

The Sagada Postboy (1952-1972): The Mimeo Newspaper and the Discursive Formations of Sagada Igorot Identity

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ABSTRACT

Historical accounts of the Philippine postwar press remain skewed towards the story of the national weeklies and dailies, illustrating a press culture heavily concentrated in the metropolises. Such histories have also been ungenerous in their accounting for the rural press, often appraised as “anemic,” “neglected,” “poorly developed,” or “may not even be in existence yet.” However, the mimeo newspapers that sprouted in the old Mountain Province, particularly in its education centers, reveal that the public spheres in rural areas also involved print media. One such print media was *The Sagada Postboy*. The *Postboy*, a mimeo newspaper that found its widest circulation in Sagada during the postwar years, is a campus-cum-community newspaper produced by students of St. Mary’s School of Sagada. This paper reconstructs the *Postboy*’s formation and operations from 1952 to 1972, examining its production methods, circulation practices, and evolving editorial content against the backdrop of missionary education and postwar nation-building. Through a postcolonial and poststructuralist framework, the analysis reveals how the newspaper functioned as a discursive site where colonial legacies were simultaneously reinforced and contested, while also constructing a contemporary Igorot identity positioned within both the national body politic and an increasingly globalized world.

Keywords: *The Sagada Postboy*, Philippine postwar press, rural press, Philippine journalism, William Henry Scott, Sagada, Igorot identity

The Rural Press in Philippine Postwar Journalism

The history of the Philippine press during the postwar period (1946-1972) particularly in the post-Independence era¹ has often been described as “the golden age of Philippine journalism” (Rosario-Braid and Tuazon 1999), a moniker resulting from retrospection, or nostalgia for the cultural height of traditional print media. After years of information drought, the need for news media after the Second World War became a real demand among the public entering an era of rehabilitation and nation building. The postwar years would see an upsurge in newspapers being published throughout the archipelago (Torres 2021), and a rise in nationalist thought and expression (Pineda-Ofreneo 1984), with journalism being promoted as a serious field and occupation (Maslog 1971 and Fernandez 1989). With the press playing the role of watchdogs of the government, the country earned a reputation for having “the freest press in Asia” up until the declaration of Martial Law in 1972 (Maslog 1971 and Doronila 1996).

Histories of the Philippine press of 1946-1972 describe the landscape as dominated by media monopolies consisting of “the large Manila dailies controlling other mass media” (Fernandez 1989, 331). Journalism in the metropolitan capital meant big money, big advertising from corporations, paid full-time staff, modern presses, and nationwide circulation (Fernandez 1989). Amidst the emergence of media giants, such as *The Manila Bulletin* and the *Philippines Free Press* which were also distributed in North Luzon newsstands, American interests as well as American standards of journalism would also come to characterize this era of the Philippine press (Pineda-Ofreneo 1984, Fernandez 1989, and Crawford 1989).

Historical accounts of the Philippine postwar press overall provide an illustration of the press culture as heavily concentrated in the urban centers, perpetually subject to the movements of business models driven by corporations, the partisanship of media owners, or, in Crawford’s review of Philippine histories of its press, explained only in terms of “ilustrado nationalism, colonial ‘tutelage’ and even Marxist materialism” (1989, 46). While such histories also account for the presence of community newspapers, particularly those coming from rural or provincial presses, they nevertheless paint a picture that is not as robust as the journalism landscape of the metropolises. Astraquillo-Ongkeko (1967) writes that “[the] Philippine provincial press still has to assert itself” (126), attributing its problems to the very real obstacles of high newsprint costs and the highly limited circulation of provincial papers. Maslog (1971) makes the same assessment that provincial presses are “anemic,” “poorly developed” and “so neglected and disorganized” (9).

Pineda-Ofreneo in *The Manipulated Press* (1984) was more reductive in her appraisal of the rural press, describing barrio media consumers as “more used to interpersonal forms of communication,” and that “many of them could barely read and write in the ‘functional’ sense” (131). She further went on to make the assumption that “most of the so-called ‘community newspapers’ are actually urban-centered” and that “a rural audience for print media may not even be in existence yet” (202).

It is not wholly erroneous to equate an “anemic” or even an inaccessible press to an illiterate or semi-literate population, and it is also true that the real impacts of the community newspaper were not comprehensively documented. Community newspapers, especially those coming from so-called rural or provincial presses, were not clearly accounted for in lists and censuses done by the Philippine Mass Media Directory or the newly formed Philippine Press Institute at the time.

However, reading behaviors in rural communities might not be as straightforward as literacy rates suggest. For instance Mag-uyon (1984) mentions how in relatively accessible barrios in the Bicol region, “the newspaper was useful in transmitting information to its readers” (3) via *dependent literacy* where someone in the rural household would read to other family members (1984). Through dependent literacy it would appear that a “rural audience” for print media can exist and has long existed, even before Pineda-Ofreneo made her observation in 1984.

In fact, the rise of mimeo newspapers in various communities all over rural Mountain Province during the postwar period indicate not only the presence of a rural audience but also producers of news from those communities.

One such newspaper, the longest running one, is *The Sagada Postboy*, the mimeographed newspaper of St. Mary’s School of Sagada which started its print run in 1952 and found its community readership in central Sagada, Mountain Province. The *Postboy* is at once a campus paper, a community organ, and a church bulletin, covering a miscellany of topics of varying degrees of urgency: weather reports, school announcements, folktales, church sermons, births, obituaries, bus arrivals, election results, trivia lifted from encyclopedias, opinion pieces from members of civic society, national and international news, and other matters campus journalists would have at that time considered newsworthy. The producers of the *Postboy* were a yearly-renewed staff consisting of St. Mary’s School students and their faculty advisers. Its community of readers included the student body, community members both literate and non-literate (who must have accessed the newspaper via dependent literacy), and school alumni in other parts of the country and in the diaspora. Indeed the *Postboy* often hailed this expanded community of readers in its tacit confirmation of a Sagada community that imagines the mission school as its center of affairs.

It is no surprise that the newspapers being printed in the Mountain Province during these decades were being produced in the schools and were operated mainly by students—a common circumstance of “campus papers becoming community papers³⁷” particularly in the context of highland communities whose first significant and widespread experience of the printed word came with the arrival of the American missionaries.

Against the national backdrop of a free press and a journalistic landscape that collaborated with and clashed against the various power players from multinational corporations to political parties, rural newspapers like the *Postboy* participated in discussions that dominated the mass media culture of the country. Indeed “the small town newspaper has been a powerful influence in the progress of rural communities” (Lawrence 1965, 3). If this is so, then the rural press which constitutes a significant aspect of our national public sphere should be accounted for and understood by subjecting it to critical analysis.

The goal of this paper is twofold: (1) to provide a preliminary account of the rural press at work by reconstructing the unique formation of the mimeo newspaper *The Sagada Postboy* published by St. Mary’s School and circulated in postwar Sagada; and (2) to analyze how *The Sagada Postboy* (the discursive practice) constructs a postcolonial Igorot identity (the discourse).

A preliminary account of the *Postboy* is provided in the next three sections. For this reconstruction, I used textual evidence lifted from commemorative texts coming from St. Mary’s School as well as extant copies of *The Sagada Postboy*, collated by William Henry Scott, which exist in bound photocopied form. Such extant copies span from November 1952 to September 1972, making up eighteen bound volumes that range from 70,000 to 150,000 words each and all in all consisting of more than 5,000 total pages. I perused copies available in the Bishop Frank Mosher Library of Saint Andrew’s Theological Seminary as well as similar photocopy reproductions kept by a local archiver in Kenlibed, Sagada. My thematic analysis of the *Postboy* is facilitated by digitizing all extant issues of 1952-1972 through manual transcription on a word processor.

Meanwhile the discourse analysis I deploy in the concluding section is poststructuralist in character. I use the concept of discursive formations proposed by French scholar, Michel Foucault, (2002) which deconstruct the notion of discourse as neutral; that is, there are narrative regimes which through discourse are able to consolidate their power and presence. In this case, print institutions, even those represented by mimeo newspapers in rural Mountain Province, are able to reinforce regimes of discursive power.

