The Creation of a Cultural Minority

During an open forum of the Bagoio Religious Acculturation Conference in December of 1973, an Igorot student in the audience addressed a question to the chair which began with the words, “Sir, before we were cultural minorities...” The expression surprised many people present, and, indeed, seemed meaningless to some. Anthropologists and tourists have made us so aware of the difference between the so-called minorities and the rest of the Filipino people that we regard them almost as a separate species—and it never occurs to us there may have been a day when they were not cultural minorities.

The New Society, of course, calls these people cultural communities, and they have come into new prominence since the promulgation of the goals of nation-building and national consciousness which are expressed in such slogans as “Isang lahi, isang bansa, isang tadhana—One race, one nation, one destiny.” These Filipinos used to be called ethnic minorities because their ancestors resented assimilation into the Spanish and American empires and therefore retained more of the culture and customs of their etnos, or “tribe,” than their colonized brothers who eventually came to outnumber them. They scarcely appear in the pageant of history presented in the Philippine school system because they lived outside Spanish control and therefore show up in the Spanish records which form the basis of Philippine history simply as outcasts, brigands, or savages. And from this same circumstance stems the fact that our main knowledge of them is derived from 20th-century tourist descriptions or anthropological studies.

Such studies and descriptions have the result, if not the aim, of making us aware of the differences between these minority culture and the majority culture. They do not, of course, either ask or answer the question of how these differences arose, and therefore do not contribute, or intend to contribute, to understanding why some Filipinos still dance the dances their ancestors danced but others do not. Quite the opposite, they obscure the very question by reinforcing a natural tendency to consider present conditions normative and static rather than as the end product of an ongoing process of human history. Worse yet, they have fastened these differences on the civic consciousness of the Filipino people by projecting 20th-century observations into a prehistoric past complete with dates and details for which there is no archaeological evidence whatever.

To the historian, however, limited as he is to records compiled by foreign chroniclers, no such Filipino minority-majority division appears. The earliest accounts are more interested in the difference between Spaniards and Filipinos than between one Filipino and another, and beyond the facts that some Filipinos were Muslims and others were not, and that those in the hinterlands lacked the cultural advantages of those in the trading ports they have little to say about the characteristics or variations of Filipino life styles. Later accounts, on the other hand, distinguish Filipinos from one another mainly by whether they had submitted to Spanish rule or not, and so limit their cultural observations to such comments as references to the one as dóciles and the other as feroces. Nonetheless, it is possible by a careful survey of the accounts to recognize the rise of a cultural concept in the mind of the Spanish observers which did not exist at the beginning of their regime, a concept akin to that which we today would call a cultural minority. It is a concept which arose in response to an historic process which was nothing less than the creation of cultural minorities. What I propose to do here is to illustrate this process by telling the story of one of these cultural communities as an historian, not as an anthropologist or a tourist—that is, by restricting myself to the written accounts of what earlier observers found worthy of record.

The cultural community I have chosen is the Iñeg people of the Sub-Provence of Apayao of the Province of Kalinga-Apayao in the mountains of far northern Luzon. The sub-province takes its name from the Apayao River which rises on the eastern slope of the largest mountain range in the Philippines, the Gran Cordillera Central, which forms the watershed between the Ilocos coastal plain on the west and the Cagayan Valley on the east, and flows into the Pacific Ocean at Abukug about 25 kilometers west of the mouth of the Cagayan River at Apaz. Both Spanish and contemporary sources consider mountains impenetrable barriers to communication, and modern Filipino farmers have accepted this impenetrability as the explanation for the cultural community's existence in this area. This geographic situation is one of two reasons I chose the Iñegs as my subject—to see whether Spanish records do in fact indicate that these Filipinos lived in geographic
isolation from other Filipinos.

The second reason is that at the time of the American occupation, the Ilongos might well have served as the stereotype for what other Filipinos consider an ethnic minority—they were illiterate, wore G-strings, cut off human heads, and sacrificed pigs to pagan deities. Blas Villamor, first Filipino lieutenant-governor of the sub-province and brother of the first Filipino president of the University of the Philippines, was quoted as saying that the natives of Apayao were so savage they could never be pacified but would have to be exterminated. The question we will ask is, Do the Spanish records portray these Filipinos as being so different from their Filipino neighbors, and hostile to them?

