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The Early History of Cagayan de Oro

FRANCIS C. MADIGAN

CAGAYAN DE ORO CITY, situated on its excellent harbor in Macalajar Bay on the north Mindanao coast, is the capital of Misamis Oriental Province. Located on the only roads into Bukidnon Province to the south, and into Agusan and Lanao del Norte Provinces to the east and west, it has developed during the past twenty-five years into an important commercial city.

Because of this recent economic development, persons not familiar with the history of Cagayan often seem to think its Christianity is of equally recent vintage. They imagine that it has resulted from Christian immigration during this century into a formerly Muslim area. In point of fact, Islam even at the height of its power never enjoyed more than a tenuous hold upon the Macalajar Bay area, while its Christian tradition stretches back to the early days of Spanish rule in the Philippines. This paper will sketch several highlights of the City's early history.

PRE-HISTORY

One can only conjecture most of the myriad events, tragic and festive, which the Cagayan River must have witnessed during the several or more millenia of human occupation which probably passed before the coming of the Spanish Recollects,

in 1622, to Himologàn, the fortified city of the Cagayan people.¹

Negritos such as are today found near Lake Mainit and in several mountain areas of Surigao Province possibly first possessed the Cagayan territory. If so, centuries later Malay colonists with various blends of Mongoloid characteristics (which some anthropologists believe to be associated with earlier and later dates of arrival in Mindanao) may have battled among themselves as well as with the Negritos for control of the Cagayan River coastal plains.

Today, at any rate, two distinct types of people are found in the Cagayan area: the Bukidnons (as they are called by the Visayans), a Malayo-Indonesian people living in the mountain areas on either side of the National Road ("Sayre Highway") as far south as Malaybalay, and the Visayans, a Malayo-Indonesian people occupying the coastal plains of Misamis Oriental and the more accessible and fertile locations of the Bukidnon Plateau. The cultures of these two peoples are diverse, including their languages, *Binukid* and *Binisaya*. Nevertheless, generic linguistic and cultural similarities suggest a common ancestral culture and place of origin on the Asian continent, probably not far from the Malay Peninsula. In legend and probably in fact too, the Visayans in pre-Spanish times drove the Bukidnons off the lowlands into the mountains.²

¹ Luís de Jesús always uses the grave instead of the acute accent in the word Himologàn. Possibly when he wrote, the distinction between the grave and the acute accent was not yet fixed; or possibly he had the stylistic peculiarity of using the grave for the acute. On the other hand, he may be trying to signal something by the use of the grave accent, such as a guttural sound. In any case, it seems best to follow his orthography until more is known about the matter. (As will be seen, De Jesús was the Recollect chronicler who described the Christianization of Cagayan.)

² Several attempts have been made to distinguish between the physical types of these two peoples, but thus far the categories advanced to distinguish the Visayan from the Bukidnon seem to contain as much variation within as between themselves. It is of interest that *Binukid* is reported to have important similarities with the old language of Camiguin Island (now spoken only by the very aged people) as well as with the language of Maguindanao. Camiguin Island is just off the coast of Misamis Oriental, north of Macajalar Bay.

THE COMING OF ISLAM

Whatever the course of earlier events, a major social change of paramount importance for Mindanao, one which was to shape the thoughts of its men for centuries to come, began to unfold itself during the last half of the fifteenth century. About the year 1480, according to the Maguindanao traditions, an Islamic warrior-missionary, the younger son of an Arabian from Hadremut who had emigrated to Johore, set out to look for new lands and to spread Islam in the islands to the east of the Malay Peninsula. Maguindanao tradition reports his name as Sharif Mohammed Kabungsuwan (but *bungsu* in the particular Filipino dialect means "youngest son"). Kabungsuwan, with a band of warriors (probably Samals) is said to have landed at the mouth of the Pulangi, or Rio Grande River, in Cotabato.

He quickly gained political ascendancy over the friendly Maguindanao tribe which possessed lands near the mouth of the Pulangi. Just as easily, he united to the Maguindanaos many other tribes of the lower Pulangi valley, peacefully converting some to Islam and subjecting others by force of arms. (He had possibly brought firearms and certainly possessed steel weapons much superior to the weapons of the Mindanao natives). Tribes that could not be converted to Islam by persuasion or by force were driven off into the mountains, to be called by the people Tirurai or Manobos, depending upon their place of habitation and their hostility towards the Muslim.

A powerful people, Bwayan, at that time maintained control over the upper Pulangi territory, exerting strong influence northwards to the watershed of the Cagayan River and eastwards as far as Mount Apo. Gathering his forces, Kabungsuwan advanced northeastwards up the Pulangi, prepared to make war against Bwayan if he could not subject this people to Islam by peaceful argument. Finding them peacefully inclined, he made a treaty of alliance and cemented the bond by

the marriage of one of his daughters to Malang-sa-Ingud, who became the first Muslim ruler of Bwayan.³

After Kabungsuwan's death, his descendants continued his career of conquest. Islam spread steadily north and southwards until the *datus* (chiefs) of the region around Lake Lanao and of the lower portions of Cotabato, if not all the common people, had become Muslims. Mindanao would certainly have become an entirely Mohammedan island if Spanish Christianity had not soon come to challenge its diffusion. At the height of its power, the Sultanate of Maguindanao exerted control over the entire southern part of Mindanao, from Point Tuguban, east of Mati, westwards to Zamboanga City's present site and thence northwards to the outskirts of Dapitan. Even the tribes of Davao Gulf and of the Sarangani Islands paid their tribute.

Cagayan too fell under the sway of Maguindanao. Previously, its Malay settlers of the Cagayan River area had gained control over the Misamis coastline and the adjacent mountains from Alubijid as far as the outskirts of present Tagoloan. They had established their stronghold on a fortified hill which they called Himologan, although many persons lived in smaller villages or *barangays* scattered through the coastal and mountain areas.

When they lost their independence is not known. But probably sometime after 1500 they fell under the nominal sway of the chiefs of Maguindanao to whom they swore allegiance and began to pay annual tribute. Whether they were subjected to Mohammedan proselytizing is not certain, although it is very probable. In any case, the Cagayan people were still thoroughly pagan when the Recollects first visited them in 1622.

ARRIVAL OF THE SPANIARDS

The Spaniards and the Cagayanos did not suddenly chance upon each other. Each group had heard of the other for many

³ The oral traditions of the Maguindanaos are related in Najeeb M. Saleeby, *Studies in Moro History, Law, and Religion* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1908). The writer of the present work has supplemented Saleeby with observations based on several field trips to Maguindanao areas and with several details gleaned from anthropologists and missionaries who have worked in the area.

years before they came into lasting contact. The Cagayanos certainly heard of Magellan's fleet and its exploits in Leyte and Cebu, as well as of Magellan's death on Mactan Island at the hand of Lapu-lapu's warriors.⁴ When on March 11, 1565, Legaspi landed on Camiguin Island in search of food and water, they must have heard of it. Six days later Legaspi captured a Muslim junk off Camiguin, and was surprised to find its pilot to be a skilled navigator familiar with not only Philippine but with Chinese, Indonesian, and Indian waters, and plying a four-cornered trade between Manila, Mindanao, China, and Borneo.⁵ It is clear from this that Butuan (for which the boat was bound) and Cagayan were far from isolated from the great Asian cultures.

One of Legaspi's boats explored the coastal waters of Butuan in December of 1565 and may have sailed westwards as far as Cagayan. If so, it is probable that it stopped at Cagayan. So large a river would have claimed the attention of the commander, if it had been sighted.

The idea of planting the Spanish flag in Cagayan must have soon occurred to Legaspi, for on January 25, 1571, he granted the lands and natives of Cagayan, Tagoloan, and Gonpot (apparently near the present Salay) in encomienda to a

⁴ After Magellan's death, his expedition sailed southwards to a "Chipit" in Mindanao, where there was a "large" river. Probably this is the present Quipit of Zamboanga del Norte which is on a small river. However, several details of Pigafeta's narrative do not seem to check very well with Quipit, so it may have been Cagayan. It certainly was not Butuan (which is mentioned in contradistinction to Chipit) nor is it likely that it was Maguindanao which would require a long sail after rounding the tip of Zamboanga. Thus not many possibilities are left besides Cagayan, since there are but a few large rivers in Mindanao. However, the Cagayan to which the expedition thereafter sailed was not Cagayan of Misamis but Cagayan of Sulu. See Antonio Pigafeta, *First Voyage Around the World*, cited and translated in Emma H. Blair and James H. Robertson, eds., *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1803* (55 vols.; Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1903-1909), XXXIII, 205.

⁵ Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*, II, "Resumé of the Documents," ("Relation of Legaspi's Expedition, November 19, 1564 to the end of May, 1565"), 115-116.

Juan Griego.⁶ However, Griego lost his claim without even seeing it, for the next Governor, Francisco de Sande, revoked the grant. Sande did not believe in granting encomiendas of lands not yet "pacified" (subjected to Spain); moreover, he had heard that Cagayan and Gompot produced cinnamon, which the Crown wished to monopolize.⁷ In addition, Juan de Ronquillo poured cold water on any dreams the government might have had that the north coast peoples like the Cagayanos might be wealthy in gold. Exploring the north coast of Mindanao in place of his predecessor, Esteban Rodriguez, who had been killed in a Maguindanao ambush in 1596, he found the peoples of the area to be quite poor, despite the fact that they did possess small amounts of gold. Ronquillo also stated that these peoples were quite warlike and suggested that they be given to Spanish masters as encomiendas.⁸

Not until 1596, in fact, were there Spaniards resident anywhere on the north Mindanao coast. In that year, the Jesuits established a mission in Butuan (presently the capital of Agusan Province) which they maintained till 1598, reestablished in 1611, and regretfully closed down for good about 1614 because of lack of manpower.⁹ They found the people devoted, and their success in evangelizing the Butuanos had an important relation to the conversion of Cagayan, as will be seen shortly.

The first permanent Spanish settlement in Mindanao was established in 1609. Governor de Silva had sent Juan de Vega

⁶ Pablo Pastells, S.J., ed., in Francisco Colín, S.J., *Labor Evangelica* (2 vols.; Barcelona: Henrich, 1900-1902), I, 157, footnote 1.

⁷ Both the "Relation of Miguel de Loarca," in Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands* (hereafter abbreviated to *BR*), V, 63, and the *Augustinian Memorandum* (unsigned and undated), *BR*, XXXIV, 285, mention Cagayan and Gompot as cinnamon producers. The testimony of both sources is dubious in my opinion, as neither Loarca nor the Augustinians appear to have been in northern Mindanao.

⁸ "Report of Juan de Ronquillo," *BR*, IX, 291. See also *BR*, IV, 295, which recounts Rivera's order to Catalinga to pacify Butuan—with fifteen soldiers.

⁹ Horacio de la Costa, S.J., *The Jesuits in the Philippines, 1581-1768* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961), pp. 154, 165-66, 171, 319.

with eighteen *caracoas* (native warboats), three frigates, four hundred Spaniards, and a large number of Filipino troops to clear Iloilo, Cebu, and Leyte from the Mindanao (and other) raiders harassing their shores. Afterwards Vega sailed for Caraga (now Surigao Province) to punish its natives for the havoc they had wreaked in the above-mentioned islands. When he arrived off Caraga, however, he found that news of his coming had outdistanced him. A large force was prepared to dispute his landing. After some difficulties, Vega put his enemies to rout near Tandag, about 70 miles southeast of the present town of Surigao. The Recollect chronicler states that Vega liberated 1,500 Christian slaves after the battle (probably a patriotic exaggeration in keeping with the historical style of the times). At Tandag, on a small bay, Vega built a fort which he armed with cannon and a force of soldiers, after which he sailed homewards to Manila. Tandag was the first permanent Spanish settlement in Mindanao.¹⁰

It was from this settlement that the movement began which led to the conversion of Cagayan. The beginning of this movement was a revolt. In 1613 the Caragans, chafing under the Spanish rule and believing themselves strong enough to drive out the invaders, rose suddenly against their conquerors. Three thousand natives (possibly another exaggeration) beleaguered the fort, from whose palisades the loyal forces could see their homes and those of friendly villages going up in flames. The situation soon grew desperate and had not a relief force from Manila arrived in the nick of time, the fate of the permanent settlement would have been permanently settled. The reinforcements, however, enabled the Spaniards to counterattack and disperse their assailants. A few ringleaders were hanged, but most of the rebels were pardoned and returned in peace to their homes.

¹⁰ This account of the Tandag settlement and of the early missionary work of the Recollect Fathers in Caraga and Butuan summarizes Luís de Jesús, [O.R.S.A.], *Historia General de los Religiosos Descalzos del Orden de los Hermitaños del Gran Padre y Doctor de la Iglesia San Agustín, de la Congregación de España, y de las Indias*, Vol. II (Madrid: Lucas Antonio de Bedmar, 1681) as reproduced in *BR*, XXI, 197, 213-225. See also Jose Montero y Vidal, *Historia General de Filipinas* (Madrid: Manuel Tello, 1887), I, 157.