I constellate Foucault’s discursive formation with Pierre Bourdieu’s (1986) concept of cultural capital which pertains to how social and economic capital are materialized in objectified forms such as

in different media, in this case, writings, archives, and newsprint. Such forms of cultural capital are institutionalized, inherited, and transmitted like economic capital. I posit that the early consolidations of such a print capital has led to the formation of a community of readers forming an official social narrative of Sagada.

To discuss the formation of a community of readers I borrow Louis Althusser's (1971) concept of hailing. Hailing refers to the power of institutions to "hail" or "signal" to an imagined audience whose acknowledgment means acceptance of the assigned identity. I posit that the *Postboy* enacts this very hailing, helping construct a widely accepted narrative of Sagada Igorot identity.

The conceptual eclecticism I practice here is set against the backdrop of a postcolonial framework, which primarily examines the legacies of colonialism, and how colonized societies negotiate the contradictions that come with such legacies. More than a mimeo newspaper, the *Postboy* represents an institution, a form of cultural capital, and thus an instrument in forming a social narrative of who the Igorot is in postcolonial terms.

A Typewriter and a Mimeograph Machine

While American missionaries, Rev. John A. Staunton and Maria Staunton, were not the first colonial presence or the first arrival of the Christian faith in Sagada, the Episcopal Mission they introduced at the turn of the twentieth century was the most successful in socially transforming the mountain settlement. It was a success that rested on its partnership with the new imperial power as well as the capitalist forces that enabled its reach, not to mention its gradual accommodation of Igorot traditional lifeways and eventual sponsorship from emerging indigenous elites in the succeeding decades.

As part of Missionary Bishop Charles Brent's campaign to spread the gospel deep into the North Luzon interior where Christianity and colonial civilization have not yet made significant inroads, Rev. Staunton adopted what was later called a "holistic" approach to the missions where he envisioned the church as serving not only a Christianizing but also a "civilizing" force (Malecdan 2004). Baptism into the church fold went alongside the initiation into formal education and enterprise, facilitating the colonial missionary vision of "a progressive community growing up around the Mission like a pioneer settlement in colonial America" (Scott 1988, 224).

It can be suggested that newly baptized Christians in Sagada, other than being considered real spiritual converts to the Anglo-Catholicism that Staunton preached, were primarily converts to the new social and economic order that the Mission presented. It was a strategy that reflected what Staunton described as "the subtle ways to

inoculate [the Igorot] with the germ of discontent, to establish in his system cravings, desires, and necessities which his savage and heathen life cannot satisfy" (Staunton 1915, 754).

Indeed "the germ of discontent" found widespread inoculation as the next decade saw the Sagada Mission expand to involve the operations of not only a church and school, but also a dispensary, a hospital, a printing press, a sawmill, a stone quarry, and other vocational centers that served the further expansion of the Mission, resulting in employment and thousands of new converts (Scott 1988 and Malecdan 2004).

Sagada's relationship with the printed word therefore began here. The Stauntons recorded their efforts in organs such as *The Spirit of Missions*⁴. Rev. Staunton's writings in particular were largely responsible for bringing in waves of missionaries and "a steady stream of dollars flowing into the station" (Nobes 1988, 13). Such was the renown of Staunton's depiction of the Sagada Mission that it would even be featured in newsreels in motion picture theaters (Scott 1962). When the Sagada Mission acquired its Chandler & Price job press in 1912, this further enabled Staunton to use print media to bolster Sagada's image to the outside world.

The printing presses of Staunton's pioneering Mission furnished what was known as the Sagada Mission Printing Press, also referred to as the Igorot Printing Shop, where Igorot boys were trained to run the presses. *The Diocesan Chronicle* reported that this printing press in Sagada would still be in full operation until the 1930s⁵. The breakout of the Second World War saw Japanese forces closing this printing shop to disrupt the flow of information within and outside Sagada. The platen press would later be sold after the war to the publishers of the *Baguio Midland Courier* when it was churning out its early issues in Baguio City. Very soon, there would be a rapid turnover in printing technology in Baguio City itself, and the platen press would altogether be rendered obsolete⁶.

Whatever constituted a Sagada press in the postwar years was largely facilitated by two apparati: the typewriter and the mimeograph machine. The need for printed information was mostly coursed through the mimeographed sheets that contained local announcements. Because many of these sheets were being produced in the schools, the mimeo was also a showcase of one's literacy. The first recorded mimeo newspaper in Sagada was started in 1951 called the *Sagada Teachers Association Bi-Weekly*⁷, founded by J. Randall Norton who was the headmaster of St. Mary's School at the time, and produced largely by the local teachers' association. Meanwhile, the *Rockies*⁸, an organ led by the students of St. Mary's School, was also in circulation. Both the *Bi-Weekly* and the *Rockies* were very short-lived, ending their run almost a year after.

Eventually, it would be *The Sagada Postboy*, started in 1952, that would survive until the present.

When it was first established by Norton, *The Sagada Postboy* was intended for community dissemination. Its very first entry, dated November 6, 1952, stated thus:

A St. Mary's School Weekly has long been needed. At a meeting of the Student Council with the Registrar and Headmaster it was decided to start one at once. It was agreed that the name should be the Sagada Postboy, that the paper should be issued before Vespers every Thursday, that the paper should be the joint responsibility of the School Administration and the Student Council, and that it should be a type of publication of interest to the whole Sagada community (Sagada Postboy 1952, No. 1).

At first glance the *Postboy* does not strike one immediately as a newspaper: texts are not arranged in columns, headlines are seldom differentiated from the bodies of articles, and no pictures ever accompany the text. From its first issue up to the late 1990s⁹, the *Postboy* always appeared as a mimeograph, printed on legal-size groundwood paper, with two to three leaves stapled together. A width-spanning nameplate bearing the newspaper's name did not appear on *Postboy* front pages until 1964 (see Figures 1-4)

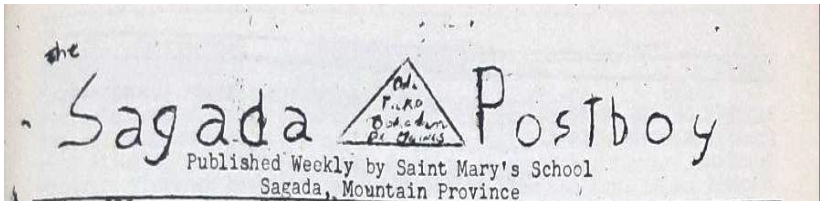


Figure 1. The first hand-drawn nameplate used by *The Sagada Postboy*, with the school heraldic motto “Aditako bokodan di gawis” already being used as part of the banner.



Figure 2. A departure from the first design, the follow-up nameplate is also hand-drawn and more stylized and incorporates the mountainous panorama of Sagada.

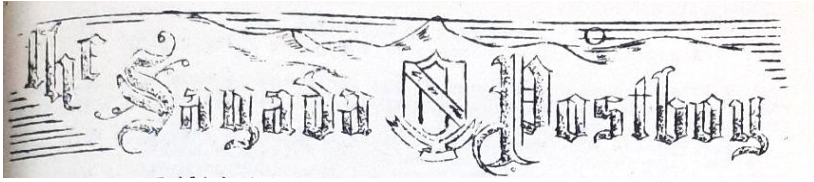


Figure 3. The school's coat-of-arms is incorporated into the banner for the first time. The gothic-style text is adopted for the nameplate, following the style of many major newspapers like the *Manila Times* or *The New York Times*. The mountainous panorama remains in the backdrop.