Of course, there was no such province or sub-province in the Spanish period, nor does the word “Ilongo” itself appear in print until the 20th century. The area appears in historic records for the first time soon after the Spaniards settled in the Cagayan Valley in 1581 to prevent the Japanese from doing the same thing. When the Spaniards learned that a Japanese settlement had actually been established there by a certain Tayfuss, a freebooter who lacked only a monarch’s backing to qualify as a second Legazpi, they dispatched a fleet from Manila. After defeating the Japanese, they remained there to discourage any such competition in the future. Dominican Bishop Diego Aduarte, who arrived in the Philippines only 14 years after the event, described the Spanish position in the following candid terms:

Thus the Spaniards remained in this province, but against the will of its inhabitants, who wished to see them there as little as they wished to see the Japanese, and as they promptly made clear by withdrawing farther into the interior, leaving them all alone with no food, so that they quickly consumed all their provisions.

Bishop Aduarte may not have realized it but he had put his finger on one of the techniques by which those mountaineer Filipinos called Igorots were later to resist Spanish occupation for centuries. That is, Spanish conquistadores never grew their own food and the Igorots were willing to abandon or burn their houses and fields rather than feed them. But he did correctly diagnose another sort of Filipino behavior which worked in Spanish favor:

They were much aided in their plan to remain there by the many factions and wars among the Filipinos, who could not live in peace but were constantly slaying one another.

One such faction was headed by a pocket-sized Napoleon called Guib, who apparently stood a good chance of conquering the whole lower Cagayan Valley. He operated with a task force of 300 men, attacked anybody who resisted him, punished any disrespect or disobedience, and rewarded his followers from the spoils of victory. As soon as he heard about the presence of the Spaniards, he started sending them rice and chickens and even hogs—presumably because he recognized them as men after his own heart and thus as potentially valuable allies. But the local people begged the Spaniards not to join forces with this local conquistador, so, misreading the message and overplaying their hand, the Spaniards captured Guib and hanged him. But this only set off a real resistance movement, complete with personal challenges to lay down their firearms and come out and fight fairly, man to man—the same challenge, as a matter of fact, Igorots were to shout down from the mountaintops when their turn came in the next century.

Another faction, however, the Spaniards were able to exploit more successfully. Along the seacoast just west of the Cagayan River mouth, a Filipino by the name of Tuliao had been feuding with his own brother for many years. Seeking to take advantage of the new political situation, Tuliao asked for Spanish intervention on his behalf. So the Spaniards, as Bishop Aduarte put it, “ended their quarrel for them by taking away the lands over which they had been quarreling.” Such heavy-handed tactics, however, soon led to the outright killing of Filipinos and made missionary work impossible for the friars who had accompanied the expedition, so they withdrew in disgust and frustration.

For 14 years this military occupation was unable to extend its control much farther along the coast than the mouth of the Apayao River. Then new missionary friars arrived to make use of the personal relations, both positive and negative, that had developed between Filipinos and Spaniards in the interim. In Pata they found Chief Yringan who had been won over by the example of a Spaniard who had been cured of an illness by praying before a large cross, and in Masu they were able to reconcile Chief Siriban who had taken to the hills after his two wives had been flogged on the charge of bigamy. Both were among the first converts baptized on Easter Day 1596, and Siriban volunteered allegiance for himself and his subjects in the Plebiscite of 1597. (This Plebiscite was a kind of referendum in which Filipino chieftains under Spanish control were asked if they wanted the Spaniards to remain or withdraw.) One town that voted “yes” explained the choice by saying that the greatest advantage of obedience to His Majesty was in having Spaniards to liberate them from the ty-
ranny of their chieftains, and friars to liberate them from some of the Spaniards.

The following year, a priest was stationed in Abug and began the construction of a church. But the forced labor conscripted to build the church gave the people of Abug a second thought about the advantages of a resident priest, so they sent a delegation of chiefs to Manila to request the withdrawal of the friars. As the delegation was sailing down the Ilocos coast, however, heavy weather drove them to put in at Vigan. Vigan was a community which had accepted foreign occupation back in the days of Conquistador Juan de Salcedo himself 25 years before, and their leaders now persuaded the Cagayan delegation that the Spaniards were here to stay and that the best thing for them to do would be to return to Cagayan and make friends with the missionaries there so they would have some allies against the abuses of the military. So that is what they did. And so, too, the people of Fotol, a day's journey up the Apayao River, asked for a missionary priest when tribute-collectors appeared among them for the first time ten years later. Thus the Mission of Santa Cecilia de Babuyanes was founded in Fotol in 1610.