This revolt apparently convinced the Spaniards that they should bring Christianity to Caraga without delay. They petitioned Bishop Pedro de Arce of Cebu for priests and he persuaded the Augustinian Recollects to undertake the task of evangelizing Caraga.¹¹ On March 1, 1621, he gave them spiritual jurisdiction over the settlements of the Caraga area. Accordingly, in 1622 eight Recollect priests disembarked at Caraga.¹² They were destined to launch a religious movement that would result in the Christianization of the entire north-eastern coast of Mindanao as far west as the Lanao border.

When these Recollect priests considered their own small number and the vastness of the territory that had been entrusted to them, they decided to spread out widely rather than to concentrate their energies within one small area. This decision may have meant the difference between the Christianization or the Islamization of Cagayan.

Fray Miguel de Santa Maria selected the Tandag area for his own territory, and dispatched his comrades northwards. He recommended "gentle" methods of evangelization, and urged gaining the good will and affection of the natives as the first step in bringing them to Christianity. His companions made their way to Gigaquit, "where the people of the land come together for meetings."

After some study of the language and some preliminary preaching in and around Gigaquit, the seven Recollects split up to reach as many different areas as possible. At first they found the natives of Surigao fierce and untractable and little disposed to peaceful intercourse among themselves. However, the friars persevered and God blessed their efforts. After some time, many who had been hostile at first, embraced the Faith and became staunch Christians, devoted to their churches and

¹¹ The term Caraga was then used by the Spaniards to signify the present province of Surigao as well as the northeastern part of Davao.

¹² Luís de Jesús, *op. cit.*, BR, XXI, 215-216. From persons mentioned soon afterwards in the narrative, these eight priests seem to be: Father Miguel de Santa María, Superior, and Fathers Agustín de San Pedro, Francisco de la Madre de Dios, Jacinto de San Fulgencio, Jacinto de Jesús María, Juan de la Madre de Dios, Juan de San Nicolás, and (perhaps) Nicolás de la Madre de Dios.

their parish priests. The Recollects tried to train them in various arts and trades in order to raise their standard of living.

The conversion of an extremely fierce and dangerous chief, Inuc, sheds interesting light upon the missionary methods of these priests. Fray Juan de la Madre de Dios determined to convert this man. Inuc had enslaved some 2,000 natives (according to the Recollect chronicler), had killed innumerable others, and utterly despised the Spaniards, whom he hated bitterly for encroaching on his people's lands. The friar entered Inuc's territory alone, without permission, and unarmed. Apprehended almost at once, he was dragged without ceremony into the presence of the chief who was waiting with drawn sword to finish him off. Fray Juan spoke out so bravely and yet so humbly of God that Inuc was thunderstruck and postponed the execution. After listening further to the Father, Inuc freed him, dismissed all but his first wife, was baptized, and then was married sacramentally. He freed all his captives and made restitution for the damage which he had inflicted upon them and others. When news of his conversion was spread abroad, many others came and asked for baptism.

The simplicity, spontaneity, and great trust in the providence of God which characterized the work of this priest were typical of the other six Fathers also. Their custom of traveling unarmed through territories not yet subject to Spain reflects these qualities. This custom was particularly necessary if they were to reach far-off Cagayan.

After a short time working near Gigaquit, Fray Juan de San Nicolás journeyed across the Surigao peninsula to Butuan on the very navigable Agusan River. Here he found an old and rather advanced culture, described in some detail by Legaspi on the occasion of his expedition's visit there in 1565. Fray Juan reported that in their customs the Butuanos were quite like the Caragans except that they were more peaceably inclined, a disposition that he generously attributed to the work of the Jesuits among them from 1596 to 1614. He found he was able to preach to them immediately in their local dialect,

since this was very similar to that of Caraga whose rudiments he had mastered in Gigaquit.

Several other Recollect Fathers were attracted to the Butuan area by the numerous conversions following upon Fray Juan de San Nicolás' work there. One of these, Fray Jacinto de San Fulgencio, performed the rather incredible feat of travelling more than one hundred miles ("fifty leagues") upriver into the interior of the present Agusan Province. Although he met considerable opposition to his attempt to persuade the natives to free all their slaves and put away all but their first wives, his gentleness and simplicity of manner apparently exerted a charm hard to resist, for he was careful not to give offense by word or action. His listeners therefore allowed him passage all along the Agusan River. They even permitted him to build a residence and to settle down in a town called Linao (identical with or near the present Antipolo, close to Lake Kamarcham). In this town, which is about 103 kilometers south of Butuan, Fray Juan was able to win the entire population over to Christianity by demonstrating to them that their stone idol was a false god.

While preaching in the Butuan area, several of the Recollects heard of another people to the west who were said to be the most docile and peaceful inhabitants of Mindanao. The Fathers decided that if this was true they were naturally more apt to receive Christianity than any of the people they had so far evangelized. The territory, roughly some forty kilometers south and west of Butuan, was called Cagayan,¹³ and the main

¹³ Local legends ascribe this name either to a Maranao or Maguindanao word *Kaaya-han*, or to a Binukid word *Kagayha-an*, both of which mean "Place of Shame." One version attributes the epithet to the disgust of Maranao (or Maguindanao) warriors who had come to attack Cagayan, but were betrayed by their leader. He had gone with a declaration of war (unless his terms were complied with) to the Cagayan stronghold (then called Kalambagohan according to the legend) where he met the beautiful daughter of the enemy chief. He fell desperately in love with her at first sight and proposed marriage rather than war to her father, settling down in Kalambagohan to live. His disgruntled followers returned to Lake Lanao (or Maguindanao) but not before they had re-christened Kalambagohan *Kaaya-han*. See: Filomeno M. Bautista, *Glimpses of Mindanao* (Manila: private publication [printed by Ton Cheong Son Co.], 1939), pp. 203-204.

town of this people was named Himologàn. Fray Juan de San Nicolás and Fray Francisco de la Madre de Dios determined to sail for Cagayan and to convert its people. They were the first priests in Cagayan, and to them ultimately is due the Catholic faith of that city.

Sailing westwards from Butuan, they stopped at Camiguin. From here they sent a messenger to Salangsang, chief of the Cagayan people (called Salampang in some local accounts), requesting permission to visit Himologàn.

The answer was very disappointing. Salangsang not only refused them entry into Himologàn. He threatened dire reprisals if they dared to enter the Cagayan territory at all. The Recollects were discouraged. Someone remembered, however, that Salangsang's grandmother had been baptized some time before—perhaps by the Jesuits—and at the time was living in Butuan. Perhaps she could help.

All legends agree that the present pronunciation and spelling of the word are due to the Spaniards who found Kagayha-an or Kaayah-an hard to pronounce correctly.

In the other version the inhabitants of Kalambagohan were driven from their home by a surprise attack of Mohammedans. After fashioning weapons and undergoing training in the mountain wilderness, they returned to assault their old home. Their chief, according to custom, first went to warn the Moros to vacate Kalambagohan immediately or suffer the consequences. But as in the first version, the daughter of the enemy chief captured his heart at first sight and he settled down to live with the invaders. Some followers settled down with him among the Mohammedans of Kalambagohan, but in disgust the rest changed the name of Kalambagohan to Kagayha-an, and retired permanently into the mountains.

Two other accounts of the name's origin are certainly false. The first states that in 1779 the Spaniards applied the name to the town because of the bashfulness of its inhabitants. The second alleges that the name was given by the Spanish because Cagayan's physical environment resembles that of the Cagayan River area of northern Luzon. Cagayan de Oro was therefore called *Cagayan El Chico*. In fact, the name Kagayhan or Cagayan, applied to Cagayan of Misamis, is found in sixteenth and early seventeenth century documents, showing that the name had been bestowed in pre-Spanish times. (Cf. Juan Francisco de San Antonio, O.S.F., in *Cronicas* (Manila: 1738-44), I, 129-72, esp. par. 404, partly cited in *BR*, XL, 311-313.)

At once they sent word to Doña Magdalena Bacuya (the name she had taken at her christening) of their troubles. This good lady departed for Cagayan without delay, and after some difficulty was able to extort the desired permission from her unwilling grandson who foresaw nothing but trouble from the visit. Thus a woman unbarred the door of Cagayan to Christianity, not the first nor the last time that ministers of the gospel have relied with happy results upon the help of a devoted woman.

A small escort was waiting for them when they arrived at the mouth of the Cagayan River.¹⁴ Paddling upstream for several miles, they reached a towering rock peninsula which jutted into the river. Atop this hill stood the fortress Himologàn. Bare of trees, the slopes on all sides were so precipitous that rattan ladders, let down from the summit, were the only means of ascent. When these were pulled up, the rock was impregnable to attack.¹⁵

The Recollects found the ascent difficult, even hair-raising in some parts. Clambering up with as much dignity as their labored breathing and the climb would allow, they soon found themselves at the top and in the presence of Salangsang who was seated upon a throne, surrounded by a large group of warriors and other spectators.

They found themselves able to converse with the chief in Visayan, as the language of the people was similar to that of Butuan. To their relief, he received them hospitably, and even gave them a slight buffet on the cheek, which meant that he

¹⁴ The account of the arrival at Himologàn is again taken from Luís de Jesús, *Historia General*, II, in *BR*, XXI, 231-233.

¹⁵ The location of Himologàn is no longer known. It was probably abandoned a few decades after the founding of Cagayan town. It would undoubtedly be rich in archeological material if it could be rediscovered. It was almost certainly on the east side of the Cagayan River and not more than 10 kilometers from the river's mouth. The Recollects used to walk down to say Mass "on the shore of a small river near the sea." (Luís de Jesús, *op. cit.*, p. 233). Possibly the peninsula on which it perched no longer exists or has been greatly modified by the river. For civic motives Xavier University offers a standing reward of ₱100.00 for discovery of the site.

received them as friends. However, although he assigned them a corner of his house for their living quarters, he said nothing about food, water, or firewood. They soon learned that they had to supply these for themselves.

While this conversation had been going on, the people had been staring at them intently, taking account of their strange clothes and equipment. Several now began to laugh in a rather mocking fashion, while others, pointing to their waists, began to make gestures which seemed vaguely threatening. Disturbed, Fray Juan asked a friendly-looking man nearby what this meant.

"Why," he replied, "you must be madmen to have come among us without arms. Nobody here ever goes out of his home without sidearms since an attack against him may occur at any time. How much more so against strangers like yourselves. These men are betting how many weeks you will be able to stay alive!"

Concerned over this reaction, the friars spoke to Salang-sang of it and inquired if they would really be in danger unless they carried sidearms. He reassured them of their complete safety within his own home, but admitted they might be in some danger out in the town or down on the plain without sidearms. He offered to lend them weapons and advised them to carry them with them when they left their quarters.

Walking about with one of Salang-sang's servants, they found that Himologan chiefly consisted of one large (possibly elliptical) structure which housed all the town's inhabitants (more than five hundred according to the chronicler). A rough stone or wood wall constituted the outer fortification of this, while the inside was divided into living quarters connected by passages, reminding the Recollects of a monastery cloister. A small temple, set in the center of the fort which was open like a large patio, furthered this impression. When they entered the door of this *diwatahan* (temple), however, the illusion was roughly shattered. There, glaring forth at the visiting priests, was enshrined an ugly and dirty little town idol.

THE FIRST FEW WEEKS

Salangsang readily gave the priests permission to say Mass but stipulated that this was to be done outside Himologàn. In fact, the Fathers had no desire to offer the holy sacrifice so near the ugly idol in the *diwatahan*. So descending the rocky slope to the plain, they explored the neighborhood and found a suitable place on the bank of a small river—perhaps the estuary which used to run in behind Cagayan's present cathedral.

Here they built a little *nipa* (palm-leaf) chapel, inside which they constructed a small altar where they said Mass. Nobody moved a finger to help them, but on the other hand nobody prevented them or molested them.

For some weeks, their daily program began with a descent of the hill to the chapel for Mass. After thanksgiving, they hunted or fished a bit to gather the day's food. Then carrying twigs for firewood and water from the stream, they climbed back to Salangsang's quarters. Here they ate their meals, prayed, and chanted choir. Otherwise they only left Salangsang's home to discuss the fundamentals of Christianity with several leading men of Himologàn who were interested in learning something about it.

These persons and their families were impressed by the Recollects and after a time began to feel affection for them. Eventually they undertook to supply the Fathers with food and other necessities. Accustomed to a way of life at odds with Christian morals in numerous points, they did not at first care to embrace the Faith. However they willingly sent their children to learn the Christian doctrines and practices. Some of these children became genuinely Christians in spirit, and later exerted great influence upon their parents, first persuading them to be baptized and thereafter urging them to live up to the duties of Christianity.