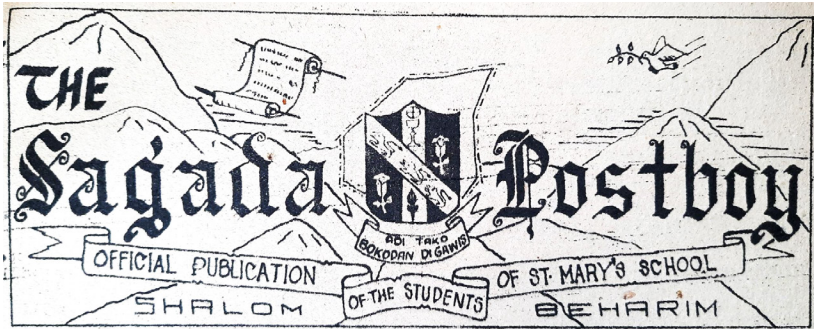


Figure 4. The most recognizable banner for *The Sagada Postboy* retains the school coat-of-arms designed by Scott, the mountainous panorama as backdrop, the Kankanaey proverb which is also the school's motto, and the ubiquitous "Shalom Beharim" of the Church of St. Mary the Virgin.

But there is ample reason to consider the mimeographed *Postboy* as a newspaper if only for its participation in public spheres that have long been associated with urban presses. Lawrence (1965) justifies further the mimeo newspaper as a legitimate form of mass media:

The mimeograph method of printing was considered the only practicable one, being simple in operation and requiring no expensive equipment. Professional journalists in industrialized nations might hesitate to call any news publication printed by mimeograph a newspaper [...] The dictionary describes a newspaper as 'a paper printed and distributed at stated intervals, usually daily or weekly, to convey news.' Printing is defined as 'a mark made by pressure; a line, figure, etc., impressed; an imprint.' A mimeographed newspaper would seem to qualify fully for the 'newspaper' definition. How the newspaper is printed, so long as it is clearly legible, makes little difference to people who have none at all (7).

Commenting on the upsurge of newspapers that appeared in the postwar era, Torres (2021) writes: "Newspaper quality was not a norm yet, for many of these broadsheets were of different sizes and the print was not exactly up to par with the newspapers published by the civil relations office of the American military. *But these were newspapers and this meant news*" (141, italics mine).

During the first decade of the *Postboy's* operations, St. Mary's School's typewriters and mimeograph machines were often overused or subject to repairs, which compelled staffers to borrow machines from other schools or individuals with means. Later a Typewriter Fund was set up which was immediately defrayed by donations from missionaries and generous alumni. Indeed, the whole situation was reflective of the financial conditions of the mission school itself which survived heavily on subsidies and donations. In 1958, the *Postboy* finally would acquire its own new mimeograph machine manufactured by the American A.B. Dick Company, the most recognizable brand name for copy machines in the early to mid-20th century. The ease in using the typewriter empowered the literate population to recognize their writings materialized in standard print. "Anyone capable of using a typewriter," wrote journalist Crispin Maslog, "can dish out a letter berating his congressman, or put together a newspaper column that peddles opinion on everything under the sun" (1971, 11).

On the other hand, the low-cost mimeograph machine enabled a profusion of printing and reproduction in the community presses. Mimeograph came to represent independent publishing, the amateur press, sometimes referred to as a "modern minipress," and has a storied history among local journalists who have had at least one experience with mimeographed newsletters, pamphlets, leaflets, or press releases that proliferated in high school and college newspaper circles. "Accessible and localized," writes Hawley (2013), "this form of self-publication connoted rejection of external control over a community's message and production of self-determined cultural content" (42-3).

The mimeograph machines available in schools gave rise to a slew of circulations popping up all over Mountain Province. Shortly after the first circulations of *The Sagada Postboy*, St. Paul's School in Balbalasang, Kalinga launched *The Mail Bag*. In 1956, St. Benedict's Mission in Besao published *St. Benedict's Newsletter* meant to be distributed to their own outstations as well. A few years later, the students of St. James School of Besao would launch *The Besao Sunset*, also intended as a community paper. Bontoc municipality would follow suit with an eight-page monthly called *The Chico River*, and afterwards, its mission school, the All Saints' Mission would launch *The All Saints' Messenger*. Outstations like those in Tadian and Bagnen would also produce their own print efforts in the form of *The Masla Newsletter* and *The Malibo-o Newsletter*, respectively. All were mimeo newspapers.

The democratization of print which both the typewriter and the mimeograph machine came to represent was akin to the independent spirit espoused by “xerox” journalism or the pamphleteering endeavors that have come to define the alternative and even underground presses taking place simultaneously in the cities.

It can be argued that the early missionary investment in printing technology and the privileging of literacy have contributed largely to the robust reportage coming from Sagada through the *Postboy*. And through the *Postboy*, it was the Igorot student’s turn to write about Sagada and engage in public spheres that involved their locale and extended towards the national community.

The fact that the *Postboy*, for four decades, has remained a mimeographed campus-cum-community newspaper run by students who are virtually unpaid staff, and do not seek to profit from the extracurricular venture, suggests survival and continuity. What is being continued and maintained in this act of writing, printing and distributing? I reconstruct the formation of this public sphere in the next two sections, periodized separately as the newspaper’s apprenticeship years (1952-1962) and its socially-conscientious years (1963-1972).

The *Postboy* in its Period of Apprenticeship

At the time of *The Sagada Postboy*’s entry into the media landscape of Sagada in the 1950s, print media and telecommunications were already showing signs of impacting how the folk viewed and shared information. Telegraph and telephone lines were being established between Sagada and other provincial centers such as Bontoc and Tabuk. Newly installed radios and telephone lines were a cause for celebration in the barrios. Radio broadcasts from the United States Information Service (USIS), formerly the Office of War Information (OWI), were heard publicly from the Sagada Telegraph Office where news from all around the world were broadcast in the mornings and afternoons. Listeners in Sagada would have heard about the East Berlin riots, the fall of Formosa, the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II, and the first scaling of Mount Everest. Radio news and telegram messages about national matters were shared publicly from the presidential race between Magsaysay and Quirino, the famous trial of Huk leader Luis Taruc, to warnings of American-named typhoons headed for North Luzon.

Next door to the Telegraph Office was the Post Office where people received their mail and newspaper and magazine subscriptions ranging from the *Reader’s Digest* and the *National Geographic* to the *Philippines Free Press* and the *Manila Daily Bulletin*. Picture slide shows and movies became commonplace, often crowded with hundreds of people in attendance whether in the Civic Center, the Assembly Hall of

St. Mary's School, the Lyceum, the social hall of St. Theodore's Hospital, or the Holy Child Orphanage (now St. Joseph Resthouse). All these are locations within or near the Mission Compound around which the Sagada town center emerged.

Rev. Ezra Diman, one of the longest serving American priests-in-charge of the Sagada Mission before and after the War, gave his own description of the changing media and cultural landscape in postwar Sagada:

There is a new accent put on 'things.' Where once it was a rarity for an Igorot to go to Manila to 'see the city life,' it is now commonplace...Some of these people have even been to the United States for higher training in nursing and teaching techniques after finishing their undergraduate work in the Islands! Travel has become frequent and easy. Movies, once something to be talked about for weeks after a rare visit to Baguio, are now no novelty. Bontoc, Sagada, and many of the other towns are quite frequently visited by a traveling van which supplies its own electric power for operation. No one in the mountains even stops any more to look at an airplane, where as late as 1940 classes used to be temporarily dismissed so everyone could rush out and stare up into the sky whenever a plane was heard (1954, 42).

A *Postboy* entry in 1960, commenting on the rising literacy rate in the municipality, offers a glimpse of a Sagada public sphere in its time, illustrating what the developments in its previous decade led up to:

Evidences (sic) of Sagada's growing literacy rate can be seen on every hand. Sagada has consistently ranked among the top five municipalities in registered voters for the past decade, and St. Mary's School, drawing largely upon graduates of local primary schools, has generally placed high in all Government examinations scholastically. The POSTBOY's growth in self-support, the number of magazines which pass through the local post office monthly on regular subscriptions, the 19 daily copies of the MANILA BULLETIN which are sold, and the fact that St. Mary's students withdraw from 100 to 200 books from the School Library every day are all examples of the changes that have taken place in Sagada's literacy rate and educational scene since 1900 (Sagada Postboy No. 380, Nov. 7, 1960).

