In 1939, colonial bureaucrat-scholar John S. Furnivall published his remarkable but underappreciated piece "The Fashioning of Leviathan: The Beginnings of British Rule in Burma." This essay (subsequently published as a book) tracked the manner in which the British East India Company established its authority in Tenasserim, in the southeastern tip of Burma, through the correspondences between the administrators assigned to the new possession and their superiors in Calcutta and, later on, Bengal. One of the two commissioners, a Mr. Blundell, had caused Leviathan much headache for his repeated defiance of the latter's injunctions to improve the suppression of criminality, introduce the market system, and make taxing collection more efficient. Blundell repeatedly defended his manner of governing, arguing that Leviathan needed to understand local realities by insisting that awareness of native interests temper orders from above. The gentlemanly Blundell had "gone native," and Calcutta was none too pleased.

Furnivall described their confrontations as a battle between human decency and "Leviathan's endeavors to organise society for production."[1] Calcutta eventually prevailed, broke Blundell, and established full authority in this frontier area.

The British were not alone. Over half a decade later, the American colonial state in the Philippines was also experiencing its share of "rogue" administrators. John C. Early was a teacher in the early years of American colonial rule and was appointed governor of the Mountain Province, a series of districts at the mountainous far northern end of Luzon island, from 1923 to 1930. During his term, Early took the unusual step of learning about the way of life of the communities in the Cordillera mountains, now loosely defined by the term "Igorot." He took time to learn their language. And much like Mr. Blundell, he became their avid defender.

Assigning himself the role of the Igorots' voice led to a confrontation with the irascible, rascally
Dean C. Worcester, the colony's secretary of interior and head of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes, who imagined himself as the Dark Lord of the indigenous communities, using as an excuse the animosity of lowland Catholic Filipinos to the "wild tribes" of the northern mountains. He saw as his mission the "civilization" of the "non-Christian Tribes" (except the Muslims). Worcester believed that this project would take generations and must not be interfered with, especially by the mistrusted Filipino caciques.

Early did not share Worcester's fantasy. Appointed deputy governor of the Mountain Province, he became the communities' champion. He advocated using indigenous customs to maintain peace and order and defended the communities from exploitation by American colonial officials and entrepreneurs. Early set up the public school system in the area and improved local housing to better cope with the harsh annual typhoons that hit the Philippines. Learning the language was a big help.

Worcester proved more powerful, and when Early was "exposed" for his refusal to join the massacre of Igorots, Worcester used this to accuse the vice governor of insubordination. In 1911, Early was forced to leave Cordillera. Following that, he moved to a province in the central Philippines where he briefly taught, after which he returned home, got married, and subsequently tried to find work in the Philippines again. It would take almost two decades before Early regained his bearings. This time, however, he had cancer. Only in the twilight of his career did his detractors, Worcester the foremost, acknowledge his work in the Cordilleras.

Beyond his battles with his superiors, Early's story provides scholars with a glimpse of the complications of American colonial state building in the Philippines. At the two extremes of the colony, the Cordilleras and the southeastern part of Mindanao island, the US military ruled under the pretext that the peoples of these areas—the Igorots in the north and the Muslims in the south—were "wild," "barbaric," and uncivilized. A unique, more coercive regime was necessary to oversee the civilizing process in 1898, which, in the eyes of many army officers, would take at least two generations to accomplish.

Army rule, which began in 1903, was brutal (defiant Igorots and Muslims were massacred), patronizing, and at times benevolent. Soldiers became the first public school teachers, and officers appointed to local positions took governing seriously. They learned the languages of their "wards" and educated themselves in their cultures. They also realized how distinct and un-Filipino the Igorots and Muslims were compared to those living in the lowlands. Their "going native" inevitably placed them in direct collision with American (civilian) officials and Filipino politicians who refused to recognize these distinctions and looked forward to "integrating" Igorots and Muslims into a colonial state that was increasingly under non-Muslim Filipino control.

Military rule lasted until 1914, when the Democrat Woodrow Wilson agreed to speed up Filipinization (i.e., turn over most of the governing to Filipinos), it was enough to embed in the minds of Igorots and Muslims that they were never Filipinos and were only forcibly integrated to the emerging colonial body politic. Governors like Early and his counterparts in Moro Province became these non-Filipinos' strongest advocates, lobbying in Washington for the separation of Mindanao and the Sulu archipelago from the Philippines and pushing for greater autonomy for the Cordilleras. These officers hardly knew of each other's activities as both their offices were located at the farthest points of the Philippines. But when they did get the chance to visit the other's areas, they discovered similarities in their respective administrative experiences. This resonance went beyond just governing; it also influenced their recommendations for better governance. Early visited the Mindanao province of Davao as a special
adviser to Governor Dwight Davis. His mission was to evaluate how the indigenous communities were treated by settlers and the local government. He returned to Manila, the colonial capital, with the recommendation that the communities be protected from the encroachments of Christian settlers by placing them on protected reservations. One can explain this away as the influence of his time in the American West. But one could also show this as resulting from aspirations for autonomy in the Cordilleras.

Newspapers covering Governor Leonard Wood’s visit to the Cordilleras in 1920 reported that the non-Christians were adamantly against Philippine independence. Fifteen years later, we hear of something similar in the southern Philippines. Muslim leaders issued the "Dansalan Declaration" to President Franklin Roosevelt, with the same plea to exclude Mindanao when it came to finalizing plans to grant the Philippine independence. That desire never faded; it persists to this very day. It is still in Moros’ and Cordillerans’ wish lists even if expressed less openly. Keeping it alive are the memories that get passed on from one generation after another.

The Igorots "remembered [Early] as their former protector" (p. 188), while in Zamboanga City in southwestern Mindanao, a plaza named after General John Pershing, the last military governor of the Moro Province, stands adjacent to the official plaza named after the Philippine national hero Jose Rizal. This is an unusual arrangement as most cities have only Rizal’s statue in the town center. Early is rarely recognized by Filipinos today for his role as an ally of Igorot and Muslim separatists.

Sheldon Woods’s book is a welcome addition to a small but growing trove of Cordillera studies texts. I discussed Governor of the Cordillera with a young academic from the University of the Philippines-Baguio, which is located just southwest of the Cordilleras. We agreed that this was book writ-
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