When Words Build Worlds: How Metaphorical Expressions Transformed *Kafagway* into Baguio in the Early Twentieth Century

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ABSTRACT

This study examines colonial metaphors that transformed Baguio City in the northern Philippines during the twentieth century. Applying Lakoff & Johnson's Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), primary source textual evidence demonstrates that metaphor functions not merely as a rhetorical flourish but as a cognitive device that enabled and legitimized colonial power. Colonial reimaginings of Baguio as "McKinley," "A Switzerland in the Tropics," and "Little America" displaced *Ili*, *Kapaway*, and *Kafagway*, names that situated humans within a landscape in which mountains housed ancestral spirits and land represented kinship. These conceptual structures supplanted Ibaloy spatial cosmology with colonial civilizing binaries, materializing new social and geographic orders in institutions, infrastructure, and architecture, while legitimizing Indigenous dispossession. Through Lakoff and Johnson's conceptual mechanisms, metaphorical conquest enabled physical conquest. These colonial cognitive frameworks persist in tourism materials, development plans, and everyday discourse, illustrating metaphor's enduring power as an instrument of colonial imagination and urban transformation.

Keywords: Baguio, colonialism, conceptual, embodied, geographical, history, interdisciplinary, linguistic, metaphors, mountain resort, ontological, orientational, structural, urban transformation

Introduction

On July 20, 1924, American journalist Frank G. Carpenter described Baguio in the *Los Angeles Times* as "A Switzerland in the Heart of the Tropics: In Baguio Summer Capital of the Philippines on the Roof of the World - How Uncle Sam Has Created a Switzerland." More than a label, this exemplifies what Lakoff and Johnson (1980) identify as the cognitive process of mapping familiar source domains onto unfamiliar targets (Fig. 1). Baguio was not merely 'discovered' or 'described' by American colonizers; it was conceptually remade through metaphor.

Before Americans arrived, the Ibaloy and Kankanaey held their own metaphorical frameworks for the highlands. Terms such as *Kapaway* (a low, open field), *Kafagway* (a grassy clearing),[1] and *Ili* (hometown)[2] embedded habitation within a living landscape where mountains housed ancestral spirits (*ikalutaan*; *adi kaila*) and spiritual relationships governed forests (*kadasan*). Traditional ontological metaphors structured space along sacred-profane distinctions; orientational metaphors structured space through kinship rather than extraction; and structural metaphors conceived of land as relational rather than property. These were not primitive precursors to colonial geography; they were fully formed epistemologies that colonialism systematically worked to displace.

American colonizers not only built roads and structures but also constructed metaphors to transform Baguio. Although they recognized that "Baguio, the capital of the Province of Benguet, is the metropolis of the Igorot country,"[3] they founded it as the unofficial "Summer Capital of the Philippines" in 1903 and reimagined *Kafagway* as the "Philippine Simla," "Little America," "City of Pines," and "Playground of the Gods." These were not picturesque labels. As Lakoff and Johnson (1980, 3) assert, "metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but in thought and action." These metaphors mapped colonial vision, appropriated land, and naturalized American presence. Colonial recastings of Baguio as a "sanitarium," "mountain resort," and "pleasure resort" served as container metaphors, defining boundaries between civilized American space and untamed Philippine wilderness. Mechanistic metaphors of "resource development" and "engines of growth" reduced land to economic potential, displacing Indigenous conceptions of mountains as living, spiritually agentive beings. American orientational metaphors equating "up" with civilization and "down" with primitivity further colonized Indigenous vertical frameworks that associated elevation with spiritual connection. Metaphorical subjugation preceded and facilitated physical conquest.

These descriptions performed serious colonial work. Far from mere embellishment, they were "figures of thought" that elevated the American pioneering narrative while obscuring Indigenous claims. Language, as historical semanticists have long argued, is never neutral. "Terms are historical constructions" (Langer et al. 2012, 10), and since language is always expressed through metaphor (Underhill 2011, 174), the choice of metaphor is never innocent. Metaphorical expressions function as "powerful devices of persuasion" and "effective devices of attention-grabbing" (Jaworska 2017, 3, 6), underscoring language's dynamic role in constructing historical reality. As Lakoff and Johnson (1980, 157) observe, "whether in national politics or everyday interaction, people in power get to impose their metaphors." From framings of pine trees as more definitive of the landscape than the Igorots themselves, to climatic metaphors casting the highlands as revitalizing and the lowlands as "suffocating," American colonial discourse made colonization appear natural, beneficial, and immutable, while Indigenous conceptual frameworks quietly endured as cultural resilience.

This study argues that American colonization of Baguio (1900–1946) operated through metaphorical frameworks that both replaced traditional conceptual systems and materially reconstructed physical space. Rather than treating colonial metaphors as mere rhetorical devices, I demonstrate that reframing Baguio as 'paradise,' 'machine,' 'receptacle,' and 'spectacle' constituted epistemic violence, legitimizing and materializing colonial transformation. Drawing on Lakoff and Johnson's Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), I analyze how nature, mechanistic, geographical, functional, mythical, and visual metaphors produced new realities embodied in institutions, infrastructure, and spatial practices that persist today. This study reveals how colonization succeeded by colonizing thought, replacing Indigenous ways of knowing place with foreign epistemologies.

Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) and Colonial Place-Making

This paper addresses "the identification of language as the key site of history," examining how metaphorical thinking shaped the colonial transformation of Ibaloy lands into the city of Baguio. Studying these metaphors reveal not only how people spoke about Baguio but also how it was cognitively mapped, morally legitimized, and politically claimed through language and frameworks that persist today in tourism materials, development plans, and everyday discourse.

This study applies Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) to examine how American colonizers *conceived of* Baguio as a colonial space. Drawing on Lakoff and Johnson's *Metaphors We Live By* (1980, 1999), I trace how metaphorical language did not merely describe Baguio but cognitively restructured it according to colonial logic from 1900 to 1946. Known as the "architects of conceptual metaphor research" (Vuković 2016, 2), Lakoff and Johnson revealed how metaphor became the fundamental cognitive mechanism through which colonizers remade Ibaloy lands into an American mountain resort. Through *source-target domain* mappings (Fig. 1), metaphors structure abstract concepts into concrete, familiar ones, enabling us to reconstruct the cognitive architecture of colonization itself.

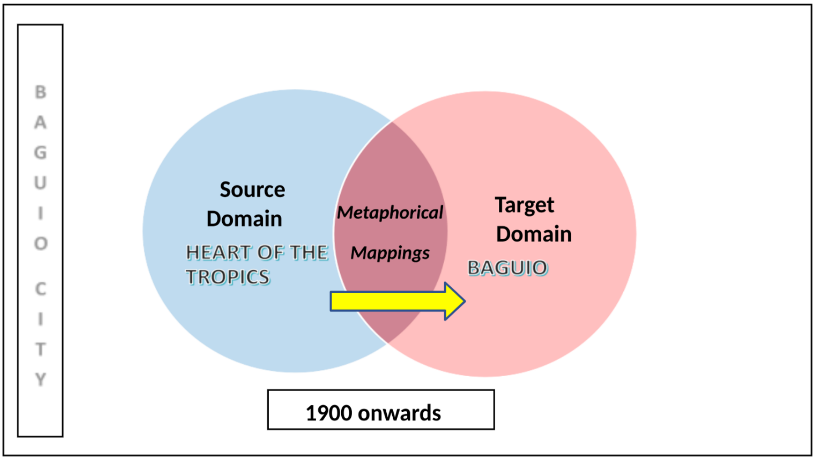


Figure 1. A schematic diagram showing the mapping of the source and target domains

Lakoff and Johnson argue that metaphors are fundamental cognitive structures shaping perception: the "ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature" (1980, 3), and "the essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another" (1980, 5). Examining these structures in colonial documents about Baguio reconstructs the mental frameworks that made American occupation thinkable, natural, and justified.

From Cognitive Structures to Physical Landscapes: Yi-Fu Tuan

While Lakoff and Johnson explain *how* metaphors structure cognition, geographer Yi-Fu Tuan demonstrates where this power manifests materially. Bridging cognitive linguistics and spatial analysis, Tuan confirms that metaphorical language carries physical consequences, affirming Lakoff and Johnson's claim that language possesses genuine creative power.

Tuan (1991, 684) argues that language can "render objects, formerly invisible because unattended, visible, and impart to them a certain character." When American colonizers described Baguio as a "sanitarium" or "mountain resort," they were not naming existing features but cognitively erasing Ibaloy agricultural terraces, ritual sites, and land-use patterns while recasting the highlands as a therapeutic space for colonial bodies. Tuan's insight that "words alone, used in an appropriate situation, can have the power" to transform place (1991, 684) aligns with Lakoff and Johnson's assertion that metaphors actively constitute reality, determining what we notice, how we categorize experience, and what inferences we draw.

Tuan's concept of place-making provides the geographical dimension to Lakoff and Johnson's cognitive theory: metaphors do not just change how we think about space; they change *what spaces become*. This is essential for understanding how American metaphorical language transformed Baguio's physical and social landscape, rendering Indigenous relationships to land invisible while creating new colonial realities.

The Political Dimensions of Metaphorical Power

If metaphors structure individual cognition (Lakoff and Johnson) and transform physical landscapes (Tuan), how do they operate at the scale of colonial power? Three scholars establish the political dimensions of metaphorical thinking central to Baguio's colonization, demonstrating that metaphor systematically constructs social hierarchies and political formations.

Crowley (1996, 1) demonstrates that metaphorical language actively constructs "historical formations such as nations, classes, genders, and races," suggesting that Baguio as an "American city" was not discovered but metaphorically *produced* as a racial-spatial category distinct from the surrounding Filipino lowlands. Leary (1990, 357) confirms that metaphor "permeates all discourse, ordinary and special," explaining the systematic metaphorical patterns found across colonial documents, tourist brochures, and everyday speech. Most directly, Reid-Henry (1996, 366) connects metaphor to colonial place-making, arguing that it functions in "constructing, modifying, and framing a place about the political meanings it is desired to attach to it."

Together, these scholars establish that American metaphors were not incidental linguistic flourishes but systematic tools of colonial power, cognitively constructing Baguio as colonial property while erasing Indigenous meanings and land claims. As Lakoff & Johnson demonstrate, metaphors permeate thought below conscious awareness, explaining their effectiveness as instruments of colonial domination.

Metaphor as Ideological System

Why does metaphor matter for understanding colonization? Because, as Lakoff & Johnson demonstrate, metaphorical systems are never neutral but "inherently ideological" (1991, 160, 156–58, 236–37), encoding particular worldviews while foreclosing others.

When Americans described Baguio through metaphors of health (sanitarium), leisure (resort), and civilization (repository of Western values), these were not merely objective descriptions but ideologically loaded frameworks that justified colonial occupation by implying that the highlands needed "development," and naturalized American presence by suggesting Western bodies "naturally" belonged in this climate, thereby erasing Ibaloy relationship to the land. Colonial metaphors thus both reflected and reinforced colonial power structures.