When William Henry Scott arrived in St. Mary's School in 1954 as a teacher, he most likely saw the historic significance in the hyperlocal chronicling that the *Postboy* presented. Scott writes in a *Postboy* entry entitled "The Postboy and Literacy":

For 100% of the mountaineers to become literate, however, it will be necessary for them to feel the need for the printed word, to desire it, and to understand its value. The POSTBOY not only originates information for its readers but tries to publish all articles which its readers submit to make the need of a reliable journal felt among the people. [...] Many do not realize that the information gained from the printed word does not get consumed like rice or does not get old and die like a carabao. The useful information learned from the printed page remains always with the reader as long as he lives (Sagada Postboy 1954, No. 129).

The necessity for the printed page would eventually be felt in the rest of the Mountain Province, with mimeographed newspapers published and circulated especially in Episcopal Mission areas. One can look at such efforts at creating mimeo newspapers as part of the “golden age of Philippine journalism” when the highly ubiquitous and productive journalism of the postwar period was also enjoyed by the nation’s peripheries. It can also be seen as part of the broader character of pre-Martial Law journalism described by Torres (2021)—an information landscape becoming more implicated in the global exchange of news. Indeed *Postboy* reportage was often in sync with the national front pages. The deeply ingrained influence of American media¹⁰, its aggrandizement of the free press, combined with the characteristic McCarthyism¹¹ at the time, would be reflected in the tone and rhetoric of rural newspapers like the *Postboy*.

The *Postboy* was also informed by the global and national news narratives that came from mainstream news sources such as the radio which, in Sagada and the wider areas of Mountain Province and Benguet, emerged largely from agencies like the United States Information Service (USIS) and stations like the Voice of America (VOA). In fact, the earlier issues of the *Postboy* drew many of its articles from USIS radio.

It is not far-fetched to expect radio news to be written down and thus relayed in print form in the rural presses. The ubiquity and versatility of the radio allowed it to be the predominant medium among developing countries (Mag-uyon 1984). This was definitely the norm in the rural media landscape where “radio transcends the literacy barrier” (2). For instance, article leads in the *Postboy* like “This morning’s radio news,” “Today’s 12:45 P.M. Radio News,” or “This morning’s 6:30 Radio Broadcast” suggest that the newspaper was an extension of the radio. Set in printed form, news from the radio was bestowed more permanence, and not at all in competition with the radio in delivering the news. Maslog offers the same description of the community press

of the 1960s when “the press serves a community which has a radio station, it rarely considers radio as competition” (1971, 10).

Meanwhile, entries in the *Postboy* attest to the hardships of a school-run mimeo newspaper where all tasks are undertaken by an unpaid staff consisting of full-time students. Participation from faculty members involved final editing, proofreading, and signing off on accounts and sworn statements, but numerous issues also saw contributions in the form of opinion pieces from various faculty members like William Henry Scott, W. Richard Hughes, Alfredo Pacyaya, Lucian Mangusan, Ireneo Quilaman, or Rev. Archie Stapleton—whose contributions were also often expressions of public support for the *Postboy*, as well as appraisals of the *Postboy*’s overall significance in Sagada and beyond.

Nevertheless, as a student publication for the most part, the *Postboy* has also been characterized by amateurism. Sometimes, it was haphazard in its selection of articles and even prone to lapses in its reporting. The *Postboy* has always tried to correct these shortcomings by admitting to the oversight and promising to be more thorough in its vetting of articles in the future.

Much like the neophyte journalist that is the St. Mary’s School student in the process of honing her facilities in the English language while practicing her journalism skills, the *Postboy* too is a reflection of that apprenticeship. The result is often reportage of a hyperlocal character and with a hodgepodge style in the form of news snippets limited to a paragraph and covering a miscellany of topics that were deemed newsworthy by its student staff.

Meanwhile, Scott’s time as faculty adviser to the *Postboy* was well documented. Recruitment of new staffers would begin with the sophomore or junior class being given instruction by Scott on journalism and writing, after which the students were expected to turn in articles applying what was learned in these lectures. The resulting articles were reviewed by Scott who selected the best ones and drew up a list of potential candidates which he would later present to the *Postboy* staff. “After discussing the candidates among themselves,” explains a staff writer in 1961, “Staff members submitted their choices to Mr. Scott privately, and these choices were the basis of his appointments.”¹²

Meanwhile, officers for the paper including the Editor were selected through election among staffers. The Editor was tasked with editing articles, assigning writers to cover events, and delegating work among the staff. Further newspaper work for the *Postboy* included typewriting the articles, creating stencils, printing and reproducing the copies using the mimeograph machine.

After the mimeograph work came the task of addressing the copies, stapling the pages, purchasing stamps, sorting and distributing to subscribers by door-to-door delivery or by mail, collecting payments,

issuing receipts and ordering more supplies for production. This is the process of newspaper production and distribution by a rural newspaper run by high school students with limited resources.

Between the first year of its production in 1952 and its increased distribution in the 1970s, the number of mailed subscriptions to the *Postboy* fluctuated between 100-400,¹³ either as paid subscription¹⁴ or complimentary copy. In 1954, it was recorded that around 150 copies were printed for paid subscribers, and an additional 150 complimentary copies were distributed to students of the school. The total number of copies would steadily grow into 400 in the late 1950s. The number of *Postboy* copies printed every week most likely exceeded the number of recorded mailed subscriptions.

Nevertheless, 100-400 copies sounds like an appropriate range estimation considering the production capabilities available to St. Mary's School at the time. This number however does not necessarily reflect the number of *Postboy* readers, as there are members of the community who consumed the paper via dependent literacy. Prisca Daoey, student editor of the *Postboy* in 1958, attested in an editorial that during the subscription campaigns, it was discovered "that there are a lot more readers than subscribers."¹⁵

Today, one could only imagine the feat of one person designated as the official printer rolling out hundreds of *Postboy* copies on a weekly basis on a single mimeograph machine. These copies would later be manually distributed or mailed by a sparse staff, trying to make newspaper circulation happen in a municipality that had not yet achieved a 100% literacy rate. These operations attest to the modest methods involved in producing a mimeo newspaper. Nevertheless, this was the rural press at work.

The *Postboy* in its Period of Social Conscience

From the news-gathering to the distribution of copies to subscribers, the whole process of producing and circulating the *Postboy* had been honed since 1952, becoming more fairly systematic in its operations and more audacious in writing style towards the 1970s. Generally, writers consisted of junior and senior students as well as newly-recruited sophomores who were expected to take over tasks vacated by graduating students. "St. Mary's School organ primarily aims to train interested students in writing and to develop their talents," writes a student editor in 1968. "That is why almost all of the articles are composed by them, not the faculty members."¹⁶

The latter years of 1963-1972 can be considered the *Postboy's* years of social conscientization, with its pages increasingly accommodating longer news articles and more opinion pieces. The first formal editorial appeared in 1963, bearing first the moralizing character of a diocesan

institution, and later on becoming more political in delivering its commentaries. Compared to the quaintness of earlier reports that simply enumerated incidents, the *Postboy* by the 1970s accommodated individual voices and demonstrated more willingness to present opinions, revealing a newspaper that was increasingly becoming a space for issues and grievances, becoming more student-centered, more adventurous in what it could do as a newspaper.

The penchant for political opinion in the *Postboy* issues of the late 1960s towards the early 1970s made the school paper a target of accusations of subversion, a charge normally levied against many community and school papers at this time of media censorship as a result of President Marcos, Sr.'s nationwide declaration of Martial Law in 1972. The situation was exacerbated by the *Postboy's* association with Scott who, a month later after the declaration of Martial Law, was arrested and placed under military detention alongside other Philippine intellectuals for what was deemed as their "seditious activities"¹⁷. The absence of preserved copies of the *Postboy* from late September 1972 onwards is reflective of Scott's absence as collector and archiver of the newspaper. Very few copies of the *Postboy* have been collated during and after Scott's incarceration in Martial Law prison.

