

Spanish Contacts With The Ifugaos (1736-1898)

Introduction

The different Ifugao¹ ethnic groups have been the object of studies by many erudite scholars. However, the historical and cultural studies conducted by them are more of contemporary character, i.e., from 1898 to the present. The treasury of materials left by the missionaries in their diaries, letters, correspondence, notes and accounts have remained largely untapped. In fact, there exist some volumes of Dominican writings concerning the Conquest and Evangelization of the numerous ethnic groups in the old Spanish province of Cagayan (Cagayan region).

Few students have the aptitude and the training to make use in the study of Ifugao ethno-history of the original documents in the Archives of the University of Santo Tomas (AUST) and in the Archives of the Province of our Lady of the Rosary (APSR). These materials have remained largely unpublished, although some writers have extracted from them materials for limited historical research.

No attempts have been made to classify the contents of the said Dominican manuscripts and produce from them a synthetic

¹ The word Ifugao comes from the word "Ipugo" which literally means "from the hills." "Pugo" means "hill", while the prefix "i" means "from". The Spaniards changed Ipugo to Ifugao (Lourdes S. Dulawan, "The Ifugaos", *Unitas*, vol. 40, no. 1, March 1967, p. 6)

historical account of the conquest and evangelization of the four Ifugao ethnic groups: the Kianganes, the Mayoyaos, the Bungianes, and the Silipanes. This article is written in the pursuit of this objective.

It will require more than the talent of the author to distill the voluminous historical materials about other ethnic groups into one compact and concise volume. Let this serve as a challenge to future researchers to undertake a more direct and complete study of the other minority groups found in the vast Cagayan region. Among them are: the Negritoes, Isnags (Apayaos), Ibanags, Itavis, Kalingas, Gaddangs, Palanans, Yogads, Isinais, Abalois, and Ifugaos.

This brief study includes the historical and cultural accounts of only four Ifugao sub-groups named after their settlement sites: Kiangnan, Mayoyao, Bungian and Silipan.

The author ventures to present a Historical and Cultural account of the Spanish contacts with the pagan Ifugaos. She will also describe how the Spaniards were able to conquer them in spite of their strong resistance against the reduction and how the Spanish missionaries were able to start their conversion to the Christian Faith.

In the course of their work, the missionaries were able to record the customs and practices of these people.

The following questions would be presented and answered in the following pages:

- (1) How did the Spaniards, particularly the Dominican missionaries, penetrate the Ifugao territory in spite of the fact that the natives offered strong and tenacious resistance?
- (2) How were these tribes conquered and subjugated by the Spanish Forces and what punitive expeditions were sent against them?
- (3) How did the missionaries prevail upon them to embrace Christianity and give up their pagan religion?
- (4) What were the obstacles encountered by the missionaries in the establishment of the Christian missions?

THE DISCOVERY (1736-1837)

The Ifugao territory

The territorial jurisdiction of the old Spanish Province of Cagayan included the modern-day provinces of Kalinga-Apayao, Cagayan, Isabela, Ifugao, Bontoc (Mountain Province) and Nueva Vizcaya. This vast Cagayan region was mainly drained by the greater river system of the Rio Grande of Cagayan with many tributaries descending from the Cordillera Central to the West, the Sierra Madre range to the East, and the Caraballo Sur range to the South. It was divided into five areas: the Northwest Cagayan Area, the Lower Cagayan Area, the Chico River Area, the Middle Cagayan Area and the Upper Cagayan Area. Felix Keesing enumerated several ethnic groups, found in these five areas: Ilocanos, Negritos, and Isnags (Apayaos) in the Northwest Cagayan Area; Ibanags and Negritos in the lower Cagayan Area; Itavis, Isnags, and Kalingas in the Chico River Area; Ibanags, Christian Gaddangs, Negritos, non-Christian Gaddangs, and Palanans in the Middle Cagayan Area; Gaddangs, Yogads, Isinais, Ifugaos, Ibalois, and Negritos in the Upper Cagayan Area.