Western colonists systematically employed metaphorical language to name, rename, and replace Indigenous place names, with effectiveness correlating with settlement duration and degree of domination (Lin and Chen 2010, 70). As Cresswell (2004, 9) and Lin and Chen (2010, 71) argue, "naming is one of the ways spaces can be imbued with meaning and become place," functioning as both a symbolic and practical force in transforming space into the place of empire.

The Partial Nature of Metaphor: What Gets Hidden

Lakoff & Johnson's most crucial insight for colonial analysis is that metaphors are "inherently partial" (1980, 10), highlighting certain aspects of reality while concealing others. This partiality is not a flaw but the very mechanism of metaphorical power: "A categorization is a natural way of identifying a kind of object or experience by highlighting certain properties, downplaying others, and hiding still others" (1980, 163).

In colonial Baguio, American administrators systematically exploited this partiality. Constructing Baguio as a "mountain resort" highlighted its climate for white bodies, scenic beauty, and pine forests reminiscent of America, while concealing Ibaloy agricultural systems, sacred sites, communal land tenure, and Indigenous presence and claims.

The "resort" metaphor did not merely omit Indigenous realities; it rendered them conceptually invisible. As Tuan (1978) argues, metaphorical language imparts "high visibility" to certain features while consigning others to obscurity, and "without the use and exchange of words and the ideas they convey, there cannot be any human action or force directed toward preconceived goals" (1991, 684). Colonial metaphors thus operated not only through what was said, but through what was muted, wielding the power to affix new labels to old names and erase accumulated historical layers of meaning from memory and identity.

Analytical Framework: Three Categories of Metaphor

To move from theory to historical evidence, this study employs Lakoff & Johnson's three-part typology of structural, orientational, and ontological metaphors as an analytical framework for examining colonial documents. These categories reveal the precise cognitive mechanisms by which Americans reconceptualized Indigenous space. As Tuan (1991) affirms, language exercises power through its "creative capability to make something into being, to render neutral meaningful, and to give or change characters for certain things." Each category performed distinct ideological work in the colonial project:

a. Structural Metaphors: Conceptual Replacement

For Lakoff & Johnson, a structural metaphor occurs when "one concept is metaphorically structured in terms of another" (1980, 14), allowing us to use "one highly structured and delineated concept to structure another" (1980, 61) and enabling the most elaborate conceptual mappings.

Structural metaphors enabled colonizers to overwrite Ibaloy land-use categories, transforming communal agricultural highlands into a Western "mountain resort" connoting leisure and elite recreation. When Americans structured Baguio as a "sanitarium," they imported an entire framework of medical knowledge, architectural forms, and social practices that displaced Indigenous understandings of health, land, and community.

b. Orientational Metaphors: Spatial Hierarchies

For Lakoff & Johnson (1980, 14), orientational metaphors "have to do with spatial orientation: up-down, in-out, front-back, on-off, deep-shallow, central-peripheral," arising from embodied existence and organizing entire conceptual systems in relation to one another.

In Baguio, orientational metaphors reinforced colonial hierarchies by positioning the city as 'elevated' above the 'lowlands' both physically and morally, justifying American highland occupation as natural and proper. The equation of 'up' with superiority, health, and civilization structured the colonizers' perceived right to mountain territory.

c. Ontological Metaphors: Space as Container

For Lakoff and Johnson (1980, 25), ontological metaphors arise from experiences with physical objects, providing the basis for viewing events, activities, and ideas as entities or substances. In colonial Baguio, such metaphors enabled colonizers to conceptualize the city as a 'repository' awaiting American values, treating Indigenous space as empty and justifying settlement and cultural imposition.

Categorizing colonial metaphors through this three-part framework reveals not just what Americans said about Baguio, but how they thought it into being as a colonial space. Conceptualizing Baguio as "paradise" (nature metaphors), "machine" (mechanistic metaphors), "container" (geographical metaphors), "engine" (functional metaphors), or "spectacle" (visual metaphors), cognitively organized it in ways that legitimized infrastructural violence, naturalized Indigenous displacement, and materialized in roads, a sanitarium, and racial segregation policies. Metaphorical colonization thus preceded and enabled physical colonization, creating cognitive templates that continue to shape Baguio's representation today.

Metaphor in Historical Discourse

This study examines how metaphors function in historical discourse (Stambovsky 1988, 125), transcending space and time to shape both past actions and present understandings. As Langer et al. (2012, 5) assert, "language is a primary means of access to the past, the historian's primary means of expression," and "languages live in people, and much historical evidence comes from records that people wrote using their languages" (2012, 8), making metaphorical language in colonial documents evidence not merely of what colonizers said, but of how they thought, planned, and enacted their imperial project.

The Cognitive Tool of Colonial Power

The theoretical framework, drawing on Lakoff & Johnson's cognitive linguistics, Tuan's geographical materialism, and Crowley, Leary, and Reid-Henry's political analysis, reveals metaphor as the central mechanism of colonial place-making in Baguio. Each layer addresses a distinct dimension: *cognitively*, Lakoff & Johnson show how metaphors structured American thinking about the highlands; *materially*, Tuan demonstrates how metaphorical thinking transformed physical landscapes; *politically*, Crowley, Leary, and Reid-Henry illustrate how metaphors constructed racial-spatial hierarchies; and critically, metaphors' inherent partiality systematically erased Indigenous meanings, relationships, and claims through selective highlighting and concealment.

Together, these perspectives demonstrate that the metaphorical transformation of Ibaloy lands into an American mountain resort was not solely a linguistic turn. Instead, metaphorical language became the primary cognitive architecture of colonization itself. As Livingstone & Harrison (1981, 98) argue, "the prohibition against the use of metaphors as models of discursive thought would be a willful and harmful restriction upon people's powers of inquiry." Applying Lakoff and Johnson's theory to colonial place-making reveals how spaces are transformed into places that embody particular ideological positions.

Metaphors in Historical Context: Methodological Paradigms for Conceptual Analysis

This research employs a three-phase methodology of data reduction, categorization, and interpretation to examine how colonial cognitive metaphors transformed Indigenous *Kafagway* into American Baguio.

Following Langer et al.'s (2011, 5) assertion that historians require "an appreciation of language that goes well beyond what simple words mean," the methodology responds to Gibbs' (1992, 577) call for approaches capable of tapping into the unconscious mental structures.

Data Reduction/Distillation

The analytical process begins with data reduction, selecting primary and archival materials to extract relevant metaphorical content. Texts from 1900 to 1946 represent diverse colonial viewpoints: government reports, city plans, travelogues, promotional materials, health bulletins, military correspondence, and, where available, Indigenous counterpoint perspectives. Documents were distilled into focused excerpts while preserving contextual integrity, with each metaphor recorded alongside relevant metadata, including source, date, author, and context, forming a structured data set. This phase ensured historical accuracy while maintaining analytical focus on the metaphorical constructions that governed colonial imaginings of Baguio.

Data Categorization

The second phase classifies metaphorical expressions across intersecting frameworks: *theoretical* (ontological, orientational, and structural), *thematic* (nature, geographical, mechanistic, functional, and mythical), and *source-target mappings* identifying highlighted and concealed features. Lakoff & Johnson's three fundamental types, emergent thematic clusters, were organized into paradise/Eden, enclave/boundary, bodily/personification, mechanical/functional, and fantasy/mythical metaphors. Source-to-target domain mappings were documented per expression, tracing usage across periods and authors to reveal how colonial framings evolved. This categorization transformed isolated expressions into recognizable conceptual frameworks, enabling the identification of systematic patterns in the metaphorical construction of Baguio.

Data Interpretation

The final phase interprets how metaphorical frameworks shaped colonial reality by examining "the relationship between the source and target domains" without "removing language from its socio-cultural context" (Elliott 2005, 38), connecting textual metaphors to material transformations. Following Lakoff & Johnson, the analysis examined what colonial metaphors emphasized, such as health benefits and economic potential, and what they obscured: Indigenous presence and alternative relationships to the land.

The interpretive framework traced metaphorical patterns across periods and among colonial actors, including colonists, military, miners, missionaries, and tourists, while situating Baguio within broader colonial practices by comparing it with hill stations in British India and Malaysia. Indigenous conceptual frameworks were contrasted with colonial metaphorical systems when possible.

Together, these three phases enable systematic analysis of how colonial cognitive metaphors constructed Baguio as a physical and social reality, demonstrating Lakoff & Johnson's (1980, 158) insight that we "draw inferences, set goals, make commitments, and execute plans" through metaphors. These demonstrate metaphors as constitutive rather than merely descriptive elements of colonial place-making.

Metaphorical Creation of Baguio: Five Conceptual Frameworks

The conceptual repertoire of imaging Baguio, with its "building from the ground up" and "gravitation to the hills," rendered it "A City with Many Names" (Galan 2009, 31). These conceptualizations manifest through five thematic frameworks: (a) Baguio as Nature's Pinnacle: orientational and nature metaphors in the making of a highland; (b) Baguio as Nature's Vessel: ontological metaphors of bounded space; (c) Baguio as Engineered Entity: structural and mechanical metaphorical mappings; (d) Baguio as Body: metonymic construction of place; and (e) Baguio as Mythscape: the blended metaphors of an enchanted highland.

Lakoff & Johnson assert that "our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature" (1980, 3). Orientational metaphors in Baguio as Nature's Pinnacle elevate place as inherently positive; ontological metaphors in Baguio as Nature's Vessel conceptualize the city as a bounded container; and personification metaphors endow it with human characteristics, confirming that metaphors "allow us to understand different types of experience, and to develop new categories of experience" (Swaffield 1991, 90). Beyond conventional metaphors, Indurkhya (1992, 13) distinguishes "novel metaphors that are creative and vibrant," evident in Baguio as Engineered Entity, where structural metaphors portray the city as an engine of growth. Baguio as Mythscape examines how mythical and mixed metaphors generate "imaginative rationality" (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, 193, 235), combining incongruent conceptual domains into a "conceptual mindset" (Underhill 2011, 7) that shapes Baguio's multifaceted identity.

Baguio as Nature's Pinnacle: Orientational Metaphors in the Making of a Highland

a. Experiences in Elevation, Climate, and Terrain

Orientational metaphors, or "up-down metaphors" (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, 461–62), organize spatially related concepts around systems such as up-down, inside-out, front-back, and center-periphery (1980, 14–15). Grounded in physical and cultural experience, they give "a concept a spatial orientation" with "a basis in our physical and cultural experience" (1980, 14), and are therefore culture-specific (Ngoc Vu 2015, 68).

Americans employed orientational metaphors to portray Baguio through up-down spatial relationships. Expressions such as "The Junction of Earth and Clouds" (*The Philippine Review* May 1916, 75; July 1916, 78), "a bit of heaven that fell on earth" (*The Philippine Republic* 1926, 11), "A City above the Clouds"[4] and "Cloud City" (Resurreccion and Gabilo 2009), naturalize colonial hierarchies by projecting them onto fundamental spatial experience. Highland-lowland metaphors, "Highland Paradise" (Orendain 1950, 17); "The Journey Upward," "The Return to the Lowlands" (Galan 2009, 31), and "A mile-high city of Northern Luzon,"[5] alongside "Island in the Sky" (Halsema 1991, 165); "Skyland of the Philippines" (Wilson 1953); and "A City in the Sky" (*Philippine Trends* 1947, 15; Tan 2003, A10; Galan 2009, 31), further reinforce Baguio's elevated status as spatially and morally distinct from the lowlands.