Ben Longid, typist for the *Postboy* from 1964-1966, revealed during a personal interview in 2024 that the *Postboy* ceased printing only for a short period until it resumed some time in 1973 with an editorial declaring that the *Postboy* continues to uphold students' rights and freedom of the press. A few extant copies of 1978 to 1980s issues of the *Postboy* (see Figure 5) reveal that the paper continued to report on urgent issues from the Chico River Dam¹⁸ and Cellophil projects¹⁹ to human rights abuses committed by the Philippine Constabulary.

Around 1979, another mimeographed newspaper called *Mensapit* began circulation in central Sagada. First published by the social action committee of the Parish of St. Mary the Virgin, *Mensapit* was a monthly organ delivering news and opinion pieces concerning church and community matters which, for cofounder Ben Longid, were meant "for awareness-building on social issues and for conscientization." *Mensapit* had a short-lived first run which lasted until 1981, and was revived again as a monthly periodical in 2001 until its second dissolution in 2004.

Its choice of name "*Mensapit*," a Kankanaey word (both verb and noun) which means "to tell a story" or "storyteller," is suggestive of how its producers considered the role of print media. The word "*mensapit*" is also synonymous with the roles undertaken by a recognized elder in Kankanaey-speaking communities: peacemaker, arbiter, or reciter of ritual—as if to attribute unto newsprint the potency and authority of oral tradition. This perhaps also may be inspired by a conscious vernacularization, revealed by the *Mensapit's* use of Kankanaey

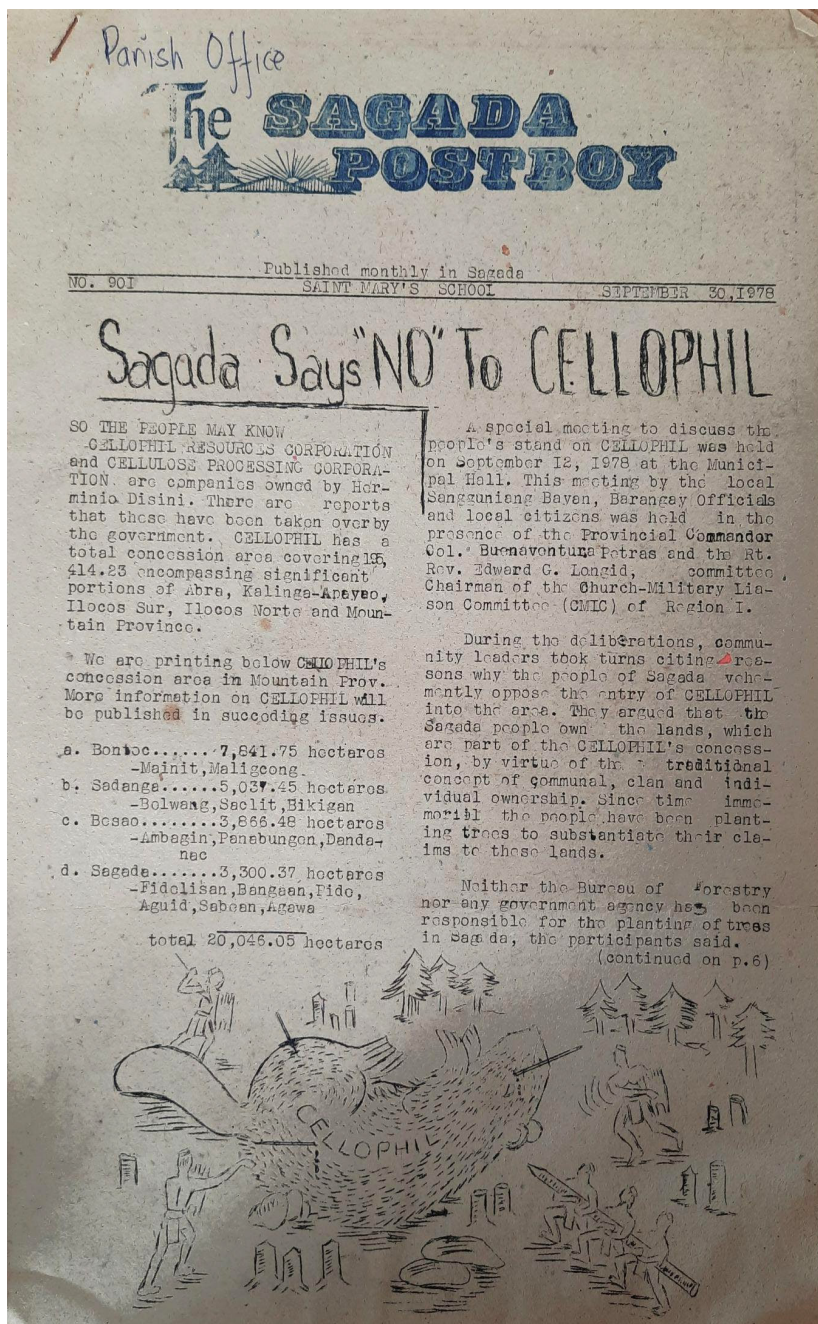


Figure 5. The Sagada Postboy (September 30, 1978) reports on the community response to the Cellophil issue with a full front page spread and an editorial cartoon rendering Cellophil as a giant pest to be slain collectively by Igorot warriors.

words for time markers alongside the saxonized Roman calendar (for instance, instead of just indicating the month of “July,” it also affixes the Kankanaey word for July which is “Bandawey”; instead of simply “March-April 1981,” it calls the issue “Bakakew-Kitkiti 1981”).

Whereas the *Postboy* evoked the apprentice, the *Mensapit* evoked the storytelling and peacekeeping elder. Produced by graduates of St. Mary’s School (who were also former staffers of the *Postboy* in their youth), *Mensapit* comes across as a direct influence of the *Postboy* tradition. In a personal interview in 2024, Agnes Kollin, another cofounder of the 1979 *Mensapit* and a student of the mission school in 1952, said that she also considers *Mensapit* as “an extension of the *Postboy*”. Editors of the newer iteration were also conscious that *Mensapit* was meant to supplement the coverage being offered by the school paper.

Because both *Postboy* and *Mensapit* delivered roughly the same coverage and were authored by persons associated with St. Mary’s School, it is reasonable to read and analyze *Mensapit* alongside the *Postboy*. Between the *Postboy* and *Mensapit* was a rhetorical difference between budding writer and experienced reporter. It is clear that the political upheavals during the Martial Law period was much more pronounced in the reportage of *Mensapit* which included Sagada’s opposition to destructive development projects, unjust killings and arrests done to local residents, and the politicized affair on the electrification of Sagada. Even if touted as an official church organ, *Mensapit* sought to address what was perceived as a “thirst for a local newspaper”²⁰ that responded to issues, particularly that of the Cellophil and Chico River Dam struggles. The abruptness of its first print run reflected its exigency at a time when nuanced political commentary was necessary. It is not surprising that the more explicit “conscientization” demonstrated in *Mensapit* made the *Postboy* come across as a paper that “may never have been progressive²¹” but still also one that “took guts to call a spade a spade²².” Where *Mensapit* was singular in its theology and *raison d’être*²³, the *Postboy* was simply more multifarious in its quality, and inadvertently the community’s juvenalia.

Nevertheless the *Postboy* and *Mensapit* share similar rhetorical space of narrating and re-articulating the history of the missions. For instance, both papers share the penchant for republishing material from older sources such as the Anglican organ *The Diocesan Chronicle*, if only to retell episodes of church history or some anecdote on the founding and survival of the Sagada Mission. This shared rhetorical space, that of participating in the writing of history and of reiterating an origin story, suggests a discursive tradition taking place among Sagada’s most public interlocutors.



Figure 6. *The Sagada Postboy* over the years, from mimeographed production from 1952 to the mid-1990s. The turn of the millennium did not see any circulation from the *Postboy*, and these were years augmented briefly by the *Mensapit*. The *Postboy* returned as a computerized pamphlet form in 2001, later on in the blogosphere as online news, and then in physical newsprint expected of campus papers (its current appearance).