Dominican chroniclers, however, recorded the ethnic groups according to their settlement sites. The cultural communities mentioned were: Mandayas (Apayaos), Negritos in the Lower Cagayan Area; Itaves, Calauas, Gaddanes, and Kalingas in the Chico River Area; Irrayas and Catalanganes in the Middle

Cagayan Area and Ibanags and Negritos in the lower Cagayan Area, Itavis, Isnags, and Kalingas in the Chico River Area; Panoypoyes, Ibilao, Negritos, and Ilongotes in the Upper Cagayan Area.²

The Ifugaos, found in the Upper Cagayan region, belonged to one of these ethnic groups. Among the Ifugao sub-groups were the Kianganes, the Mayoyaos, the Bungianes, and the Silipanes.

In 1820, the Cagayan Region, together with the Pangasinan-Ilocos Region, became a part of a special "Comandancia del País de Igorrotes y las Partidas del Norte de Pangasinán." This arrangement was made for government supervision of the independent ethnic groups and also for control of native contraband of tobacco during the enforcement of the Tobacco monopoly. When this special Commandancy failed in its efforts in subduing the pagan tribes, the said regions were constituted under a new Military Commandancy, in 1837, which had four divisions, namely: first, the Trinidad Valley of Benguet; second, Mankayan; third, Abra; and fourth, Ifugao. These, too, were a failure so that in 1839, Ifugao and the Southern half of today's Isabela became part of the new politico-military province of Nueva Vizcaya. A series of politico-military commandancies were later created in the mountainous areas of the Cagayan Regions: Benguet in 1848, Lepanto in 1852, Bontoc in 1857, Saltan (Kalinga) in 1859, and Itaves in 1889 (succeeding the one of Saltan).³

In 1856, with the creation of the Province of Isabela, Ifugao underwent a change of political boundaries. Its territories of Mayoyao, Bungian and Silipan became a part of Isabela while the extensive Kiangnan Valley remained with Nueva Vizcaya. In 1889, however, with the establishment of the politico-military Commandancy of Kiangnan, Ifugao was once again able to unify its rancherias under the jurisdiction of the so-called "Comandancia Político-Militar del Quiangan."

² Felix Keesing, *Ethnohistory of Northern Luzon* (Stanford University Press, Stanford, California, 1962), pp. 8; 169-171.

³ *Informe sobre el Estado de las Islas Filipinas*, Manila, 1842, as cited by William Henry Scott, *Discovery of the Igorots*, New Day Publishers, Quezon City, (1974), pp. 4-5.

During the American regime, in 1908, Ifugao was made a sub-province of the Mountain Province. The same political division was maintained in 1946 following the birth of the Philippine Republic. Since 1966, however, the Mountain Province has been itself divided into four separate provinces: Kalinga-Apayao, Ifugao, Benquet, and Bontoc (now Mountain Province).⁴

The inhabitants of these four provinces used to be referred to as "independent tribes" (*tribus independentes*), not because they were organized into independent provinces but because they were composed of independent people who had no tribal government worthy of the name or well delimited tribal boundaries, but they were called "tribes" for want of a better word to indicate their separate cultural and special identities. The Spaniards generally knew the Mountaineers as "Igorots". The term Ifugao which referred to both people and place already appeared in a work of Fr. Francisco Antolín, *Noticias de los Infieles Igorotes*, in the 18th Century, but were seldom so called in the many references made to the people of Kiangnan and Mayoyao.⁵

Sinibaldo de Mas in his ethnographic notes described the Ifugaos as "the heathens who resided east of the missions of Cagayan along the left bank of the Magat. They showed an animal-like ferocity towards their neighbors; i.e., they uttered vehement threats to have the Christian missions completely at their mercy despite the money, efforts and sacrifices the government had made to sustain them."⁶

The warlike Ifugaos of Kiangnan, Mayoyao, Bungian and Silipan lived west of the Missions of Nueva Vizcaya and Isabela in the mountains whose waters flowed into the left bank of the Magat river. They had numerous and well cultivated rice fields, but despite the fact that they lived not quite uncomfortably from the fruits of their labor, they took pleasure in robbing and mur-

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 171.

⁵ Francisco Antolín, "Notices of the Pagan Igorots in 1789," Part II, *Asian Folklore Studies*, vol. 29 (1970), pp. 129-130. Translation of "Noticias de los infieles igorotes en lo interior de la Isla de Manila, de sus minas de oro, cobre, y su comercio; y de varias entradas, tentativas y gastos hechos para su descubrimiento y pacificación," AUST, Becerros, Vol. 37, fols. 7-57.