Nature-based imagery shapes entire conceptual systems, often casting colonized peoples as natural entities or resources. Baguio's climatic and visual appeal has long been framed through restorative metaphors: Malcolm called it an "oasis in a sweltering tropical country" (1959, 5); Warren praised its "all-year temperate climate in the very heart of the stifling tropics" (1928, 126); and Anderson extolled its "heavenly coolness, sweet pine air, and exquisite scenery" as life-renewing after the "heat, glare, dust, and smells of the lowlands" (1916, 246–47). These metaphors, echoed in the *Philippine Observer*'s depiction of Baguio as a "city of beauty and cool air" (1927, 3), positioned it as a restorative refuge, as *The Midland Journal* (1920) illustrates:

> Aside from the scenery, which is noteworthy, the great blessing of Baguio is its temperate climate...a godsend to those impoverished by the tropical temperatures of the lowlands. Not only is the mountain air rich in ozone, but it has been demonstrated to be extraordinarily free from germs of all kinds.

The scorching lowland heat drives people toward Baguio's hilly terrain, reinforcing the narrative of escape and refuge. King (2001) notes that the city's population swells to over half a million between March and May, as visitors flock to "escape the lowland plains heat and savor mountain resort freshness." Arnold (1912) further highlights Baguio's romantic, misty mornings, foggy afternoons, exotic subtropical flora, and appeal as an invigorating sports center, contributing to its enduring allure as a highland retreat.

These metaphors both justified and normalized colonial presence. By depicting Baguio as an "oasis" with "heavenly cool air," Americans framed the rest of the Philippines as hostile and uncivilized, symbolically linking the cool highland climate to Western civilization, while inscribing a hierarchy between the colonial highlands and the native lowlands. Describing climate in bodily terms, as lifeblood, implied that colonizers were biologically suited to temperate environments, while tropical climates rendered them unfit, further naturalizing colonial occupation and justifying the seizure of highland territories.

Hierarchical metaphors in colonial accounts are especially revealing: phrases like "an all-year temperate climate in the very heart of the stifling tropics" and "heavenly coolness" versus the "heat, glare, dust, and odors of the lowlands" establish a vertical ranking in which elevated spaces signify goodness and life, while the lowlands signify inferiority and decay. Helen H. Taft's (1914, 128) description of ascending from "Purgatory" to "Paradise" reinforces this framework, mapping Western moral associations of "up" as good onto actual topography. Situated at roughly 5,000 feet above sea level, Baguio's physical elevation made these metaphorical hierarchies all the more potent and persuasive.

The placement of American colonial institutions on higher ground, including City Hall (*Jujubban*), Government Center, Camp John Hay (*Ypit; Lubas; Amsing*), reflects both literal and metaphorical elevation, inscribing a spatial hierarchy that equated height with power, civilization, and control. Colonial urban planning positioned Americans and Filipino elites "above," lowland Filipinos "below," and Igorots "outside" the colonial order entirely. This hierarchy extended to transportation infrastructure, where Kennon Road's (*Benguet Road*) upward trajectory served as both a physical and symbolic ascent. A 1911 newspaper article captured this framing, describing the road as "a $2,000,000 boulevard built by Uncle Sam for his boys in the far east," comparable to "the famous passes of the Alps and Norway, or the government road to Darjeeling," a monument to those who "dug it out of the mountainside or built it up from the river."[6]

These metaphorical constructions align with Lakoff & Johnson's (1980, 3) thesis that metaphors pervade not only language but thought and action. Colonial metaphors surrounding Baguio were not merely poetic; they shaped the built environment, from American architectural design to exclusive colonial spaces like the Baguio Country Club (*Pidaoan*). Their long-term influence is evident in how Baguio is marketed and perceived today, embodying 'metaphors we live by'—structures foundational to how people comprehend and organize reality. As Lakoff & Johnson (1980, 239) assert, metaphors cannot simply be seen beyond; one can only replace them with others, for they are as integral to human experience as sight or touch.

This shapes how one perceives and experiences the mountain city. As Sheehan (1999, 47) notes, "metaphors urge readers to construct narratives or perchance a reality," reframing how people relate to their environment. Colonial metaphors of Baguio were grounded in colonizers' sensory encounters with climate, altitude, and topography, as well as their cultural frameworks. The embodied relief of highland coolness from lowland heat provided the experiential foundation from which these metaphors extended into emotion, morality, race, and culture.

This metaphorical framework transformed Baguio's natural environment into a consumable product, positioning its climate as a commodity to be savored rather than a homeland for the Igorots. Recast as a tourist destination through discourse prioritizing consumption ("savor mountain resource freshness") over indigenous belonging, Baguio reflects Lakoff & Johnson's (1980, 145) assertion that once experience is comprehended through a metaphor and acted upon, that metaphor solidifies into a deeper reality.

b. Geographic, Mapping, Landscape, and Spatial Metaphors

At the turn of the twentieth century, Americans deployed powerful spatial metaphors to reframe Baguio. Geographic metaphors blend structural and orientational frameworks to shape geopolitical relationships by comparing Baguio to familiar or desirable places. Sternberg (1990, 6) defines geographic metaphors as providing a conceptual "map of the mind," while Skupin (2000), citing Otlet (1995), describes map metaphors as verbal expressions of mapping aspirations taking on an almost poetic form. A 1917 newspaper described Baguio as "not a place, but a collection of places, by pine-clad hills and lovely valleys."[7] Through such metaphors, the Ibaloy territory of *Kafagway* was recast as a geographic extension of American space, engineered into a colonial city and "home away from home," dubbed a "mountain resort" and "hill station."[8] These framings positioned Baguio physically and metaphorically "above" the lowlands, entrenching colonial hierarchies in which Americans and Filipino elites occupied elevated positions while Indigenous peoples were pushed to the margins. As

Lakoff & Johnson (1980, 142, 157) observe, metaphors sanction actions, justify inferences, and set goals, and those in power wield them to impose their own frameworks on others.

Baguio as Nature's Vessel: Ontological Metaphors of Bounded Space

Ontological metaphors allow us to perceive abstractions such as experiences, emotions, and ideas as concrete entities or substances. Lakoff & Johnson (1980, 25) describe it as fundamental to how humans comprehend and organize their world, grounding colonial metaphors in the colonizers' bodily experiences.

Anderson (1916, 246–47) captures Baguio's climate through vivid metaphor: "The heavenly coolness, the sweet pine air, and the exquisite scenery give you a new life after the years spent in the heat, glare, dust, and smells of the lowlands." Carpenter echoed this in the *Evening Star* (1924): "The lifeblood of a climate like ours again flows through my veins. The very air here is filled with champagne." Alaskan journalist Emil Hurja (1936) added, "If climate were food, this would be ambrosia, for its weather fit for the gods."[9] These accounts ontologically conceptualize climate as a physical entity, mapping Western notions of vitality and renewal onto the highland environment while framing the lowland tropics as regions of depletion.

Colonial narratives employ metaphors of regeneration, mapping Western notions of vitality onto the highland environment while framing the lowland tropics as regions of depletion. These ontological metaphors ascribe abstract qualities such as "heavenly coolness…gives new life" (Anderson 1916, 246), and conceptualize "air" as a material object that can be "filled with champagne" (Carpenter 1924). As Lakoff & Johnson (1980, 10) observe, such metaphors focus attention on one aspect of a concept while obscuring others, effectively rendering Indigenous relationships to the same landscape invisible.

a. The Container Metaphor

Carpenter's (1924) statement that "The very air here is filled with champagne" exemplifies a container metaphor,[10] where spaces are conceptualized as vessels holding substances. Similarly, Malcolm's description of Baguio as an "oasis" implies a contained space of comfort amid an otherwise challenging environment, isolating Baguio from the rest of the Philippines. These metaphors map abstract feelings of homecoming and celebration onto bodily sensations, reflecting Lakoff & Johnson's embodied cognition: "We are physical beings, bounded and set off from the rest of the world by the surface of our skins…Each of us is a container, with a bounding surface and an in-out orientation" (1980, 29).

b. Personification

Another ontological metaphor that attributes human characteristics to nonhuman entities, allowing us to comprehend them in terms of human motivations and qualities (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, 33–34). In colonial accounts, Baguio was frequently personified as a feminine entity: a "city of beauty" (*Philippine Observer* 1927, 3), "One of the Most Beautiful Cities in the World,"[11] "premier mountain resort of the Far East, of unrivaled charm" (*The American Chamber of Commerce Journal* 1923, 11), and "the most beautiful and healthful mountain resort in the Far East" (Dyson 1931, 34). Phrases such as "the city welcomes you with her magnificent vistas and cool embrace" and "her charms await the weary traveler from Manila's heat" (Travel Account 1925), as well as "the most beautiful and the most healthful resort in the Far East, with wild mountain scenery and cool forests of stately pines spreading out in every direction…the 'summer capital' of the Philippines,"[12] reinforced this feminized framing, portraying Baguio as a passive, inviting space naturally suited to colonial occupation.

Baguio's landscape inspired descriptions such as "the city of beauty and cool air" (*Philippine Observer* 1927, 3); "the beauty of the landscape is enough to charm the nature lover" (Lichauco 1916, 78); "the temperate beauty spot of the archipelago" (*Beautiful Philippines: A Handbook of General Information* 1923, 63); "Temperate climate in the Tropics. Mountain air and towering pines. A really clean city" (*The American Chamber of Commerce Journal* 1938, 45); and "the premier showplace of the Islands because of its cool climate and picturesque location and environment" (*The American Chamber of Commerce Journal* 1923, 11). Even recently, Baguio remains "the charismatic city up in northern Luzon that has managed to retain its old-school charm and cool climate" (Santiago 2017). Across these accounts, personification did consistent ideological work, selectively foregrounding beauty, nurturing qualities, and availability for enjoyment while effacing agency, history, and Indigenous resistance, a colonial strategy that ascribed curated human characteristics to Baguio in order to render the city legible, desirable, and claimable.

Colonial accounts further portrayed Baguio as a healer with curative powers, reflected in the News Leader's framing of it as an "Official Rendezvous" for convalescents,[13] and in the opening of a sanitarium on February 6, 1902 (*Thomas Family Papers* 1902). This "sanitarium" metaphor emerged from American colonizers' embodied experiences of "tropical fatigue," malaria, smallpox, typhoid, and dysentery (Anderson 2006, 49, 142–47; Morley 2018, 91), justifying occupation through medicalized language: "Baguio restores the health that the lowlands have stolen" (Health pamphlet, 1910s) and "She heals the tropical ailments with her cool hands of mountain air" (*Thomas*

Family Papers 1902). Reflecting Lakoff & Johnson's experientially grounded metaphors, personification mapped healing and nurturing onto geographical space while obscuring indigenous medical practices, the political nature of colonial 'health' concerns, and the displacement caused by the sanitarium's construction.