THE CAGAYAN CULTURE

The mentality of the Cagayan people and their difficulties about accepting Christianity, as well as the problems of

the Recollects in attempting to motivate them to receive Christianity, can hardly be understood except against the background of the local culture which the Recollects found at the time of their arrival¹⁶ Unfortunately, these first missionaries left behind for later generations no detailed description of Cagayan customs. They simply noted that the Cagayanos "differ little from [the people of] Butuan and Caraga" except that

¹⁶ The account of pre-Spanish Cagayan culture here presented is derived (often deductively) from present-day survivals and from the following sources: Luis de Jesús, *op. cit.*, *BR*, XXI, 200-213, 216-225; Francisco Combés, S.J., *Historia de Mindanao, Jolo y sus adjacentes*, ed. W. E. Retana (Madrid: Viuda de M. Minuesa, 1897); and Francisco Colín, S.J., *Labor Evangelica, Ministerios de los Obreros de la Compañía de Jesús...*, ed. Pablo Pastells, S.J. (3 vols.: Barcelona: Henrich, 1900-1902). Also helpful are the following: Juan de Plasencia, "The Customs of the Tagalogs, Nagcarlang, Laguna, 1589," in *BR*, VII, 173-196; Miguel de Loarca, "Relacion de Miguel de Loarca," in *BR*, V, 34-187; Antonio de Morga, *Sucesos de las islas Filipinas*, ed. W. E. Retana (Madrid: Victoriano Suarez, 1909); Pedro Murillo Velarde, S.J., *Historia de la provincia de Philipinas de la Compañía de Jesus, segunda parte...*, de 1616 hasta el de 1716 (Manila: La Compañía de Jesús [Nicolás de la Cruz Bagay], 1749); Pedro Chirino, S.J., *Relación de las islas Filipinas i de lo que en ellas han trabajado los padres de la Compañía de Jesús* (Rome: Estevan Paulino, 1604) in *BR*, XII, 169-321 and XIII; Antonio Pigafeta, *First Voyage Around the World*, in *BR*, XXXIII, esp. 109-113, 118-121, 123, 147-153, 161-165, 167-175, and 199-205; and Diego de Bobadilla's "Relacion" in *BR*, XXIX, 281-295.

I was unable to consult several works which would have been very useful in making judgments about Cagayan culture. Foremost among these is Francisco Ignacio Alcina, S.J., *Historia de las islas e indios de Bisayas...*, presently being edited for publication. Professor John Leddy Phelan in his *Hispanization of the Philippines* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1959) asserts that this is the best source on *Bisayan* culture, particularly for Samar and Leyte where Phelan says that Alcina spent nearly 40 years.

Additional valuable sources are contained in the *Robertson Text and Translation of the Povedano Manuscript of 1572*, ed. E. D. Hester (Chicago: Philippine Studies Program, Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago, 1954) and in *The Ancient Legends...*, ed. Rebecca P. Ignacio (Chicago: Philippine Studies Program, Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago, 1954). These are Numbers 2 and 3 of the Transcripts of this series. Of interest also is Najeeb M. Saleeby, *Origin of the Malayan Filipino* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1912).

while the Butuanos were "not as fierce" as the Caragans, the people of Cagayan stood even higher in natural civility, being "a people more docile than the other inhabitants [of Mindanao]." ¹⁷

They did, however, describe the Caragan culture in some detail, while Pigafeta described that of Cebu and Leyte (in close contact with Butuan) and of a place named Chipit in Mindanao, and Father Combés that of northwestern and western Mindanao. From these, using as correctives occasional hints furnished by the early Recollects, a picture of the Cagayan culture as it must have existed at the time of the friars' arrival can be pieced together. Insights which the early history of Cagayan affords, together with present-day survivals of old practises, help to fill out this picture. The following paragraphs will attempt to portray the appearance, language, social structure, occupations, and religion of the Cagayan inhabitants.

APPEARANCE

The Cagayan man, like other Visayans (for he was a Visayan by culture), was a picturesque sight. He walked abroad clad from the waist downwards only, and the uncovered parts of his body were a mass of multi-colored and skilfully-designed tattoos.¹⁸ Sometimes these were extremely intricate and often quite pleasing in appearance. His breeches consisted of a long cloth strip, tightly wound first about his waist and then down and around his thighs. He wore a cloth hat something like a turban, or for better protection against the sun while in the fields, a palm leaf hat with a broad brim (*saduk*). He was also accustomed to wear jewelry like necklaces and rings. On dress occasions, he might also wear a short sleeveless jacket. The color red was probably used, as in Caraga, to indicate that the wearer was one of the nobility. Thus a person's rank and prestige might be gauged by the amount of red in his clothes.

Women were completely clothed, wearing a small sleeved jacket and a short, loose skirt (*patadyong*). About the waist of the *patadyong* was wound a broad piece of cloth (*tapis*)

¹⁷ Luis de Jesús, *op. cit.*, BR, XXI, 220, 232.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 201-202.

whose double function was to secure the skirt and to protect its upper part from stains and spots. The Cagayana was fond of jewelry and wore earrings, bracelets, anklets, necklaces, and rings as her means permitted. She frequently wove fresh, bright-colored flowers into her long dark hair. Out-of-doors, she also used a palm-leaf hat to protect herself against the sun.

LANGUAGE

The Visayan spoken in Cagayan was closely akin to the Cebuano dialect and therefore widely understood in the southern Philippines. The recollection of important events or facts could be preserved for some time because the people possessed a system of writing based on an alphabet in common use in the sixteenth-century Philippines. This contained symbols for three vowel (a, e-i, and o-u) and fourteen consonantal sounds (b, d, g, h, k, l, m, n, ng, p, s, t, w, and y). Most English consonants can be closely approximated by means of this alphabet with the exception of "f", but there is no distinction between "b" and "v" and no distinct symbol for "r", which is represented by "d." (In some Filipino dialects, "d" and "r" are interchangeable.) Writing was done with a sharp-pointed instrument on bamboo, bark, or even leaves. It is not clear whether this Filipino writing travelled from left to right, as in Occidental script, or in the reverse or another direction. Colin believed the writing to be vertical, beginning from the left bottom;¹⁹ however, each of the possibilities has proponents today among the experts. Possibly no fixed rule applied uniformly throughout the Philippines, so that different societies in fact followed different writing customs.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Cagayan society was characterized by three social classes.²⁰ The upper class included the datu (chief) and his family at

¹⁹ Colin, *Labor Evangelica*, I, 55.

²⁰ In a paper read at the *Ninth Annual Conference on Asian Affairs* (held in Norman, Oklahoma, in October, 1960), Dr. Charles K. Warriner denied the existence of a three or four-class system in the pre-Spanish Philippines. He argued from present survivals among Maranao Muslims of the Lake Lanao region (Lanao del Sur Province). However, analysis reveals that Professor Warriner clearly is arguing

the top, and then the other nobles. The second class consisted of free-born persons and emancipated slaves. Serfs and/or peons made up the third or lower class, which may numerically have been the largest. These serfs were persons captured in war or their descendants (hereditary slaves) as well as debtors, criminals, and purchased slaves. A complicated system determined the extent of one's enslavement for there were complete slaves, half-slaves, quarter slaves, and even finer distinctions.

Rule and succession to power, it seems, were based less upon force than in Caraga, and more upon the principles of

against the existence of a three or four-estate or closed-class system rather than against the existence of three or four social classes in the usual sense of American sociologists. The commonly accepted definitions of social class of Warner and Lunt, Barber, and Kahl fit the facts which Warriner advances. See: (1) W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt, *The Social Life of a Modern Community* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941), p. 82, where a system of social classes is defined as "two or more orders of people who are believed to be and are accordingly ranked by the members of the community in socially superior and inferior positions"; (2) Bernard Barber, *Social Stratification* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1954), p. 73, where a social class is defined as "a set of families that share equal or near equal prestige according to the criteria of evaluation in the system of stratification"; (3) Joseph A. Kahl, *The American Class Structure* (New York: Rinehart, 1957), p. 12, where a social class is defined as "a large group of families approximately equal to each other and clearly differentiated from other families." None of these definitions hint that classes *must of necessity* be closed-class or estate groups. Social class is a general concept and can be applied to either closed-class groups or to open-class groups. Warriner is undoubtedly correct in finding elements of openness about the Filipino pre-Spanish class systems; nevertheless I do not believe that this precludes describing these orders of families and persons as social classes in the common sociological usage of the term.

Several researchers posit the existence of four social classes in the Filipino pre-Spanish cultures. They make two classes from the nobility: one from persons of *datu* status together with their families, and the second from other members of the nobility. This may have a sound basis in some Philippine societies, but it does not apply to Cagayan. There was only one *datu*, Salangsang. Undoubtedly he and his family (or families, if he had more than one wife) mixed socially with the other nobles in such a way as to constitute just one social class with them. Because of their own small numbers Salangsang and his family differed by status, but not by class from the other nobles.

heredity and wisdom. The reputation for peacefulness which the Cagayan people enjoyed, as well as the behavior of Salang-sang and the social position of his grandmother, support this view.

Nevertheless, it appears that just as in Caraga, nobility was based, at least partly, on personal valor and the number of men one had personally killed (not necessarily in fair combat). The mockery to which the Recollects were subjected for carrying no sidearms suggests that sudden, even treacherous attack upon one's fellow was a commonplace of life. The index of nobility was probably the use of red on one's garments, as among the Caragans. The extent to which this color was used indicated the number of persons the wearer had killed, and thus his "dangerousness."

In time of war nobles, commoners, and, in defense against attack, even slaves took up arms. These were mainly iron or steel *bolos* (a sharp, machete-like knife eighteen inches or more in length), fire-hardened wooden spears, bows and arrows often with heads tipped with sharp iron points, blowpipes, darts, and a long, narrow shield. Before the coming of the Spaniards Cagayan did not possess firearms. Poisons, based upon an extensive knowledge of the properties of herbs as well as of insect and serpent venoms, were frequently smeared on arrows and darts.

Intertribal relations were not characterized by the frequent wars typical, according to the Recollect chronicler, of Caragan societies, where the same sources relate that waging war on the slightest pretext was "the chief interest and concern", and where family feuding was also rife. The beheading of captives, which the Recollects describe as almost a popular sport in Caraga, was relatively rare in Cagayan.²¹ There is no evidence that the Cagayanos made use of poisoned food and drink against associates and enemies although the Recollects state that this was common in Caraga because the women were even more

²¹ Luis de Jesús, *op. cit.*, BR, XXI, 203, 209-10, 213. See also Juan de la Concepción, *Historia General de Philipinas*, II (Madrid: 1788), in BR, XXI, 298.

passionate and vengeful than their fierce spouses and quick to have recourse to this weapon in their anger.²² (Some suspicion about the detailed accuracy of such descriptions of the Caragan culture has arisen in the present writer's mind. The Recollect chronicler may have described the culture in the blackest light possible in order to enhance Christianity by painting it against such a dark background.)

For a Far Eastern and non-Christian society, women enjoyed remarkably high status in the social structure of Cagayan, as they did in the Philippines generally. The first wife was truly mistress in her own household, exercised great authority over her children (even after they had become adults), and strongly influenced her husband. This influence extended even into the council of chiefs where on occasion her ideas were listened to with close attention. Two principal reasons seem to have underlain this high status: the part played by women in the world of the spirit, and the kinship structure of Cagayan society.

The Cagayan religious leader (*baylan*) was a shaman rather than a priest. He did not so much supplicate the deity as believe he could manipulate it to any desired result by making presents to it. The gods were conceived to be like people. Like "a good man" the gods would infallibly give the object asked for, if they were duly petitioned, especially if gifts were added to the request.

Shamans were recruited more, or at least as much, from the ranks of women as from among men. Many women seers and healers enjoyed high prestige for supposed magical and supernatural powers, and their opinions and declarations had great weight with the people. Some of this prestige rubbed off on the status of women in general.

The kinship system, in addition, stressed the line of the wife as much as that of the husband. Nor was village exogamy required. The only incest taboo was prohibition of marriage within the fourth degree of kinship, which eliminated matches between third (and sometimes even between fourth)

²² Luís de Jesús, *op. cit.*, BR, XXI, 211.

cousins. The residence rule was utrilocal. Newly-weds usually lived with one pair of parents for several years until they had prospered enough to set up their own household, which was the cultural ideal. The decision to live with one rather than the other pair of parents was based upon concrete factors like relative wealth and social position or the particular affection of one pair of parents for their own child.