Now, Fotol is the modern Pudtol, Apayao, and it was until recently inhabited by people who speak the Iseeg language—that is, by Filipinos who have come to be called a cultural minority—while the Ibanag-speaking natives of Cagayan who are descended from Yringan, Siriban, and Tuliao are simply called Filipinos. This is a discrimination which does not appear in the Spanish records.

For 15 years, mission work proceeded smoothly at Fotol, although its people remained so independent-minded that the annual tribute-collector had to come in well-armed and quickly depart. Then, on the first Sunday after Trinity in 1625, two of those mountaineer chiefs approached Father Alonso Garcia and Brother Onofre Palao as they were eating lunch after mass, and for the third time requested permission to return to the hills. When this was refused, they drew their bolos, hacked the two clergy to death, and led all the converts and catechumens back to the mountains. The following spring a Spanish punitive expedition destroyed the coconut plantation in the deserted village, and then the Iseegs moved back again. Six years later, friar missionaries returned, restored the work, opened two new missions, and in less than a year baptized more than 500 new Christians. A shrine was erected on the site of Father Garcia’s death, and the missions continued to flourish until a garrison of Filipino troops was stationed at Fotol under the command of one Don Francisco Tuliao.

Then, for what a Spanish chronicler considered no reason at all—a traicion y sin motivo alguno—the troops killed some 80 Iseegs, and the next year their avengers proceeded to burn the fort, kill 25 soldiers, and put their priest in a boat with the church ornaments and send him safely downstream. Just six years later, two new missionaries were assigned to Fotol, and by 1637 the mission was so flourishing it was given charge of work in the Babuyanes.

The records which provide these details give us little insight into the culture of the Iseegs, minority or otherwise, except that they were masters enough of their own destiny to be able to accept or reject foreign missionaries as they chose. True, Bishop Aduarte does say that Father Garcia’s flesh was thrown to the pigs after he was murdered—but this is no more noteworthy a fate than that of a Spanish tribute-collector in Isabela a generation earlier whose shin-bones wound up as rungs in some independent Filipino’s house-ladder. Aduarte calls the Iseegs living farther upstream or higher in the mountains Mandayas, a term which literally means “those up above.” (Daga/raga/laga—“upstream” or “up above”—is a root common to many Philippine languages, and inland Filipino groups have been called Mandayas, Irrayas or Ilayas all over the archipelago.) Moreover, he says that Father Garcia’s murderers were Mandayas “whose native abode was in mountainous places above the Bay of Bigan in Ilocos.” This reference to Vigan is a curious one, for Vigan and its bay lie on the west coast of Luzon, while Fotol is in the eastern foothills on the opposite side of the Gran Cordillera. It probably refers to Iseegs living so high on the crest of the watershed that they were identified with the Ilocos rather than the Cagayan side, and thus reflects the fact that the great watershed of northern Luzon did not prove a barrier to such Filipinos as wanted to cross it. And the events following the Andres Malong uprising a few years later make the implication clearer still.

When Andres Malong raised the standard of revolt in Pangasinan in 1660, he shrewdly circulated rumors that Manila had fallen into the hands of the Pampangueño rebels and that the Spaniards had been driven out of the archipelago. The parish priest of Bacarra, Ilocos Norte, foolishly accepted this propaganda at face value, and sent off a report to the Governor of Cagayan by means of a parishioner named Magsanop. This Magsanop is referred to in Spanish accounts as an Igorot, meaning a mountain people, and was probably an Iseeg from Calanaan, judging from the following events. He was also an encomendero, and Maestro de Campo of Bangui, an outpost of Bacarra, northern-
dependent neighbors. Thus in 1684, a daring chieftain from upstream entered the fort in broad daylight and killed one Spaniard and one Filipino, and two years later the missions were suffering hunger because their inhabitants didn't dare go out to work their fields in the face of the feud which developed. Father Jiménez, by the shrewd use of local peacepacts and appeals to former converts, was able to patch up the quarrels. But still the upstream Mandays did not come down: a generation before, some of their leaders had been treacherously killed in Capinatan and their heads taken. Therefore, after considerable soul-searching and argument with the military commander, Father Jiménez decided to go up the river himself, unescorted and unarmed and undeterred by a well-circulated threat against his life.