Baguio as Engineered Entity: Structural and Mechanical Metaphorical Mappings

a. Altitude, Elevation, Climate

Lakoff & and Johnson define structural metaphors as examples where "one concept is metaphorically structured in terms of another…and allow us…to use one highly structured and clearly delineated concept to structure another" (1980, 14, 61). This study identifies systematic mappings in colonial discourse that structured Baguio through concepts such as American imperial projects, industrial machinery, natural paradise, and spatial containers, thereby organizing colonizers' understanding, legitimizing, and materially transforming of the highland city. Sheehan's (1999, 60) mechanistic metaphors, resting on "the assumption that nature is a sum of mechanical forces and parts in motion," are evident in Baguio's designation as "the only air-conditioned city in the Philippines" (La Foronda 1964, 42) and "Asia's Air-Conditioned City" (King 2001). On April 15, 1903, Civil Governor William H. Taft described the air as "bracing as the Adirondacks or Murray Bay," with temperatures requiring fires 'night and morning' even in the Philippines' hottest month (Carpenter 1926, 80).

Baguio is likened to Oregon: "The climate in Baguio is very much like the Oregon climate, very cool during the winter months, and not excessively hot in the summer months" (*Polk County Observer* 1905), with Warren reinforcing this framing through "an all-year temperate climate in the very heart of the stifling tropics" (1928, 126).

In the colonial imagination, Baguio, as a "mountain/summer resort,"[14] is a metaphorical construct that embodies cultural and ideological significance, with colonial discourse revealing how such structures legitimized the transformation of Indigenous space. As Lakoff & Johnson (1980, 3) contend, "If we are right in suggesting that our conceptual system is largely metaphorical, then the way we think, what we experience, and what we do every day is very much a matter of metaphor," a principle that aptly captures the multilevel metaphorical structures operative in colonial descriptions of Baguio.

Colonial discourse created distinct environmental hierarchies through a rhetoric of "climatic superiority," portraying Baguio as a cool, desirable, and elevated paradise in contrast to the oppressive lowland heat, naturalizing colonial occupation through meteorological metaphors. Comparative references to the Adirondacks, Murray Bay, and Oregon function as cognitive mapping devices that impose familiar North American reference points on Philippine terrain, erasing indigenous contexts. Hierarchical metaphors such as "heavenly coolness" versus "heat, glare, dust, and odors of the lowlands" equate the highland with goodness and life, the lowland with inferiority and decay. The "oasis in a sweltering tropical country" constructs the lowlands as a place to flee, while Taft's domestication metaphors, "my cottage porch" and "fires are necessary," transform Indigenous territory into a comfortable colonial dwelling. The claim that Baguio has "only pines and grasslands" further erases Indigenous presence by rendering the landscape Western. As Lakoff & Johnson (1980, 57–58) remind us, metaphors grounded in physical experience "provide an essential means of conceptualizing our more abstract concepts," becoming in Baguio's case "metaphors they lived by," shaping not only colonial discourse but the material and institutional construction of the city itself. *The American Chamber of Commerce Journal*'s declaration that "Baguio has always been the premier showplace of the Islands because of its cool climate and picturesque location and environment" (1923, 11) exemplifies a structural metaphor framing Baguio as a performance of colonial success in domesticating the natural environment.

b. Structural Metaphors

Structural conceptualizations of Baguio include metaphors such as "Asia's Little America" (*Baguio Banner* 23), an American City,[15] and "a miniature version of L'Enfant's plan for Washington, DC" (Hines, Burnham of Chicago, in Morley 2018, 206, note 66), casting it as a scaled-down model of the American capital. Baguio was also likened to Shimla, the former summer capital of the British Raj, earning labels such as "Simla of the Philippines" (Minnigerode 1920, 57) and "Philippine Simla" (Taft 1914, 201; *The Challis Messenger* 1920), with *The Commercial Philippines* (1907, 25) observing that Baguio would serve the Philippines the same function Shimla served India.

Geographical metaphors evoking Western familiarity included "A Switzerland in the Heart of the Tropics" (*Evening Star* 1924), "Switzerland of the Philippines" (Carpenter 1926, 78), "Little Switzerland" (*Baguio Banner* 1946, 23), and "a man-made Switzerland in the heart of the torrid zone" (Warren 1928, 126). Morley likened Baguio to "the rustic miniature of Washington, D.C." (2018, 114), while its designation as "the Mecca of the Philippines" (*The Philippine Review* 64; *The Pensacola Journal* 1918) evoked spiritual pilgrimage and cleansing. Under Japanese occupation, it was recast as a "Japanese citadel in northern Luzon,"[16] reflecting yet another colonial reframing. Such metaphors were especially significant in colonial contexts, where planners and administrators deployed them to justify foreign presence, guide development, and organize space and social relations in the service of colonial imperatives.

c. Landscape Metaphors

Landscape metaphors shaped perceptions of Baguio as a cultivated natural setting. Lichauco (1916, 78) praised "the beauty of the landscape is enough to charm the nature lover," while a 1923 tourist brochure described "the temperate beauty spot of the archipelago" (*Beautiful Philippines: A Handbook of General Information* 1923, 63), and *The American Chamber of Commerce Journal* (1938, 45) characterized Baguio as offering "temperate climate in the Tropics. Mountain air and towering pines. A really clean city." Such metaphors denoted "the type of physical setting or the character of an area" (Swaffield 1991, 93), yielding designations such as "Mountain City of the Philippine Islands" (Manila & the Philippines 1933, 68), "Island in the Sky" (Halsema 1991, 165), and "City on a Hill" (Hallock 2017). As planned or improved land, Baguio was cast as a residential park (Storey 1913, 28), "a garden city" (*The Mountain Resort of the P.I.* 1917, 5), and "A City of Parks" (Galan 2009, 31), with Warren (1928, 126) declaring it "a vast landscape garden, designed by the Creator and improved by man's efforts." For Stein (1957) and Berleant (2000, 31–32), taming nature into a garden renders it "a setting for gentle pleasures preferable to city life," reflected in Baguio's designation as the "Philippine Garden of the Gods" (*Evening Star* 1924; Warren 1928, 126). Berleant further contends that invoking a garden city is not merely figurative but extols "the garden as a model for urban life and a qualitative goal of urban design" (2000, 34). This metaphor helped justify Daniel Burnham's imposition of American urban design on Indigenous *Kafagway* territory, with Burnham Park (*Minac; Apunan*) embodying the philosophy of American planning as a whole (Morley 2018, 94, 102, 113). Morley further regarded Baguio as a "spatial laboratory" (2018, 54) and "jewel in the colonial urban environmental crown" (2018, 86), metaphors evoking both a testing ground for colonial ideas and a prized gem in imperial regalia.

d. Functional or "Engine of Growth" Metaphors

"Engine of growth" expressions framed Baguio through development metaphors linking social change to economic machinery. Sheehan's (1999) "mechanist metaphor" describes how activities such as mining, tourism, and investment drive a thriving local economy, casting land as a wealth-generating apparatus, as reflected in the label "Investment Mecca of the Cordillera" (Moreno 1993, 42).

The "scent of gold" proved alluring at the onset of colonization. In 1902, J.B. Thomas anticipated "a brisk mining town here within a year or two" (*Thomas Family Papers* 1902), and the *Arizona Republican* (1912) depicted Baguio as "a Western mining town." By the 1930s, a mining boom cemented its reputation as "the well-known resort and gold mining town in the Philippines"[17] and "The Gold City of the Orient" (Luga 2022).

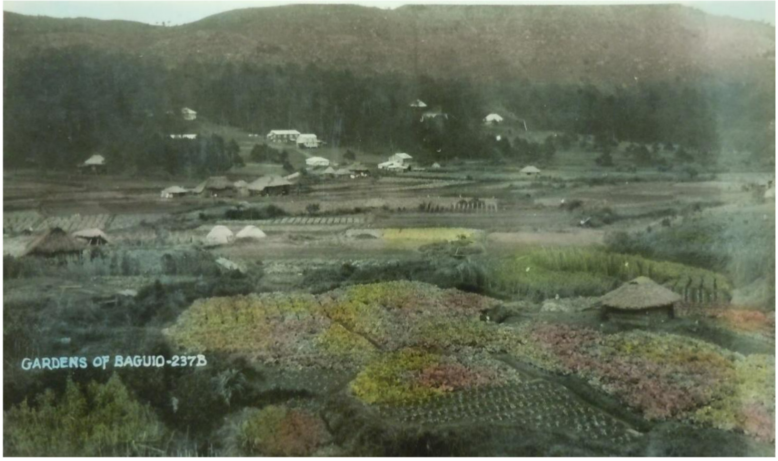


Figure 2. The Gardens of Baguio (Library of Congress, LOT 5677-F)

Baguio's economic potential, often framed as 'green gold,' began with the Baguio Experiment Station, which aimed to produce temperate vegetables for foreign and local residents. Eberle noted that Baguio yielded "strawberries eight months of the year and all kinds of American vegetables all the year" (1927, 15), while Carpenter designated it "a center for market gardening" (1926, 29) and the Benguet Road as an "artery of progress" or the "gateway to the Cordilleras." Colonial spaces such as the Philippine Military Academy (*Ca'dang, Khati'dey, Busol, Botobot, Tu'el*), Camp John Hay, City Hall, Mansion House (*Andeboek*), and the Teachers' Camp (*Orengao*) were likewise perceived as "incubators" of American values.

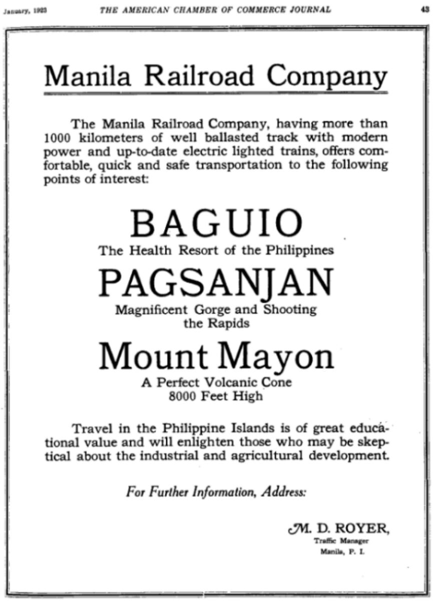
Baguio has acquired various names reflecting its natural and geographic character: "The City of Eternal Spring" (Gargantiel 1983, 13; King 2001), "the Season in Bloom" (Galan 2009, 31), and "gateway city." As Burghardt (1971, 270) notes, gateway cities "often develop in the contact zones between areas of different intensities or types of production, along with or near economic shear lines," echoed in designations such as "Baguio, Gateway to Wonderland" (Dyson 1931, 34), "Gateway to the Wonders of Northern Luzon" (*Philippine Magazine* 1935, 193; Paz 1936, 67), "the gateway to the enchanting wonderland of the Mountain Province" (*Manila & the Philippines* 1933, 70), and "Metropolis of the Mountain Province" (*Report of the Philippine Commission* 1916, 46). More recent metaphors position Baguio as the center of business, tourism, and education in northern Luzon (Santiago

2017), serving as the regional capital of the Cordillera Administrative Region and a heritage city noted as "the only city in the Philippines with the most public parks and pocket gardens with unique plant and flower varieties found nowhere else" (*The Philippine Star* 2017). From its pre-1900s identity as pastureland, colonial authorities further recast it as the "Northern Luzon's leading dairy center."[18]

Lakoff & Johnson implied that "engine of growth" metaphors could also be ontological, serving "various purposes" and reflecting the purposes they depict (1980, 25). A functional metaphor "creates an environment where objects perform the functions they depict,"[19] offering insights into how Baguio's identity shapes its infrastructure design and policy-making. Encompassing both physical and social movement, functional metaphors frame Baguio as a health resort, summer capital, chartered city, mountain resort, conference site, sports center, educational center, artist's sanctuary, lovers' haven, and metaphor for virtue, collectively projecting mechanical processes onto social and economic relationships.