These residence rules supported the status of the wife vis-a-vis the husband. The bride did not undergo the sometimes harrowing experiences of young wives in rural India of the last century where residence was patrilocal and village exogamy was followed, so that the new home might often be far from the girl's parental home. Entering her husband's family as an unknown, without kinsmen nearby to support her rights, the Hindu girl started off married life at the very bottom of the joint-family social ladder.

The Cagayan woman rarely lived far from her parents' home. So she could always find strong male support from her kinsmen if her husband or in-laws should infringe upon her rights. Nor did the Cagayan bride encounter a patrilineal emphasis as in China, where the woman was by her sex ipso facto not important in the highly significant ancestral rites.

Marriages, and especially first marriages (polygyny was desirable as a symbol of high social status),²³ were arranged by the parents. The groom paid a "dowry" or "bride-price" (arranged after much haggling between families) to the bride's parents, probably in return for depriving them of her services. In addition, sometimes the groom had to "prove himself" by working for some time for the family of the girl.

One function of the dowry was to preserve female hypergamy, that is, the tendency for women to marry their equals or betters. (Possibly this has its roots in some ancient form of matrilineal kinship.) However, its chief function seems to have been to ensure stability of the marriage bond. The bride's

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 210-11, 218, (Inuc dismisses all but his first wife), 221 (Fray Jacinto attempts to persuade the "Butuanos" of the interior to dismiss all but their first wives).

parents had to return the bride-price if the marriage broke up, unless the groom was flagrantly in the wrong. Thus they exerted pressure on their daughter to preserve the marriage. However, they were usually unwillingly to see their daughter really unhappy. Thus divorce, which either party could easily negotiate, was a common solution for "sour" marriages.²⁴

Marital morality was easy-going. Although adultery was frowned upon to a degree, it was not taken very seriously unless the woman was of a noble family and the paramour of a lower class. When detected, the offender could generally satisfy both husband and society by paying a fine (again determined by bargaining). In most cases, the two men remained as friendly after the offense as before. Some Caragans, according to the Recollects, used to turn an attractive wife to profit by arranging snares for other men, whom in due time they would confront with an aggrieved demand for reparation—pecuniary of course.²⁵ The friars do not report such behavior by Cagayan husbands.

OCCUPATIONS

Agriculture, hunting, fishing, craftsmanship and trade were the principal peacetime occupations. The agricultural economy was sedentary rather than semi-nomadic as it was among the Bukidnons, who practised a digging-stick, swidden cultivation. The farmers went out every day from permanent small villages to till their fields. They employed the carabao for hauling and probably for plowing too since this technique seems to have supplanted the digging stick in Cagayan before the coming of the Spaniards. The crops seem to have included cinnamon and other spices, rice, sugar-cane, coconuts, and many varieties of vegetables and fruits.

As fishing grounds, the Cagayan River and Macajalar Bay are not very good. However, they provided plentifully for the small (probably about 5,000 persons) Cagayan population. Fish was more important in the diet as a source of protein because it was more available than meat. This latter was sup-

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 211.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

plied from the hunt as well as from domesticated chickens, pigs, and carabaos.

Craftsmanship was practised on a family basis. Although largely for family consumption, seasonal goods were also produced for trade with the Chinese and Moro junks and *bankas* as well as for more local trade with Butuan and Cebu. Local grasses and shrubs like *tikug*, *pandan*, and *buri*, furnished the material for floor rugs, sleeping mats, and baskets, while palm leaves were fashioned into attractive hats. Serviceable light houses were constructed from bamboo, *nipa* and *sawali* (thin, scraped bamboo strips).

Ornaments of gold (obtained, probably by panning in the upper stretches of the nearby Iponan River where it can still be panned in small quantities today) were fashioned by artificers and were much in demand both locally and by visiting traders.²⁶

Tools and weapons of wood and iron (perhaps too of steel) were manufactured, but the makers seem to have lacked the artistry of the Lake Lanao area, where intricate inlays and designs were worked into metal objects like *kampilans* (Moro short swords or war *bolos*) and metals trays or boxes. The women spun thread and wove cloth from banana, abaca, cotton, and perhaps from silk and linen fibers, but do not seem to have been outstanding for skill such as that possessed by Cebu women of today in embroidering.

RELIGION

Shamans conducted the religious ceremonies. The writer has found no evidence of a rite of cooption or initiation into the shaman status, nor is there one among present-day Bukidnons. Probably the status was assumed on the basis of some feeling of "calling," or of desire, when accompanied by knowledge and facility in leading the ceremonies. As in Bukidnon today, the shaman was usually, it would seem, an elderly person.

²⁶ Both Loarca (*BR*, V, 59 and 61) and Ronquillo (*BR*, IX, 290) mention the presence of small quantities of gold in the general area.

The Cagayan religion was a polytheistic animism. The evidence indicates that Islam was unable to modify this to any appreciable degree. Like modern non-Christian Bukidnons, the Cagayano undoubtedly venerated one or more high gods in addition to a massive pantheon of lesser spirits. He anthropomorphized his gods, regarding them as exceedingly powerful and even dangerous beings, who if offended, and not placated by proper sacrificial rites, might take drastic action under the blinding influence of spite or rage. The sacrifices, offered for a multitude of reasons, contained little of adoration and thanksgiving and much of placation and impetration. The people strongly believed that the gods, and especially the inferior spirits, could be led to the desired result in almost magical fashion by properly performed sacrificial ceremonies.

The position of the high gods was probably similar to that of the modern non-Christian Bukidnons.²⁷ Among these, the high gods are conceived to be the rulers, perhaps even the makers of the myriad inferior spirits. In Cagayan, as found also in other north coast settlements, an idol of stone or wood was venerated in the *diwatahan*. This may have represented a high god rather than one of the lesser spirits, although this will remain conjectural until archeologists have recovered some of these idols and identified the spirit or god represented.

The daily religious life of the people was far more concerned with the inferior preternatural spirits than with the high gods. This was not exactly because the high gods were unimportant to them. Rather, everyday life dealt with planting in particular fields, building new homes in particular places, celebrating marriages, reaping harvests, and similar family events. Certain inferior spirits were conceived as being immediately concerned in these events and thus they entered more

²⁷ The data reported here are drawn from several unpublished studies of the present writer made in Misamis Oriental and in Bukidnon on pagan religious survivals, and from an as yet unpublished study of Father Vincent G. Cullen, S.J., on the planting rituals of the Bukidnons of Dumalaguing Barrio and its parent barrio, Calabugao. These Bukidnons are swidden farmers of the Tagoloan and Pulangi River valley areas. Fr. Cullen's study also considers the Bukidnons of Impasugong Center who practise a sedentary (*arado*) agriculture.

directly into the ceremonies. Failure to sacrifice to them would lead to punishment, and sudden or strange sicknesses or pains were interpreted as signs that a person had somehow failed to take due account of these spirits. When the shaman held a *pabala* (rite of inquiry from the spirits regarding the causes of sickness), it was invariably an inferior spirit that was found to have been offended, not one of the high gods.

Human sacrifice was occasionally offered in both north-eastern and western Mindanao.²⁸ It would be surprising then if it was never offered in Cagayan. However, it must have been extremely rare. Those offered would be slaves, especially captives taken in battle or raid from other tribes.

When a person of any note died, a "wake" of several days duration preceded the burial. The corpse was prominently displayed during this time of mourning (which seems to have been the forerunner of the present custom of a "novena" after the burial among Cagayan Christians). When burial took place, possibly in boat-coffins of wood (of which the writer has discovered specimens in caves not far from the City *poblacion*), a slave of the same sex as the deceased may have been buried with him, as was the practice in Caraga.²⁹ The slave was probably not buried alive, but slain during the burial ceremony in order that he might serve his master in the next life as he had done on earth. The funeral service was considered very important, and minute ceremonial details pertaining to it were carried out with scrupulous care.

From this description of the Cagayan culture, it is clear that the Cagayanos were far from being a tribe of savages, but were a people relatively well advanced in social organization and in material development when the Spanish friars first came among them. Against this backdrop of information, it is hoped that the events following the arrival of the friars in Himologan will be better understood. The order of discussion will be: (1) the difficulties and perils of the first two Re-

²⁸ Luís de Jesús, *op. cit.*, BR, XXI, 203-04.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 207. De Jesús, however, arouses some suspicion that slaves may have been buried alive by his statement: "Thus did the dead and the living go hand in hand."

collect friars in Cagayan, (2) the founding of Cagayan town, and (3) the difficulties of the town in its struggle for survival against the Moro raiders.

TROUBLE WITH MAGUINDANAO

Upon the death of Kabungsuwan of Maguindanao, his son, Maka-alam, had succeeded to the chieftainship. Bankaya, Kabungsuwan's grandson, was the third of the line to rule over Maguindanao. Bankaya was in turn succeeded by his son Bwisan, who is notable for the great damage which his surprise raids for slaves and plunder inflicted on the Visayan islands. As a tributary of Bwisan, Cagayan of course was not subject to these raids.

Some time after 1609, Bwisan's son, Kudrat (the famous Corralat of Spanish accounts) came to the throne, succeeding to the power of his father.³⁰ Under his rule Bwayan, which had been an ally of Maguindanao, became part of the great Maguindanao sultanate, which now stretched from present Mati in east Davao almost to Dapitan in Zamboanga del Norte.

Soon after the Recollects reached Cagayan in 1622, it was brought to Kudrat's attention that Himologan was harboring the two Christian priests. His Muslim heart had little love for Christianity and even less for anything Spanish. The Spaniards had attacked his homeland under Figueroa in 1596, had attacked Jolo in 1602, and had built the vexatious fort, Caldera, near the present Zamboanga City, which so hampered his raiding expeditions. He sent orders to Salangsang to put the priests to death at once. According to the Recollect chronicler, more than a thousand warriors accompanied the messenger to enforce Kudrat's order, but this account has the sound of a telescoped narrative. Probably no more than ten or fifteen warriors accompanied this first delegation.³¹

³⁰ Saleeby, *Studies in Moro History*, pp. 37-38, gives this succession of Maguindanao chiefs.

³¹ The account of the perils and labors of the Recollect Fathers up to the founding of Cagayan is based on Luis de Jesús, *op. cit.*, BR, XXI, 233-235.

Salangsang had been nervously anticipating some such message. He had originally denied the missionaries entrance to his lands mainly through fear of the Maguindanao reaction. Now his day of reckoning had arrived.

Calling his chiefs together, he asked their counsel. They unanimously agreed that Cagayan could not withstand the Maguindanaos if Kudrat should seriously wage war against them. Some felt, however, that Kudrat would hardly send a large force against them for so small a matter. They suggested a face-saving device, namely, to reply to Kudrat that he had surely been misinformed about the character of the two Europeans. They were good men worthy of esteem, and in addition were also present as invited guests. Consequently, the Cagayanos could not kill them without incurring lasting dishonor. They further suggested that the two Recollects, in testimony of their good will, would become subjects of Kudrat and would pay annually whatever tribute Kudrat's messengers might demand.

If Kudrat was not pleased with this solution, they said, and if he should send warriors to kill the priests, the Fathers might be concealed in various places throughout the region until the Maguindanaos tired of the search and returned home. If the search should grow too hot, the Fathers could always be spirited away by night in a fast *palaua* (war boat) to Butuan.

The counsel, probably offered by friends of the priests, pleased Salangsang and seemed reasonable to the others. The Recollects, however, were reluctant to pay the tribute because even the appearance of professing allegiance to a non-Christian ruler troubled their conscience. Nevertheless, they consented because they realized that it was necessary in order to continue to work in Cagayan without endangering the lives of its people.

Salangsang and his chiefs now urged on Kudrat's messengers the excellence of the solution they had found, which, they said, would satisfy Kudrat. The Maguindanaos did not like the solution and frankly said so, but since the Cagayanos

were fully armed and were ready to defend the Fathers, they agreed to the compromise. The two conditions were that Kudrat would ratify the agreement and that the priests would pay the excessively large tribute which was now demanded.

The messengers departed overland up the Iponan River Valley for Lanao and Maguindanao. An atmosphere of uneasy tension settled over Himologan. A few days later, Salangsang sent the Fathers to a small and secluded village in the mountains while Cagayan awaited the reaction of the Maguindanao prince.

Kudrat was definitely not pleased. Barely ten days after the messengers had left, they returned, looking angry and chastened. This time they were accompanied by a band of warriors (perhaps as many as 50 men), and they demanded peremptorily that the priests be handed over forthwith.

"The Europeans were called back to Butuan by urgent business," was Salangsang's polite reply. "They are no longer here. See for yourselves."

After a thorough search, the Maguindanaos returned empty-handed to Salangsang. They doubted strongly that the priests had really departed, but did not wish to offend Salangsang. However, they feared offending Kudrat much more. They believed Salangsang's story, they stated, but would have to search the entire Cagayan territory in order to assure Kudrat that the Europeans had really gone. They added a few veiled threats about what would happen if the priests had not really left.