The threat, as it turned out, came not from the people of the Apayao Valley, but from the Kalafugs just across the hills to the south in the Ripang-Conner area of the present Apayao-Kalinga border. A glance at the map will make their interest in Father Jiménez's movements understandable. Kalafug was on a headwater tributary of the Matalag River which flows directly into the Chico below Piat, but this route to Cagayan had been intercepted 70 years before by a Spanish mission only ten kilometers downstream at Malaut—now Rizal, Cagayan. The Spaniards began collecting tribute only five years after they began collecting it in Fotol, a fact which evidently did not escape Kalafug notice—at least, they participated in the revolt which cost Father García's life in 1625. Now Father Jiménez was planning to open a new mission in what is today the Apayao sub-provincial capital of Kabugao. This would not only place the Kalafugs in between two outposts of colonial advance but threaten a trade route to Dingras, Ilocos Norte, which supplied them with the means of maintaining their independence. Moreover, two years later another friar moved still farther up the Chico and started to write a grammar of the Itawis language on their southern flank. Thus the Kalafug threat to kill anybody who participated in the founding of Father Jiménez's new mission is not all that surprising.

When Father Jiménez finally met the Kalafugs in face-to-face parley under the protection of his Mandaya hosts, he told them it made no sense for them to be at war here in Cagayan and at peace over there in Ilocos just for the little trade they got out of it. It made no sense, that is, to anybody planning to divide all of northern Luzon into two Spanish provinces and reduce all the independent Filipinos in between to mere appendages of one or the other. But it probably made perfectly good sense to those
independent Filipinos themselves to come and go, buy and sell, and make military alliances as they pleased. Those in Kala lug accordingly crossed the mountains in 1690 and wiped out Father Jiménez's new Mission of Nuestra Señora de Peña Francia in Kabugao.

Father Jiménez's personal account of his mission to the Mandayas has survived in Dominican archives, and it contains another clue to the contradictions developing in the lower Apayao Valley. He calls everybody indios—or, as we say, Filipinos—but among them he distinguishes some as Enemigos. That he does not mean this word literally is indicated not only by his spelling it with a capital letter like a proper noun, but by the fact that he applies it to his hosts, companions and protectors as well as to the Kala lug. But he only applies it to those who have not surrendered to Christ and King. The term itself is evidently the literal translation of an Ibanag word which vassal Filipinos in Cagayan were now applying to all their neighbors who did not join the new society. And since the terminology of the new majority ultimately became normative in the colony, by the end of the Spanish regime, unsubmitting mountainous neighbors farther south began to use it themselves. Thus American colonialists in their turn were able to apply this inappropriate Ibanag word to a whole sub-province and teach generations of Filipinos born there to accept it with pride and confidence. The word is Kalinga.

This pagan-Christian, or independent-vassal, dichotomy continued after Father Jiménez's departure and death in 1690, and the Botol-Capinatan missions did not spring back to their old vigorous life again. Missionary friars continued to come up from the coast for visitations, but could not overcome the effects of such incidents as the murder of 30 upstream Mandayas in Capinatan in 1732. Conditions in the frontier mission of Malaueg on the southeastern Ilocos flank can also be cited to further illustrate the tensions. In 1740 two converts were killed by neighboring pagans, and their people accordingly went out, killed ten and captured five, and in 1741 made three more forays. Then the whole town was burned to the ground except the church, and everybody had to depend on the parish priest for emergency rations. At the same time, others migrated back to the hills to escape the tribute after they had fallen into hopeless debt to the mayor when they had been prevented from working their fields for two seasons by an epidemic of smallpox—a scourge unhappily introduced along with tribute and the Gospel in the first place.

A letter from the priest-in-charge of Malaueg dated June 24, 1741, also gives insight into the cultural changes accompanying these politico-religious conflicts. The letter includes two requests of his superiors—one for tools to proceed with the gilding of the church altar, and the other for clothing for those who had been unable to save enough to attend mass. That is, at a time when a modern theologian might think the rugged fire victims had special need of the Sacraments, the hierarchy of value judgments in the colonial society gave precedence to sartorial propriety over spiritual need. So, too, a contemporary decree in Ilocos made it a crime punishable by 50 lashes to appear in a Christian town dressed in native Filipino attire, and in Cagayan forbade naked bathing. And when an expedition of Malaueg converts was sent out 20 years later, armed with headaxes, muskets and their priest's blessings, to punish the people of Fotol for failure to pay tribute, they reverted to G-strings to do so.