The Health Resort. Baguio, as a structural metaphor, represents "a Sanitarium/Hospital/Healing Space," signaling restoration, treatment, and recovery. A sanitarium opened on February 6, 1902 (*Thomas Family Papers* 1902), serving as a place of recuperation for ailing military personnel, missionaries, miners, and businesspeople. *The News Leader* (1904) described it as "the popular health resort," where "the afflicted from Manila and portions of the islands find in Baguio the climate necessary to restore their health."[20] Anderson (1916, 248) affirmed it as "an ideal health resort for a tropical country," noting Cameron Forbes's view of it as a place where those "exhausted or debilitated by their sojourn in the heat below may come and renew their strength and vigor and increase the number of their red corpuscles" (Anderson 1916, 142), while Eberle (1927, 15) similarly regarded it as "a beautiful and health-restoring resort for the white man in the tropics."

Carpenter justified Baguio's development as a health resort, noting that "the rank and file of the government service were Americans, and the annual trip to Baguio did them a world of good" (*The American Chamber of Commerce Journal* 1922, 10). He elaborated that "it was necessary to have someplace where "the white man on the job could go for several months every year to keep himself in good health," and that following careful deliberation by authorities in Washington and Manila, Governor Taft advised creating a summer capital modeled on Shimla in the Himalayas, resulting in "one of the finest health resorts (amid) surroundings that are as beautiful as any God has ever created" (*Evening Star* 1924).



January, 1923 THE AMERICAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE JOURNAL 43

Manila Railroad Company

The Manila Railroad Company, having more than 1000 kilometers of well ballasted track with modern power and up-to-date electric lighted trains, offers comfortable, quick and safe transportation to the following points of interest:

BAGUIO
The Health Resort of the Philippines

PAGSANJAN
Magnificent Gorge and Shooting
the Rapids

Mount Mayon
A Perfect Volcanic Cone
8000 Feet High

Travel in the Philippine Islands is of great educational value and will enlighten those who may be skeptical about the industrial and agricultural development.

For Further Information, Address:

M. D. ROYER,
Traffic Manager
Manila, P. I.

Figure 3. An advertisement for Baguio as a health resort, 1920s
(Source: *The American Chamber of Commerce Journal*: Special Annual Review Number, January 1923, 43)

Other metaphors that emphasize the health function of Baguio include:

> Baguio: The Health Resort of the Philippines (Fowler 1911; *The Far Eastern Review* 1907, 326; *The American Chamber of Commerce Journal* 1923, 43)
>
> Mecca of the Americans (The Washington Herald 1918)
>
> Mecca for all Americans in the Philippines (*Annual Report of the Bureau of Health for the Philippine Islands* 1906, 92).
>
> Health and Tourist Mecca (Morales 1923, 504)
>
> Health Mecca of the Archipelago (Morales 1923, 504)
>
> Health Resort and Beauty Spot of the Philippines; Better Than A Doctor – BAGUIO (*The American Chamber of Commerce Journal* 1929, 21)
>
> Remember … BAGUIO is the place for Health, for Pleasure, for Relaxation (*Philippine Magazine* 1935, 195)

The Summer Capital. As a structural metaphor, "Baguio as Seat of Government" implies power, authority, and political leverage. With American colonization, Baguio became a colonial summer capital, as early reports noted: "Baguio, the capital of Benguet, is growing by rapid strides, and new and substantial buildings are springing up on every side" (*The Port Gibson Reveille* 1912; *The Commonwealth* 1912; *The Appeal* 1912). Designated summer capital on June 1, 1903, during Forbes' administration (*The Morgan County Press* 1920), it was variously described as the summer capital "officially and socially" (*Arizona Republican* 1912), the "Summer Capital of the Philippines" (*The American Chamber of Commerce Journal* 1922, 9), "the Summer Capital in the Mountains" (Warren 1928, 127), "Baguio the Immaculate: Philippine Summer Capital - 'The city, immaculate in most aspects, is…up in the pine mountains of the central Cordillera of Luzon'" (*The American Chamber of Commerce Journal* 1940, 8), or Baguio, the Commonwealth's Summer Capital,[21] and "the summer capital of the Philippine Islands… in the heart of the mountains of Northern Luzon, where Igorots abound" (*The Evening Missourian* 1920). Lyons (1924, 11) promoted it as "the mountain capital of the Philippines, with its magnificent roads and driveways," while peak season was captured succinctly: "Each hot season, the entire American government personnel, from the Governor-General to the humblest clerk, was moved bag and baggage to Baguio" (*The American Chamber of Commerce Journal* 1922, 10), making it the busiest city in the Philippines during April, May, and June (*The American Chamber of Commerce Journal* 1923, 17). *The Sun* (1911) further enticed tourists, declaring that a vacation in Baguio "will make him a new man and restore him to optimism." Yet as Lakoff & Johnson (1980, 236) caution, political metaphors "can hide aspects of reality…by virtue of what it hides, can lead to human degradation," and enable those in power to impose conceptual frameworks that advance their own interests.

Baguio as a Chartered City. Chartered as a city on September 1, 1909, Baguio was, as *The American Chamber of Commerce Journal* (1940, 8) notes, "the first Philippine city after Manila to be chartered." Its charter defines the city's prerogatives and sphere of activities, designating Baguio as a distinct legal entity with rights, privileges, and special status.

Baguio as a Mountain/Summer Resort. As a structural metaphor plotting recreational amenities within urban space, Baguio has been designated a "summer resort" (*The Far Eastern Review* 1907, 326; *New-York Tribune* 1914), a "Government Summer Resort" (Japan-China, the Philippines, South Sea Islands & Australasia 1918, 11), "the mountain resort of the Philippines,"[22] "the World's Finest Mountain Resort" (*The American Chamber of Commerce Journal* 1922, 13), and "the premier mountain resort of the Far East…one of unrivaled charm" (*The American

Chamber of Commerce Journal 1923, 11), with newspapers further citing the "mountain resort city of Baguio,"[23] and "northern mountain resort of Baguio."[24] Dyson (1931, 34) affirmed it as "the most beautiful and healthful mountain resort in the Far East," echoed by claims that Baguio is "the most delightful place for a vacation in the entire Orient" (*The Midland Journal* 1920; *The Challis Messenger* 1920). As a tourist destination, it was celebrated as a "wonderland of rest and recreation" (Warren 1928, 127) and a "wonder of vacation land" (Lichauco 1916, 80), though Forbes (1913, 6) critically observed that Baguio, "the Hill Station of the Islands is a pleasure resort, maintained for the sole benefit of American officials with public funds and in disregard of the needs and wishes of the Filipinos."

Baguio as Conference Site. Since its construction, Baguio has attracted businesspeople, educators, missionaries, and tourists. The opening of the Baguio Teachers' Camp in 1908 for summer in-service training earned the city the label "Convention City" (*Philippine Quarterly* 1962, 36–38; La Foronda 1964, 42), while its role as a summer school venue gave rise to the designation "Philippine Chautauqua."[25] Alongside Camp John Hay and the Baguio Country Club, the Teachers' Camp functioned as an "incubator" of American values from 1908 to 1913. As a structural metaphor, Baguio serves as a conference venue, with implications for negotiation, discussion, and collaboration.

Baguio as a Sports Center. Baguio has been framed through structural metaphors of a city as athletic venue, "the playground and health resort of the Philippines" (Warren 1928, 126), "sport and health resort" (*Port of Manila & Other Philippine Ports Yearbook* 1933, 5), "Baguio Sports Center and Mountain Resort" (*Philippine Magazine* 1935, 90), "Baguio, the Playground of the Nation" (*The American Chamber of Commerce Journal* 1941a, 1; 1941b, 12), "Playground of the Orient" (*Philippine Daily Inquirer* 1999), "summer capital and playground of the Islands,"[26] and "the country's sports mecca" (Ramos 2018), all entailing notions of aptitude, refinement, and athleticism. As early as 1907, W.W. Price boasted that "all of the comforts of home" were provided, with golf links, tennis courts, and excellent arrangements for communication with the "outside world," rendering Baguio "a home away from home."[27]

Baguio as an Educational Center. After World War II, Baguio acquired names reflecting its educational function: "citadel of learning" (Aguas 1966), "a haven for the researcher and the thinker" (*Baguio Yearbook '71* 1971, 32), "Educational Center of Northern Luzon" (Daly and Feener 2016, 65; Santiago 2017), "Prime Educational Center North of Manila" (*National Economic and Development Authority* 2010), and "University Town" (Abellera 1969; Gargantiel 1983; Delos Reyes 2014; Santiago 2017). Home to several major higher-education institutions, Baguio accounts for nearly half of the student population, with the PSA Factsheet (May 2014) citing 21 higher-education institutions in the Cordillera Administrative Region. These structural metaphors plot learning institutions within urban space, with implications for knowledge, progress, and advancement.

Baguio as an Artist's Sanctuary. A cultural oasis and "a multi-ethnic city" (Prill-Brett 1990), Baguio draws local and foreign artists through its climate, natural environment, and rich cultural heritage, earning it the labels "a writer's haven" (Galan 2009, 31) and "an artist's haven" (Santiago 2017). Santiago further writes that:

> Since the 1970s, Baguio has been considered a refuge for artists, especially for National Artist Ben Cabrera and even filmmaker Butch Perez. Even (a few) local artists, such as Santiago Bose and Kidlat Tahimik, continue to promote the art culture that the vibrant city has to offer. (Santiago 2017)

It has evolved into the "home to hundreds of art spaces and galleries," including Tam-awan Village, the BenCab Museum, Arko ni Apo, the Victor Oteyza Community Art Space (Santiago 2017), and the Museo Kordilyera in UP Baguio. Recognized by Briccio Santos as "a refuge for cinema's arts" (San Diego 2011), Baguio was further affirmed when UNESCO designated it a "creative city" for its distinguished crafts and folk art in 2017.[28]

Baguio as a Haven for Lovers. Baguio carries romantic associations as a "honeymooner's paradise" and "Lover's Lair" (Galan 2009, 31), captured in the mixed metaphor "Honeymoon Capital, Gold Capital, and Playground of the Orient." Yet for the brokenhearted, the same city becomes a refuge for "Burnt out Hearts" (Galan 2009, 31).