⁶ "Idólatras llamados igorotes o infieles" (MS en APSR, Section "Cagayan", Vol. 35, Doc. 7, Fols. 301 y 301V); also in *German travellers on the Cordillera*, (1860-1890), edited and annotated by William Henry Scott, Manila, The Philippiniana Book Guild, 1975, Vol. XXIII, p. 13.

dering the peaceful inhabitants of the lowlands. Their murderous practices in dealing with others naturally brought on their heads the retaliatory vengeance of the military forces of the Christian towns which often were the victims of their predatory habits. In fact the evangelization of these minority groups constituted one of the most significant ventures of the Dominicans in the Philippines.⁷

Early Missionary Efforts

The Dominicans commenced their evangelizing activities in the Provinces of Cagayan, Isabela and Pangasinan at the turn of the 16th century. From these three areas, they reached the Ifugao territories in the 18th century.

The missionaries first directed their efforts towards Ituy, northeast of Pangasinan, then proceeded to Cauayan (Isabela) and much later continued their work in Bagabag (Nueva Vizcaya). In the course of their activities in these three places, they encountered groups of Ifugaos —the belligerent and recalcitrant Mayoyaos and Kianganes.

In Cagayan — Missions in the plains

By 1572 Capt. Juan Salcedo had explored the coasts of Cagayan. But from the coast, the valley loomed vast and mountainous, and for this reason he did not dare to undertake its conquest.

In 1581, Governor Gonzalo Ronquillo dispatched the courageous soldier Juan Pablo Carrión with orders to expel the Japanese pirate Tayfusu from the mouth of the Ibanag River, and to bring the whole province under the dominion of Spain.⁸ The Japanese, armed with cutlasses and shields, hurled themselves against the fort which the Spaniards had hurriedly built on the banks of the Ibanag River, but it was not long before they were forced to retreat with their ranks terribly decimated by the Spanish fire. Realizing that they were no match for the superior power of the enemy, who had dealt them so severe and costly a blow, the pirates lifted anchor and set out for other shores.⁹

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ Diego Aduarte, O.P., *Historia de la Provincia del Santísimo Rosario de Filipinas, Japón y China*, Zaragoza, 1693, p. 154, col. 1; also refer to *Boletín Eclesiástico*, vol. VII, 1975 pp. 553-556.

⁹ Aduarte, pp. 134, col. 2, 135, col. 1.

Thus the threat from without was eliminated and there remained only the task of extending Spanish sovereignty over the inhabitants of the region. At first, this seemed to be the work of but a few years. But it turned out to be an undertaking that would last three long centuries. Little did the Spaniards under Carrión dream that the recesses of the valley hid tribes less disposed than the Visayas, Tagalogs, Pampangos and Ilocanos to receive the blessings of civilization and Christianity.

Carrión easily conquered the Cagayanes, who inhabited the lowlands from the coast to Tuguegarao. Divided, as they were, in factions locked in fractricidal struggle, they were in no position to present serious resistance.¹⁰

Fr. Cristóbal de Salvatierra, O.P. vicar-general of the bishopric of Manila, and Fr. Francisco Rodríguez an Augustinian friar, accompanied the expeditionary forces as chaplains.

Carrión built the city of Nueva Segovia (Lal-loc) three leagues from the mouth of the Ibanag. He also constructed a chapel, which he entrusted to the Augustinians¹¹ who, however, did not remain long in the new city. The bad behavior of the Spanish soldiers and the passive resistance of the Cagayanes so discouraged them, that they decided to return to Manila.¹²

It was then that Luis Pérez Dasmariñas (1595) requested the Dominican superiors in Manila to take charge of the spiritual care of the Spanish garrison at Nueva Segovia and of the evangelization of the Cagayanes.¹³

They heeded the quest of Dasmariñas and dispatched Frs. Diego de Soria and Tomás Castellar to Cagayan. The good fathers met the same difficulties which had caused the Augustinians to abandon the field. With the permission of their superiors, the two fathers set out to return to Manila. But upon arriving in Patta (the port in the province that lay furthest to the west),

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 134, col. 1.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 136, col. 1.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 136, col. 2.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 133, 136, col. 2.

