions. They also have it in Cagayan. A Dominican missionary, recently arrived from the Batanes, also recognized it and is sure that it is the same they have in Batanes and China.

In the Igorot mountains near Ilocos, they gather a juicy fruit very like the lichees that come from China according to information from a minister of Ilocos. They must be what Father Colín described on page 88:

“The *pannunguian*: a ruddy fruit, smaller than a hen’s egg, with some little prickles and a skin like a pineapple’s. Inside is the edible part, which is a delectable flesh, as transparent as ice, very cool and easy on the taste and digestion. The tree is very large. Some give this fruit the name of lichees because of their similarity to those from China, but really they are not.”

Many fruits are encountered in the mountains and highlands which are not found in the lowlands. No doubt some other products will be found among the Igorots when the time comes for a real exploration of their still unknown land.

14. A society organized by Governor José de Basco y Bargas for the economic development of the archipelago, and established by a Royal decree of August 27, 1780.

Chapter 5

Their Religion and Tribal Government

When the portrait of the Igorots is better painted and recorded, the color and characteristics of the Chinese, with whom they have been identified from among other nations, will be less encountered. The Igorots have no temples, altars, public idols nor priests. Neither have they letters, writing, painting or sculpture. Their whole religion is mere childishness and the desire to fill their bellies. Those who practice the superstitions and sacrifices are mostly the old men and women, and some charlatans who seek thus to be esteemed and depended on for their fictions in order to get something to eat. Here, what was found in ancient Europe continues, when, in a day of more ignorance, their cults were as strange and ridiculous as these. The superstitions and sacrifices of these pagans for their harvests, trips, weddings, childbirths, and especially illnesses are innumerable, which proves their great ignorance and primitive state. A letter from Father Ormaza, a Dominican missionary, says, "The Yumanguies (a tribe of Igorots) are atheists and observe the vainest superstitions of this area; they don't make or eat anything without performing some ritual." The manuscript on Igorots already cited refers to many superstitions of theirs. Let us take this sample:

"They are most superstitious. They venerate the sun as the first cause but their major care is given their deceased, and to them they attribute all good and evil, making frequent sacrifices by means of some old men and women who pretend the deceased are within them."

One time the Igorots said to the Christians of the missions: "The fiestas of the Christians aren't worth anything, because everything is simply making a lot of noise with bells, drums and muskets and then everybody just goes to his own house to eat what little he has. But the fiestas of our leaders are not like that because, without making such a racket, they are more tasty and satisfying. They kill animals to eat by the dozens, and everybody drinks till he passes out, and so it goes for many days. Among you, anybody is mayor or headman, but our leaders are never changed. No matter how much they spend, they

always have more"—and they told of a prominent person who had many granaries of rice, and of another who had a deer of solid gold.

As to their political government, every kindred has a separate village governed by the oldest who perform the duties of judges, though their judgments are simply for the purpose of eating and drinking at the expense of the culprits. Their houses are very low, and filthy because of the smoke of the pine torches. Prominent people have very spacious houses of boards to accommodate two or three couples together. I have never heard that they take more than one wife, but if the first wife is sterile, sickly, lazy or nagging, they simply leave her to marry another. They don't comb their hair and only cut it when it gets really long. They sleep on a hide, and always go about barefoot. No courtesy or tidiness is to be found among them. They keep their deceased seated without burial for a long time, and so they will not smell too bad, remove the intestines through the anus, as they do with partridge in Spain, so they won't corrupt so quickly. Then they salt the bodies and place them in the air or near a fire. I heard of a chieftain in Tinok they kept this way for four months, doing him honor and depleting his whole estate in their gluttony.

They raise many pigs and also buy them from the Christians to eat in their feasts and funerals. The pagans of Europe used to do the same; as it says in Vol. 15 of *The Pageant of Nature*, "The idolators of all times and on all occasions would resort to pigs as an easy victim that did not cost much and had tender, delicious meat which could be eaten when the sacrifice was finished [and] for this reason there would be a public place in every town for selling the pigs destined for sacrifices." And to demonstrate this, the book cites various verses of ancient poets who make approving mention of the pigs sacrificed to the gods.^{xv}

Those who trade with the Christians most are the pagans on the frontiers, and they resent those from the interior passing through their lands on business and even charge them tariff. Both the gold and the animals of their commerce pass through three or four hands. They fuse the gold with much skill to make alloyed pieces. It often happens that they bring down some bits of gold very much alloyed and debased, and the Christians

don't want to buy it. So they make a fire with dried carabao dung, and place the gold in an earthen pot covered with another one to melt it, doing this in the Christian towns three or four times until they find customers.

Some manuscripts imply that the Igorots are very peaceful and candid, and of such good faith they don't rob others. They are a chaste people, says one, who punish adultery with rigor. Another says they punish even dishonest or suspicious appearances or thoughts, and that bachelors don't even cover their shame and have to sleep at night all together. But it seems to me that all this is just because their towns are like one large estate, or tiny hamlets, where all the families know each other and are intermarried, under the dominion of some patriarchs or leaders, under which conditions there are no opportunities for doing wrong or committing adultery, nor is it easy to conceal bad deeds. The same thing occurs in the country hamlets or estates of Spain, where the people are quieter and have fewer vices than in the big towns and cities. Still less do I suppose they would generally approve of the nakedness of their bachelors and make them sleep all together, but rather that in the few villages where they do this it is in order to be more quick to grab up spears in case of a sudden enemy attack, and if some boys do not cover themselves it must be because of their poverty or because they are more agile and unencumbered this way. For that matter, it is not only in the Philippines where some appear in the primitive guise of Adam; there are many others parts of the globe, as, for example, the Island of Guadalupe, in which they use this costume, according to what the histories say.

But to demonstrate that the Igorots have the usual shortcomings of *Indios*, I shall relate what I have learned from them themselves. In Pancutcutan, where pagan intercourse is greater because there are mines all around, a youth fell in love with a chief's wife and ran off with her. They caught him and sentenced him to death. He was poor and didn't have the means to pay off the crime. They bound some G-strings around his neck and, pulling the ends while he thrashed about, cut off his breath, and then they buried him. So that those who are sentenced thus won't suffer in dying, they give them wine to make them drunk. In a village of Itbuy, near the missions, they

killed another poor Igorot because they claimed his poisonous perspiration and breath killed people.

Near Pancutcutan they had interred the corpse of a chief in a cave wrapped in many blankets, as is their custom. Some pagans went and took the blankets and ran off to a river with them to wash and sun them. Other pagans chased and killed them and took the blankets. Many other similar cases must occur in this Republic of Spartans, but they take great care to hide them from the Christians.

When they come down on business to the towns of the mission, which is often enough, they get angry if one talks to them of religion and baptism. They reply straightforwardly that they also have their god and the souls of their dead; that their religion consists of seeking gold, travelling and trading to fill their bellies. Many times they have answered me that among them the good go to heaven and the bad to hell, like the Christians. What is common to all of them is to keep complete secrecy against the discovery of their trails, their towns, their chieftains, their riches, feasts, ceremonies and dealings. They carry this out with such discretion that those who come down are only men in whom their chieftains have confidence, not women or children or slaves, and then only when they have something to sell the Christians. If some missionary asks them for information about their land or mines, they act dumb or inarticulate and if they say anything, it is all lies or inconsequential, and only leaves one more confused. They consider lying licit, and deceive the Christians, but they are not themselves so easily deceived in matters of their own interest. I have never dealt with a people of more frauds, wiles, deceits, self-interest and illogic. Only in this do I consider them like the Chinese, for their greed and hunger for gold forces them to overcome the laziness and indifference so common among *Indios*.

With respect to their mines and placers, I shall treat of it later on in the proper place. About their dances and songs, see No. XVI in the Index.

Chapter 6

Their Arms, Wars, and Slaves

Their arms and skirmishes are all typical of pure backwoods Indians. They have a horror of powder-and-ball. They don't use cuirasses because they are a handicap in open hill-sides or mountain heights, and a person wearing them can't slink around undetected, nor do they use arrows. They commonly make use of spears and big knives. To defend themselves against Christian troops, they climb to the highest of the mountains and there throw down stones and rolling logs. Since they are accustomed to running through the hills and precipices, they take the speed of their legs as their major defense, like deer. In ancient times, they were manifest enemies of the Christians. All through the region adjoining Pangasinan and Ilocos they would do much damage, commit treacheries, take captives and cause deaths among every class of persons, about which specific data will be given later. To make the trip to the Ilocos, it was necessary to take good precautions and an escort. How many surprise attacks and how much opposition the Christians and ministers of the Igorots and Zambal pagans suffered in the beginning to found and maintain their towns! How many of their houses and churches they burned! Father Mozo recounts on page 70 of his *Book of Missions* that for a century and a half they had to keep battling the resistance of these barbarous Igorots with very little reward.

"Their ferocity and cruelty were second to none; their whole ambition was to take captive and kill any they met. When the Christians would go out to plant and harvest their crops, they made tall look-out posts to watch for them, and those who were working had their sickles in one hand and arms in the other, and even with all these precautions they would not be able to escape their fury."

Such was the ferocity of this nation and such their practice against all those towns up to the past year of 1755, when some progress was made for their conversion, as will be said later.

On the other side, toward the missions, they also had their own way, as evidenced by an account by the Dominicans printed in 1745. It says:

“Very close to the missions of Ituy, or Isinay, are found the Panoypuyes, a tribe of Igorots always feared for their valor and fierceness. The troubles and threats they always made for the Christians cannot be counted. There has been no year when they haven’t robbed their houses or fields. If some poor Isinay would go after his animals that had gotten away toward Igorot land, he would have to give them some to get the others back, if, indeed, the pagans hand’t already killed them to eat. They would even make traps and pits in the roads for the cows and carabaos of the Christians. When the Christians would be harvesting their rice, they would come to ask for some, and collect land rentals on their fields, saying that it was their land. Other times they would seek out persons to kill according to their rituals. So the new converts have not been able to live in peace and Christian liberty even until now.”¹⁵

From what has been said, the many hostilities against the Christians can be inferred. But the endurance and long-suffering of the Christians and their ministers has prevailed little by little against the insolence and cruelty of these barbarians, of whom some hundreds have been converted and resettled in various Christian towns in Ilocos and Pangasinan, as well as San Nicolas or Tayug, and Aritao, Dupax, Bambang and Bayombong in the missions. The roads of Pangasinan and Ilocos have already been cleared of the old ambushades because those who didn’t want to be resettled—which was the majority—have retreated into the interior mountains. Only the Igorots of Kiangán and other towns sufficiently populous in between the missions, where the town of Bagabag is, are still recalcitrant, and every year they sally forth to rob and murder Christians on the roads. So that their depredations will not be so frequent, the Government maintains two forts of soldiers at staggering expense, which are absolutely necessary lest the Igorots finish off the missions of Ituy and Paniquí, as will be said later.