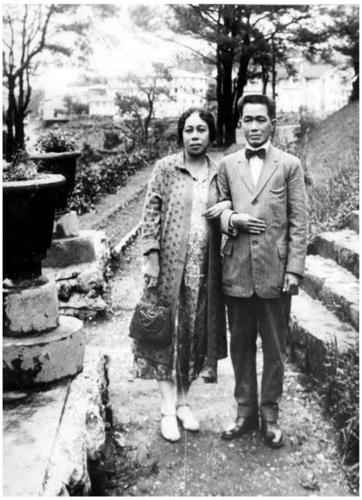
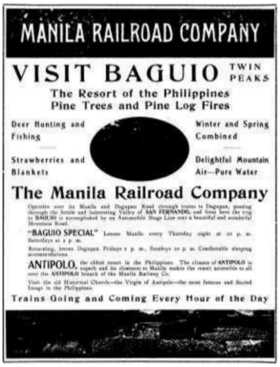


Figure 4. "Emilio and Hilaria Aguinaldo's honeymoon in Baguio, July 1930" (*Special Collections Worcester Philippine History Collections*)

Visual, Pictorial Metaphor, Analogical Juxtaposition. A visual metaphor represents a person, place, thing, or idea through an image that suggests a particular association or similarity (Leary 1990; Nordquist 2018). Several advertisements of the Manila Railroad Company incorporated this technique, as seen in the following:

> Visit Baguio, Twin Peaks: The Great Health and Pleasure Resort of the Philippines (*The Far Eastern Review* February 1907, 29.)
>
> Visit Baguio, the Great Health and Pleasure Resort of the Philippines. (*The Far Eastern Review* March 1907, 29.)
>
> Summer Again!!! Then Go to Baguio – Baguio as the Best Summer Resort in the Orient is already an accepted fact. (*The American Chamber of Commerce Journal* April 1937, 15)



MANILA RAILROAD COMPANY

VISIT BAGUIO TWIN PEAKS

The Resort of the Philippines
Pine Trees and Pine Log Fires

Deer Hunting and Fishing

Winter and Spring Combined

Strawberries and Blankets

Delightful Mountain Air—Pure Water

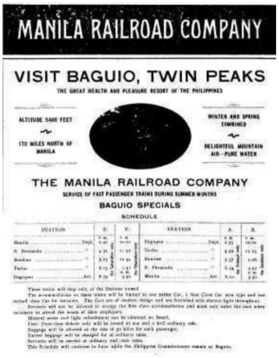
The Manila Railroad Company

"BAGUIO SPECIAL"

ANTIPOLO,

Trains Going and Coming Every Hour of the Day

Figure 5



MANILA RAILROAD COMPANY

VISIT BAGUIO, TWIN PEAKS

THE GREAT HEALTH AND PLEASURE RESORT OF THE PHILIPPINES

ALTITUDE 5400 FEET

172 MILES NORTH OF MANILA

WINTER AND SPRING COMBINED

DELIGHTFUL MOUNTAIN AIR—PURE WATER

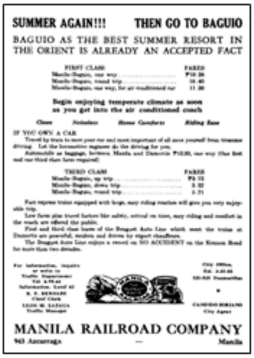
THE MANILA RAILROAD COMPANY

SERVICE OF FAST PASSENGER TRAINS DURING SUMMER MONTHS

BAGUIO SPECIALS

SCHEDULE

Figure 6



SUMMER AGAIN!!! THEN GO TO BAGUIO

BAGUIO AS THE BEST SUMMER RESORT IN THE ORIENT IS ALREADY AN ACCEPTED FACT

MANILA RAILROAD COMPANY

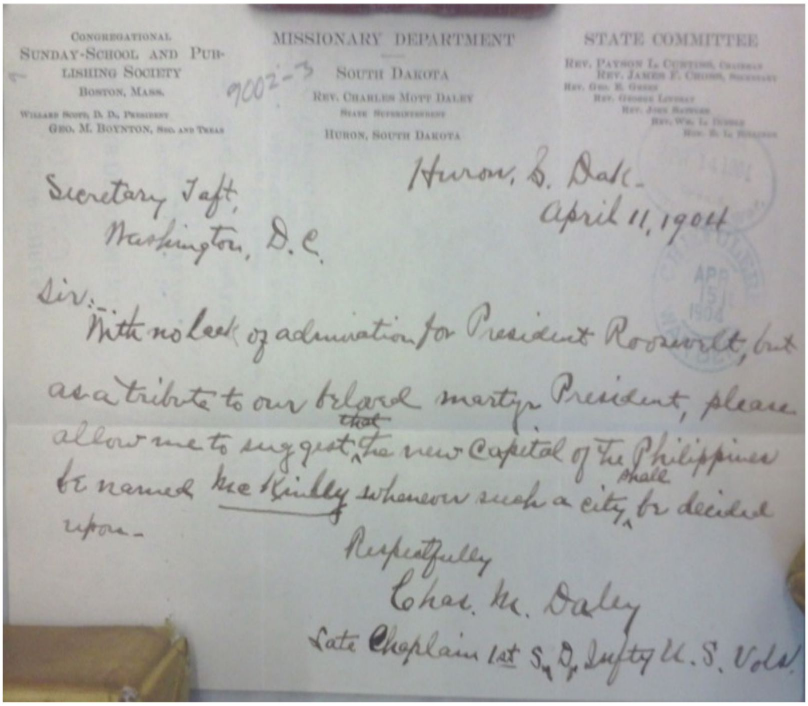
Figure 7

American colonial authorities reshaped Baguio's landscape into "scenic viewpoints" mirroring American perspectives. Institutions such as Camp John Hay, the Baguio Country Club, the Government Center, and Teachers' Camp became visual metaphors for America itself, recreating familiar imagery in a foreign setting. Photographs and postcards reinforced this "tourist gaze," employing American visual framing to symbolically claim the space. As Morley (2018, 86) emphasizes, the relationship between Baguio's buildings and landscape served as a powerful metaphor for the desired relationship between colonial administration and the Filipino population.

Baguio as Body: Metonymic Construction of Place

Metonymy is a process in which one entity is used to refer to another closely related to it (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, 35). Like metaphors, metonymic concepts are systematic and experientially grounded, shaping language, thought, attitudes, and actions—for "no metaphor can ever be comprehended or even adequately represented independently of its experiential basis" (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, 19). While metaphor functions as a way of understanding one thing in terms of another, metonymy serves a primarily referential function, allowing one entity to stand for another while also providing understanding in its own right (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, 36).

Presidential authority over colonized space was evident in the renaming of *Kafagway*, a metonymic "place is person" mapping in which one entity stands for another. As Delos Reyes (2014, 87–88) notes, two proposals emerged. In a letter to Secretary of War William H. Taft dated April 11, 1904, Rev. Charles Mott Daley suggested naming the new capital "McKinley" in tribute to the 25th U.S. President (Fig. 8), and a proposal the following day by Division Superintendent N.B. Gaitree to rename Baguio "Willida," a combination of President and Mrs. McKinley's first names (Fig. 9), on the grounds that a more American-sounding name would be preferable for the summer capital.



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MISSIONARY DEPARTMENT
SOUTH DAKOTA
REV. CHARLES MOTT DALEY
STATE SUPERINTENDENT
HURON, SOUTH DAKOTA

STATE COMMITTEE
REV. PAYSON L. CURTISS, CHAIRMAN
REV. JAMES F. CROSS, SECRETARY
REV. GEO. E. GREEN
REV. [illegible]
REV. JOHN [illegible]
REV. WM. L. [illegible]
HON. B. L. [illegible]

9002-3

APR 15 1904

Huron, S. Dak.
April 11, 1904

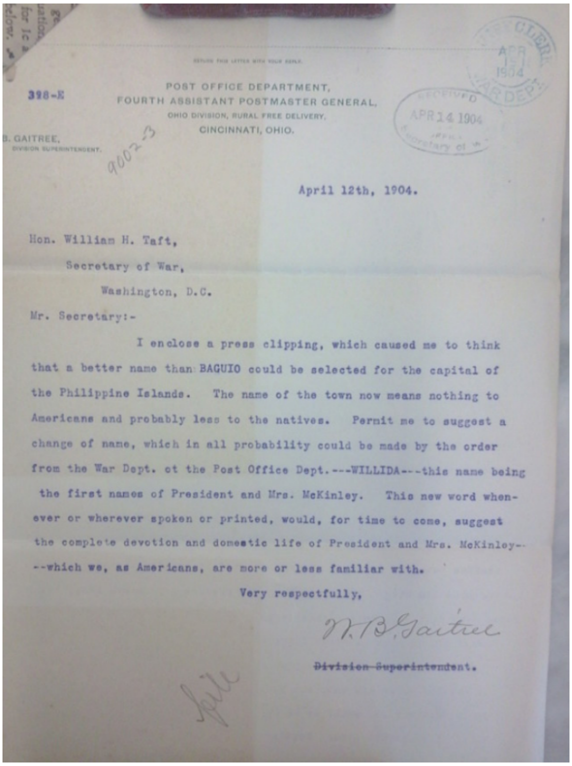
Secretary Taft,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:-

With no lack of admiration for President Roosevelt, but as a tribute to our beloved martyr President, please allow me to suggest that the new Capital of the Philippines shall be named McKinley whenever such a city be decided upon.

Respectfully
Chas. M. Daley
Late Chaplain 1st S. D. Infty U.S. Vols.

Figure 8. McKinley, the suggested name for the Summer Capital (Bureau of Insular Affairs, File 9002-3)



RETURN THIS LETTER WITH YOUR REPLY.

398-E

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT,
FOURTH ASSISTANT POSTMASTER GENERAL,
OHIO DIVISION, RURAL FREE DELIVERY,
CINCINNATI, OHIO.

B. GAITREE,
DIVISION SUPERINTENDENT.

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April 12th, 1904.

Hon. William H. Taft,
Secretary of War,
Washington, D.C.

Mr. Secretary:-

I enclose a press clipping, which caused me to think that a better name than BAGUIO could be selected for the capital of the Philippine Islands. The name of the town now means nothing to Americans and probably less to the natives. Permit me to suggest a change of name, which in all probability could be made by the order from the War Dept. ot the Post Office Dept.---WILLIDA---this name being the first names of President and Mrs. McKinley. This new word whenever or wherever spoken or printed, would, for time to come, suggest the complete devotion and domestic life of President and Mrs. McKinley---which we, as Americans, are more or less familiar with.

Very respectfully,

W. B. Gaitree

~~Division Superintendent~~.

file

Figure 9. Willida, the suggested name for the summer capital of the Philippines, 1904 (Bureau of Insular Affairs, File 9002-3)

Newspaper articles metonymically reduced Baguio to a single cultural practice through headlines such as "Baguio Capital of Dog Eating"[29] and "Dog is a Delicacy in Baguio: When Man Bites Dog, That's News."[30] This is a classic case of "part for whole" metonymy, where one aspect of a complex cultural landscape becomes the totalizing identifier, the colonizing gaze deeming dog-eating "exotic," "primitive," and "inhumane," thereby erasing Baguio's rich Indigenous Igorot culture and its complex history. Consistent with its self-imposed role as a global civilizing force, the United States enacted the prohibition on the sale and consumption of dogs in the 1920s as part of this "uplifting process."