Salangsang could hardly refuse to allow this search without precipitating an open break with Maguindanao, so a deadly game of hide-and-seek began. Whether the Fathers could be kept well-hidden and shielded from informers and spies until the patience of the searchers was exhausted was the question of the moment.

The Fathers were led from place to place to evade their pursuers. Transfer took place in the dead of night, with the Fathers packing all their equipment with them each time (for

the Maguindanaos must not find any tangible evidence of their presence). For three or four weeks they experienced many a close escape and countless hardships. By leaky boat and rough trail they fled from corner to corner of the Cagayan territory, spending nights and sometimes whole days without food or water, hiding in narrow caves and deep forests. However, they consoled themselves with the thought that their present hardships would win many graces for their later apostolate in Cagayan.

Eventually the Maguindanaos tired of the chase. They had uncovered no clear evidence that the Fathers were still in Cagayan, although they had received several reports that they were. After leaving a few spies in the neighborhood of Himologàn, they departed in disgust for Maguindanao. Before doing so, they appeared before Salangsang and his council and predicted a dire fate for Cagayan if Himologàn had been deceiving them.

The vehemence of these threats disturbed the Cagayan chiefs. Obviously, they had not been made idly. The Cagayanos had not expected such deep feelings about the matter. It became clear that the Recollects must depart at once from Cagayan territory or that Cagayan must throw off the yoke of Maguindanao once and for all.

The latter course appealed to Salangsang. He had no love for the predatory Maguindanaos whose sole interest in his people seemed to be the exaction of a yearly tribute. Nor did he like their religion which forbade the eating of pork and the drinking of liquor, two ancient customs of his people.

On the other hand, he could not safely revolt against Kudrat without assistance from the Spaniards, the sole force in the Philippines strong enough to protect his people from the Maguindanaos. Yet he realized clearly enough that if he allied himself to Spain, his people would but change their masters, with the Spanish Governor taking the place of Kudrat.

He shrewdly calculated that the Spaniards and not the Maguindanaos would eventually be the rulers of the Philippines. He judged that the Spanish boats and the Spanish guns

were superior to those of Maguindanao and that the Spanish civilization had greater skills and knowledge than those of the Great River of Cotabato. In addition, some of his chiefs were seriously inclined towards Christianity and were considering having their children baptized. He himself, because of the influence of his grandmother, was sympathetic to the Christian religion.

He opened his mind to his council and pointed out the urgency of a prompt and clear-cut decision. Cagayan's relations with Maguindanao and with the Recollects were thoroughly thrashed out, and the upshot was general agreement that if the Spaniards were willing to furnish assistance, Cagayan should declare its independence of Maguindanao.

The Recollects were sent for and the situation, with the real dangers it involved for Cagayan, was explained to them at length. Salangsang pointed out that should the Recollects leave at once and never return, this would probably satisfy Kudrat; however, it would leave those sympathetic to Christianity exposed to the persecutions of the Maguindanao, without priests to help them. On the other hand, if the Cagayanos revolted against Maguindanao, they could expect nothing but eventual death or slavery, unless they were assisted by the Spaniards. Were the Spaniards willing to come to their help?

The Recollects replied that they could not speak for the Spanish government. They thought however that should the Spaniards assume this responsibility, they would probably require Cagayan to swear allegiance to the King of Spain. Nor were the Fathers sure that the garrison in Caraga could at this time spare the necessary men, although they were hopeful. However, they promised that they would go at once to Caraga to inquire into the feasibility of armed assistance and the terms under which it would be rendered. They would also have word of Cagayan's situation sent to the governor-general in Manila. With this agreement the Recollects departed.

THE FOUNDING OF CAGAYAN DE ORO

While the Recollects were away, Salangsang and his men endeavored to present a "business as usual" appearance for

the Maguindanao spies present in the area. However, the people were kept busy making weapons and storing food and water in Himologàn. Salangsang was afraid that the spies or one of his disgruntled subjects would reveal Cagayan's intention to Kudrat who might then attack before the Spaniards could lend assistance.

However, within two weeks the Recollects were back, and as yet the Maguindanao had made no move against Himologàn. A new priest had taken the place of Father Francisco de la Madre de Dios. This new friar had been appointed by the Recollect superior to be Prior of Cagayan and to assist in its defense.

Salangsang's face fell when no soldiers disembarked with the Recollects. The new Prior, Fray Agustín de San Pedro, assured him however of immediate Spanish help from Caraga if it should be needed. The young Portuguese prior was only twenty-three years old but already skilled in the arts of war. Before deciding to become a Recollect, he had studied architecture, gunnery, and military tactics at the University of Salamanca. Fray Agustín's military skill would eventually make him feared and renowned among Mindanao Muslims as "El Padre Capitán."³²

Fray Agustín almost immediately suggested two decisive changes in the defense program of Cagayan. First, he advised dispatching spies into the Maguindanao and Lanao countries and scouts into the mountain regions south and west of Cagayan because of the absolute necessity of obtaining advance

³² Fray Agustín de San Pedro is sometimes erroneously called Pedro de San Agustín. For accounts of the Padre Capitán's life, see De Jesús, *op. cit.*, BR, XXI, 235-36 and BR, XXXV, 59-61, 94-97; Casimiro Díaz, O.S.A., *Conquistas de las islas Filipinas... parte segunda* (Valladolid: Luis de Gaviria, 1890), p. 88 (footnote), 273-75; José Montero y Vidal, *Historia de la Piratería Malayo-Mohametana en Mindanao, Jolo, y Borneo* (2 vols.; Madrid: M. Tello, 1888), pp. 191-93; Montero y Vidal, *Historia General*, I, 229; Combés-Retana, *Historia de Mindanao y Jolo*, cols. 150-182, 725; Diego de Santa Theresa, *Historia General... de la Congregación de España y de las Indias* (vol. III; Barcelona: 1743), pp. 611-618, 627-631; and Pastells in Colín-Pastells, *Labor Evangelica*, III, 713.

notice of Maguindanao movements. He then advised building a defensive stronghold on the coastal plain to replace Himologàn.

After studying the features of the hill-top fortress, Father Agustín had quickly realized its three serious disadvantages. First, it was too small to hold all the people from the other Cagayan villages who must therefore be left to the mercy of the Maguindanaos. Secondly, by surrounding the foot of the hill, an enemy could securely bottle up the entire Himologàn populace. Surprise sorties were impossible because the top and slopes of the hill were clearly visible from below. Finally, and worst of all, there was no water source in Himologàn; a besieging enemy could simply wait at the base of the hill for the inevitable water-foraging expeditions that must come forth, and then pick off their enemies one by one.

The Padre Capitán was able to convince Salangsang of the wisdom of both changes. The spies and scouts were sent out and every able-bodied man fell to work with a will on the fortifications of the new stronghold. The site chosen seems to have been the place where the Fathers had previously said Mass. It included most of the present segment of Cagayan de Oro City between Carmen Street and the estuary south of the Cathedral and between Rizal Street and the river.³³ First, this area was surrounded by a high rampart from which defenders could shoot down upon an attacking enemy, and then a lookout tower several stories in height was built. This commanded an excellent view of the lower river and plain.

Such was the founding of Cagayan de Oro City. Built probably in 1624 (the Recollect chronicler says 1622, but it is hard to see how all the events related could have occurred during a single year), it withstood two hundred and seventy years of Muslim attacks to remain firmly Christian down to the present. It received its name, Cagayan, almost from the raising of its first walls, because Salangsang and the Re-

³³ I am indebted to my former student, Miss Norma Marfori, for research which proved that the oldest part of the City was situated in this area.

collects, too, desired to name it after its people. The "de Oro" addition came centuries later when in 1950 the town became a chartered city under the Republic of the Philippines.

The new fortress had many military advantages. Its west wall extended almost to the bank of the Cagayan River, assuring it of an inexhaustible water supply as well as of easy water communication with Butuan and Caraga. Surprise attack was impossible not only from the west (across the river), but from the south too, because here a small branch of the river ran in for the length of the wall. Enemies would have to attack this high wall across the moatlike creek from a small island, in full view of the fortress. Only thus could they reach the fortress side of the river bank which was itself about nine feet high in this place. On the other hand, the townfolk could suddenly sally forth through the gates on surprise raids, strike where the enemy was weakest, inflict heavy damage upon his camp, and retire back to the town before the foe could rally his forces.

Inside the ramparts another and smaller stockade was built as a citadel if the outer wall should be breached by the enemy. This finished, Fray Agustín began to drill the Cagayan warriors in the use of the arquebuses he had brought from Caraga, and to train them in the art of making sudden sorties against the enemy from the fort and rapidly retiring behind its walls.

Kudrat soon learned of the new fortifications and of the Recollect priests within them. This was sheer defiance of his orders; in fact, open revolt. He resolved to make an example of Cagayan to terrify other vassals who might also be thinking of rebellion. Assembling thirty large war boats (*caracaos*), he prepared an expedition to bring the town to its knees.

The Cagayan spies soon got wind of these preparations, promptly relaying the news to Salangsang. Fray Agustín immediately sent for help to Caraga and in a few days was relieved to see an expedition of 6 Spanish soldiers and 100 native troops sail up the river.

The Moro fleet was not long in coming. It was first sighted off the coast of Misamis Occidental. Thirty boats were reported, each with its full complement of well-equipped warriors. The town awaited the attack with high confidence because of the training of its warriors and the presence of the Spanish auxiliaries, a confidence which was shared neither by Salang-sang, who knew the ferocity of the Maguindanao warriors, nor by Fray Agustín, who wondered how his green troops would behave in actual battle.

The Moros had hoped for a surprise attack, but when they saw that they were expected they proceeded cautiously. First they pitched camp on the same side of the river as the fortress, between it and the Bay. They mounted their first attack soon, perhaps on the afternoon of the second day of siege. The imagination easily conjures up visions of Maguindanao feints and attacks in force upon the walls, repelled with desperate valor by the defenders. The Moro *caracaos* carried some *lantakas* (small swivel guns) and these were probably brought up to bombard the town from the river side. Just as probably, the mortars the Spanish troops had brought from Caraga proved superior to the poorly mounted Muslim cannon.

Unfortunately, the chronicler furnishes but the bare bones of the siege. Two thousands warriors attacked with orders to put all the town's inhabitants to the sword. But they encountered sterner resistance than they had bargained for. Although they made many assaults on different parts of the wall, they found the same vigilance and stout defense everywhere. In addition, Fray Agustín led several sallies from the fort, wielding a sword mightily over his head and trampling enemy stragglers under the feet of the horse he had brought with him to Cagayan.³⁴

After several weeks, the enemy became convinced that they could not take the town by storm. They had already lost a large number of men and their provisions were running

³⁴ The account of the preparations and of the battle with the Maguindanaos is drawn from De Jesús, *op. cit.*, BR, XXI, 234-35, XXXV, 61-62, 95-96; Díaz, *Conquistas*, pp. 273-74; and Montero y Vidal, *Historia General*, I, 229.

low. They decided to return to Maguindanao to consult Kudrat and to replenish their supplies.

Fray Agustín had been waiting for this moment. Informed by his scouts that the Muslims were breaking camp, he led a surprise raid against them with most of his men. Bursting in upon the Maguindanaos unexpectedly, he turned their retreat into an utter rout. Few of the enemy escaped. Cagayan had won a complete victory.

Salangsang now pledged the allegiance of his people to the Spanish crown. Soon after, both he and his wife asked for and received baptism. This couple were the first adult converts of Cagayan, but many followed their example until in a short time most of the people had become Christians. Eventually, the *diwatahan* on Himologàn was given to the Recollects and converted by them into a baptistry. The Cross thus took root in the very heart of the earlier paganism. Under God's providence it had triumphed by a happy combination of events and through the virtue and courage of the Recollect missionaries.

Most former inhabitants of Himologàn had by now built houses in Cagayan and desired less and less to make the toilsome ascent to the old town site. Now that Cagayan had been proven safe, Himologàn was more and more regarded as inconvenient. The Recollect Fathers therefore built their first church and convento in Cagayan, very probably on exactly the same site as the present Cathedral and convento. After the graves of the ancestors had been transferred to a field near Cagayan, Himologàn eventually became a ghost town.

EXPEDITION AGAINST LANA O

Kudrat was of course furious at his defeat by a people like the Cagayanos, whom the Maguindanaos despised. However, he had other more pressing business to attend to and could not at the moment outfit another large expedition against Cagayan. From the accounts of the campaign furnished by his lieutenants, he realized that Fray Agustín was the heart of the resistance. Accordingly, he sent small bands into the

Cagayan territory to harry the people but especially to try to ambush and capture or kill the Father. He also requested the Maranao Muslims to raid Cagayan and put an end to the Padre Capitán.³⁵

After fighting his way out of several ambushes, Fray Agustín realized the strategy of the enemy and was as prudent as he could be in going about. It was impossible not to leave the fortress frequently as he had to visit the scattered villages of the Cagayan parish. He was careful, however, to vary his routes and always to take with him a small escort of well-armed men.