they chanced to meet six Dominican colleagues, recent arrivals from Spain, who had come out to preach the good tidings in Cagayan. This unexpected encounter lifted the pall of discouragement that had settled on the spirits of the two good priests. From this moment on (August, 1595) nothing was powerful enough to wrench them away from the field of apostolate that had fallen to their lot. Together, the eight Dominicans distributed among themselves the territory that Carrión had subjected to the flag of Spain. Frs. Soria and Castellar remained in Nueva Segovia; Frs. Miguel Martín de San Jacinto and Gaspar Zarfate stationed themselves in the town of Patta; Fr. Ambrosio Martínez and the lay brother Domingo de San Blas set out for Abulug; and Fr. Antonio de Soria with another lay brother took up quarters in Camalaniugan.¹⁴

When the missions along the coastal shores were well established, the missionaries started to move southwards along the banks of the Ibanag River trying to reach the southern part of today's Cagayan province, where in 1604 they founded Tuguegarao. They also considered the great possibility of converting the mountain tribes occupying the lower Chico River adjacent to the Ibanag, i.e. the Mandayas of Apayao and the Itaves of Kalinga.

In Isabela — The Irraya Missions

From Tuguegarao, the missionaries reached the boundary of Isabela. Missions in these neighboring areas were later known as Irraya. In 1609 the missionaries gained a stronghold in the town of Bataoag (now Lullutan, a barrio of Ilagan near Gamut). The converts were asked to organize themselves into a new christian settlement. They were expected not only to remain loyal to the Christian faith but also to live a civilized way of life. In the beginning they accepted the reduction and christianization of the Spaniards. But in 1615, the natives rebelled and abandoned the settlement in Bataoag. It was a difficult task to rebuild the settlement after the destruction caused by the rebels, but they were able to gather soon afterwards what was left after the uprising.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 133, col. 2, 136, col. 2, 139, col. 2, 140, col. 1, 144 col. 2, 145 col. 2.

In fact, more missions were established in the neighboring towns soon after.¹⁵

Other revolts threatened the christian communities in Isabela. One such revolt struck in Abuatan (now Bangac, Ilagan). The converts with Fr. Alonso Hernández sought refuge in the town of Pilitan. The fierce infidels took the priest as hostage. They later burned all the houses and fields they saw. Divine Providence did not allow the complete destruction of the missions. It took sometime before the converts who sought refuge in Cagayan returned to Irraya. With renewed zeal, they sought the establishment of new missions in the town of Maquila (later called Cabagan) in 1673.¹⁶ An indefatigable worker, Fr. Pedro Jiménez, infused new life to the missions of Irraya. Maquila became a center of his apostolic activities. His efforts to convert the pagans of Bataog and Pitauan were admirable. The foundation of the towns of Itugud, Ilagan, and Gamut followed. With all these towns christianized, the Irraya mission had been firmly established.

The unity and existence of the mission was constantly threatened by the rebellions of pagans and converts alike. For instance, the rebellion of some Christian Cabagans temporarily caused confusion among the native converts. In fact, the Government had to send reenforcements to put down the revolt and punish the erring Cabagans.¹⁷

The successful venture of Fr. Jiménez encouraged the Government to consider the christianization of other tribes in the other regions of southern Isabela. A consequence of such attempts was the founding of the towns of the Paniqui region. The natives were pacified and christianized. The pacification and organization of new towns in the plains prevented attacks from the recalcitrant mountain tribes who also feared the presence of government troops in these towns.¹⁸

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 328-329, 413-414.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 490-494; also refer to Hilario Ocio, O.P., *Monumento Dominicano*, MS in APSR, Sec. "Ministerios", Vol. I, pp. 216-218, 226-228.

¹⁷ Vicente de Salazar, O.P., *Historia de la Provincia de Santísimo Rosario de Filipinas*, Manila, 1742, pp. 160-161, 545-550; also found in Pedro Sánchez, O.P., *Vida del P. Jiménez*, AUST, Sec. "Libros", Vol. 67.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

After the death of Fr. Jiménez, other missionaries took turns in giving stability to the new missions. In 1736, the missionaries advanced to the town of Cauayan, which became for many years the evangelization center in the area. The founding of Cauayan eventually led to the conversion of the Gaddanes and the Ifugao tribes.

In the beginning, the zealous men of God were first attracted to the Gaddanes "mansos" of the plains and later to the Gaddanes of the mountainous areas called "bravos". They were able to convert some of them.