Secretary Kalaw reported that the Department of the Interior was receiving letters from persons in the United States, mostly women, protesting the practice of dog-eating among the Igorots in the Mountain Province. The letters urged that, in the interests of civilization and a higher mode of living, the Philippine legislature pass a law prohibiting the sale and use of dogs as food, on the grounds that the practice was highly undesirable and inhumane. When asked whether such a law was feasible, Secretary Kalaw indicated it might be enacted indirectly.[31]

The metonymy in which trees represent the Igorots is illustrated in "Los Pinos," or "The Pine City." Worcester (1914) and Kirtland (1926, 244) wrote of "a region of pines and oaks, blessed by a perpetual temperate climate," a label cemented by Eberle's (1927, 14–15) "Land of the Pines" and Reed's (1976) "City of Pines." This pine-clad scenery created a visual semblance between American and European landscapes, transforming Baguio into claimable territory through familiarity, its botanical identity obliterating Indigenous historical, cultural, and political claims to the land.

Colonial accounts consistently positioned the land and its Igorot inhabitants as "natural entities or resources." *The American Chamber of Commerce Journal* described Baguio as "a city of pine trees, corduroyed miners, stockbrokers' branch offices, picturesque Igorots, and the rest" (1937, 37). As "City of Pines" or "Pines City" framed Baguio, trees became its defining visual characteristic in postcards, photographs, and travelogues, overshadowing the Indigenous Igorots and reducing them to a secondary or invisible status, portrayed as picturesque adornments of the landscape rather than actors with sovereign interests. This constitutes a visual metaphor in which "Indigenous people are scenery," epitomized by the phrase "picturesque Igorots."

Designated the "nation's summer capital city" on June 1, 1903, Baguio gained an official metonymic designation representing its broader political, administrative, and cultural functions. This metonymy uses "summer" as a temporal frame, reducing the city's intricate purpose to a single seasonal function and substituting a part for the whole, as reflected in its designation as "the epicenter of modernity in the Cordillera region" (Morley 2018, 86). Similarly, "Government Center" and "City Hall" serve as metonymic instances in which physical locations stand for the abstract concepts of national and local governance (Morley 2018, 100).

Physical appearance symbolizes civilization and progress, as the "wild, rural, upland locale" was transformed into a "beautiful, organized urban environment." As early as 1901, Americans employed urban planning to promote civilization-building and impose new environmental and cultural standards, with Baguio's buildings, roads, and spaces designed to blend with natural surroundings, and significant efforts toward monumental civic design following 1905 (Morley 2018, 91, 100). Central to this is the metonymic relationship in which public edifices stood as expressions of "the American colonial desire to control and reshape Filipinos," the buildings themselves representing imperial power. Collectively, these elements frame Baguio as a space in which American colonial authority was exercised through urban design, with the physical environment serving as both a literal and a metaphorical vehicle for "civilizing" and incorporating indigenous peoples into the American imperial vision (Brody 2001, 133; Morley 2018, 100).

Baguio's designation as the "white city" stemmed from American architect Daniel Burnham's City Beautiful Movement, inspired by the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. Its white plaster facades deliberately evoked imperial Rome and Athens, applying Western ideals of civilization to transform the indigenous territory of *Kafagway* into "a well-ordered American hill station structured along colonial cultural and political hierarchies" (Hines 1974; Fong 2017, 58; McKenna 2017, 76; Skelchy 2021, 192).

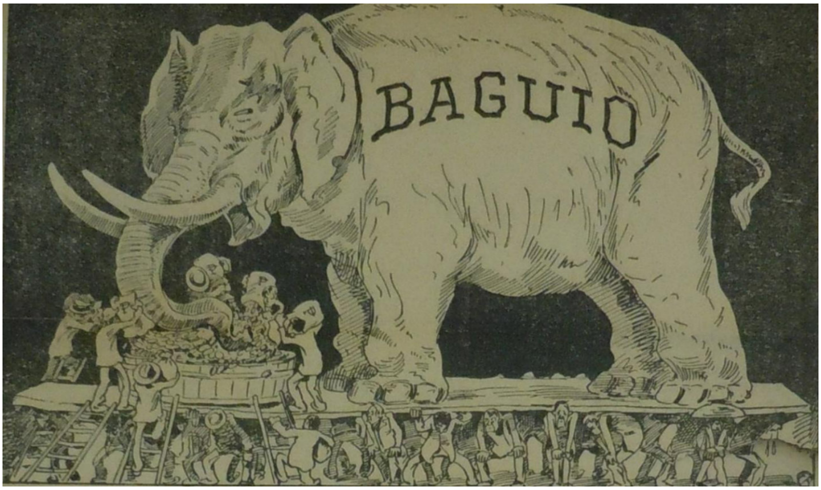

Figure 10. Baguio as America's "White Elephant" (Source: *Philippine Free Press* 5, no. 23 [August 19, 1911])

A 1911 *Philippines Free Press* editorial cartoon depicted Baguio as "Our White Elephant," highlighting how its development and the construction of Benguet Road consumed enormous resources, exploiting Filipino labor and wealth to provide Americans a scenic highland retreat (Delos Reyes 2014, 126; Hayase 2022, 25).

As Lakoff & Johnson (1980, 57) note, metaphors rooted in bodily experience offer a fundamental means of understanding abstract concepts. The metaphorical construction of Baguio was not merely rhetorical; it became a framework shaping how colonizers represented, built, and institutionalized the city. The transformation of indigenous terrain into a colonial urban center illustrates how deeply metaphorical constructs shaped material reality, repeatedly displacing the Ibaloy people in the name of development through the building of Baguio, the establishment of mines and dams, and the construction of Kennon

Road and Marcos Highway, and the creation of the Baguio Export Processing Zone (Pungayan 1991, cited in Fong 2017, 49–50).

Baguio's City Beautiful urban environment, merged with the Philippine countryside, made it a strategic tool for extending American colonial influence over a population long isolated from colonial rule. The Igorot people, regarded by both Spanish and early Americans as barbaric, lazy, and pagan (Morley 2018, 92), were targeted for transformation: Benguet Province aimed to convert them from a tribe renowned for their "brutish independence" into an "enlightened body of people" (Morley 2018, 88). This "metamorphosis" was later observed by Rev. E. G. Mullen in 1943, who noted that despite the Igorots' traditional ways, "civilization has reached these people," pointing to Igorots emerging from gold mines on payday, hailing taxis, and watching *Gone With the Wind*, able to "tell you all about Scarlet O'Hara in Baguio." Mullen equated such consumption with civilizational progress, even while noting that Igorots who ate dog flesh found Western cheese equally incomprehensible.[32]

Through these cognitive metaphorical processes, colonial discourse served several strategic goals: naturalizing indigenous presence to deny political sovereignty; framing land seizure and resource extraction as 'development,' positioning colonizers as agents of advancement rather than expropriation; and constructing a moral framework in which 'proper use' of resources justified foreign domination.

Baguio as Mythscape: The Blended Metaphors of an Enchanted Highland

Fantastical or mythic metaphors are rooted in mental images of "fantasy, myth and dreams" (Laing & Crouch 2009, 127), drawing from the narratives of pioneer travelers, explorers, settlers, and tourists. From an experientialist perspective, Lakoff & Johnson describe metaphor as "imaginative rationality," understanding one experience through another, making it one of our most vital tools for grasping what cannot be fully comprehended, such as feelings, aesthetic experiences, moral practices, and spiritual awareness (1980, 193, 235). Depicting Baguio as a paradisiacal place, Arcadia, Eden, Erewhon, Elysian Fields, or Promised Land reflects this imaginative rationality, suggesting that Shangri-La truly existed (Licuanan 1982, 28; Farolan 2022).

Such framings pervade colonial accounts. Baguio was described as a "Tourists' Eden" (Brown 1902, 69), "Philippine Wonderland" (Chanco n.d. 53–54), "Enchanting Wonderland of the Orient" (*Philippine Magazine* April 1935, 193; Paz 1936, 67), "a wonder spot in the Orient, one of the world's showplaces, with nature staging the show" (*The American Chamber of Commerce Journal* 1925), and the "Fairyland of the Philippines" (*The Port of Manila, P.I.: A Yearbook* 1929, 50). American diplomat Henry Morgenthau marveled that Baguio "exceeded my expectations," calling it "a picture out of a fairyland of dreams" where "nature did much, but human effort improved upon it" (*Manila Press* 1920s). *Beautiful Philippines: A Handbook of General Information* (1923, 63–64), which portrayed it as "a fairyland of green gardens, beautiful walks, and easily accessible peaks commanding exquisite vistas of valleys and neighboring mountain tops."

Baguio was equally cast as a heavenly place, the "Paradise City and Highland Paradise" (Orendain 1950, 17) and "a bit of heaven that fell to earth" (*The Philippine Republic* 1926, 11). Anderson (1916, 246), citing Helen Taft, captured the ascent from lowland heat to highland cool: "We had ascended into Paradise from Purgatory." This image persists in Farolan's (2022) description: "Baguio was paradise: Perpetual springtime, a cool mist, rolling hills, pine trees galore." Likened to Never-Never Land, Baguio was dubbed the "Philippine Garden of the Gods" (*The Evening Star* 1924; Warren 1928, 126). Carpenter (1926) similarly described it as a great landscape garden "designed by Jehovah and improved on by man…, uniquely blending the beauties of both tropical and temperate zones."

When History Colonizes: Metaphorical Power Structures in Baguio's Transformation

Language not only describes but also actively constructs our understanding of the past and present, and in colonial contexts, it can entirely colonize that past. As Friel (1981, 66) writes, "it is not the literal past, the facts of history, that shape us, but images of the past embodied in language" (cited in Crowley 1996, 3), aligning with Lakoff & Johnson's claim that our conceptual system is "fundamentally metaphorical in nature" (1980, 3). In Baguio, colonial actors did not merely record history; they authored it, imposing metaphorical frameworks that displaced Ibaloy and Kankanaey understandings of *Kafagway* and replaced them with narratives serving American imperial ambitions. Historical understanding of place-making is therefore never neutral; it is mediated through conceptual metaphors that function not as linguistic ornaments but as cognitive instruments of power, structuring whose histories are told, whose are erased, and how colonial processes are comprehended and legitimized.

The metaphorical frameworks deployed in Baguio's transformation reveal the ontological, epistemological, and empirical assumptions underlying colonial historical analysis. As Lakoff & Johnson observe, conceptual metaphors allow us to "pick out parts of our experience and treat them as discrete entities or substances of a uniform kind" (1980, 25), creating "coherent networks of meaning that organize perception and action" (1980, 7), yet this systematicity necessarily hides certain aspects while highlighting others (1980, 10). Colonial powers exploited this selective capacity by employing ontological metaphors to transform ambiguous indigenous territories into bounded, manageable entities; orientational metaphors to organize hierarchical relationships between colonizer and colonized; and structural metaphors to map familiar American administrative systems onto unfamiliar landscapes. Those with the power to name and frame Baguio determined which realities were made visible and which, particularly Indigenous relationships to land, were rendered invisible.