It would be remiss to describe *The Sagada Postboy* as a community newspaper that has been running for seventy-two years without the disclaimer that such a print run was also punctuated by occasional interruptions, inconsistency in its quality, its flexibility as a genre within journalism, its fluctuating scope and mode of circulation, or the changing degree of social consciousness being espoused in its pages. Sometimes it was a mimeo newspaper. Sometimes it was a coupon bond pamphlet. Sometimes it was full-colored newsprint. At one time it appeared on the blogosphere as an online news source. Before, it was assembled with a typewriter and mimeograph machine. Now, it is formatted with layouting softwares and churned out by Gestetners. At one time it was a community newspaper. Today it is a campus paper. Its changing face (see Figure 6), the resourcefulness of its student staff, and the flexibility of its production give the *Postboy* its quality as a “makeshift performance²⁴” and yet it is a makeshift performance that attests to the dynamism of a newspaper operating in a public sphere that was all the more enriched by an idiosyncratic but very responsive rural press.

Postcolonializing the *Postboy*

Church authority of the Episcopal Mission in the Philippines was not a neutral presence in Philippine colonial history. After the Spanish-American War, American lobbyists who argued in favor of the opening of Episcopal Church missions in the Philippines were allied with pro-imperialist elements, whereas anti-imperialists were apprehensive of the need for such missions in the first place (Ngaya-an 2015). Episcopal Bishop Charles Brent, the first Missionary Bishop of the Philippines during American colonial rule, was aligned with Governor General Taft in their “complete agreement on American policy toward the Philippines, which both regarded as a missionary effort by representatives of a ‘superior civilization’ to uplift the Filipinos and bring them the democracy which was the logical outcome of Christianity” (Halsema 1988, 23-4).

Nevertheless, empire and its grand program of manifest destiny could not be the overarching account of the complex paradox that came with the missionary as a colonial presence. For Cagé and Rueda, “different types of missionary investments affect different contemporary outcomes” (2016, 70). The missionary is no doubt a perplexing figure in Philippine colonial history. While Ngaya-an (2015) interprets the Episcopal Missions as being allied with the American colonial regime, Jones (2013) refers to the Episcopal missionaries themselves as “pragmatic anti-imperialists?” (that tentative question mark included) in relation to the colonial administration. “The Episcopal missionaries and the American colonial regime never converted each other,” wrote Jones. “Over four decades they sparred for control of Igorot lives, convinced by the assumption—and one may endlessly debate to what extent it was a delusion—that they in fact could exercise such control” (27).

What can be asserted is that the “dialogical relationship between the missionaries and their hosts” had not ended at all in the postwar era, even when it came to the making of the *Postboy*. It was a relationship that “in the case of the [Episcopal Church of the Philippines], did not end in the granting of Philippine independence in 1946 but rather extended until 1990 when the ECP was granted constitutional autonomy” (Ngaya-an 2015, 4). We then extend that dialogical relationship in this postcolonial scrutiny of textual artifacts like the *Postboy*.

Considering the partnership that existed between Episcopal church authority and the pro-imperialist actors on American policy towards the Philippines, the *Postboy* is therefore an American colonial byproduct. The prevailing colonial program engendered orientalist styles of thought in public administration, education, and ethnography, so that archives, histories, and memories entextualized in newspapers too are inflected with it.

The mission school as an institution itself helps maintain dominant narratives and cycles of privilege that present mission education and literacy as means towards upwards social mobility. This social analysis was not lost on the *Postboy* writers either: "No educated man would go back to live in the dap-ay, to his old primitive way of life. Nor will he go back to his primitive religion to worship his primitive gods whose demands make the follower poorer because of offering too many sacrifices."²⁵

Among postwar graduates, it is a common theme to express gratitude towards the mission school which had opened up opportunities for them. A graduate of Class 1954, reflected on this in one written testimony: "For me, education was going to be my savior from the usual for girls in my hometown—work in the family farm, marry early, and bear many children. St. Mary's High had a reputation of graduating academically prepared students who aspire for further education in the best colleges of the country."²⁶

Indeed the upward social mobility alluded to by this generation of mission school graduates, which Bacdayan (2011) calls "American uplift work", is a running theme in many alumni members' remembrances during the school's commemorative events today. Embodied cultural capital is proxied by these "hallmarks" of a mission school student, whether it be scholastic and professional achievement, wider social engagement and political influence, proficiency in English, a cosmopolitan outlook acquired through travel and exposure to the world outside one's place of origin. "Graduates of Saint Mary's School are found almost all over the world and are very much active in their fields of endeavor," wrote Rev. Alexander Wandag. "Graduates of Saint Mary's School continue to shine if not outshine their colleagues in colleges and universities, a testimony of the quality of instruction Saint Mary's School is providing."²⁷ Another rousing commemorative message hits the same thematic points:

[M]ore than a century has passed since the missionaries came to ka-Igorotan in northern Philippines to Christianize a 'once-upon-a-time head-hunting, trial-marriage, rice-terracing and gangsa-beating heathens.' Through quality education grounded on the tenets of Christianity, which the missionaries bestowed on us, legions of Igorot sons and daughters were able to transcend economic, cultural, social and geographic divides to improve their living conditions in whatever part of the globe they have settled. We were able to assimilate with Philippine mainstream society and the rest of the world.²⁸

Such commemorative language is very much reflected in the *Postboy* especially in its anniversary issues. Aside from the usual

aggrandizement of the English language, the newspaper joins in the commemoration of the colonial parentage of its institution. All this while the student writers of the *Postboy* at the time were still called by the Philippine republic as “Non-Christian Filipinos” and “National Cultural Minorities.”²⁹ Inadvertently, these young Igorot writers would also propagate what would be the first drafts of an Igorot’s self-determinations, as well as their tentative nationalistic and historical interpretation of society.

Indeed the “characteristics” of a mission school graduate is a matter that is very much celebrated in the *Postboy*, and they were often framed as Igorot achievements. For instance, the newspaper would bear news headlines like “Three Igorots Pass Board Exams”³⁰, “Igorot Gets University of Pittsburgh Degree,”³¹ or “Igorot Lad Meets President Johnson; Sees History in the Making.”³²

The inclusion of Igorot success stories in the *Postboy* justify the continued need for the mission school, bolstering its role in providing the most advantageous Igorot representation that can be projected to the outside world. Such success stories are engagements in counter-narratives at a time when students had to contend with “wrong impression of the people on Igorots.”³³ Scholastic achievement was often used to counter the sort of symbolic violence that Igorot graduates become aware of when they leave Sagada to study in the urban colleges and universities — personal stories about which are often brought back home by the graduates themselves. “My one year stay on the campus proved to me that almost all the people here are still ignorant about us Igorots,” wrote one graduate studying in Silliman University in a letter to the *Postboy*³⁴. In another account: “She said that most people there think that Igorots are still uncivilized and that they have tails,” reported the *Postboy* on the experiences of a recent graduate who went on to study business administration in Manila. “She however proved these impressions are false.”³⁵

Success stories enable the mission school to discursively position itself as a representation of the “model Igorot” whose qualities were more acceptable to a higher stratum of society, and whose duty by way of mainstream integration is to dispel residues of orientalist thinking. It would appear that the discursive space that the *Postboy* created served as the field in which the mission school student rehearsed a contemporary Igorot identity.

It can also be argued that the newspaper participated in symbolically integrating the Igorot in mainstream Philippine society. Such an integration is described by Scott (1972), thus:

As soon as somebody became literate enough, he was likely to be taken into the system: the first Igorot school teacher our mission hired in Sagada was a fourth-grade graduate. So in

the first generation there came to be many with some taste of schooling; in the second, real functioning literates; and by the third, hometown boys were coming back from normal school to introduce novelties in the way of hygiene and medicine, politicize adults and supervise elections, plant new crops and open stores to sell new products, put their income in circulation by loaning it out at interest, and replace battle-scarred old headhunters as the most prestigious and influential members of the community (359).