The practise of stationing lookouts in the watchtower and sentries on the ramparts was continued. But as time wore on and no large force of enemy warriors appeared in Cagayan territory, the sentries grew careless. A band of Maranao warriors soon noted a part of the rampart where discipline was especially lax—often the sentries did not appear promptly for duty.

At dawn one morning they crept up to this part of the rampart undetected, and before anyone knew it, a large number of them were inside the walls. They immediately made for the convento, cutting down all they met. Entering the house, they killed eight guards stationed there and began a violent search through the rooms for the priests. Fray Agustín happened to be away at the time, but Father Jacinto de Jesús María was sleeping in his room. He awoke just as the Muslims poured in. By some miracle of Providence, in the dim light he escaped through their midst and reached a neighboring house.

Having missed the priests, the Maranaos began pillaging the village and setting fire to the houses, starting with the convento. In a short time, however, the men of the village rallied and succeeded in driving the invaders from the fortress.

³⁵ Data on the attack of the Maranaos and on the counter-expedition from Cagayan will be found in De Jesús, *op. cit.*, BR, XXI, 235-36, XXXV, 63, 97; Montero y Vidal, *Historia General*, I, 229; and Combés-Retana, *op. cit.*, col. 150.

Father Agustín returned in the afternoon to find many Cagayanos dead, and the convento, many houses, and part of the rampart ruined. In addition, a great deal of booty had been carried off by the enemy. Grieved by the killings and the needless destruction occasioned by the sentries' negligence, he yet rejoiced that God had protected the town from much greater loss of life. He was particularly grateful for the remarkable escape of his companion, Father Jacinto.

The rampart was rebuilt more strongly than before and the damage to the convento and church repaired. A few days after the attack, Salangsang and several chiefs called at the convento. They suggested a return raid against the Muslims of Lake Lanao. Their warriors were angry at the loss of life and damage inflicted and wished to return their enemies double for their bloody deed. They also hoped to recover some of the booty that had been carried off. The attackers had been positively identified as Maranao tribes by their shouts and war cries during the battle.

Fray Agustín's first reaction to the suggestion was that it was utter folly. Suppose the expedition were cut off in Lanao and wiped out? What would happen to Cagayan if a large part of its warriors were lost? However, he held his peace and let the chiefs talk themselves out.

Gradually, he came to see that there was a good chance of success for a raid, providing it was organized at once, struck hard, and returned home immediately. He also feared that the Maranaos, flushed by the success of their raid, would return again and again to harass the town unless they were taught a sharp lesson.

His ideas were adopted by Salangsang's council with satisfaction. He suggested selecting only the strongest and ablest warriors and an immediate expedition through the Iponan River Valley, carried out so quickly that they would arrive at the Lake before enemy scouts could spread the alarm. He emphasized the need of absolute discipline, of striking a quick but devastating blow, and of retiring immediately in good order.

Within a few hours the expedition was ready to leave, with the Padre Capitán its acknowledged leader. Hurrying through the passes, they arrived at the Lake before the Maranaos had received warning and fell upon the first village they encountered. The alarmed inhabitants did not make even a show of resistance but fled pell-mell to the mountains. Fray Agustín's men pillaged the empty village to their satisfaction, after which he ordered that the place be burned. Soaring flames witnessed the departure of the expedition which returned to Cagayan as quickly as it had come. No one had suffered even a scratch, and the booty was sufficient to recoup all the material losses that Cagayan had suffered. In addition, the Maranao tribes had received a lesson which they would long remember. As long as the Padre Capitán was Prior of the Cagayan convento, they never again attacked Cagayan.

REVOLUTIONS AND THE "MORO WARS"

Cagayan became an embattled outpost of Christianity. Once it had received the Faith, it never relapsed into paganism or gave ear to the apostles of Islam. Nor did its citizens ever revolt against Spain after they had pledged their allegiance, until the days of the Revolution when they felt that this was their patriotic duty. In the centuries-long struggle against the Muslim raiders who terrorized the North Mindanao coast by land and sea until well after 1850, they proved themselves, again and again, redoubtable warriors and staunch Christians. Despite its proximity to Maguindanao and Lanao, no Muslim force was ever able to capture the stronghold of Cagayan. Many of its sons fought with distinction in the campaigns against the Muslims of Maguindanao and Sulu, as well as in the naval campaign (extremely important for northern Mindanao) waged by the Jesuit, Father José Ducós, in Iligan Bay in 1754, especially in the decisive engagement fought in Pangil Bay on August 7th.

In 1631, the unruly Caragans, incited by Kudrat's agents, flamed into general revolt against Spanish rule. Abuses on the

part of Spanish soldiers and encomenderos³⁶ were probably the immediate occasion of this uprising. Posing as the liberator of northern Mindanao, Kudrat had promised military help and a generous share of booty to those tribes which would revolt, and had urged the people of Butuan, Camiguin, Cagayan, and Bayug (a settlement on the Lanao coast) to join forces with Caraga and push the Spanish into the sea. Thus they would become independent.

The explosive and unexpected uprising caught the Spanish forces in Caraga napping. The commander of the Tandag fort, twenty soldiers, and four Recollect Fathers were slain by treachery in July of 1631; the remaining Spaniards only with difficulty reached the security of the Tandag fort where they were bottled up by a Caragan host.

Envoys again exhorted neighboring peoples to take up arms against the Spanish and feed the fires of revolt. Meanwhile in Caraga, bands of warriors harried villages which remained faithful to Spain and the missionary priests.

Camiguin joined the revolt, and factions in Cagayan and Bayug secretly plotted to involve their peoples on the side of Kudrat and the rebels. Butuan, however, remained staunchly loyal to Spain, and its Prior, Fray Jacinto de San Fulgencio, got wind from his parishioners of the secret negotiations with Kudrat in Cagayan and Bayug. He went promptly to Cebu to report Tandag's desperate straits and to plead for prompt relief for its garrison. Simultaneously he despatched a messenger to warn the Prior of Cagayan of the faction which was plotting with Kudrat.

The plotters learned that their machinations were discovered. They feared to go any further. Thus Cagayan remained at peace, and the Caragan rebellion was put down by the Spaniards when a fleet relieved the Tandag garrison

³⁶ See De Jesús, *op. cit.*, BR, XXXV, 66-81; Juan de Medina, O.S.A., *Historia de la Orden de S. Agustin de Estas Islas Filipinas* (Manila: 1893; but written ca. 1663) in BR, XXIV, 175-77; letter of Juan N. de Tavora, July, 1632, in BR, XXIV, 216-17; C. Ferreyra, "Events in Filipinas," March, 1632, in BR, XXIV, 229.

later in 1631. Kudrat, despite many promises, apparently gave little real help to the Caragan rebels.

In the Visayas, several early rebellions against Spanish rule sprang from sentimental attachments to the old pagan religions and were either led or spread by shamans. Such were the Boholano revolt under Tamblot in 1621, Bankaw's Rebellion in Leyte in 1621, and the Panay uprising under Tapar in 1663.

A similar revolt began to brew in Cagayan during the 1640's. A shaman named Salur captured the people's imagination by many spectacular "cures" and "predictions".³⁷ He conducted his pagan ceremonies in sacred groves near the town, attracting to these great numbers of formerly good Christians. Every day his supporters increased in number and his utterances became more inflamed and exaggerated. The town seemed on the verge of apostasy from Christianity and of rebellion against Spain.

Father Nicolás de la Madre de Dios, the Cagayan Prior at that time, was a man of prudence and tact. He did not raise an outcry against the shaman. He simply attended Salur's rites on several occasions and minutely scrutinized the shaman's actions. He soon noticed that Salur was perpetrating several deceptions upon the unwary people. He publicly confronted the shaman with these and so unmasked his deceits that most of Salur's followers left him in disgust and returned to the practice of Christianity. The shaman's influence rapidly dwindled into insignificance.

In 1649, trouble from non-Muslim sources again reached Cagayan. Governor Diego Fajardo ordered labor drafts for the shipyards of Cavite. The ruthless manner in which these were levied occasioned a revolt in Palapag, Samar, led by a brilliant native strategist, Sumuroy. Sumuroy lit a conflagration that spread like a forest fire to Masbate, Romblon, Cebu, Albay, Camarines, and Zamboanga.

³⁷ Diego de Santa Theresa, [O.R.S.A.,] *Historia General de los Religiosos Descalzos...*, III (Barcelona: 1743), chap. viii, condensed in BR, XXXVI, 188.

North Mindanao echoed to the revolt. The Caragans killed most of the small Spanish garrison stationed in Linao and murdered its Recollect Prior.³⁸ In Camiguin, the rebels imprisoned their Prior; they bound him tightly hand and foot and roughly placed their feet upon his neck as he lay prostrate on the ground. Several coastal towns and barrios near the present Gingoog also joined the movement.

Cagayan itself remained loyal, but neighboring mountain tribes (called "Manobos" by the Recollects who apparently used this term [from "tubo" to grow] for any people they considered aborigines) were incited by the Dutch promises and Sumoroy's revolt to attack the town. Under a leader named Dabao, they surprised Cagayan and sacked it, starting fires which burnt the town to the ground.

The church (already called San Agustín) and the convento seem to have been badly damaged. Rebuilt of wood and nipa, they lasted 129 years until 1778 when they were again destroyed by fire.³⁹ Father Pedro de Santa Barbara, the parish priest in 1779, with the aid of his parishioners rebuilt the church on a larger scale. This church remained until 1841, when it was destroyed by fire for the fourth time. The rebuilt church

³⁸ For the Mindanao aspects of Sumoroy's Revolt, see Combés, *Historia de Mindanao*, cols. 489-498, *BR*, XXXVIII, 106; Diego de Santa Theresa, *Historia General...*, III, in *BR*, XXXVI, 128; and Díaz, *Conquistas*, 517-523; in *BR*, XXXVIII, 118, De la Costa, *Jesuits in the Philippines*, pp. 412-13; and Pedro Murillo Velarde, S.J., *Historia de la Provincia de Philipinas de la Compañía de Jesus*; (Segunda parte; Manila: Compañía de Jesus, 1749), nn. 421-29. For a description of Dabao and his "Manobos", see Diego de Santa María, *op. cit.*, Book the First, chap. ii, nn. 257-267, where the destruction of Linao in Agusan by Dabao is related; contained in *BR*, XXXVI, 126-36. Incidentally, Díaz, in *Conquistas*, pp. 517-23, reports that Cagayan revolted against the Spaniards and joined the 1649 rebellion. I believe that this is a very erroneous statement; it may have been based on a misconception by Díaz of the nature of Cagayan's destruction by Dabao.

³⁹ For reference to the first church and convento in Cagayan, (badly damaged by the Maranao raid and destroyed by the "Manobos" under Dabao in 1649), see: Luis de Jesús, *op. cit.*, in *BR*, XXV, 61, and *Provincia de San Nicolás de Tolentino de Agustinos Descalzos de la Congregación de España é Indias* (Manila: 1879) in *BR*, XXVIII,

was smashed almost to rubble in World War II by bombing and was substantially modified and enlarged after the end of hostilities.

Between 1614 and 1634, Maguindanao and Sulu raids on northern Mindanao and the Visayas became a major problem for the Spanish colonial administration. On the advice of Jesuit missionaries, Acting Governor Juan Cerezo de Salamanca sent Juan de Chaves to capture the southern tip of Zamboanga and build a naval base there. This, it was hoped, would check the raids. In 1635 Chaves captured the place and built the fort, which he entitled Nuestra Señora del Pilar. This fort, although extremely important for the security of the Visayas, proved unpopular both with the soldiers (too remote) and with the Manila interests (not directly profitable to them).⁴⁰ In April, 1636, exactly one year later, a Maguindanao fleet succeeded in slipping past the fort undetected and in wreaking havoc in the Calamianes Islands. The new Governor General, Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera, was at once deluged with petitions for the abandonment of the fort.

Corcuera had other plans. He changed the commanding officers of the fort, and outfitted an expedition. The goal of this was to reduce the Maguindanaos to the status of Spanish subjects. While he was taking on provisions at Iloilo, the welcome news reached him that the Zamboanga fleet under its new officers had met the returning Maguindanao raiders and had punished them severely. The leader of the raid, Tagal, one of Kudrat's best officers, had been killed, most of his

341; the fire of 1778 which destroyed the church is mentioned in Felipe Redondo y Sendino, *Breve Reseña de lo que es la Diócesis de Cebu in las Insulas Filipinas* (Manila: Colegio de Sto. Tomás, 1886); however, my main source of information is Mr. Filomeno M. Bautista, an aged, local historian of Cagayan, who has written a manuscript on the Spanish Governors of Misamis Province. In this he mentions the destruction of the church in the fire of 1778 and the rebuilding of a much larger church in 1779 by Father Pedro de Santa Bárbara, helped by the more wealthy members of his parish. A big fire in 1841 again wiped out much of the town and with it the church. The church records preserved in the Cagayan Cathedral only go back to 1779 because previous records were destroyed in the great fire of 1778.