In addition to the frequent invasions against the Christians, they have conflicts and civil wars among themselves, and against

15. *Relación de los sucesos y progresos de la Misión de Sta. Cruz de Paniquí, y Ituy, medias entre las de Pangasinán, Cagayán, y Pampanga, año de 1745*, presented in summary translation in Blair & Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*, Vol. 48, pp. 123–130. The title page gives the author as Bernardo Ustáriz, the Dominican Provincial, but Father Antolín says it was written by Fray Pedro Luis Sierra.

pagan neighbors. In my own time, in 1773, the Ibilaos, a tribe of Ilongots, gathered about 100 armed men and, with no other aim than robbing and taking Igorot heads, went to a town of Dangatan, attacked at daybreak and, finding them sleeping off a drunken feast they had held the day before, surrounded the town, which was composed of 15 or 20 houses, killed some 50 Igorots, and carried away their heads on the tips of their spears, some nets for hunting, wooden plates, and what other things they could pillage. With this they returned to their own land, celebrating the victory, without the Igorots of Dangatan¹⁶ having exacted revenge until now because of their timidity and cowardice.

They also have litigations and disputes with those of their own nation, motivated by envies, hatreds and debts. How could there be a lack of such litigation among Igorots so grasping? How could they be free of divisive orders and partialities with such chieftains as govern them? In the most interior of the mountains, toward the north, are some villages called *Poliang* and *Tococan* where the copper mines are, where, like Moros who live by robbery and taking captives, they go out on the trails to rob and seize pagans travelling there unawares, and sell them as slaves.

This buying and selling of slaves must be a characteristic of this particular tribe for I have never seen or heard of any other pagans who sell and make business off their captives. Just recently they sold some women for two carabaos each in Bayombong, a town of Paniqui, and in Dupax I have baptized an Igorot girl sold for twenty pesos' worth of clothes and animals. In other towns of the missions there are many slaves sold in this way. The ones they sell are not their own children or parents; they are from other distant towns who have come into the power of some chief for debts, quarrels or violent crimes. They make these slaves serve as servants in their houses, in the mines and in the gold placers, and they punish them severely if they are lazy, impudent or haughty. They make them eat and sleep separate from their masters. They don't let them marry except with slaves, and the children follow their parents into slavery. In short, even with their slaves the Igorots retain those laws

16. Now Kayapa proper, Nueva Vizcaya.

and ancient customs which were general to all the Filipinos of these islands when the Spaniards arrived, as can be seen in the various histories of the Philippines.^{xvii}

They also make slaves of Christians who can be taken alive.^{xviii} In my own day, in 1773, some Igorots entrusted some gold to a Christian leader of the Mission of San Nicolas in upland Pampanga, and when they were not able to collect it because he had squandered it, they went to Augustinian missionary Fray Benito Herosa so that he would pay it as father and head of the Christians. He excused himself as best he could. The Igorots, incensed at this, went out one night determined to be revenged upon the Christians. They burned the Church of San Nicolas and wanted to do the same with Tayug and Asingan but the Christians came to the rescue in time and defended them. On their way home, the Igorots took more than 20 persons captive when they met unawares panning gold in the Agno River and made them slaves. So that this audacity should not go without some punishment, the missionary fathers of Pangasinan notified the Governor, who dispatched a troop of Pangasinan adventurers without rations or pay. The leader of the troop was a Filipino of Calasiao, and he had instructions to go to the town of the said pagans, which wasn't very far away, and get them back by peaceful means and kind words. Now, these same pagans owed the Governor a certain amount of gold, and he gave secret instructions to the leader to collect it. Some Igorots went out to meet the troops and detained them with proposals of peace, while the remaining Igorots hid the Christian slaves and their own goods in a safe place and ascended the heights of a very steep crest from which they shouted, threatened, and threw spears at the troops who returned, a laughing stock, without having accomplished anything at all.

Chapter 7

Trips to the Igorots

A trip in 1739

In the year 1739, two Dominican missionaries of Cagayan reached Pampanga and Pangasinan by crossing and exploring the new road from the missions of Paniqui, near the Igorots,

and since then attempts have been made to reopen such a direct route from Pangasinan to the missions without circuitous detours. The road began in Asingan and went along the edge of Igorot country, past the newly founded mission of Maliongiong, and ended in Buhay mission of Isinay, or Ituy, then ministered by the Augustinians. This road lasted only a few years because of its ruggedness for maintenance and because the Igorots wouldn't let the Christians pass over it. Father Campo,¹⁷ a Dominican missionary from Pangasinan, travelled this road just after it was finished on his way to be Vicar Provincial of the mission of Paniqui, and so was able to collect the information contained in the following letter written to his Provincial in May of 1739:

"I began my trip by the new road in the company of Chief Danao and the other pagans of Paniqui who had come to meet me in Pangasinan. I started from Asingan, and met four Christian Isinays in the new mission of Maliongiong, sent from Buhay to accompany us because there was word that the Igorots were restive. I didn't pay much attention to this, however, because I had Pangasinan escorts. In the mission house of Maliongiong I got salt, two *carajays* and a carabao to present to the Igorots. We left Maliongiong Easter Tuesday with some difficulty because of heavy showers. From the first resthouse, or shed, near the Igorots of Paua [Awa?], I sent to call the chief. He came with the people of his town without making any trouble, and only said that any Christian who should do any harm in these roads would not be able to pass a second time, nor any other, either. I gave them the carabao, some rings and combs, and they were satisfied. Then I sent to call the chiefs of *Lateng*, *Irus*, *Galongtang* and *Baneng*, and they responded that if we would remain there that night, they would come down. But so as not to be detained, I sent them a gift, and nothing else happened.

"After passing *Pigpig*, I met ten armed Isinays whom the Augustinians had sent from Buhay, and in Buhay I met two Dominican fathers and the Augustinian Prior, who were delighted with my safe arrival. The prior told us that three

17. Antonio del Campo (1701-1746), was Vicar of San Jacinto, Pangasinan, when he was appointed first missionary to Cauayan (Isabela), in 1741, serving for a while as Vicar Provincial of both the Ituy and Paniqui missions.

religious of his order were going to cross through the Igorots to Ilocos through a deep pass formed by the mountains, and reach Bangar or Tagudin.”

This is the letter of Father Campo in extract. (The crossing planned by the Augustinians to Ilocos never took place, and they went through Pampanga instead, which is the ordinary old route.)

At the same time, Father Campo sent a list of the towns—villages of the Igorots—which is preserved in the archives of the Province, and I have a copy. It comprises 108 villages according to the report given by the pagans themselves. Many of these villages don't exist anymore, having died out or moved to other parts. Their names are not put down here so as not to drag this paper out with notes and confusing names. On the left-hand side of the new road which he travelled, Father Campo places nine villages. In the Ambayaban River, which joins the Agno near San Nicolas, the villages of the *Apsay* Igorots, nineteen of them. In the summits and ridges overlooking Ituy are the Yumanguies,¹⁸ divided into 30 villages. Those of Awa,¹⁹ which also can be seen from Ituy, he has in 20 villages. Those along the crossing planned by the Augustinians from Bayombong to Banger in Ilocos comprise 18 villages; on the left, in the headwaters of the Agno River where the mines are, seven—which, in all, give 108. Of all these, many still exist with the same names, others have changed them, and some have been reduced to the Christian towns. It must be stressed that this road, opened by brute force under Father Río,²⁰ was soon broken up by the rains, and even though it has been desired to reestablish it many times, this hasn't been carried out for want of religious, so as not to make the Filipinos work for nothing, and also because the Igorots don't help. Quite the opposite, they are opposed to it, and hide these trails from the Christians so their mines and gold workings will remain undiscovered.

18. Variously spelled Jumangui and Tumangui, these are probably the people remembered by the present population of Kayapa as the Bumangi, one of several “tribes” comprising their progenitors. of Kayapa.

19. Awa, Awak or Oak is the most common term for the present population

20. Manuel del Río, a native of Valladolid, became Dominican provincial after serving in Pangasinan, and died at the end of 1744 or beginning of 1745 before receiving word of his election as Bishop of Nueva Segovia.

A trip in 1755

In the month of June of 1755, Father Cristobal²¹ and Father Lobato,²² both Dominicans and still living, made the crossing from the Mission to Pangasinan through the country of the Igorots, and the written account of the latter will be set down in extract.

Ever since the Dominicans took charge of the mission of Ituy, or Isinay, there has been a great desire to have a direct road to Pangasinan, both because there is every reason to expect a great harvest [of souls] in this area, and because it would facilitate the missionaries' getting their provisions, for, when they had to carry them almost all from Pangasinan through San José and Caranglan, this roundabout route was insufferable with neither people nor horses ready to undertake so painful a trip. Father Manuel del Río, when he was Vicar Provincial of Pangasinan in 1739, came in person to open a direct route with Pangasinan laborers, and spent a good sum of money, but it only lasted a short time because of the ruggedness of the mountains and fear of the Igorots.^{XIX}

Afterwards, the desire remained, considering how near the goal was and the usefulness of this road, but it was not until the year 1755, in February, that Sr. Don Manuel Arza, Governor of Pangasinan, seeing the hostilities in the said province and the imminence of the nearby pagan Igorots, got permission from the Central Government to form a huge troop of 1,500 natives to forestall this threat, the main purpose being self defense. Father Herrera, Dominican Provincial, seeing therefore that this was a good occasion to make the road so often planned, gave orders to Father Herranz, missionary of Buhay (now Aritao), to take an escort of Filipinos and soldiers from the garrison and travel across to meet the troops from Pangasinan—which, however, didn't actually set out at that time, as will be said farther on.^{XX} Arranging for the escort, the said father departed and passed through three mountains until he was near the Igorots of

21. Cristobal Rodríguez (1719–1794).

22. Antonio Lobato de Santo Tomás (1724–1794), was long assigned to Tuguegarao (Cagayan), where he wrote an Ibanag dictionary and grammar, and made many translations, including the two-volume 1,400-page "El cristiano educado o amplicación de la doctrina cristiana."

Awa, who came out to meet them and didn't want to give him guides for the roads, nor let him pass farther, so he had to go back.

In May, Provincial Ustáriz,²³ recently elected, wrote the Mission a letter in which he said, "All Igorotland remains for the discharge of the zeal of our missionaries, because even if it has remained stiff-necked up to the present, repeated efforts on our part might soften and assuage them with Divine Grace." As a result of this letter, Father Cristobal Rodríguez, missionary of Dupax and later Provincial (and still living in Manila), started out accompanied by a pagan guide induced with gifts to show the trails—for which the other Igorots later killed him—and took the trail to go direct to Pangasinan escorted by twelve persons. They travelled on foot until the River of Awa, where they slept. The next day they climbed a high mountain, and at 2:00 in the afternoon reached the first town of the apostate Yumanguies, called Calanang, which had ten houses. From there they passed to *Bakes* [Bakas?] of twelve houses and a goodly number of pagans. From there they hiked to *Samon*, the first town of the Awa folk, who gave them an unfriendly reception and stopped them, saying that their god didn't want them to go through because they would all die if they let them pass, that they should go back because no religious had ever passed these mountains before, and that they should take Father Río's road to go to Pangasinan, which goes to Maliongliong. The father responded that he didn't wish to do them any harm, nor baptize them, but only pass straight through, but they remained unmoved, so, despite the pagans' arguments, he went on to another village, *Pilian* [Piley?] where they told him the same then. Then he noticed that they were all talking among themselves and that many Igorots were beginning to gather. He would gladly have gone on, but his Christian companions begged him to turn back because they would surely run into danger with such a horde of pagans, so he talked to them about the wrongness of blocking his path, and that he didn't wish to take it away from them or do any bad deed but simply to pass through, and he threatened them that he had to go through,

23. Bernardo Ustáriz (1767–1764) was a noted theologian who was twice Rector of the University of Santo Tomas, twice Vicar Provincial, and Bishop of Nueva Segovia 1761–1764.

come whatever may, so on his return he would bring along more people and soldiers. With this he returned by another trail, and passed by the Panipuyes,²⁴ with whom peace had been made the year before. After having passed some steep mountains, he reached their town, which must have something like 600 souls with civil enough behaviour since in the middle they had a house after the manner of a tribunal where the old men gathered to conduct their business, without the younger ones, much less the women, opening their mouths in their presence. At evening they give the signal to retire till daybreak. The little boys and youths sleep alone in two separate houses. They don't have more than one wife, and live quietly with the one they first marry. The men don't cover themselves until they marry but go about just as they came from their mother's womb. From here he returned to Dupax in the company of 50 Panipuyes who wanted to go with him.