This clear-cut story of progress is Scott's narration of the Igorot's integration into mainstream Philippine society. This progression, very much like the Igorot success stories published in the *Postboy*, are explicit with a sort of formulaic narrative structure that constructively privileges the mission school and literacy as significant in social uplift work. This is a development from the sentiments of one former priest-in-charge who decades ago once lamented that exposure to print media was a disruptive force in Igorot life, an exposure that became far too advanced for Diman's liking: "The power of the printed word has increased to an astonishing degree without the time element needed for the power of discrimination" (Diman 1954, 42).

Whether exposure to print media was considered a privilege "unique in the Mountain Province" (Scott 1957) or an invasion that "has increased to an astonishing degree" (Diman 1954)—one can construe both opposite positions as coming from missionary hubris—the repercussions of such an exposure are great. There is literature that confirms the significant role of print media in the formation of complex cultures and public spheres particularly in the context of postcolonial societies (Cagé and Rueda 2016, Hunter and James 2020). Communities affected by the presence of "printing missions" are, according to Cagé and Rueda, more likely to have physical and human capital (such as printing presses, and persons trained in writing and journalism) as well as social capital whose proxy is newspaper readership. The presence of a printing press and a newspaper therefore meant some measure of social and political engagement.

This engagement among a community of readers augurs postcolonial conditions that see the host community as being more agentive, and more inclined to negotiate the terms of their own integration into globalized spheres or the national body-politic. Wielding this agency is represented by the possession of what Bourdieu referred to as cultural capital: social assets that lead to social upwards mobility. The agent who wields cultural capital gets to participate in self-definitions and discursive formations.

Thus to be among the *Postboy's* community of readers means to accumulate capital and to participate as an agent in the Sagada social

narrative constructed by St. Mary's School. Indeed, the early access to cultural capital through the presence of a "printing mission" as well as discursive proficiency in disciplines of documentation, writing, and conscious history-making are all activities that led to cluster effects³⁶ that involved a socially and politically engaged public sphere, especially one that is paradoxically positioned to tell a counter-hegemonic story while being a product of mnemonic regimes itself.

By positioning itself as "spokesman of all that is happening,"³⁷ the *Postboy* reinforces its own narrative authority, often framing itself as indispensable to the making of Sagada. "Before the first issue of this school newspaper went into publication, news articles pertaining to the Church, the school, and the community were unknown outside"³⁸ or as represented in a 1968 editorial:

Since its first publication in 1952, the *Postboy* has done much for the community and the school. A place and a people which stay isolated from the rest of the world remain unknown, not talked about and are seldom visited by outside people. In some ways, this paper has helped in making this municipality known to the world. When articles concerning the practices and interpretations of certain natural happenings in town are also published so that those who might not have heard or known them may know... There is no town crier to go around town informing everybody of what emanates from the municipal hall or the other institutions. This the *Postboy* does (Sagada *Postboy* 1968, No. 679).

Throughout the newspaper, Sagada without the *Postboy* is described as "a place and a people which stay isolated" and therefore unknown, "not talked about and are seldom visited by outside people." The isolation of Sagada, its state of being *unknown*, is framed as an undesirable condition, and what saves the community from this condition of being unreal or *unknown* is the local newspaper: "[The *Postboy*] has introduced Sagada and the neighboring places to the world; it has invited people from other places to come and see and later to write in books and magazines what they have read and heard about this town."³⁹ Print becomes the precondition for existence. By making the community *known* to "outside people" or "to the world," the newspaper makes the place real—"this the *Postboy* does," that is, to equate the "birth" of the *Postboy* with Sagada making its "mark on the world" alongside other places of note. The "founding" of Sagada is made inextricable from the beginnings of print media.

The glorification of print media which underlies the *Postboy's* anniversary narrative implies that a community of readers is being hailed and being expanded upon, from the Mountain Province to the

nation, and to the rest of the world. Writings in the *Postboy* suggest that the writers were able to imagine the unique position and potential of their own school paper. It sees itself as “the only newspaper published in Western Bontoc,” as a paper of worth because it is read by “people throughout the Philippines” and “even our friends in America.” It aligns itself with “the meteoric pace” and “fast progressing” of Sagada—all as if to say that non-participation in the *Postboy*’s expanding community of readers also means non-participation in the nation, or, to have no place in the developing, postcolonial world.

As the *Postboy* establishes St. Mary’s School as the official narrator of Sagada culture and history, it consolidates print institutions as analogous to the community. By presenting print media as a panacea to Sagada’s isolation, the *Postboy* grants Sagada an identity locatable in history or in the discourse of knowledge.

While it demonstrates complicity with hegemonic interests through its reinforcement of colonial narratives, it simultaneously engages in a counter-hegemonic project by locating the Igorot within a nation that frames them as cultural minorities. This contradiction is very much emblematic of postcolonial negotiation. Ultimately, by forwarding a social narrative where the newspaper and the institution behind it are congruous to Sagada, the *Postboy* too imagines the Igorot.

The Author

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Notes

1. Also referred to in the literature as the pre-Martial Law years (Maslog 1971 & Torres 2021), bringing attention to the eventual control of dissenting voices by state forces when Pres. Ferdinand Marcos suspended the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus in 1971 through Proclamation No. 889.
2. What Pineda-Ofreneo explained was that the “community” in the community press still meant an educated and therefore English-speaking public, in closer proximity to the urban centers if it is not itself an urbanized area. More likely, the participants of such a community press would be members of the rural elite. This is similar to Mag-uyon’s definition of community newspapers as “generally

published from the capital towns, cities or major commercial towns of the various provinces" (1984, 29). Nevertheless, Pineda-Ofreneo's characterization of the rural press betrays a view of the "rural" as static and passive, as in another ungenerous description here: "Even assuming that the rural folk which comprise about 70 per cent of the Philippine population are rich enough and educated enough to be able to patronize newspapers and magazines, the problem still cannot be solved. Transportation and communication facilities between the urban centers and the barrios are inadequate and irregular. This makes the distribution of print media extremely difficult, time-consuming and expensive" (1984, 200)

3. An observation made by veteran Baguio journalist Frank Cimatu, citing as examples *The Sagada Postboy* as well as the Baguio Colleges Foundation's (now the University of the Cordilleras) *The Gold Ore*, the campus-paper-turned-community-paper that in its heyday even rivaled the Baguio Midland Courier in quality and readership.
4. As an active publication from 1836-1939, the magazine commissioned by the American arm of the Anglican church provided narrative reports of Episcopal missions and stations all over the world.
5. "The Sagada Mission Printing Press—Speaking of neatly printed inscriptions, the printing press in the Mission had been there since 1912. In 1935, it was under the charge of Mr. Angel Piluden, himself formerly a boy in our school, now a teacher in the afternoon and printer in the morning. The diplomas, certificates, and almost all other forms were most carefully done in Sagada since the printer was acquired." (Diocesan Chronicle, July 1935, p.4)
6. Robles (2016) claims that the Midland purchased two platen printing presses from the Anglican Missions of Sagada. Such job presses were commonplace in the early 20th century, peaking between the 1910s and 1920s. However, by the time the Baguio Midland Courier acquired the Chandler and Price job press from the Sagada Mission, the platen press itself would be on its way towards obscurity, with mass production ultimately halted in the 1960s.
7. First appearing on August 20, 1951; the only allusion to the Sagada Teachers Association Bi-Weekly was in *The Sagada Postboy*
8. *The Rockies*, the student-led organ of the third and fourth year students of St. Mary's School, had literary leanings and had Ms. Julia Agayo as editor. It was being sold at five centavos a copy.
9. 1992 is said to be the last time the school engaged in mimeography to produce the Postboy.
10. Pineda-Ofreneo (1984) underscores the American-oriented training of Filipino journalists, which is training that is neutralized and perpetuated across generations of journalists, contributing to—

in Constantino-esque language—the overall miseducation of the Filipino “in the American way.” Crawford (1989) however offers a counterpoint: “Pineda-Ofreneo spells out American influences in great detail, listing foreign news coverage, CIA media activities, editorial policy and graphics models and business connections, press organizations, language policy, journalism training and the use of American equipment and supplies. Yet she cites only lacunae, weaknesses, handicaps and other excuses as to why Philippine journalism does not meet conventional (American) professional ideals” (236).