From Cauayan, some of these religious men prepared themselves to cross the Abungul mountains. Such venture would surely open the means of communication between the Dominicans in Isabela and the Augustinians in Nueva Vizcaya. After some negotiations with a native chieftain Ansimo, who promised to help the missionaries cross the mountains, Fr. Diego de la Torre with a force of 50 Filipinos advanced towards Carig (now Santiago).¹⁹ Relying on the promises of Ansimo, in 1739, Fr. de la Torre with other religious men, namely, Frs. Manuel Moliner, José Tomás Marín, Pedro Romualdo Molina and Pedro Luis Sierra, prepared to cross the Abungul mountains. But much to their frustration, they were later informed that Ansimo and other native chieftains refused to give their permission. The natives were afraid that if the Dominicans crossed the mountains, the Spaniards would soon follow and stay with them permanently. They particularly feared the presence of soldiers in the forts to be established after the pacification and christianization of the area.²⁰

The missionaries, who could not penetrate this time the mountainous region, stayed in Cauayan to wait for a better opportunity for the realization of their project. Poor nourishment and bad weather soon took the lives of Frs. Moliner, de la Torre, and Molina. The death of these missionaries did not dampen the spirit of the rest of the group in continuing their project. Their perseverance finally bore fruits when they were able to carry on their

¹⁹ Pedro Luis de Sierra, O.P., *Relación de Los Sucesos de La Misión de Santa Cruz de Ituy*, Manila, 1739.

²⁰ Domingo Collantes, O.P., *Historia de La Provincia del Santísimo Rosario de Filipinas*, Manila 1783, pp. 484, 485, 271.

negotiation with an old chief called Danao. The latter was able to convince the other local chieftains to allow them to cross the mountains. Finally in 1739, Father Tomás Marín clad in his "bahague" (G-string) and walking barefooted, trailed the Abungul Mountains enroute to Bayombong together with some natives.

They successfully reached Bayombong, and then Fr. Marín made a brief sojourn in Buhay where he met the Augustinian missionary Fr. González. Thereafter he crossed the towns of Burubur in Nueva Vizcaya and Carranglan in the present province of Nueva Ecija and finally reached Pangasinan.²¹

In Nueva Vizcaya — the Missions of Ituy

The Spaniards at first coined the word "Ituy" to describe the mountains and valleys inhabited by various ethnic groups living in the vicinity of Ilocos, Cagayan, Pampanga and Pangasinan. Later, it was given a more limited meaning. It included among others the area to the west of Baler which was populated mostly by the Ilongotes and Ibilaos. Since the beginning of the 17th century, however, the word "Ituy" came to be applied to the towns of Aritao, Dupax, Bambang, and the neighboring mountainous areas.

Attempts to reach the valley of Ituy proved unsuccessful during the term of the early governor-generals, i.e. Guido de Lavezares and Santiago de Vera. In 1591, however, Luis Pérez Dasmariñas led a troop composed of Spaniards and Filipinos to Ituy. He visited several towns and made treaties with the natives. At the head of his troops he crossed the Magat and later the Ibanag river in the region of Nueva Segovia (Lal-loc).²² It was on this occasion that Dasmariñas saw the possibility of christianizing and pacifying the Isinayes who were more docile than the other ethnic groups i.e., Ilongots, Ibilaos, Panoypoyes, Ipituyes and the Gaddanes. The remarks of the energetic leader were as follows: "The Isinayes were robust, intelligent and industrious. Their

²¹ Ibid.

²² Emma Blair and James Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*, 1493-1898, Vol. VIII, p. 251.

houses were large and quite well constructed. The village had about 500 inhabitants who were polite and good-mannered".²³

After this historic visit, the work of evangelization was undertaken both by the Franciscans and the Augustinians and Dominicans. Towards the end of the 16th century, missions had been founded in Manaoag and Gapan. The reduction of the towns of Cabanatuan, Bongabon, Pantabangan and Carranglan followed and served as springboards for the future pacification of Ituy.²⁴

When the Augustinians gave up the Mission in Manaoag in 1605, the indefatigable Dominican, Fr. Juan San Jacinto, was sent to the Manaoag Mission to take it over. But after sometime, he had to leave for Ambayan near Maliongliong in Agno to answer the need for the christianization of the Igorot tribes. Fr. Tomás Gutiérrez replaced Fr. San Jacinto in the ministry of Manaoag.²⁵