⁴⁰ De la Costa, *op. cit.*, pp. 382-383.

booty and prisoners had been retaken, and many of the Maguindanao boats had been sent to the bottom. Unfortunately, a Recollect Father, captured by the Muslims in the Calamianes, had been killed in the fighting and two other Recollect captives had not been rescued by the Spanish forces.⁴¹

Corcuera reached the mouth of the Pulangi on March 13, 1637. Kudrat had a flotilla of 300 warboats and a fortified town, Lamitan, to pit against him, but Corcuera swept the boats off the water and captured the town. Kudrat and his army retired to Maguindanao, which Corcuera attacked on March 16th and captured on March 18th. The power of Maguindanao was decisively smashed, and Kudrat, seriously wounded, almost fell into the hands of the Spaniards. So desperate were his straits that his principal wife committed suicide, as did other of his women relatives, and the wounded sultan fled, broken in power, as it then seemed, forever, to a distant inland village. Corcuera now set up Mongkai, nephew of Kudrat and ruler of Bwayan, as ruler of Maguindanao under Spanish sovereignty.⁴² Pedro de Almonte was appointed Governor of Zamboanga and commander-in-chief of all the Spanish forces in Mindanao. He also prescribed at this time that Jesuits were to be the chaplains for all expeditions in Mindanao and Sulu which he was planning or carrying out and that they should evangelize the conquered populations, provided of course that the Jesuit Order could furnish the necessary priests.⁴³

The territories of Maguindanao and Bwayan seemed completely pacified in September, 1637. Corcuera therefore directed the *Alcalde Mayor* of Caraga, Captain Francisco Atienza y Báñez, to pacify and if possible convert the Lake Lanao region whose people had raided Cagayan and the north coast. The Jesuits were entrusted with the duty of chaplains and of evangelizing the Maranao peoples, if they could provide the men.⁴⁴

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 383-384.

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 384-386.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 385-386.

⁴⁴ For accounts of the expedition to Lake Lanao, see Díaz, *op. cit.*, II, 386-388; in *BR*, XXIX, 273-75; Montero y Vidal, *Historia General*, I, 229-236; Combés-Retana, *op. cit.*, cols. 150-182; Colín-Pastells, *op. cit.*, III, 713 and 800; Pedro Murillo Velarde, S.J., *Historia de la Provincia de Philipinas de la Compañía de Jesús*, pp. 2716-281.

In the beginning of 1639 Atienza sailed north from Tandang with his best soldiers, 50 Spaniards and 500 Caragan volunteers. He stopped to see Fray Agustín de San Pedro, now a curate in Butuan, and succeeded in persuading the Padre Capitán to accompany and help direct the expedition. Fray Agustín showed Atienza that it was feasible and very advantageous to build boats which could be disassembled and carried in sections to the Lake where they could be reassembled. He urged this idea as strongly as possible on Atienza who adopted it.

Sailing to Bayug, (near to or identical with the present Camp Overton?) the expedition dismantled six boats (two of which seem to have been *caracaos*),⁴⁵ and set out by trail for Lake Lanao, passing through the town Balo-oy (the present Balo-i) whose natives were hostile to the Maranaos.

The Maranaos heard of the expedition before its arrival. They gathered a large army to oppose the Spaniards (Montero-Vidal says 6,000 men).⁴⁶ They placed detachments in several narrow mountain defiles through which Atienza's forces had to pass. However, the chiefs were not decisive in their plans and large numbers of desertions from their army were weakening its morale. They therefore sent messengers to Atienza with gifts and fair words to persuade him to retire to the coast. Otherwise, they threatened, his army would suffer terrible losses.

They hoped to gain time thus, perhaps even to discourage Atienza. The opposite was the result. The warriors guarding the strategic mountain passes withdrew to the peaks when they saw the Spaniards approach, ready to give battle. Atienza was through the passes and near the Lake before the chiefs made up their minds what to do.

The six boats were quickly assembled, and Fray Agustín and Atienza mustered their troops for attack. The Lanao chiefs, now determined to fight to defend their lands, marched

⁴⁵ Díaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 274-275.

⁴⁶ *Historia General*, p. 230.

into Vato (the present Watu), a fortified village, and at once launched 40 war boats filled with soldiers.

The Spaniards approached. Training their cannon on the boats, they riddled them with shells. The town was next. After bombarding it, Atienza approached for the assault. But the Muslims had by now decided that discretion was the better part of valor. They fled to the mountains. Atienza burned their boats and town, and prepared to march against the other neighboring towns on the next day.

But when he advanced to attacked the next town, its inhabitants and those of the nearby towns came out to meet him and to surrender. They swore allegiance to Spain and accepted the duty of paying tribute. Four *datus* ruled these fifty villages. Atienza took their sons as hostages to be sent to Manila. These *datus* also agreed to admit Spanish priests into their territory to preach Christianity to their subjects. Fray Agustín himself baptized more than 200 persons and arranged that the priest of Bayug would continue to take care of their religious needs.

Atienza sent the glad news to Almonte that 2,000 families had been brought under the Spanish flag, and asked for further instructions. Almonte hoped to consolidate the gains of the expedition. He sent a second body of troops up from Maguindanao territory and across the Lanao border into the present municipality of Butig. These soldiers, under the command of Pedro Fernández del Rio and Juan de Heredia Hermástegui, numbered 20 Spaniards and 500 Visayans. They first encountered some resistance, but this soon crumbled and Datu Matundiu of Butig submitted without delay to the Spanish crown. Once he had capitulated, the other tribes of Lanao hastened to swear allegiance to Spain.

The two Spanish forces met on the north shore of Lake Lanao. At this time Del Rio notified the Jesuits formally through his chaplain, Father Pedro Gutiérrez, S.J., of their charge to evangelize the region. The Jesuits accepted the mission and Fathers Diego Patiño and Antonio Abarca were appointed to carry it out.

Fray Agustín, while overjoyed at the success of the expedition, saw that a sturdy fort, located on the Lake, was an absolute necessity to preserve the fruits of victory. Surprisingly, neither Atienza nor Del Rio realized the immediate need for such an establishment. All forces retired from Lanao without leaving any garrison and the four Lanao datus and hostages were sent to Manila. Fray Agustín accompanied them because he wished to urge the necessity of the immediate construction of a Lake fort on Corcuera.

Fray Agustín could not get action in Manila. Time dragged on while nothing was done. The four Lanao datus were permitted to return to Mindanao although the hostages were detained in Manila. In the meantime, Kudrat, who had recovered from his wounds of 1637, was slowly regaining power and prestige. While keeping an uneasy peace with the Spanish, he sent undercover agents among the Lanao peoples, detailing the advantages of a renewed alliance with him. Without priests to maintain them in their new religion (Fathers Patiño and Abarca had not yet arrived in Maranao territory), the Maranaos abandoned Christianity, and burned the crucifixes and the little huts which had served as chapels.

Corcuera eventually dispatched 50 Spaniards and 500 Boholanos under Captain Pedro Bermúdez de Castro to build and garrison a fort in the neighborhood of the present Marawi City. Bermúdez was accompanied by the Jesuit Fathers Diego Patiño and Gregorio Belín, together with the Lanao hostages. Fray Agustín had long before returned to Butuan.

This expedition arrived too late. Kudrat had stiffened the spines of the Lake villagers. The Lanao datus pretended friendship and fealty until they had recovered the hostages; they then fell with fire and sword on the Spanish forces.

The fort was still only half-built. It could not supply adequate protection. The aroused Lake peoples besieged it by land and sea and quickly reduced its occupants to dire straits. Flaming arrows set the fort afire several times and it seemed but a question of time till all its defenders would be put to the sword.

Father Belín managed to get a message to Butuan, describing to Fray Agustín the predicament of the fort and begging him to come to the rescue. At the same time he sent word to Atienza. Moving at once, the Padre Capitán and Atienza arrived at the Lake on the twenty-ninth day of siege. After a stiff, two-hour fight, they smashed through the Maranao besiegers and liberated the garrison.

Bermúdez had had enough. He was determined to retreat from Lanao for the time being because of the rebellious dispositions of the Maranaos and the lack of provisions. Destroying the fort, both expeditions marched back to the coast together. On the site of the present Iligan, Bermúdez built a small fort. Garrisoning this with the body of his forces under his adjutant, Francisco Alfaro, he sailed off to Manila.

Atienza and Fray Agustín now returned to the Lake. Most of the people, however, had fled to the mountains before their approach. Only one *datu*, Mabololo, remained to greet them. They built a second fort, and since Mabololo had remained loyal and seemed well-disposed, they put him in charge of it. To punish the other *datus* for their part in the *siege* of the previous fort, Atienza and Fray Agustín seized their crops and burned their fields. They then departed with heavy hearts and few illusions for their posts in Tandag and Butuan. Mabololo gave them time to get well away, then burned the fort and renewed his friendship with Kudrat. Such was the unhappy end of what, from the Spanish and the north Mindanao coast point of view, had seemed the promising conquest of Lake Lanao.

An unfortunate consequence of the Lanao campaign was the death of Father Francisco Mendoza, S.J. While traveling to Lake Lanao with Captain Andrés de Rueda and a band of soldiers, he and the Captain were ambushed while reconnoitering their position on May 7, 1642. Both were killed and the priest's body was mutilated, perhaps out of hatred for Christianity.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ Murillo Velarde, *op. cit.*, BR, XLIV, 63.

Fray Agustín de San Pedro led no more expeditions into Lanao, but remained the zealous defender of the peoples committed to his charge. In 1644, after his transfer to Romblon, he led his parishioners in boldy repeling a heavy Moro attack upon their town. He died on Romblon in 1653, thirteen years after the stirring Lanao campaigns, at only fifty-four years of age. Cagayan de Oro owes an enormous debt of gratitude to this faithful priest. He placed Christianity upon a firm basis in the hearts of its people both by his virtuous life and his military exploits in favor of the town. Diego de Santa-Theresa states that he baptized more than ten thousand persons during his thirty-one years in Mindanao and Romblon.

LATER HISTORY

The Spaniards had promised to lend adequate military help if Cagayan would pledge allegiance to the Spanish King. And so they did up to 1640. In this year the Joloans and Bornians attacked Butuan, Cagayan, and the Calamianes. These enemies repeated their raids for the next three years, inflicting great damage especially in Camiguin where towns and churches were burned, sacred articles profaned, and many captives led off into slavery. The Spaniards were able to supply little effective help to the north coast at this time.

After the Maguindanao and Lanao campaigns, the Manila administration had begun to realize that its forces were too few to wage simultaneous war against Maguindanao and Sulu while attempting to defend the Philippines from the Dutch. Governor Diego Fajardo, who succeeded Corcuera, therefore relied upon peace treaties with Maguindanao and Sulu to maintain the peace. These treaties endured until 1655, when Kudrat (after several years of thinly disguised machinations) scuttled the peace by deliberately insulting the highest Spanish officials through his legate and by assembling ships and warriors for war against the north. The final gasp of the peace treaty was the assassination at Bwayan of Father Alejandro

⁴⁸ Retana-Pastells, in their edition of Combés, *Historia de Mindanao*, col. 725; Diego de Sta. Theresa, *Historia*, I, sec. vi, chap. vii, in *BR*, XXXVI.

López, S.J. The Governor had sent him as ambassador to Kudrat in a last desperate attempt to patch up the treaty. Kudrat may not have been directly responsible for this treacherous act of 1655, but he certainly had paved the way for it by the hostile reception he had given to his old Jesuit friend in Maguindanao.⁴⁹

In 1655, a Bwayan fleet circled Basilan and struck hard at Mindoro and Marinduque. The Sulus under Sarikula devastated the Visayas during the following year. The Spanish forces retaliated in 1658, striking against Maguindanao, but they were too weak to inflict any significant damage. Simultaneously, the Sulus were pillaging Bohol, Leyte, Samar, and even the Luzon coast with fire and sword.⁵⁰

Echoes of these attacks were felt on the north Mindanao coast where bands of Muslims harried the seacoast towns. Moreover, the situation grew worse instead of better. In 1663, the Governor of Zamboanga, under orders from Manila, abandoned Fort del Pilar and sailed northwards with his entire garrison. The threat of an attack by Chinese pirates had occasioned this retreat, and in this light, shortening the Spanish lines may have been a reasonable move. But the Zamboanga fort was not reoccupied when the Chinese danger had dissipated. This left the north Mindanao coast and the Visayas to shift for themselves in the face of appalling Sulu and Maguindanao raids for almost sixty years. If the Dutch had given the Maguindanaos and the Sulus the support which they had promised, Mindanao would have been lost completely to Spain.