I add Father Lobato's account:

"A month later he [Father Cristobal] inquired if I wished to accompany him on another attempt, intending to pass through the pagans to Pangasinan. Arranging an escort of 300 Filipino volunteers, we went to sleep in the garrison of Aritao on Sunday. Monday we left from there, taking 29 soldiers with muskets and two petronels with the requisite ammunition, and, passing two rather steep mountains on foot, with the sun so strong that two carabaos died of the three the Filipinos brought along to present to the pagans, we reached the Awa River at eleven in the morning, where we made a wretched shelter and spent that night, the stones serving as pillow and mattress. Our guides were three pagans of *Ileaban*²⁵ and some Panipuyes who joined us here, four of whom went about with their shame uncovered as they had since they were youths, but, seeing they were among such people [as ourselves], they covered up with

24. The Panipuyes were a vigorous tribe in the hills northwest of Aritao in the early 18th century, with a center in Ajanas (Aritao itself) from which they were driven by military pressure in 1745. They retreated farther into the mountains, and in 1889 a Dominican missionary was shown what was reported to be their former settlement between San Felipe and Natbang, Nueva Vizcaya, on the little Calipuy River, a tributary oof the Matunod.

25. *Ileaban*—which would etymologically mean "people of Leaban"—is the ethnic name applied in this period to the people around Bokod. Perhaps Leaban is the now uninhabited saddle on a ridge just southeast of Mt. Pulog called Libong.

their knives hanging from a rattan belt. We were detained all Tuesday because our Filipinos were afraid of the horde of Igorots who were beginning to gather, and begged us to send for more people from the towns and more powder and shot, and this was done with such dispatch that it was all accomplished the same day, and therefore the Christians, who were now 500 in all, took spirit anew.

“On Wednesday we travelled the little distance to the sitio of Burubur, whereupon the pagans of Awa started arriving. All afternoon and a good part of the night we kept fighting with them to let us pass through their land, until finally they agreed with great reluctance on the condition that there be no baptizing. They killed a pig and one of the carabaos of the Christians as a sign of friendship. On Thursday we started to climb a really steep slope, composed of various ridges one right after the other. Then when we reached the top, we went back down it almost a third of the distance. Then we climbed again, and from the heights could see the plains of Pangasinan, so this mountain must have the headwaters of the Awa River on one side, which goes to the Mission, and the one that goes to San Nicolas on the other, which they call Malafang. We continued on down the mountain and arrived at Capulang, first town of Awa, something like three in the afternoon. It's a small village, and we gave them some beads and they were satisfied. In order to approach the river, which was about half a league away, we got to the bank by a very steep and dangerous descent.

“On Friday about 300 men who had come with us went back, for they were no longer needed, and we commenced to go up another very steep mountain; and in the afternoon, reaching the top, we arrived at the village of Dangatan of fifteen of the lowest houses, which we had to enter on all fours, and since they kept torches burning, the smoke was unbearable, and the next morning we all looked like chimney-sweeps. The men killed a pig, and got our agreement that should the road be opened, they would not be obliged to work on it.

“Saturday was spent in going down and then up very steep slopes and mountains. We dispatched some Filipinos to Asingan to bring us horses to ride the next day, and with this we went to sleep on the bank of the San Nicolas River. On Sunday morning we started to travel down the river; and although the

horses arrived, we proceeded on foot because the road was bad for a horse to travel. I went on ahead with part of the people to San Nicolas where I arrived at ten o'clock in the morning after having crossed the river ten or twelve times, and the water reached the shoulders of the Filipinos who took me across. In the afternoon I went to Asingan on horseback. Father Cristobal slept along the main Agno River with another group of people, and joined me in Asingan about seven in the morning on Monday, June 23rd.

“The towns of the Awa tribe total 48—*Samon, Pilian, Balateng*, Amilong and the rest. We only entered Capulang and Dangatan. All the land we saw is nothing but crags, without even a place to graze cattle or work fields. The food is gabe roots, which they plant on the slopes of the mountains, so the only way to relieve these pagans is to get them to come down to San Nicolas or settle in the missions, which would be difficult. The people are miserable, since all their possessions amount to simply a knife and a bark G-string. From the time we left the garrison of Aritao we travelled westward and southward. It would be impossible to open a road through this part of Awa because there's not one foot of level land in the interior.”

(Here ends the somewhat abridged account.)

In this account they tell us nothing of the mines and gold placers. Their intention was no more than to cross from the mission of Pangasinan through one edge of the land of the Igorots, keeping the Agno River where the gold is at some distance on the right hand. Really, this whole part of the land is very barren and miserable, but it's good for deer-hunting because it's so near the plains where they are found, so these pagans are inveterate hunters and pay little attention to fields or gold. Those of Awa, who are a little farther in, make knives, spears and grubbing hoes of pieces of iron and steel which they get from the Christians. They also make rough sleeping mats, nets for Indian-style hunting bags like knapsacks, and screens or sieves for cleaning rice, and with these they have commercial traffic with the Christians, bartering for animals and clothes. Because of their fear of the troops and the incursions of the Christians, they live in the most rugged and inhospitable of these mountains and so remain contented in their misery, dying of hunger rather than coming down to the Christians and sub-

mitting [to authority]. The said missionaries took about a week because of their stops and conferences with the pagans, but the pagans, accustomed to the slopes, make this crossing in two days.

Another Dominican missionary, named Father Villar,²⁶ accompanied a troop to *Cagaleng*, a town of Yumanguies, one time about the year 1767, and, surrounding them, captured some. Another time he made the same crossing to San Nicolas, traveling on foot and, as I have heard, arrived really footsore and exhausted. But the return of these three religious was by the road to San Jose, Puncan and Caranglan, which they could travel on horseback although it's much longer.

In order to get information about this crossing, I dispatched ten new Christian Filipinos in the past year of 1788 with a letter to the missionary of Asingan. They went on foot and returned in one week, and told me that at a good hike it is possible to reach Asingan in two days. For fear of the pagans they didn't want to approach their villages and only entered *Baguilos* and *Dilan*, also called *Bolog*. Here plenty of pagans gathered to question them about the purpose of their trip, and told them that if they were planning to open a road and make them Christians, they would move away to some place more distant. One of them knew how to write and brought me his diary and map, which isn't included here for the sake of brevity. They didn't see the Agno River until near Asingan. They crossed the little river of Malafang several times, which is near the Ambayawang River, where the people of Apsay are, but it isn't known how many villages they have. Those of Apsay have considerable communications and traffic with the people of San Nicolas. There was no point in looking for the mines of Pancutcutan since they would have been found at their back more to the west.

A trip in 1788

Father Barberá,²⁷ a Dominican missionary, left the town of Aritao, which is nearest and most frequented by the pagans,

26. José de Villar, who died in 1765, was Vicar of Buhay.

27. Manuel Barberá (1757-1799) was Vicar of Paniquí.

back at the beginning of 1788 with the intention of talking to them about conversion.

On Sunday he went and slept in sitio *Guirang*, an hour away, and about 300 Filipinos and soldiers joined him there to accompany him. Although it was attempted to hide the plan, a pagan who happened to be in town learned of it, and he went running off that night to inform his relatives in the mountains. On Monday they went travelling by horseback to where the little rivers of Pinkian and Awa join, and they were able to get hold of a pagan man and boy who were passing by, and at night they went and slept at the foot of a high mountain called Masilang. The trail was well-trodden by the many carabaos and cows the Igorots drive across it.

On Tuesday, leaving the horses there and the provisions of rice and meat with someone to guard them, they began to climb the slope of that high mountain. They sent the captured pagan ahead to propose peace and tell them not to be afraid. About 2:00 in the afternoon they reached the top, from which something of the panorama of Pangasinan could be seen, and near there the waters divide in another mountain. Here they pitched camp for the night because of their fatigue and because the pagans could easily be seen gathering together with shouts and lights, and the women and children fleeing and hiding. Early Wednesday morning so many pagans collected and gathered around they counted them at more than a hundred lances—some even said 200—, no doubt so the Christians wouldn't pass on to their towns of *Patil*, *Sagor* and others in the nearby ravines. But seeing that the Christians were peaceful and quiet, the pagans drew near, greatly superior in number since the Christians were only about thirty. Then an old chieftain *Matulay* arrived, and they invited them to eat, and they sat down with the Christians and dug into the rice and beef like starving dogs.

The Christians erected a cross of sticks on that crest (which afterwards survived untouched by the pagans), and decided to go back, inviting them to accompany them to the bottom of the mountain where there was more to eat. They were happy to have the Christians leave, and accompanied them to where the cow and horses were, and they ate together again with as much grace as if they hadn't eaten at all.

On Thursday they began to talk about a peace pact and made an agreement that no more harm or deaths should be committed on the trails, nor thefts of property, and that nobody would stop anybody who voluntarily wished to come down to the Christians, and they confirmed it all with a pig the pagans brought and killed in their manner. The said missionary, seeing the obduracy of these barbarians and that they never considered religious matters, preached to them a good while, but they, not being accustomed to hearing sermons, went slipping off one after the other, so they saddled the horses and bade farewell to the old chieftain and the few pagans who remained with him, inviting them to come to the town whenever and as often as they wanted, and they went back to Aritao for Sunday mass, where they arrived on Friday.

A trip to the people of Yleaban in 1788

Some four Christian Filipinos of the Mission of Dupax joined up with some pagans of Tinok, who are also Igorots, to sell some carabaos of theirs to the Igorots more easily, and they went back with the animals they had bought. Before going, they inquired of the pagans if there would be any danger, and they were told they didn't have to be afraid because they would be in their company. The Igorots throughout this part of the Mission are very much afraid of the troops and soldiers at the fortress, and that seems to me to be the reason they don't attack, rob and kill the Christians, that is, they are why they are so tame and peaceful these days. I was glad for this fine opportunity to get some notes from the very heart and center of Igorotland, since all I have said here was learned only from the edges and outside of this tribe. I charged the Christians to observe everything, and not to stop till they reached the mines, and promised them a good reward.