The power of metaphor in historical contexts extends beyond representation to reality-making, and in Baguio, this process carried material consequences. As Lakoff & Johnson argue, "New metaphors have the power to create a new reality" when we begin to act in terms of them (1980, 145). By conceiving of Baguio through familiar Western frameworks, colonial administrators were not merely describing an existing place but creating a blueprint for its physical and social reconstruction, one that found its most concrete expression in the Burnham Plan and the City Beautiful Movement, which physically reorganized indigenous space according to American metropolitan ideals.

Contextual factors are crucial for understanding how these metaphorical power structures operated historically. Kövecses (2015, 100) argues that people draw on physical environments, social relationships, cultural contexts, and temporal dimensions when engaging metaphorically with the world. As Lakoff & Johnson remind us, "People with very different conceptual systems from our own may understand the world in a very different way" (1980, 181), yet colonial power ensured that only one conceptual system prevailed. Recognizing what Underhill (2011, 8) describes as "complex and subtle links and paths which are activated within the mind," we see that these metaphors functioned most effectively precisely because they were embedded within broader linguistic, historical, and cultural structures of domination. Baguio thus presents a rare and rich opportunity to examine how metaphorical power structures did not merely accompany colonial transformation but also drove it: rewriting Indigenous history, reorganizing Indigenous space, and producing a colonial mountain resort that reflected American aspirations, anxieties, and ambitions while silencing the very people whose lands made it possible.

Cognitive Metaphors as Living Heritage

This study has demonstrated that "words are not innocent and political systems, reigning ideologies, and competing world-conceptions seek to shape and delimit the content attributed to words" (Underhill 2011, 3). By drawing on literary texts, official documents, travel accounts, and promotional materials, it has illuminated how conceptual metaphors, operating through Lakoff & Johnson's three categories (structural, orientational, and ontological), functioned as powerful cognitive tools in transforming Ibaloy and Kankanaey lands into the American mountain resort of Baguio. Thematic analysis reveals how these metaphorical frameworks constructed Baguio in multiple, reinforcing ways: as a receptacle through ontological metaphors of bounded space; as a machine through mechanistic metaphors; as a body through personification; as a fantasy through mythical metaphors; and as a paradise through nature metaphors, frameworks that did not merely describe reality but actively instituted it, determining which aspects of experience were emphasized and which were concealed.

These colonial metaphors did not dissolve with the end of American occupation; they endured, embedded in the city's architecture, civic identity, and cultural memory, becoming what Salazar (2012) and Salazar and Graburn (2014) term "tourism imaginaries," representational assemblages continuously reproduced in how Baguio markets itself, governs its spaces, and understands its own history. As Salazar (2014, 299) notes, conceptual metaphors function as inherently perspectival framing devices, and the frameworks that once served colonial actors now persist in tourism branding, urban planning, and civic discourse. As Tuan (1991, 684) warns, language holds "the power to affix the new label to old names and potentially wipe out the accumulated historical layers of meaning from memory and identity," a warning that resonates in Baguio, where Ibaloy and Kankanaey relationships to land remain obscured beneath layers of colonial metaphorical residue. This study has uncovered how these figures of thought did not merely describe Baguio but actively created it, first as a cognitive framework that structured colonial understanding, then as a material reality manifested in urban plans, architecture, and social institutions, and finally as a living heritage shaping collective identity. As Lakoff & Johnson affirm, "We draw inferences, set goals, make commitments, and execute plans" through metaphor (1980, 158), and the city itself remains a testament to metaphor's enduring power, not as a relic of the colonial past, but as a living inheritance that persists in how Baguio imagines, presents, and reinvents itself today.

The Author

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Notes

1. Otto Scheerer, *On Baguio's Past* (1933, 3); Delos Reyes (2017)
2. Fong, Jimmy B. 2017. "Ibaloys 'Reclaiming' Baguio: The Role of Intellectuals," *Plaridel* 14 (2): 49. https://www.plarideljournal.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/2017-02-Fong.pdf
3. "An Igorot Dog Market." 1922. *The Beacon* 1 (5): 1 https://virginiachronicle.com/?a=d&d=TBE19220327.1.1.
4. *The Sun* (1911); *The Challis Messenger* (1920); *The Bemidji daily pioneer* (1920); *The Weekly Iberian* (1920); *Webster City Freeman* (1920); *Catoctin Clarion* (1920); *The Neshoba Democrat* (1920); *The Grangeville globe* (1920); *Iowa County Democrat* (1920); *Taiban Valley News* (1920); *The Midland Journal* (1920); *The Review* (1920); *The Weston Leader* (1920); *The St. Charles Herald* (1920); *The Challis* (1920); *The Challis Messenger* (1920); *The Meridian Times* (1921); *Iron County Register* (1921); "Above the Clouds." 1913. *The Teachers' Assembly Herald* 6 (14): 77–84.
5. "Typhoon is Moving Toward Philippines." 1948. *Radford News Journal*, January 15. https://www.virginiachronicle.com/?a=d&d=RNJ19480115.1.7.
6. "A Road of Bridges." 1911. *Bedford Bulletin*, June 1. https://www.virginiachronicle.com/?a=d&d=BBU19110601.1.6.
7. *The Tomahawk* (1917); *The Prince George's Enquirer and Southern Maryland Advertiser* (1917); *The Hope Pioneer* (1917); *Fulton County Tribune* (1917); *The St. Charles Herald* (1917); *The Oakley Herald* (1917); *The Sea coast echo* (1917).
8. Delos Reyes (2014), citing Vinay Lal (1997). Lal argues that the term hill station was "an exclusive British preserve" and the "sacred enclave" of the British in India. The "hill station" concept may have been derived from "railway station." He traced this by saying that "*It is after the advent of the railways in Britain that the usage 'hill station'*

came to predominate, and it is possible that it was inspired by the then-frequent reference to the 'railway station'."

9. Emil Hurja. 1936. "Gold in the Philippines," *The Daily Alaska Empire*, January 15. https://www.loc.gov/item/sn83045499/1936-01-15/ed-1/.
10. A *container metaphor* is an ontological metaphor that conceives abstract entities, territories, or states as enclosed containers with insides, outsides, and boundaries.
11. "Southside Virginia Girl 'Back Home' After Tremendous Adventures; Survived Months of Bombings in Luzon and Flight for Jungle," 1945. *Southside Virginia News*, July 19. https://www.virginiachronicle.com/?a=d&d=SVNS19450719.1.7.
12. "Headhunting Becoming Thing of the Past in the Philippines," 1936. *Eastern Shore Herald*, January 25. https://www.virginiachronicle.com/?a=d&d=ESH19360125.1.4.
13. W. W. Price, "Summer Capital of Philippines" 1907. *News Leader*, June 29. https://virginiachronicle.com/?a=d&d=NEL19070629.1.7.
14. J. E. Spencer and W. L. Thomas (1948) explain that "hill station" is the term currently used by the British everywhere in the Orient. Americans use 'mountain resort' for the hill station and 'summer resort' for both the hill station and the seashore establishment."
15. Atkinson 1905, 154; Devins 1905, 120; Forbes-Lindsay 1906, 278; *The Far Eastern Review* 3, no. 12 (1907): 371, 376, & 378; Algue 1909, 5–6; Williams 1913, 73; Woolley September 1913, 292–95; *The American Chamber of Commerce Journa*l 2, no. 4 (1922): 13; *Beautiful Philippines: A Handbook of General Information* (1923, 63); Carpenter (1926, 78, 81); *The Philippine Republic* (1926, 11); Gargantiel (1983, 13); *The enterprise-recorder* (1909); *The Hawaiian Gazette* (1911); *Evening Star* (1914).
16. Richard G. Harris. 1945. "Yanks Near Jap Citadel." *The Waterbury Democrat*, Apr. 25. https://www.loc.gov/item/sn82014085/1945-04-25/ed-1/.
17. Jack Stinnett. 1943. "Weather Used as Book Topic." *Southwest Times*, November 9. https://www.virginiachronicle.com/?a=d&d=TSWT19431109.1.6.
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19. http://www.etc.edu.cn/www/eet/eet/articles/metaphor/start.htm.
20. A. Y. Brookes. 1922. "Baguio as a Health Resort," *Mid-Pacific Magazine* 23: 457–60.
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22. *Reports of the Philippine Commission, the Civil Governor and the Heads of the Executive Departments of the Civil Government of the Philippine Islands,1900-1903* (1904, 573); *Fourth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission 1903, Part 2* (1904, 25); United States Department of Commerce (1907, 25); *Eighth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission to the Secretary of War 1907, Part 3* (1908, 288); *Report of the Philippine Commission to the Secretary of War 1908, Part 2* (1909, 46,125); *Report of the Philippine Commission to the Secretary of War 1911* (1912, 26); *The Salt Lake Tribune* (1912); *Annual Report of the Director of the Weather Bureau for the Year 1910* (1913, 14); Taft (1914, 89); Taft and Dickinson (1919, 52); *Twenty-First Annual Report of the Director of Education, January 1, 1920, to December 31, 1920* (1921, 44); *The American Chamber of Commerce Journal* 2, no.4 [1922]: 9-10; Allen, *The American Chamber of Commerce Journal* 4, no.10 [1924]:12; Carpenter (1926, 77); Thompson (1927, 1); *Independence for the Philippine Islands. Hearings before the Committee on territories and insular affairs, United States Senate,* Part 6 (1930, 639); Benton (1936, 23); *The American Chamber of Commerce Journal* 20, no. 7 (1940): 16.
23. *Southwest Times* (1971); Clark Lee (1943)
24. "Powerful Quake Hits Philippines, Scores Killed," 1990. *Suffolk News-Herald*, July 17. https://virginiachronicle.com/?a=d&d=SNH19900717.1.8.
25. *Chautauqua* is an Iroquois word, meaning "summer school" or "educational assembly." *The Philippine Education Magazine* 4, no. 9 (1908): 7; *Report of the Philippine Commission to the Secretary of War 1908,* part 2 (1909, 835); *Eighth Annual Report of the Director of Education, July 1, 1907, to June 30, 1908* (1909, 61).
26. "County Soldier On 11-Day Leave," 1948. *Suffolk News-Herald*, February 27. https://www.virginiachronicle.com/?a=d&d=SNH19480227.1.3.
27. W. W. Price, "Summer Capital of Philippines," 1907. *News Leader*, June 29. https://virginiachronicle.com/?a=d&d=NEL19070629.1.7.
28. ABS-CBN News (2017); Bacungan (2017); Dumlao (2017); Catalan (2017); Ongpin (2017); Cabreza (2017).
29. *Southwest Times* (1978, 11) https://virginiachronicle.com/?a=d&d=TSWT19780810.1.11.
30. *Suffolk News-Herald* (1978, 16) https://virginiachronicle.com/?a=d&d=SNH19780906.1.16.
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