The years 1675-1677 were notable not only for the continual harassment of Cagayan by the Maranao Muslims but for a deadly smallpox epidemic as well. The scourge decimated the town despite the heroic efforts of the parish priest, Fray José de la Trinidad, and his two curates.

By 1718, the raids on northern Mindanao and the Visayas had become so frightful that even in far-off Manila the Spanish government was roused to the need of taking energetic steps

⁴⁹ De la Costa, *op. cit.*, pp. 442-445, 447-450.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 449-450.

before all was lost. With renewed vigor, war was pressed against the Moros. Governor Bustamante retook Zamboanga in February, 1719, and rearmed the fortress with sixty-one guns. Between 1721 and 1731 four military strikes were made against Moro strongholds. Forts were built along coasts where the Moros might pass on their way northwards from Borneo, Sulu, and Maguindanao: at Dapitan, at Tandag, at Labo and Taytay on Palawan, at Cuyo, and at Romblon. Warships were stationed to patrol Visayan waters. However, these measures were not effective in stopping the raids; the light Moro *praus* would head directly into the wind, and by means of their oars leave the heavier Spanish ships laboring far in their wake. During the second half of the eighteenth century, one Christian town after another in the Visayas and on the north Mindanao coast went up in smoke. Everywhere Christians were butchered or led off into slavery.

One brilliant victory turned the tide for several years. In July and August, 1754, Father José Ducós, S.J., led the "Iligan Fleet," which he had organized (as supervisor of military affairs in the Iligan area under Governor Arandía), to a brilliant victory over some 6,000 Moros and 300 *praus* of war (possibly exaggerated totals) in Iligan and Pangil Bays. Only 100 *praus* escaped destruction. However, after this the four vessels of the Iligan fleet were assigned to other parts of the Philippines and Muslim raiders were soon afterwards sweeping in again to attack the north coast towns.⁵¹ The storm gathering against the Jesuits and their expulsion from the Philippines by Charles III of Spain in 1768 may have had some connection with the dispersal of the Iligan Fleet.

In the face of the new raids, the people of Cagayan and other north coast towns continued to defend themselves as

⁵¹ Father José Ducós was the son of a Spanish Colonel. On arrival in the Philippines, because of his father's reputation he was placed in charge of military operations in the region of Iligan. For accounts of his military victory of 1754, and his other services to the Mindanao north coast, see: Juan de la Concepción, [O.R.S.A.,] *Historia Geeral de Philipinas*, XIII, 148-68, 178-88, 296-319; and Jaime de Veyra and Mariano Ponce, "Con la Cruz y Espada," *Efemerides Filipinas* (2 vols.; Manila: 1914), I, 92-94.

best they could without expecting much aid from Manila. They set up watchtowers (still to be seen in such Misamis and Lanao coastal towns as Alubijid, Aplaya, Balingasag, and Punta Suluwan) from which the appearance of Moro *praus* might be descried from afar and the warning quickly communicated by church bell and messenger from village to village. Breastworks of stone and wood were raised, behind which the men of the town fought for the lives of their wives and children. Often these ramparts made use of part of the church walls, as in Cagayan where the small plaza in front of San Agustín Church and part of the present Gaston Park were surrounded by the defensive wall. The first line of defense against a sea attack, however, was the *palaua* (war boat) in which the youngest and most vigorous of Cagayan's defenders would meet the Moros man for man out on the open sea.⁵²

Nevertheless, despite precautions and spirited defense, the north coast suffered heavy damage well into the nineteenth century. The steam warship was the weapon which finally brought the Muslim sea raiders under control and established peace in the Visayas. This could head into the wind and out-speed the Moro *praus*. Three steamships augmented the Spanish fleet in Philippine waters in 1848 and effectively accomplished their mission by sweeping the seas clean of raiders. Land raids on Cagayan and adjacent villages continued, however, for a somewhat longer period. Indeed, between 1874 and 1876 no portion of Misamis Oriental was secure from Moro incursions. When in 1875 the Moros attacked Pigtao in Lumbia Municipality, Governor Caraballo of Misamis decided to strike back, if not against Lanao, at least against Sulu.

He organized a force of 600 provincial volunteers, which included many citizens of Cagayan as well as its parish priest, Fray Ramón Zueco, O.R.S.A. He offered this force to Admiral

⁵² I gathered these details by interviewing (through the help of Miss Norma Marfori) numerous elderly people of the town. Some still remembered accounts they had heard as children from parents and grandparents. Mr. Filomeno M. Bautista also kindly furnished material from his unpublished manuscript on Spanish governors of the Province of Misamis.

José Malcampo, assaulted Jolo and carried its citadel by storm in 1876. The Cagayan contingent distinguished themselves in the campaign, capturing a Moro battle flag which they brought back in triumph and hung over the main altar of San Agustín Church where it remained for sixty years side by side with the Spanish expeditionary battle flag.

Misamis had not yet seen its last Moro raid. In the summer of 1885, Lanao raiders again attacked, choosing as their target Manticao in Initao Municipality. But their strikes were becoming weaker and the resistance they were encountering was becoming stiffer than they could stomach. Their last recorded attack on the Cagayan area came on New Year's day of 1892, when they raided Tambaling (between El Salvador and Molugan) in Cagayan Municipality.

Two hundred and seventy years of Moro raids, and dreadful epidemics of cholera, smallpox, and various fevers which decimated and even temporarily depopulated towns and villages of Mindanao, checked population growth in Cagayan up to the twentieth century. A few highlights of this population history are interesting for the light they shed on conditions of life in Cagayan during its more than 250 years of trial.

In 1650, the parish of Cagayan (including "Hiponan," Tagoloan, and Gompot) had a population of 1,800 persons,⁵³ of

⁵³ This figure, as well as those that follow from ecclesiastical sources, should be taken more as an estimate than as a true count. Such population totals are based upon Church records and may include both impressionistic estimates of data not otherwise available and a generous use of round numbers. The figure cited is given in "Records of the Provincial Chapter," (Recollect) held in Manila, 1650, where it is also stated that Camiguin, together with the Bay of Liangan, was populated by 600 families. See: Luís de Jesús, *op. cit.*, in *BR*, XXI, 238 and 245. The "Relación del Descubrimiento y Conquista de las Islas de Luzon y Mindoro," (by an unknown author about the year 1590) describes Mindanao as "very poorly populated." See: *Archivo del Bibliófilo Filipino*, ed. W. E. Retana (5 vols.; Madrid: 1895-1905), I, p. 32.

whom about 920 resided in the *poblacion* or town proper.⁵⁴ The average rate of increase up to 1751 was only one-half of one per cent a year.⁵⁵ The havoc wrought by the Muslim raids and by disease can be imagined, for the birth rate was one of the highest in the world, about fifty live births per thousand persons.⁵⁶ Between 1751 and 1879 the population increased from approximately 3,000 persons to 11,499 (despite some loss of territory).⁵⁷ This annual increase, one of at least 1.1 per cent a year, probably chiefly reflects the increased security against Moro raids provided by the Iligan Fleet for several years and the thirty-one years of comparative security introduced in 1848 by the use of steam warships, for epidemiological and remedial advances in medicine were very modest during this period in Mindanao.

⁵⁴ In a provincial's memorandum of 1655, Fray Francisco de San José, [O.R.S.A.], stated... "Cagayan, encomienda of Your Majesty, jurisdiction of Iligan... has two ministers [priests]... 230 tributes in the cabecera." A tribute was a married adult Christian; therefore, with the death rates operative in 1655, we should perhaps estimate average family size at that time to have been four persons (man, wife, and two living children). On this assumption, 230 tributes is equal to 920 persons. Pastells in Colín-Pastells cites this letter in *Labor Evangelica*, III, 722.

⁵⁵ Fray Juan de la Concepción states that the Recollect parishes in the Corregidorship of Iligan (consisting mainly, if not entirely, of Cagayan, Tagoloan, Gompot, and Camiguin) had a total population of 4,970 persons in 1751. I could not discover the precise proportion of this total which belonged to Cagayan, but it could scarcely have been less than 1,660 or more than 3,000 persons. Cf. *Provincia de San Nicolás de Tolentino de Agustinos Descalzos de la Congregación de España e Indias* (Manila: 1879) in *BR*, XXVIII, 346.

⁵⁶ The present writer studied age-specific marital birth rates in four rural barrios of Cagayan de Oro City in 1959. From these, the crude birth rate of the four barrios was estimated to be approximately 48 live births per thousand persons. One of the writer's students, Mr. Antonio J. A. Pido, did a similar study of the Cagayan *poblacion*, and from his data the present writer estimates the crude birth rate for the *poblacion* to be about 44 births per thousand. These results agree substantially with estimates made by the United Nations demographers for the Philippines as a whole.

⁵⁷ *Provincia de San Nicolás de Tolentino... e Indias*, *BR*, XXVIII, 344. This figure (11,499) excludes the population of Jasaan, Iponan, and Alubijid. Therefore, the area covered seems to be somewhat

In contrast to this slow, painful growth, Cagayan's increase in population in the twentieth century has been fantastic. In 1903, 7,108 persons lived in the municipality, of whom 2,976 were inhabitants of the *poblacion*.⁵⁸ By 1960, the municipality had become a chartered city with 68,026 persons, an annual increase of 4.0 per cent per year.⁵⁹ Heavy in-migration, maintenance of the high birth rate, and the rapid decline of the crude death rate have been the chief factors in this mushrooming growth. Cagayan is making up for lost time!

CONCLUSION

The history of Cagayan is a stirring tale of the fidelity and dogged perseverance of a courageous people. It is also a tale

smaller than the area on which the 1751 figure was based. Thus the increase may actually have been larger. The havoc which epidemics wrought in nineteenth-century (and earlier) Mindanao is vividly described by Pastells in his account of the cholera and smallpox epidemics that decimated Cotabato villages during the winter and spring of 1882-1883 (*Misión de la Compañía de Jesús de Filipinas en el Siglo XIX* (Barcelona: 1916), I, 451-54, 470-71). Butuan suffered similar epidemics about the same time and Cagayan may be presumed to have shared the same fate. This may be the reason why the population dropped to 11,029 persons in 1897 from the 11,499 of 1879. Of course, the parish may also have undergone some territorial division. (See [Algué, Clos, et al.], *El Archipiélago Filipino* (3 vols.; Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1900), I, 128).

⁵⁸ *Census of the Philippine Islands: 1903*, vol. II, *Population*, p. 182.

⁵⁹ Bureau of the Census and Statistics, *Population of the Philippines by Province and Municipality, February 15, 1960* (Manila: Bureau of the Census and Statistics, November 26, 1960), p. 30. (Special Bulletin No. 1). The 1939 and 1948 populations may be of interest too. The municipality in 1939 numbered 48,084 persons, of whom 9,073 resided in the *poblacion*. Nine years later, although the municipality had lost territory, it still had a population of 46,266 persons, while the *poblacion* had grown to 15,159 persons. The 1948 municipal population represented a 4.25 per cent annual increase over the 1903 population. Migration in the last fifteen years had played a large part in this increase. (Cf. *Census of the Philippines: 1939*, vol. I, *Reports by Provinces*, III, *Leyte to Palawan*, "Misamis Oriental," pp. 3-4; and *1948 Census of the Philippines: Population Classified by Province... and by Barrio* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1951), p. 162. Note that this is a separate issue from the regular census volumes of 1954.)

of suffering and repressed growth caused by natural and human enemies. That chapter of the story is over. The marvels of modern communication have knit the Philippines together, and the economy of Mindanao is slowly developing as the whole country builds up. During the past fifteen years numerous migrants from the northern islands have settled on the rich lands of Mindanao, particularly in Cotabato and southern Bukidnon. The interior of Agusan Province, between Butuan and Davao cities, seems a likely site for further extensive settlement.

This quickening tempo will stimulate the development of Cagayan de Oro. The growing populations of its hinterland represent potential markets for its products, and much of the produce of these farmlands will travel down the highways to be shipped from Cagayan warehouses to industries and consumers in other parts of the Philippines and the world.

Thus after a long history as a remote frontier and underdeveloped region, a new era has dawned for Cagayan. A favorable position on the north Mindanao coast facing the rest of the Philippines and a remarkably fine harbor which is also free of typhoons give her important trade advantages over most other cities of Mindanao. Isolation is finished and Cagayan is eager to assume an important role in the economic life of the nation. Before her lies an era of promise unlike anything she has ever known.

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