The caravan departed in May of 1788. They had to go slowly so the carabaos and cows wouldn't get tired out or die in falls from the cliffs, and since there were so many ups and downs it took them more than a week to reach Ambayeg, the first town of the Ileaban tribe. But they say that by walking at a good pace they could have made the trip in a day and a half, and in six hours by horseback if the land were more level. There

is another trail for bringing in animals which is better and easier, through the villages of the Awa tribe, but they wouldn't let the other pagans pass through there because of their customary enmities. On the way they encountered some pagans hunting roots and little fruits for their food and they were suffering so from hunger they asked the Christians for rice, having come round at the scent of food. Some of the pagans wanted to trade and offered 4,000 leaves of tobacco for a small, worn-out carabao, but the Christians didn't want such dried leaves when they hoped to sell them dearer for silver and gold to those farther in the interior.

The arrival of the Christians was quickly known throughout the pagan villages since they were so near one another. Pagans arrived from other villages, and although they were startled and some even said, "These Christians came to observe our towns and trails and then they'll act as guides for the troops," nobody did anything to them because they were in the company of other pagans. They fell all over the carabaos and offered much gold for them, but the Christians only wanted silver for there had been cases of bad gold debased with other metal. The pagans said that in Pangasinan and Ilocos the animals were cheaper, and some days passed with the pagans arguing with much heat and making a life-and-death matter of a nickel. For four pesos in silver and two or three knives of the kind they make there, a chief of Ambayeg bought a carabao from them to butcher and eat. Since the people in this town, the same as in the others, were as hungry as dogs, they were now to get a sample of a real pagan show. It was the middle of the afternoon, and they immediately began to give the animal blows on the head until it fell to the ground dead, and at their shouts the people of the village and the others nearby gathered round, since the calls to those festivities and banquets resound easily through those ravines. They didn't kill the animals with spear or knife because they didn't want to spill and lose the blood. They divided the quarters of the carabao and carried them later to the chiefs of the other villages farther away; and the crowd that took part in the show was so great, even the old women and children, that that night they finished off the intestines, skin and innards even down to the marrow, so the next day there was nothing left but the bones and even they were scraped

clean with knives.

From Ambayeg (with 38 houses) they passed to Bokod, which is on the other side of a little stream and has 38 houses. They are low houses and it's necessary to bend down to enter, and they are not placed in any order although quite crowded together. Inside them they saw very few furnishings—a pot or kettle and wooden plates for eating their taro-roots, camotes and some herbs, and even these they are accustomed to eat roasted in the coals. They have very little rice, so they didn't see any granaries for storing it nor mortars for pounding it. There was no more than a hearth or fireplace in each house. They would eat at daybreak, and the men would go off bird-catching through the mountains seeking shoots and roots, and the women to their fields and in the afternoon return to make their sad meal before nightfall. They neither spin nor weave nor toil nor take care for any thing—and so these pagans live the life of the Golden Age, as poets feign.

They didn't see any altars or idols, nor the bones of their deceased, which they must keep well hidden. Nor did they see any tribunal and separate house where the bachelors sleep. They saw few men in comparison to so many women and children, and they were told they were on trips to Pangasinan and Ilocos or had gone to get gold in the mines or to hunt far away since there are no deer hereabouts. The women are the ones who take care of their few fields, which they make around those gorges and slopes. The women's clothing is a remnant of an Ilocano apron which they mend with patches of two or three colors, white in one place and blue or black in another. They bathe very little because of the cold so their appearance is sooty and dreadful. The boys and girls cover their shame even if only with the bark of trees, so it was not true here as in other villages that they don't wear clothes till they marry.

One of the Christians who was an Igorot and knew their language went through the villages farther in the interior with a pagan guide, carrying some cloth G-strings for sale. They travelled one day through several hills whose waters ran into the Agno River. Since these rivers are here near their sources, they hardly have any water during the dry season. That is why they didn't cross any big river except that of Kabayan, which is rather large and deep.

Then on the second day they reached the town of Kabayan after having passed through nine or ten villages whose houses the Christians counted, and on both sides of the trail they say there were several villages rather near. In Kabayan are about 37 houses, and it is a village somewhat larger than the others but of the same caliber, its houses low, very few fields, and the people as wretched and dirty as everywhere else. The traders who go down to Ilocos and Pangasinan with the most gold are from this town of Kabayan, so it is rather well known. Here there are four or six houses of boards, which they said belong to the richest chiefs, but they were away on a trip. They saw twenty or thirty carabaos and cows here, which were grazing until their time to be sacrificed. They also saw some rice fields which were just getting ripe so those Igorots would be going to gather their rice at the time when the Christians are planting it.

He didn't notice anything else particular in Kabayan, but he heard them say there that just beyond two or three more turns of the trail were the mines of Pancutcutan, and that they got the gold in three places called Apayao, Acupan and *Locjo*, and that the one in Acupan was the most abundant and employed the most people working the gold. The pagan guide was not one of the chiefs so he could not take the Christians any farther. The Christians said, "The land is so unfortunate, what's the use for them to get so much gold? Indeed, they are really hungry and miserable; there's no *buyo*, and they won't give you anything to eat unless you buy it for gold or silver. It's better for me to go back before my provisions are used up because if our rice should be exhausted it would be a real problem to find any, even for silver," so he had to go back where he left his companions. As a matter of fact, all these pagans were suffering from hunger because of a general pestilence last year which killed so many there were none to take care of the fields.

They say that the distinctive mark of the chiefs is a black blanket with fancywork and a belt with some borders of gold, and for the women a gold plating which they put over their teeth but take out when they eat. In almost all the houses they saw a little box or casket of food or very tightly woven rattan, and tied with cords; when they go out of the house both men and women carry them hanging from their necks, and use them

for a pillow at night. They asked about them, and they said that there are two divisions inside the little box, one to keep the silver in and the other for gold, scales and weights, the smaller weights being like little colored beans. They always carry their weights and scales with them, like the Chinese in China, and I have seen some rather curious ones. In Kabayan and the other mining villages, according to the report, they all keep weighing everything, and measure out little grains of gold to pay for a bundle of unhusked rice, a dozen camotes, a chicken or a hen, even things only worth a nickel. These weights are not to be found among other pagans than the Igorots, which is a sure indication of their commercial activities. And their guarding their little boxes so carefully is a sure indication of their cupidity, suspicious nature, and the little trust they place in one another.

Throughout those villages they saw some miserable-looking little dogs to guard their houses and accompany them on the trails. As has already been said, so far up as the mines there were no deer, and the rivers are too small to have fish, nor are there any trees except for occasional clusters of pines. Indeed, if it were not for their buying all their supplies from other pagans from a distance, or from the Christians, these Igorots in the mines would perish of hunger. They raise some pigs for their fiestas at their houses, and in Bokod they only heard the crowing of one or two roosters, who soon quit since no other roosters answered them. Nor do the Igorots wish the roosters to wake them since they sleep till the sun is high.

They saw three or four young mango trees, some bananas and sugarcane. They didn't see any guava groves in any of the towns, no coconuts or *bongas*,²⁸ so they don't chew betelnut except when they're in the Christian towns. In place of betelnut they continually chew some shoots and roots somewhat peppery and juicy, and spit out the cud like a kind of grass. These were such that when they gave the Christians some, they found them so distasteful they didn't dare chew them. The Igorots said that those grasses maintained life for them in this time of hunger, and therefore they went out every day through the hills to look for them, both men and women.

They didn't find that they had many wives, but only one,

28. Betelnut.

but that they divorced for slight reason and sought another.

The Christians, seeing that they couldn't successfully sell their carabaos at the price they desired and for pure silver, told their pagan guides from Tinok, "Let's go to your towns in Tinok to try to sell them there." They replied that their chiefs would take their going there very badly since they were Christians, and that they would have to go all the way around the very high mountain of Pulog, with very jagged white rocks. On a somewhat extended branch of this mountain are found the various tribes of the Igorots, and toward the north are those of Tinok, whose towns are to be found below those of *Itbuy*²⁹ and *Camandag*, and those of Tokokan. From this part of the north they get the slaves which they sell to those in the mines for working the gold, and also from this part they saw some copper pans and kettles for cooking food in the shape of chamber pots. The Igorots use many of these, and sell them to the Christians of the Mission. The color of this copper is dark red, and polished it looks like copper coins. I was assured that these Igorots also have their copper mines, which they make use of in this way: they put the pieces of the ore in vats or jars or in earthenware pots, and put them on the fire till it melts and the copper goes to the bottom, and then when it is cool they separate it from the slag, and beat it with some stones and give it the shape of a pot or pan. It's very crude work, and cracks easily, but this is for me a clear sign that it is made by Igorot pagans and not Christians or Chinese, and a proof, too, that they have copper mines there. But those so famous gold mines are in the southern part. It may well be said that on this Mount Pulog and its spurs is the very heart and center of Igorotland.

Seeing that they had already exhausted their supply of rice—since the Igorots always joined them but never invited them, and they had already used some to cover their expenses—the Christians decided to return to Dupax; so, leaving two or three carabaos in trust with a pagan friend, they got back the fourth week. They kept saying, "Oh, how unfortunate is that land of the Igorots! Everybody suffering from hunger, and emaciated, the men doing nothing all day, and having no more

29. Dominican accounts of the late 19th century identify *Itbuy*, *Itpuy*, or *Ipituy* with *Tabuy* just east of Mt. Pulog on a small stream which flows north into the Kadaklan River, a tributary of the Matunud.

business than going up and down all the time, the ill-clad women taking care of their little fields in the ravines, without any game in the mountains or fish in the rivers! Nor do they find bamboo, rattan, palms, ferns or the other fruits we Christians eat, and we never tasted wine or *basi*,³⁰ the major gift they made us being two or three camotes no bigger than your finger! How much better the poorest of us Christians fare than the richest chiefs there! How much healthier to live in the flat, wide lands of the Christians than among those rocks and peaks hunting for gold!"

There was somebody who told them, "Don't leave us so soon; wait for our fiesta at the harvest of the rice plots and see the killing of the carabaos and pigs, first in one town, then another, and then in the others, and see the crowds and merry-making."

Our people told them, "From the poor rice fields we've seen, so many fiestas?"

To this the pagans replied, "We don't eat so much rice as the Christians; if we have gabe and camotes for food, and a little rice for our beverages, or *basi*, we're quite content."

"Good health to you, then. "We've been in your land long enough to get thin already."