Yet contemporary missionary correspondence from Apayao makes it clear that Spanish friars had not yet developed any scorn for the cultural minority they were unwittingly creating by acculturating the majority. When Fray José Tomás Marín spent three years hiking up and down the Apayao Valley and across the Cordillera, he addressed Ibanag chieffains as “Don So-and-so” and they addressed him as “Joseph” not “Father.” He describes them as gracious hosts—they went out to catch fish when they learned he wouldn't eat dogmeat, or any meat at all on Friday—and independent. Some said they might consider moving down to the missions if Cagayan produced as good textiles as Ilocos did (another example of doing business on the “wrong” side of the Cordillera), and one promised to be baptized if Father would send for his relatives in Isabela. They spoke of an evil spirit around the missions called Tributo which ate people up, but invited the friars to settle among them or to come and go as they pleased on one condition—that it be put in writing that no tribute collectors would accompany them. They called Father Marín “the bravest father in the whole world” for his courage in coming into their territory, yet his own letters give no hint that his life was in any danger among them. In fact, like his great predecessor, Pedro Jiménez, he does not even mention the fact that they were headhunters.

But the fact was mentioned by confreres living in those colonized parts of the Philippines from which the custom had disappeared. Augustinian Fray Antonio Moza, who never set foot in Apayao, reflected the attitude of both Spaniards and Filipinos in the more acculturated society by describing the Ibanags as bloodthirsty savages who lay in wait along the highways to
cut the heads off unwary travelers. So, too, a century later, Spanish minister Sinibaldo de Mas enviaged against the custom of calling such Filipinos “Don” as dangerous to the security of the colony because it failed to keep the Filipinos properly in their place. And when in 1919 after another three generations of white man’s burdens and manifest destinies, Dominican historian Julián Malumbres told the story of one of Father Marin’s converts who was baptized with the full name of his Spanish sponsor, he found it necessary to add a footnote explaining such lack of racial discrimination as being due to the missionary zeal of colonial officers in a happier day of Spanish empire.

The transcordilleran trade routes that Father Marin followed continued to be used up into the 20th century. During the Diego Silang uprising in 1763, an Augustinian friar in Banna, Ilocos Norte, tried to get Filipino allies to deny the rebels the use of these communications, and after he was released from a short captivity, he proceeded up to the Cordillera foothill mission of Solsona to send messages to Spanish forces in Cagayan by this means himself. A southern branch of this same route reached the watershed at Annayan on the Abra border, and from there it was possible to reach Vigan in three days on horseback. After Father Marin’s day, Spaniards did not make use of these Isneg trails themselves, but other Filipinos did: an 1865 report from the Cagayan Valley states that Ilocano traders reached Malaueg—that is, Rizal—by crossing Apayao over such a route. It is significant that the report refers to these Ilocanos as “embezzlers” or “shysters”—_extraviadores_—for, in the eyes of the colonial government, all this independence and untaxed commerce was strictly illegal. But by the beginning of the 19th century, the colonial government’s views on legality weren’t very important in Apayao: the Spanish missions in Fotol and Capinatan were never reopened, and the Isnegs were left free to pursue happiness as their ancestors had pursued it, trading or fighting with their neighbors as they chose.

Such fighting and trading of course threatened the security of Spanish subjects, the collection of internal revenue, and the maintenance of government monopolies, and was therefore a thorn in the side of Spanish sovereignty which grew more irritating with the passage of time. After the invention of the Remington repeating rifle, therefore, Governor Valeriano Weyler decided to end all this independence, once and for all. In 1891 he accordingly announced the occupation of Apayao by the creation of the _Comandancias Político-Militares_ of Cabugaan and Apayao. The latter of these was garrisoned at Malunog on the River only 20

kilometers from the coast and never extended its authority as far upstream as Fotol, and the former had its headquarters in Piddig, Ilocos Norte, and never entered the mountains at all. Clues to this failure to carry out the occupation are probably to be found in two incidents which happened at the time.