11. Resulting from the “Red Scare” of the Cold War period, postwar McCarthyism in the Philippines was given credence in print and broadcast media through speculative condemnations of communist ideology and individuals suspected of espousing them. In the *Postboy*, this was shown through news articles that echoed radio reports from the United States Information Service.
12. *The Sagada Postboy* No. 398, March 22, 1961
13. This number only being based on the sworn statements attached to every April and October issue of the organ, as required by Commonwealth Act No. 201 obligating every newspaper in the country to file sworn statements to the Director of Posts indicating the names and addresses of the editor, managing editor, business manager, owner, publisher, printer, other stockholders of the publication. Such an attachment no longer appeared after the 1970 *Postboy* issues, but the newspaper would keep claiming to be registered as a newsletter with second class mailing privileges under the Bureau of Posts.
14. In its inception, the *Postboy* cost two centavos, and its yearly subscription was worth one peso. Mailed subscriptions become slightly higher in price because of the cost of stamps.
15. Prisca Doaey in *The Sagada Postboy* No. 299, November 12, 1958
16. Thomas Bayogan in *The Sagada Postboy* No. 672, September 13, 1968
17. In 1972 Scott was placed under military detention as an undesirable alien shortly after Martial Law was declared. Used as evidence of his “seditious activities” was his possession of a copy of Mao Zedong’s “Red Book” (Scott justified before authorities that for a scholar of Oriental history it was not an unusual volume to keep in the bookshelf), as well as his mentorship of several students from St. Mary’s School who belonged to the militant anti-Marcos opposition (Schlegel 2017). Declining the intervention of the US Embassy, and defending himself while being backed by the wide support of friends from Sagada to colleagues in the academe who attested to his dedication to the Philippines, its history, and its ethnic minorities, Scott was then later released after six months in jail. In his personal account of Scott, Schlegel wrote: “Scotty felt

great pride in having been jailed, regarding it as a validation of his Filipino nationalist beliefs and commitments. He told me he had enjoyed every minute and considered the time in jail behind bars to be one of the best of his life because he was able to have long, in-depth conversations with all the most prominent anti-Marcos activists" (2017, 94).

18. The Chico River Dam was a proposed hydropower project under the administration of President Marcos, Sr. which would have displaced thousands of indigenous residents in the provinces of Kalinga and Mountain Province. Public outrage as well as the assassination of Butbut leader and Kalinga chieftain Macliing Dulag suspended the implementation of the project.
19. Like the Chico River Dam struggle which saw the opposition of indigenous groups against destructive development projects, there was also public outrage over the logging concessions and proposed extractive projects of the Cellophil Resource Corporation which was created in 1973 by Herminio Disini, a Marcos crony. The logging concessions covered wide swathes of forested covers in Northern Luzon including the Mountain Province.
20. *Mensapit*, Adogna (August) 1980, p.3
21. From an interview with Mr. Ben Longid, co-founder of the church organ Mensapit.
22. Lydia Umaming's editorial in *The Sagada Postboy's* 50th Anniversary Folio, April 2003
23. "It is meaningless to talk of redemption without discussing evil and the values and structures that perpetuate it. It is senseless to be preaching against sin without understanding the concrete conditions which encourage the devil to operate. When we talk of salvation, we have to talk of the world here and now. Moreover, it is part of our prophetic witness to interpret the signs of the times clearly and with courage. Within this perspective, Mensapit nurtures its theology, its *raison d'être*." [Mensapit, Adogna (August) 1980, p.3]
24. After Resil Mojares' description of Isabelo de los Reyes' El Folklore Filipino as "makeshift performance," that is, a performance defined by multivocality and the exigencies of its context and time.
25. *The Sagada Postboy* No. 447, August 17, 1962
26. Christina Batore in "St. Mary's High School - A Profound Influence in my Life," written in 2011 for the 5th St. Mary's School of Sagada Alumni and Friends Conference in North America
27. From the message of Alexander Wandag, Sr., Rector of CSMV & Chaplain of St. Mary's School to the Alumni of St. Mary's School during the school's diamond jubilee and First Grand Alumni Homecoming

28. From the message of Lambert B. Sagalla in the 6th North American SMSSAFF Conference 2014
29. The newly instituted Commission on National Integration of 1957 recognized the indigenous peoples of the Mountain Province as "Non-Christian Filipinos or National Cultural Minorities" whose integration into the national body politic was the mandate of the said commission.
30. *The Sagada Postboy* No. 271, February 12, 1958: THREE IGOROTS PASS BOARD EXAMS. Three Igorots, Mr. Leoncio Carlin, Mr. Joseph T. Belit, and Miss Elizabeth Olat, according to the Manila Daily Bulletin dated, February four, passed the board examinations: Mr. Carlin and Mr. Belit passed the examination for Doctors with rating of 78.13 and 73.06 respectively while Miss Olat passed the examination for Midwives with a rating of 89. They are three out of 595 who passed the Exams. Mr. Carlin and Miss Olat, 1957 graduates of St. Mary's School, are natives of Sagada while Mr. Belit is a native of Benguet. Mr. Carlin took his medical education at the University of the Philippines. Mr. Belit at the University of Santo Tomas and Miss Olat took her education in Midwifery at the Manila Children's Maternity Hospital. (*Sagada Postboy* No. 271)
31. *The Sagada Postboy* No. 281, July 2, 1958. IGOROT GETS UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH DEGREE. (This news is quoted from the Manila Daily Bulletin dated June 23, 1958) A petite, shy girl, from the Mountains near Baguio City in the Philippines, and a youth from the Visayan Islands live students from Asian countries who were awarded with degrees at the University of Pittsburgh's recent commencement exercises. Miss Catherine O. Longid of Tadian, formerly of Sagada, Mountain Province, graduated with a bachelor of science in nursing education. Melanio S. Liguracion of Madridejos, Cebu, finished with a doctor of Philosophy degree. Miss Longid was a 1950 graduate of St. Mary's School and she was the valedictorian of her class.
32. *The Sagada Postboy* No. 635, October 11, 1967. IGOROT LAD MEETS PRESIDENT JOHNSON; SEES HISTORY IN THE MAKING. Benedict Solang of Sagada recently met Lyndon Baines Johnson, president of the most powerful and most progressive country on earth. The Washington Observer, a newspaper covering visitors to Washington, D.C., capital of the United States of America carried a headline story and a photograph of the event. The story, as narrated by the newspaper is quoted as follows: "Today was a memorable day for a Washington visitor pictured above. He spent a part of its visiting with America's Number One citizen, President Lyndon Baines Johnson, as he relaxed for a few minutes from his burden of daily decisions" [...] Benedict Solang is the son of Mr. and Mrs. Jose Solang (Lakay Solang of Dagdag, Sagada.) He was

the editor of the SAGADA POSTBOY in 1965-1966 and graduated valedictorian of his class.

33. *The Sagada Postboy* No. 754, November 20, 1970
34. *The Sagada Postboy* No. 522, September 18, 1964
35. *The Sagada Postboy* No. 754, November 20, 1970
36. I think of the "cluster effects" Nick Joaquin talks about in his 1988 essay "Culture and History." For Joaquin the introduction of new technology was also an initiation into the craft-community or the culture-community. The tool (the instrument, the media, the techne) has had cluster effects and influences that go "beyond their respective fields of function"—one of such functions was to initiate the Filipino into "being baptized" into the craft-community or culture-community. Joaquin's plethora of examples include the plow, the guisa as a cooking procedure, the sari-sari store, the pan de sal, the printing press, among others.
37. *The Sagada Postboy* No. 718, November 7, 1969. It is indeed a great pride that the Postboy has never gone out of its first established policies ever since its creation. Moreover, it is not only an educational tool to the journalistic students but also, *a spokesman of all that is happening in and out of town.* (emphasis mine)
38. Dorothy Bacayan in *The Sagada Postboy* No. 420, November 6, 1961.
39. *The Sagada Postboy* No. 679, November 6, 1968

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