They heard that the towns of the mines and their neighborhood must be 70-some, but what they saw, with the number of houses, were these:

Places of the Igorots of Leaban and the mines:

Bangao	25 houses	Ambayeg	33	Bokod.....	38	Dadde	21
Navel	20	Sucung	15	Magangan.....	38	Batang	30
Kabayan	37	<i>Becuyurang</i>	19				

Other neighboring places around there according to information from the pagans:

<i>Colong</i>	Amilong	Karao	Baneng	<i>Marudim</i>
Leaban	Buluk	<i>Guisang</i>	<i>Allat</i>	<i>Ballang</i>
Kallong	<i>Salipan</i>	<i>Dinaingan</i>	<i>Banao</i>	<i>Bulicao</i>
Imbusi	Lutab	Pangcutcutan	Apayao	Acopan
Buguias	<i>Locjo</i>	<i>Ampatang</i>	<i>Sagolon</i>	<i>Barat</i>
<i>Langan</i>	<i>Bilnan</i>	Calao [Karao]	<i>Palandas</i>	<i>Suyut</i>
<i>Lusun</i>	<i>Muyu</i>	<i>Losab</i>	<i>Cupao</i>	and others

30. Sugarcane-wine.

Places of the Igorot tribe of Tinok:

<i>Balati</i>	<i>Bisucut</i>	<i>Calam</i>	<i>Pandaguetan</i>	<i>Gacab</i>
<i>Bulug</i>	Tococan	and <i>Poliang</i> ,	where the copper and the slaves	
		come from		

Route from Dupax when taking animals to the mines:

Bangao	Ambayeg	Bokod	<i>Culong</i>	<i>Dadda</i>
Buluk	Lutab	Kabayan	Imbusi	Magangan
<i>Allang</i>	Buguias	Apayao	Pancutcutan	Acopan

Route from Tinok to Dupax when travelling light:

Tinoc	Buguias	<i>Allang</i>	Magangan	Imbusi
Kabayan	<i>Daea</i>	Kutab	Leaban	Bangao

Another trip to the mines in 1788

After I wrote all the preceding, it seemed very imperfect to me because the trips referred to hadn't actually reached the mines themselves. This moved me to ask a new Christian Igorot by the name of Thomas, who had just been on the trip referred to but only as far as Kabayan, to return and not stop until the mines. He found a Christian companion, like himself from Dupax and knowing the Igorot language. The two started off travelling light, not carrying anything more than a blanket and two bags of clothes as an excuse for their venture. They went through the territory of Awa and arrived in Ambayeg on the third day, which is the first town of the Ileaban tribe of Igorots and has something like 33 houses. These towns overlooking the Christians are always on the alert for danger, and they asked if they had come to explore the roads to guide the troops. They replied that they had come to collect a debt, and with this they passed on the next day to another little town nearby called Bokod of 38 houses, with fields and food besides. Thomas betook himself to another town nearby called Kallong (with five houses) to look for a companion and guide to the mines, finding one who agreed with him for a G-string worth a peso, and his food.

Thomas and the pagan travelled some four hours and spent the night in *Banang* (with 32 houses), toward the south with a little stream below that flows into the Agno River. The next day

they travelled five hours by crest and zigzags to spend the night in *Sallipang* (six houses), which was near the Agno River, which came down in such a strong, deep torrent they couldn't cross it, nor was the bridge of poles still there which they build every year. All Igorot agreed to take them across for an old shirt Thomas gave him. The next day, then, the Igorot tied a piece of rattan to a tree on the bank of the river, swam through the current to the otherside with the rattan, and tied it to another tree there; then, hanging from this rattan by their hand, they crossed the river with the tips of their toes just touching the water, and the Igorot passed their sack or parcels over to them, and after four hours on the trail they reached *Salpangan* (with five houses).

Early the next day Thomas and his pagan guide reached an estuary or stream which contained the gold placers called Dapiag. They found a good number of men and boys washing the sand of that stream, gathered there from various towns in which they had left their womenfolk. They saw plenty of huts all around, and some of these served as stores and sold food-stuffs—two dried fish from Pangasinan for a nickel, two pieces of molassas-cake for a nickel, a ganta of cleaned rice for a *real* and a half, and even nipa wine carried up from Pangasinan in sections of bamboo. Some one or two hours travelling up the river, they ran into some pagan gold-panners eating a pig in a hut. Thomas said, "I would be glad to eat, too, if they would offer me." But the guide said, "Here nobody treats; who wants to eat, buys it," so he had to buy a nickel's worth of molassas-cake for himself and his companion, and some gabis and camotes.

They followed the trail without anybody's molesting them since they were all used to seeing many pagans coming and going, even those from the very interior, and had no suspicion of troops because Thomas was travelling in his G-string and cloth around his head like a pagan. At the end of the stream they discovered some houses on the crest of a mountain, and the guide said, "This is the Pancutcutan of Acupan, and those houses belong to the mine owners." They went to one of the first of these, which belonged to a chieftain called Patay and was made of boards, about 24 feet wide but very low like all the other pagans'. All around this slope they counted some 45

houses with no order or plan on such uneven ground that the roof touched it on one side but on the other you looked down a precipice.

Chief Patay questioned Thomas about his coming, and he replied that he had come seeking the pagan Dumiang who owed him a carabao, which was actually the case. "Your Dumiang," said Patay, "has just left for San Nicolas and Asingan in Pangasinan to sell gold in order to pay his debts." Thomas showed him the decorated blanket he was carrying and asked six pesos for it, and the chief offered five pesos in silver, so Thomas came back with it because he didn't meet anybody who would give him the six.

"You look like a Christian but the blanket seems to come from the Isinay?"

"I've lived among the Isinay," replied Thomas, "but now I'm in Ambayeg, or Ileaban, and am making trips."

He told him he should go to the gallery, which was like a kitchen somewhat apart from the house, and rest. In this apparent kitchen they ate and slept as guests, and the servants or sons of the chief and two male slaves brought them rice, potatoes and water. When they kill cattle or a carabao, they send parts of it to other houses and chiefs and serve all those invited apart from the house since it is a custom observed by the rich pagans—which, to my way of thinking, is because a big animal has more bones and offal and the host doesn't want them to dirty his palace, so they are sent to eat in the kitchen and throw the bones of the animal around there. But the pig is the most sacred animal to them, and not subject to such waste. They saw five or six big pigs at the house of such size their bellies dragged the ground, and various other smaller ones.

All the first day my Thomas and his guide rested and slept in Patay's kitchen, since he was a chief of high station and gave food to his guests. The second day Patay told them, "You stay here, for I'm going to the mines to check up on my people's work." Thomas asked if there was a place to bathe and if he could bathe in it, and Patay told him: "There's a place you can bathe in this gold stream, but you must not call me when I'm there in the mines because our god, or Anito, doesn't like it." So Thomas went to bathe, and with this excuse got near the mines which were not so far from their owners' houses. Some

seemed to be simple open canals with earth along their sides, while others had mouths for entering through excavated holes, and were held up by planks and props inside so as not to cave in. From the outside could be heard the noise of the picks or poles with which they dig the pure soil for there are no stones or boulders. The lights with which they worked were pine torches, and very few so they wouldn't make a lot of smoke, and therefore would soon be extinguished so they would go outside to light them. Because of the smoke they could endure to work uninterruptedly only four or six hours a day.

The sons inherit these mines from their parents, and they don't work others', so those who don't have any property just stay in the river washing the sand. Two streams surround them on the mountain, and yet it is covered with old mines and other new ones. As was already said, the houses of these mines he reached were found to number something like 45, which existed solely on gold without planting or gathering anything else. Nor were there any natural resources to be seen throughout the area except some pines. If the weather is good, they come from far away with rice and all kinds of vegetables and foods; but if it rains so they can't cross the rivers and the slopes are slippery, they maintain themselves there simply on the meat of pigs, cattle and carabao which they keep in reserve. Those people wish that every year would bring many large floods in the rivers since then the sands are washed down from the surface and sides of the mountains and it's an abundant year for gold.

This place is called Acupan, which in their language means "get gold with both hands together," and similarly denotes the abundance with which they collect gold in the rainy season, which is when more pagans gather there, as also happens in the river in Asingan, which is the very one that descends from Igorotland. Also, they get the name Pancutcutan from *cutcut*, which means "scratch and pick," but this is a name which they also give to other mines; the three most frequently mentioned are Pancutcutan of Acupan—which in my view is the most abundant and flourishing—, Pancutcutan of Apayao, and Pancutcutan of Locjo. There seems to be some distance between these three mines, and from all three they get gold. Others dig in the mountains and follow the veins of the ore, and when it happens that the vein disappears and is hidden, they

consult their augurers, and the people gather together to make their sacrifices of pigs, and all those most experienced and accustomed to finding lost veins or new ones go to the mine and they begin their labors anew; and when the vein becomes richer, they make more pig sacrifices for fear of losing it again.

On the third day they took leave of the chief, who wanted them to stay till the next day when they'd kill a cow, and charged them to bring him some good blankets. They saw ten carabaos and two cows pastured in that mountain, and at a distance they showed them another town called Kapangan which had fields, and they discovered a cordillera, or spine, of a high and long mountain, and they told them that on the other side were the waters that went to the Ilocos, and that in four days they could reach Agoo travelling light.

They left after eating, and went to sleep at *Salpangan*, and from there took another trail, shorter, to cross the Agno River higher up; they encountered a stream which came from the Pancutcutan (or mines) of Apayao, and when Thomas asked, "Why are there no people getting gold here?" they told him, "The gold doesn't reach here, but only above; the people and mines are up there." They went to sleep in a town called Ambuklao, where they had rice, gabi and camotes, and it had some pastureland and was a sort of guard-station for pasturing carabaos—which must have been about 150 with their young; they would round them up every day and their owners, who were in other towns, paid them for raising them.

At sunrise they crossed the Agno River on foot, leaving Kabayan, a town of merchants, on one side, and went to sleep in Ambayeg, where Thomas met his companion, and they came back to Dupax three weeks after they had left. The whole route they travelled can be summed up as slopes and zigzags along streams which empty into the Agno River which comes out in Pangasinan by Asingan. From the heights of the mountains they couldn't see much land because other mountains obstructed the view. Like deer, the pagans don't bother to make any trails. They ascertained that these mountains are clear of thickets and forest. Then Pancutcutan of Acupan to which they went turns out to be north of a point between Asingan and Manaoag and nearer Pangasinan than that of Apayao and *Locjo*, which are farther to the north and more in the interior. Those who work

the gold don't tend fields but get what they want with the gold, and those of the interior fare much better than the frontier Igorots. Men and women are to be seen with mountaineer bandanas from Ilocos. The chiefs are interred with their best blankets, which are adorned with little plates of gold. They didn't encounter any faces or physical resemblances to the Chinese in the mines; instead, they said that those who work the gold most are the dirtiest-looking from the smoke and the sun, and more humpbacked, malformed and misshapen of body than the other Igorots who come down to the Christians. Traveling light, it is easily possible to get from the Mission to the mines of Acupan in the space of three days despite zigzags and ups and downs.

Chapter 8

Other Notices and Excursions to the Igorots from the Missions

In the preceding trips, made in complete peace and amnesty, the little courtesy or concessions which the barbarians show the Christians was seen. They have always desired to enter our lands and towns just like their own homes and expect to be treated as guests, but never have they permitted the Christians to pass freely through their lands, nor even set foot there. We shall now see some other excursions which have been made with arms in hand in order to control them, threaten them, and punish them for their offenses. It has already been said that their land is in between and overlooking Ilocos, Pangasinan, Pampanga and Cagayan. It was perfectly ordinary and normal that these Christian provinces should have communications among themselves and commerce, and for this reason it was always intended from the very beginning to have some roads for mutual communication. For more than 50 years after the Christianization of these provinces, an interior route across to Cagayan through the midst of these pagan mountains was desired and attempted. The motto of those oīd [missionaries] was this: let a land route be opened through the interior of this island and there will then be more communications between the Christians, and the Igorots and other pagans will be exposed.

Thus Dominican Provincial Ortiz said in an appeal to the Government in 1736: "If the road to Cagayan is opened, the pagan tribes and apostates who did not submit in the lowlands will return in due time since it is so difficult for them to live there, especially the nation of the Igorots, who enjoy the greatest gold deposits in the island and war on the Christians with deplorable impunity, which nation will come to be shut in between Ilocos, Pangasinan and Ituy."