In 1889, some mountaineers attacked Dingras and the Governor of Ilocos Norte sent a punitive expedition into the mountains to retaliate. On the Cordillera, the soldiers and their commander were hospitably received by a local chief named Onsi. This Onsi had been cooperative with the colonial government in the past and, as a matter of fact, had been decorated with the Cross of Civil Merit for his services. All day, therefore, he feasted and entertained his visitors in good Filipino fashion. Then, suddenly, the troop commander had about 40 of his host’s people surrounded, and accused them of having made the attack on Dingras. When Chief Onsi protested their innocence, the commander drew his revolver, emptied all six chambers into the Isneg leader, and gave his men the order to open fire. Sixteen Isnegs were shot down in cold blood. The Spanish government brought the officer to trial for this unmilitary behavior, but the next trading party of Ilocanos who went into the area on business never came out again.

An almost identical case happened in the Apayaos commandancy in Malunog just four years later. The Commandant there gave a party in the garrison headquarters on the occasion of his birthday and invited all the prominent Isnegs from Pamplona to Tawit to attend. In the midst of the feasting and drinking, he suddenly had his guests surrounded and ordered some of them seized and bound as suspects of the murder of seven Negritos. Some of the Apayaos managed to snatch up their weapons, however, and the soldiers opened fire, killing one outright and wounding many others. The suspects were then seized and imprisoned, but the government took no action against the commandant. Father Julián Malumbres happened to be in Capinatan at the time, cleaning two centuries of jungle growth off Father Jiménez’s old church, and when he heard of the treacherous deed, he asked for custody of the prisoners and took them back up to Capinatan with him. But there they made an attack upon his life, and he always afterwards believed that the local military authorities had deliberately misinformed them that he had been responsible for the treachery. Needless to say, the mission of Capinatan was not reopened.

Before Governor General Weyler attempted to establish the
two Apayao commandancies, he asked the Augustinians for information about the area. Fray Ricardo Deza of Dingras responded with a sketch map and the statement that the Isnegs were unapproachable because of their living by the law of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth, and always lying in wait for a chance to take some Christian traveller. In drawing this conclusion, Father Deza evidently did not find the recent example of Spanish behavior noteworthy, or the fact that a German pharmacist by the name of Schadenberg had just visited the remote barrios of Calanasan the year before. He also seems to have forgotten that all his data had been supplied by a half-dozen Ilocano businessmen and petty officials who had been hiking safely in and out of Apayao for decades. In other words, if Apayao was unsafe for Spanish commanders and their friar compatriots, it wasn’t unsafe for other people. The reason Father Deza missed this message is probably because, like those treacherous commanders themselves and Blas Villamor 20 years later, he lived at the end of a colonial process which had steadily divided the Filipino people into two categories—the submissive and the unsubmitting, the faithful and the faithless, the good and the bad. The Isnegs of Apayao clearly belonged to the latter group. No longer simple indios like everybody else as they had been in the days of Bishop Aduarte and Fathers Jiménez and Marín, they were now outcasts, brigands and savages. They were different from other Filipinos, and therefore deserved different treatment. They were, in short, a cultural minority.

This, then, is a brief summary of the recorded contacts between the Spaniards and the people of Apayao, but it is enough to illustrate the colonial experience of the Filipino people in far northern Luzon. So far as we can tell, this people was divided into three language groups at the time of the Spanish advent. Those in the lower Cagayan Valley spoke Ibanag, those on the coastal plain along the South China Sea, Ilocano, and those in the mountains in between, Isneg. None of these groups was united; none had kings or common governments, and none was either a minority or a majority. They were all composed of independent barangayan communities whose relations with each other, whether of the same language or different, varied from isolation to cooperation or conflict according to circumstances. Then, under colonial pressure, Filipinos in two of these groups submitted to foreign domination while those in the third did not. So, as the years of occupation passed, the Ilocanos and Ibanags gave up more and more of their own culture to assimilate more and more of their conquerors’ culture. In the process, they became more and more like each other and less and less like their ancestors. The Isnegs, on the other hand, preserved more of the culture of their ancestors and so came to look less and less like their acculturating neighbors. By the end of the Spanish regime, this divergence had created a real Filipino majority for the first time in history—those Filipinos who had the same king—the Spanish King. And those who did not were just cultural communitie. Thus by the magic of colonial alchemy, those who changed most became today’s Filipinos while those who changed least were actually denied this designation by a former president of the state university. In this way a cultural minority was created where none had existed.