May God our Lord grant, with his infinite power and subtle providence, that these desires, so long-standing and so well-intentioned, some day come to fruition. But it is certain that these pagans have made and do make all possible resistance to their accomplishment. It is not the intention of this article to mention all the efforts made by religious, bishops, governors and the Government to discover and pacify all these pagans who live in the center of this island, since they have been many and merit treatment in a separate work. In Part Two those will be featured which pertain more especially and immediately to the Igorots, but here it will be best to touch only on some assaults and expeditions in the neighborhood of the missions.

The four parts of the history of the Dominicans deal specifically with the origins, foundation and progress of the missions of Ituy and Paniqui, which are near the Igorots,^{xxi} and from these, what it has cost to open and level this new road is apparent, since it wasn't possible to carry it out till the year 1739 due to the great opposition of the pagans, especially those of the gold mines. The Dominican capitulary acts of 1745 make mention of the fact that Auditor [Joseph Ignacio de] Arzadún, Visitator, dispatched a good-sized troop of Pangasinan Filipinos to the Mission of Ituy. They attacked the towns of the nearby Igorot enemies of the Christians, and an account by the Dominicans printed the same year says that this particular expedition wasn't successful.³¹ The Panipuy Igorots gave them such opposition that they had to retreat, and retired to Pangasinan. In view of this, the same account says, the said Auditor ordered that the Province of Cagayan should come to the rescue with all speed. Some 400 Christians with Filipino arms gathered, and although they could see that a horde of Igorots had come

31. See note 15 above.

down from the mountains to give battle, they continued the march till they actually engaged them, and for the space of two hours subjected them to fire from some muskets which the Christians carried, and drove them off with the death of many, among whom was the chief of the Panipuyes called Sopac. Then they marched in and destroyed seven towns, one of which was composed of 60 houses all of pine boards, set along a neat street, with the whole town surrounded by a sort of wall of stones three or four feet high and a foot or two thick. The more detailed events of this expedition can be seen in the aforementioned account.

The results of these military expeditions were most favorable, for the Igorots learned the power of bullets and firearms, and the Christians were persuaded that the only means to humble the pride and tyranny of these pagans were soldiers and rifles. In fact, beginning at that time, the central government gave orders and made provisions for founding a garrison of 50 Cagayan soldiers with an Army corporal, and the following year, in the month of April of 1746, a fort with double barricades was established in Ajanas (now Aritao), which is the very frontier of the Igorots. The first commanding officer was a Spaniard of Lal-lo named D. Agustín de la Puerta, who made frequent ambushades with his soldiers and continuous skirmishes to put these barbarians to flight, lay waste their fields, and burn their towns, as appears in his own hand in the form of a diary which I have at present.

But they were so many and so rebellious, vexatious and bold, these tribes, that the said soldiers were insufficient to punish and defeat them, and it was necessary for troops to come from Cagayan the next year of '47 under the captaincy of an arrogant Maestro-de-Campo named D. Felix Caragun. This troop marched against the Igorots of Ipituy rather than surrender the new Christians who had had to flee and sought refuge there. But although that troop contained some of the most illustrious men among them, it failed disastrously through the overconfidence of Sergeant Don Felix, whom the pagans killed with some others, and the rest fled. Among the spoils, the pagans collected the heads of the dead and carried them off, and an image of Our Lady and one of St. Joseph, following which they became still more haughty and insolent, boasting of their

victory.

That this insolence of the victorious Ipituyes not spread farther and to recover the honor of Christian arms, the Committee of the Royal Treasury met in Manila the following year of '48 and appropriated the expenses for troops to the Governor, and the order was then given to mount a real expedition of 300 hand-picked Cagayanés with soldiers from Lal-lo and the garrison of Aritao. There was a hot engagement in which ever so many pagans died under rifle fire. They spent four days to take the town of Ipituy of 172 houses of boards, not counting the barns and granaries of the same, with its wall of stones. Then they continued on against the towns of Panipuy, *Masi*, *Banao*, and others, and, finding them deserted, burned them and laid waste their fields. In the year of 1750, troops were again requested of Señor [Juan de] Archederra, shortly before his successor [Francisco José] Obanda arrived, because many of those relocated by the aforementioned troops had become apostate and sought refuge among the pagans who were now restively threatening the Christians. This troop was larger than the earlier ones, with as many as 500 arriving from Cagayan and the missions along with 35 soldiers. They went first against the towns of the Ilongots, who had been enemies of Christianity from of old, and in two weeks taught them a stern lesson and burned their towns. Then the troops went in search of the apostates who had fled to the Igorots of Awa and Paniqui, and engaged them in battle. By accident it happened that one stone of the many which the Igorots were throwing down from above struck the lock of one of the soldier's muskets and it went off and the bullet killed a very famous brave of the Christians called Madela, who had been in the van of many expeditions. This did not dismay our forces but, rather, they continued on to wreak havoc on the said pagans, killing, burning, and laying everything waste.

All the expeditions here referred to briefly but accurately show that the Igorots of the missions used to be more numerous, pugnacious and aggressive than now. It must be admitted that it has happened here the same as in other Indian missions—like those in Zambales, Batanes, the Marianas, California, Sonora,

Cinaloa, Orinoco,³² Hispaniola, and generally in all the others—where the people were more numerous when they lived free, scattered and uncivilly than after they were relocated and subjugated. Earlier, they lived free as birds and wild animals, so it was only natural that when it was wished to tame them in cages and corrals, many should become good for nothing, waste away, sadden and die, and those who could be kept alive were few. Formerly, they were isolated and did not contract smallpox, measles, tumors or other epidemics so easily as now when they have more social contacts and communications. Many pagans die of hunger and neglect, too, since the troops destroy their houses and fields, and they flee in the grip of fear to all the remote, inclement heights, and would rather die with their wives and children there than surrender and join the Christians. What Father Murrillo's history says of the natives of the Marianas may be seen—that earlier they were many in various islands, but now they are so few they hardly number 2,000 souls.^{XXII}

The final outcome of this decimation of the savage natives occasioned by the military expeditions is still unknown, but they are of such disposition that the missionaries usually make little progress without the protection of soldiers and the muskets which are the arms they fear so much. Certainly these shock troops have caused enough destruction in the houses and fields of the pagans, yet as it always turns out, they don't make much progress because the pagans resort to running away and become worse than before. Also, it costs a great deal in labor and expenses to collect these troops and bring them from Cagayan, for which reasons it was decided to let the troops go and put another permanent garrison in the missions. In 1752 the Government approved the establishment of another one in the mission of Bagabag, which is in between, and confronts the Igorots of Kiangnan who have remained unconquered because they are many and in fertile land, causing frightful injury and deaths among the Christians. This fort of Bagabag was subordinate to that of Ajanas, or Aritao, which was the first, and from that time on the soldiers of both forts were sufficient to defend the Christians from the attacks of the Igorots and other pagans. For the sake

³² Sonora and Cinalóá are states on the west coast of Mexico, and Orinoco the Venezuela-Columbia border region along the river of the same name.

of convenience, the fort of Aritao had to move in 1773 by government order deeper into the missions to the sitio of Carig or Patul to defend a difficult pass against the Igorots a day's journey along the road from Bagabag to Carig, yet in spite of all this there is hardly a year when the Igorots of Kiangan don't cause some deaths of Christians in this dangerous pass.

You can imagine the mounting expenses to the Royal Treasury to maintain both forts, which came to include 75 troops with their sergeants and commanding officer directly responsible to the Governor of Cagayan, for the salaries, rice, clothes, arms and munitions for each required a thousand pesos every year since their founding! But it may be positively stated that the missions could not possibly have remained among such pagans without them. These soldiers have always stood ready to go after lawbreakers, provide escorts on the dangerous roads, and make expeditions and ambushes against the pagan Igorots who nowadays give them the most cause for worry. Against these, the soldiers have marched out various times since the year 1750, accompanied by Filipinos from the mission, and their military expeditions have regularly been successful enough, excepting only that of the year 1767 in which a rather large troop marched against the Igorots of Kiangan accompanied by three missionaries so there would not be needless killings. The troops were divided into two parts. The vanguard opened the road with musket fire against the pagans who were blocking the pass, and entered within the considerable central settlement of Kiangan itself, and because the pagans had retreated, on a sudden impulse of the troops, the ill-advised and greedy Christians began to separate and go through the houses to sack them. The pagans reformed their forces—perhaps because plenty of fresh reinforcements had come—and with spears, stones and shouts panicked our forces, who fled the town in headlong flight one on top of the other. They ran into the delayed rearguard where the three religious were, and all took precipitous flight in the greatest disorder. The Igorots gave chase and even captured some provisions and the fathers' belongings. There would have been a real disaster and some deaths on our part if some soldiers with muskets had not covered the retreat from behind and stopped the adversaries. In short, the Christians were vanquished by the Igorots on this occasion in the town of Kiangan

because of disorder and cupidity.

All through this area, the pagans are rather robust, and live off fields of rice and other foods, and sometimes come down to the Christians not with gold, for they don't have any, but with rice, mongos and other products which they trade to the Christians for animals. About three years ago more than 90 Igorots came down to trade and visit their friends, and since they came in peace they entered the town of Bagabag without hurting anybody and then went back again. There has been much surprise at these so peaceful visits for that's not their custom but rather deceit and treacherous killing.

Chapter 9

Two Letters of the Year 1788 About the Igorots of Pangasinan and Ilocos

The present minister of Asingan, having been asked, wrote me the following letter (abridged) :

"I went to visit the Igorots of *Leabung* overlooking Asingan, but I didn't reach the town, though I talked with seven of them, among whom was a chief married in Pancutcutan, who told me he had his wife and four children there. They look for gold in a mine of *Lebang* rather far from the said town. I spent more than two hours with them, and the chief and two others struck me rather favorably and I have some confidence of their conversion. I told them that they should inform the people how I had been there in the line of my duty, and that I would come back within a short time, before which he should let them know so they would come down to meet with me. The distance to *Lebang* is seven hours, five of which are all stony trail and follow the Toboy River, which equals the Agno when it is swollen. The entrance up this river is a narrow gap between two mountains which continue to the town itself. All this part is unconquerable because there's only one way in, which is this very Toboy River, and it's really difficult on both sides. Above the town of *Lebang* there's a very high place on the mountain called *Tarayac*, and they pass through there from Ilocos to the mine of Pancutcutan, passing through the crest of Maliongliong, which is below Pancutcutan. In between these two points, or

mountains, the Agno River comes down to near San Nicolas. The two aforesaid rivers expose the province of Pangasinan to inundation if their volume increases at the same time because they collect so much water with their twistings and meanderings in the foothills of Pancutcutan, *Tapayac*, and *Leaban* or Toboy. In reference to Toboy, I should say that it does not join the Agno River but, just after leaving the mountains of *Lebang*, turns to the Manaoag road. The river which is halfway along the Manaoag road [from here] is called Tagumising, which rises on the mountain Alibueng, and these two have already joined by the time they pass Calasiao. Another little river is on the way to Manaoag called Angalacan, which rises on the other side of the high mountain of Tapayac, that is, toward Ilocos, and these last two join near San Fabian. This is all I am able to say now about the terrain which can be seen from the balcony of this convento. A mountain farther in from the missions is also visible from here, which, according to what I understand, is somewhat in from Aritaó, is not very high, and from here I presume that the road could come direct to Asingan through this place, or hill. But this mountain or hill is still very far off to the right looking from here toward the mines of Pancutcutan."

Another letter was written me by the incumbent minister of Agoó the same year, and it is as follows:

"About the matter of the Igorots—that is, about the location of their mountains, and the number and quality of their mines—I cannot give any particular details. About the place Pancutcutan I've heard say that they tunnel into the mountain and enter to get the gold with lights, but I don't know where it is. Some years ago those of Kabayan used to come down here in small numbers and it was the best and most abundant gold that they carried, for they frequently carried as much as 300 taels; moreover, they told me that these were mere peddlers, not the owners of the mine. There is a Filipino here who was a captive for some years and, according to what he said, he was in the town of *Buneng*, in which they get gold not by digging but by knocking off a prominence and pulverizing the stone. Its location is in from the town of Bauang, and it took him five days when he came down here. It is certain that in those years the gold was considerable, and the Christians traded them carabaos, cows, pigs, dried fish, salt, even dogs which they used to buy,

blankets *de bandala*, and others of various colors for which they paid as much as eight pesos, *cavas* [*sic*], pottery jars, heavy wire, and even broken *carajays*, and when they were in the town they would buy hens and roosters to eat, their appetites having been whetted by the much nipa wine they consumed, so that in this manner everybody took part in the commerce, and even the father got his share right off, and the King his tribute. But it has been some years now that this commercial activity and enterprise has fallen off or ceased, for those who now come down are only the nearest around there, who are poor.

“Their festivals, the aforesaid Filipino told me, are simply the getting together of friends to eat a lot of meat and drink plenty of wine, or *basi*, without his having observed the invocation of any deity, nor did they make the least sign of prayer. They say they contract marriage when still young children, and mete out capital punishment for adultery. When some rich person dies, they seat the cadaver in a chair and in his presence eat up all the cows, pigs and carabaos he has left, and later they entomb him, and this is the reason they can't keep livestock but are always forced to buy these animals. When somebody from one town commits some crime against one from another, they capture anybody from there until satisfaction is given for the crime. All this your Reverence knows better than I because of the place where you find yourself, and because you must have had the pleasure of ascertaining these things yourself.”

As a continuation of this, it would be well to place here an extract from an anonymous paper that was circulating in Pangasinan back in 1787, which is as follows:

“As things have appeared to me ever since I arrived in these islands—from what I heard with my own ears and saw with my own eyes—, I have always been complaining of what goes on here, which in truth seems incredible, especially if you contrast it with what Cortés, Albarado and the other Spaniards who were their companions did in America in little more than 20 years. For what has happened in the Philippines? I must admit it's a cause for amazement to anybody who considers it: more than 200 years have passed since they were discovered, and yet to this day, in such a small territory there are some surrounded by Christian provinces which are still unexplored! These are the lands of the Igorots, on whom there should be great pity for,

even though various expeditions were made to Cambodia, the Maluccas, China, Formosa and the Batanes in the early days, and Father Gutierrez penetrated deep into the mission of Ituy, or Isinay, from Pangasinan,—with all this, the Igorots have been so unfortunate that, even living in the center of the Island of Luzon, up to the present their lands are still unexplored. This causes even greater amazement if the abundance of gold which is collected there is considered. It is only necessary to tell how, when the Marquis of Obando was Governor and asked the mestizos of Pangasinan to look for 18,000 Pesos worth of gold, they simply replied that it would take three months to get it together. Apart from this, the great quantity of gold is known to all which the Christians get in grains from washing the sands of the Agno River which comes down from the Igorots to Pangasinan. What is more remarkable is that although this land is the most abundant in gold known in these islands, covetousness has not moved any to explore them.

“For, as the most famous authors say in dealing with the situation of the Indies, even as Divine Majesty implanted the desire for the preservation of the individual and the species in all natural actions, just so He planted the abundance of gold and silver in almost all the Indies, so that with this incentive men would be inspired to leave their countries and set out for lands so remote, and in their wake would come the Preachers of the Gospel, which is the main end of Divine Providence. For, if the mines should disappear overnight, what European would dare to navigate so many seas, and what king, no matter how Catholic and powerful, could maintain the Indies, the necessary expenses being so great that not even the richest king could bear them? It is thus obvious that Divine Providence placed the gold and silver in the Indies to attract the Europeans and in their footsteps the Miners of the Gospel. Thus, it is cause for great amazement, as I have said, that the land of the Igorots, despite being so abundant in gold and easy of exploration and discovery, is still like this.

“I don't know for sure, but judging from the size of the said Agno River, [the land of the Igorots] cannot be less than extensive with various mountains whose waters swell it to such size that when it comes out into the lowlands it is already too large to be forded. To avoid error, I do not speak of the Angala-

can River, since this was already investigated when D. Manuel de Arza y Urrutia was Governor of Pangasinan and troops were sent out. They ascended to the origin of this river to see if it was possible to reach the Igorots by that route, but seeing that it was very difficult that way, they returned and went up the coast to the first towns of Ilocos, but then not finding a trail for the troops to ascend the heights of the mountains, they returned to Pangasinan without having really accomplished anything.^{XXIII}

“But to return to the Agno River, I would say this would be the best for ascending to the very interior, and if this were done it would be possible to see if the land were propitious for maintaining the religious or not, if there are many people, and other things of this sort. Then they could make the necessary preparations, like some soldiers to defend the missionaries, as has been done in other parts. And if, perchance, the land should not be propitious for this end, at least it will actually have been seen and failure to obtain their conversion will not have been for want of making the effort.”

Thus ends the anonymous paper, which in my view is very good, and I am very happy to have seen it and copied it through the favor of a friend's sending it to me.

Index of citations and authorities quoted in this work

- I. Masdeu, ex-Jesuit of Italy, in his *Critical History of Spain*, no. 8 of the Prologue.³³
- II. The *General History of the Philippines* of Father Juan, Recollect,³⁴ the first three volumes of which are already off the press, says, at the end of the first volume, that the Chinese refugees of Limahon took refuge in the mountains of Kingai, and that from them, in his view, the Igorots are descended. “Kingai” may be a typographical error which should be read “Aringay,” a town of the Province of Ilocos near the Igorots.
- III. Pluche treats of these eagle-stones in *The Pageant of*

33. Juan Francisco Masdeu, *Historia critica de España y de la cultura española*, 20 vols., unfinished, 1783–1805.

34. Juan de la Concepción, *Historia General de Philipinas*, 14 vols., 1788–1792.

Nature,³⁵ as does Torrubio, a Franciscan missionary of the Philippines,³⁶ and also the *Edifying Letters* of the Jesuits, Vol. 2.³⁷

IV. Herrera, historian of the Indies.³⁸ See his Index, under the word *gold*.

V. A manuscript by Father Benito Herosa, Augustinian missionary of Tayug, a town near the Igorots, who is deceased but has left this work on the customs of these pagans.³⁹

VI. The diligent Father Murillo prepared two maps of these Philippine Islands, the big one in 1734, and the smaller one in 1744, and he places the Igorots on them in the place where they belong, but without putting in the rivers, and towns, because in his time there was less information about them than now.⁴⁰

VII. Thus they name the principal gold mines after the word *cutcut* which means among them "dig" or "excavate." These mines of Pancutcutan are as famous among the pagans as those of Potasi among Spaniards.

VIII. Gumilla, historian of Orinoco.⁴¹ The three volumes of California. Ulloa, *Voyage to America*.⁴² *Impartial reflections* by Nuix about the Spaniards in the Indies; this last was printed in 1783.⁴³

IX. Nuix, page 208 of his *Reflections*.

35. Noël Antoine Pluche, *Le spectacle de la nature, ou entretiens sur les particularités de l'histoire naturelle*, 8 vols., 1732-1750; Spanish editions appeared in 1755, 1758, and 1771.

36. José Torrubio, *Aparato para la historia natural española*, Vol. 1, 1754.

37. Diego Davin (ed.), *Cartas edificantes y curiosas, escritas de las Misiones Estrangeras, por algunos misioneros de la Compañía de Jesús, traducidas del idioma frances*, 17 vols., 1753-1757.

38. Antonio de Herrera, *Historia general de las Indias Occidentales, o de los hechos de los Castellanos en las islas y tierra firma del Mar Oceano*, 1601-1628.

39. "Breve insinuacion de la tierra y carácter de los infieles llamadas Igorotes," 1780, published by Angel Pérez in *Relaciones agustinianas de las razas del norte de Luzón*, 1904, pp. 2v3-245.

40. Pedro Murillo Velarde, *Historia de la Provincia de Philipinas de la Compañía de Jesús*, 1749. The 1734 map has been reproduced in facsimile by Domingo Abella, 1964.

41. Joseph D. Gumilla, *El Orinoco ilustrado y defendido, historia natural, civil y geográfica de este gran río*, 2 vols., 1745.

42. Antonio de Ulloa (and Jorge Juan), *Relación histórica del viage a la America meridional hecho de orden de S. Mag.*, 2 vols., 1748.

43. Juan Nuix, *Reflexiones imparciales sobre la humanidad de los Españoles en las Indias, escritas en italiano, traducido por Pedro Varela y Ulloa*, 1782.

X. *Sine Caere et Bacho, friget Venus.*—Terrence, in *The Eunuch*. Holy Scripture says, "Where there is much grain, there the strength of the ox is manifest"—Proverbs, ch. xiv.

XI. It is Augustinian Father Benito's manuscript already cited.

XII. Nuix, already cited, in his *Impartial Reflections*.

XIII. Ulloa, in his *Voyage to America in the company of Don Jorge Juan*, vol. 2, p. 542, in which he gives a long description of the Indians of Quito and Peru, which is much the same as the *Indios* of the Philippines. In the *History of Orinoco* and of California there are other very similar particulars of the Indian race.

XIV. Virgil: *Quid non mortalia pectora cogis, auri sacra fames?*⁴⁴

Propertius: *Aurum omnes, victa iam pietate, colunt,
Auro pulsa fides, auro venalia iura,
Aurum lex sequitur, et sine lege pudor.*⁴⁵

XV. *Caesa jungebant foedera porca.*—Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.⁴⁶

Ture placaris, avidaque porca.—Ovid, *Fast.* 1.⁴⁷

Saginati lustrabant compita porci.—Propertius, 4.⁴⁸

Ceres avidae gavisa est sanguine porcae.—Morace.⁴⁹

*Respondi mihi, adolescens, quibus hic pretiis veneunt porci,
sacres, sinceri?*—Plautus.⁵⁰

XVI. A diary of the journey and visit which Governor Basco made to Pangasinan and Ilocos in March of 1785 states:

"The town of Agoo is situated near a low mountain on whose shoulders live some pagan Igorots, who are part of a populous tribe living in the interior ranges. They get gold from their mines and exchange it for blankets which they much esteem, and they take very good care of them."

44. "What will you not force mortal hearts to do, accursed hunger for gold?"

45. "All men worship gold, and piety is vanquished. Gold has banished faith, gold has made judgment to be bought and sold Gold rules the law, and the law once gone, chastity as well."

46. "...made covenant o'er sacrifice of swine."

47. "You are appeased by incense and a greedy sow."

48. "The crossroads were sprinkled with the blood of fatted swine."

49. "(The first) to joy in blood of greedy sow was Ceres." (This is actually from Ovid's *Fasti*, Book I, line 349.)

50. "Answer me this, young man: How much do pigs cost here, sound pigs, for sacrifice?"

(Note: Actually, these blankets serve to cover them by day and night, and since they use no other clothes in their cold and intemperate land, they are quickly used up and destroyed. They also use them for their deceased, whom they keep without burying for weeks and months, wrapping them in ten, fifteen or twenty special blankets, and during the funeral rites they eat and drink up his whole estate. By such blankets they are able to avoid both the sight and the odor of the putrefication of the corpse, since although they remove the intestines and salt and dry it over a fire and in the sun, this would not be enough without the covering of so many blankets. An important person needs a good supply of blankets for himself, his wife, children, relatives, servants and slaves, and they use a lot of gold for buying them from the Christians, for they buy some at a price of eight or ten pesos.)

“On Ash Wednesday we set out for Bangar,” the same diary continues in part, “and the next day went to Tagudin, and the following to eat in Santa Cruz, an outstation of Candon. A company of Igorots, most of them pagans, wanted to welcome the Governor by giving a dance which was very strange to us. Ten or twelve placed themselves in a line forming a curve, and with both arms extended over the shoulders of their neighbors, and their bodies bent over as if carrying a great weight, they went forward some steps very slowly, lifting their feet at intervals. Some of their women were in front with their arms bent and their hands alongside their heads. After having gone some steps, they separated and squatted down, sang some words of felicitations in a very dignified tone, accompanied by the music of a little cymbal of metal of the kind which came from Borneo before the coming of the Spaniards.”

(Note: The people of Ituy, neighbors of the Igorots, also used this dance as their own in their fiestas and weddings, and they perform it with much dignity and gravity. It is done with two files of all the people who wish to enter in, interlocking both arms in the manner described. The women's line, which is in front, has their backs turned to the men so that they cannot see their faces. The first man and the first woman on the right of each file are the oldest or most important, who, having their right hand free, mark the time and direction of the circular movement of the whole line with it. They all lift their right

feet and give a kick at the same time. The action and main goal of this dance consists in the file of men, which is behind, trying to place themselves in front of the women and see their faces by turning to the right, but the women's line, with its turning to the left, retires and hides, until the men accelerate their steps and manage to gain some ground, and when the master-of-the-tempo overtakes the women's line a little and can look into their faces, they all break up and the dance is finished. Whoever sees this style of dancing with some attention cannot but admire and exclaim over it for being very sincere and dignified.)

"These people," according to the same diary, in part, "have nothing of Chinese immigrants about them, although there is no lack of those who hold this opinion because they desire and recommend the usurpation of their mines, which they envy those who possess them through the benefit of nature; but this disingenuous error is one which should disappear by itself, being devoid of evidence, and ought not to serve as an excuse for alienating the liberty and property of this innocent and peaceful people."

In this work, occasion will be taken to speak with more clarity of the author of these well-intentioned expressions.⁵¹

XVII. Father Colin's *History*,⁵² p. 73, says that the greatest part of the goods of these Filipinos consists of slaves, because next to gold, they hold no other possession in more estimation because of its many conveniences for their way of living than a large number of slaves, and the rest of its advantages. The history of the Franciscans,⁵³ p. 160, also deals with the laws of slavery.

XVIII. Father Mozo in his book on missions,⁵⁴ p. 63, says, "Their ferocity is without second; all their fervor is for taking captives to have slaves to serve them, and when they have

51. This diary is quoted at greater length in Part Two, and its author is reported to be Don Joseph Armenteros of Manila, of whom Father Antolín writes, "There are enough nice turns of phrase apparent in this diary to indicate the urbanity, literateness and good judgment of the author."

52. Francisco Colín, *Labor evangelica, ministerios de los obreros de la Compañía de Jesús*, 1663.

53. Juan Francisco de San Antonio, *Crónicas de la Apostólica Provincia de S. Gregorio de Religiosos descalzados de N.S.P.S. Francisco en las Islas Philipinas, China, Japon, etc.*, 3 vols., 1738-1744.

54. Antonio Mozo, *Misiones de Philipinas de la Orden de Nuestro Padre San Agustín: noticia-histórico natural*, 1763.

enough they kill whomever they meet." Still later, on p. 79, he deals in more detail with the Igorot nation, and of their tyrannies.

XIX. What was spent on trails and other things on behalf of the new mission is shown by an account printed in Manila in 1739⁵⁵ which says, "The one who has made the most expenses in this enterprise has been the Province of the Most Holy Rosary, because this year alone it has spent almost three thousand pesos in opening the Maliongliong road and for the missionaries' provisions, which, together with other expenses for the needs of the mission in the preceding three years, has reached the sum of eight thousand pesos." A presentation which Provincial Ortiz made to the Governor in 1738 tells him:

"Sire: What the King has spent in trying to penetrate these mountains is tremendous, and also what my Province has spent in costs and labor is much. Besides the two religious who have lost their lives in this endeavour, it has spent more than a thousand pesos besides the expense of escorts and servants which has also been carried in its accounts."

XX. This troop mobilization was suspended some two years because they gave signs of desiring to come down to the Ilocos towns administered by the Augustinians and live in peace, but later it was carried out, as will be said later on.

XXI. Aduarte,⁵⁶ pp. 310, 329, 639. Part II,⁵⁷ p. 255. Part III,⁵⁸ p. 163. Part IV,⁵⁹ pp. 13, 483. Part II, p. 175, of the Franciscan history also deals with this.

XXII. Father Murrillo's *History*, p. 292, says of the Marianas islanders:

"The number of these islanders has been notably diminished by epidemics and the repugnance with which they suffer the yoke. They consider subjugation to be the ultimate misery of

55. *Relación de los sucesos de la Misión de Santa Cruz de Ituy, en la Provincia de Paniqui: media entre las de Pangasinan, y Cagayán, en las Philipinas, año de 1739.* Manuel del Río, Dominican Provincial, is given as the author, but Father Antolin says it was written by Father Pedro Luis Sierra.

56. Diego Aduarte, *Historia de la Provincia del Sancto Rosario de la Orden de Predicadores de Filipinas, Japon y China*, 1640.

57. The continuation of Aduarte's Dominican history, by Baltazar de Santa Cruz, 1693.

58. The continuation of the Dominican history, by Vicente de Salazar, 1742.

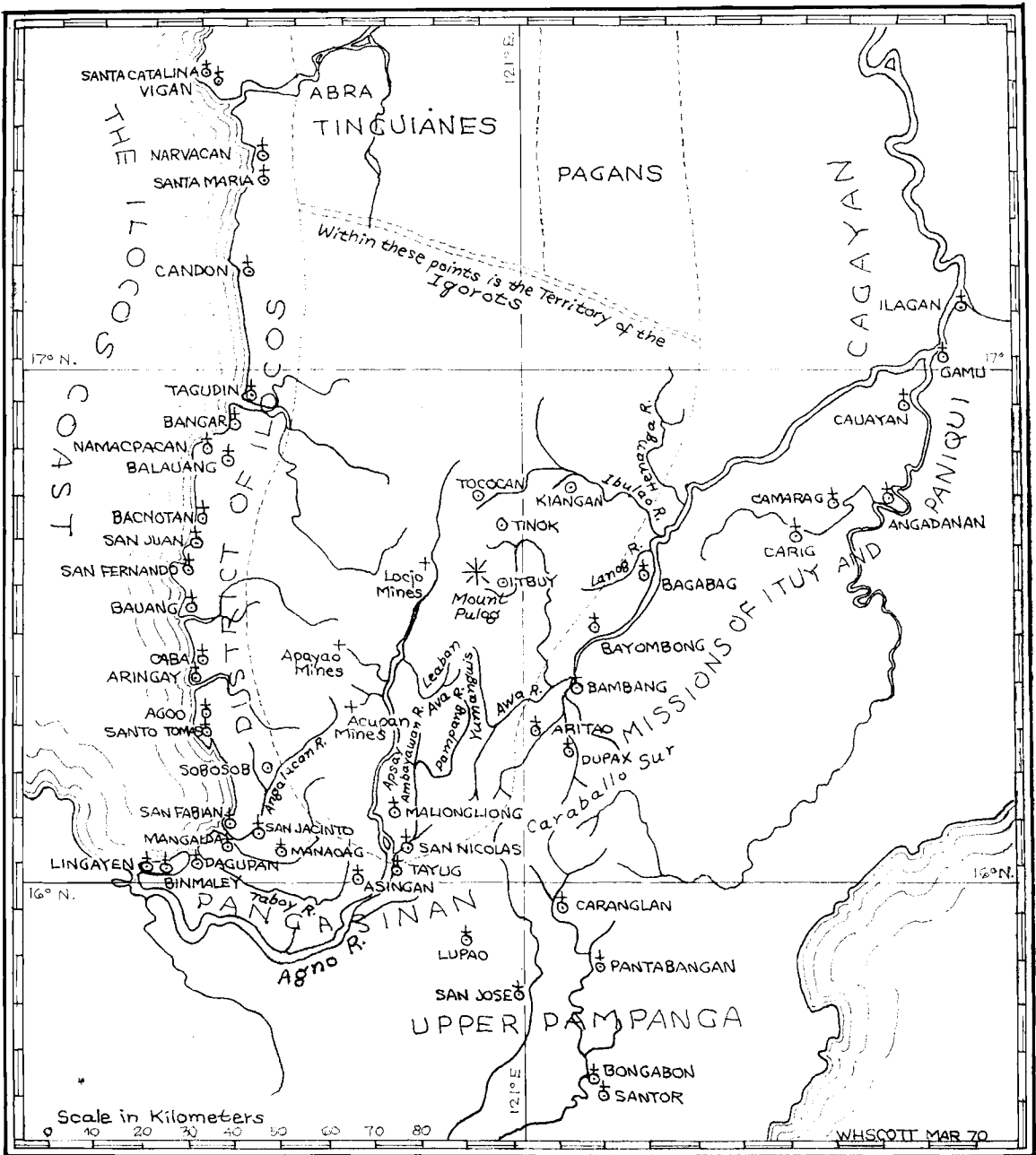
59. The continuation of the Dominican history, by Domingo Collantes, 1783.

the world and that it is a sad, painful and degrading life, and so they sacrifice their lives in their desperation. Now they don't reach 3,000 at the most."

Father Mozo says on page 60, "Another great trouble for the missionaries is having to get them out of their mountains, they not wanting to leave for the much hotter and, for them, unhealthy lowlands, and more exposed to small pox and other diseases."

XXIII. In this extract, some passages have been rephrased or removed for the sake of brevity. It goes on to speak in different ways of this expedition of Arza's, Governor of Pangasinan, and the diligent efforts which the Augustinians of Ilocos made for the conversion of the Igorots without arms. See page 79 of Father Mozo's book and compare his style and method of speaking with that of this paper, and it will be possible to get a clue as to who the author of this anonymous paper was.

Modernized version of Antolín's 1789 map



Igorot settlements in 1789