Fr. San Jacinto's efforts to win the Igorot tribes were rewarded when Fr. Baltazar Fort, Dominican Superior acceded to the request of Governor-general Juan de Silva to open a mission there. In 1609 the Royal decree was signed giving formal approval to the said mission.²⁶

Soon after, other tribes expressed their desire to be christianized. For instance, a group of Isinayes visited the Dominican Provincial in Pangasinan particularly to petition him to establish a mission among them in Ituy. For lack of manpower, the request could not be granted. This was the time when two of the missionaries stationed in Pangasinan volunteered to go with the Isinayes, Frs. Tomás Gutiérrez and Fr. Luis de Güete. They decided to explore the valley of Ituy and see the possibility of acceding to the request. They found the area ripe for conversion and immediately planted the cross as a sign of taking possession of the land for Christ and the King of Spain. The enthusiastic apostles preached the doctrines of the faith, and taught the natives

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ Gaspar de San Agustín, *Conquistas de Las Islas Filipinas*, Madrid 1698, p. 473.

²⁵ Aduarte, *op. cit.*, p. 310.

²⁶ The original Document of Gov.-general de Silva could be found in APSR, Sec. "Cagayan", tomo 28, doc. 1.

how to pray in the Pangasinan, a dialect which they spoke and understood with some difficulty.²⁷

The two missionaries joyfully returned to Pangasinan to give an account of their exploratory trip. In view of this, Fr. Fort was determined to send permanent missionaries in Ituy as requested. However, the plan failed to materialize because of the objections posed by the Franciscans who claimed that the christianization of Ituy properly belonged to their jurisdiction.²⁸

It was not certain whether the Franciscans really penetrated the Ituy territory. Even if they did, they could not have kept the missions for long because of lack of personnel and unfavorable climate. Nevertheless, records show that the Franciscans could have evangelized the Ilongots of Sierra Madre.²⁹

The valley of Ituy remained without spiritual benefits until 1619 when the Dominicans established a mission in the southwest of Caraballo. This was the first mission of Ituy.³⁰ The Royal Order entrusting the mission of Ituy to the Dominicans came only in October 1620, although they had already taken over the missions since 1619 based on the strength of the request which came from Governor-general Alonso Fajardo who acted as vice Royal Patron.

For about a period of ten years, the missions were closed. In 1632, however, the Dominican Provincial was finally moved by the insistent petition of the Isinayes who visited him in Pangasinan. It was on this occasion that he assigned Fr. Tomás Gutiérrez together with Fr. Juan de Arjona to reopen the missions in Ituy. To the veteran missionary Fr. Gutiérrez, Ituy was a mission re-visited since he had already made an exploratory trip there in 1609.

It took the duo eight days of rugged travel before they reached a small christian town which had been abandoned for sometime. The friendly reception given to them encouraged them to go on

²⁷ Aduarte, pp. 636-637.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ H. Ocio, *Monumento Dominicano*, APSR, Sec. "Biografías", tomo 1, pp. 259-260.

³⁰ Francisco Antolín, O.P., *Compendio Cronológico sobre el Camino para Cagayán por la Provincia y misión de Ituy*, APSR, Sec. "Cagayan", tomo 31.

until they reached a small town in the valley of Ituy, north of Caraballo.³¹ The missionaries did not only meet the peaceful Isinayes, but also aetas or negritos in the neighboring mountains.³²

Except for these visits made by Frs. Gutiérrez and Arjona, nothing much had been mentioned of the missions of Ituy during the years 1633 to 1654. The records of the Provincial chapters showed the founding of San Miguel Archangel of Ituy, possibly some missions in Aritao, and the presence of two groups of Spanish troops near the banks of the river called "Santo Rosario," near the said mission.³³

The revitalization of the missions of Ituy was again accounted for in the Provincial Chapter of 1652. Five missionaries led by Fr. Teodoro Quirós were sent to Ituy. This venture did not last long because the missions were again abandoned after two years. Food shortage, weather conditions, and the abuses of some Spanish soldiers were the causes for the temporary closure.

Fifty years later, the missions of San Bartolomé de Agno and San Luis Beltrán located south of Caraballo were established by the Dominicans. These missions prospered in spite of adverse factors because of their proximity to Pangasinan. The Agno River of Pangasinan served as an attraction to the Isinayes and negritos whose main occupation was picking up grains of gold from the gold mines near the said River. Aside from the fact that San Bartolomé of Agno served as a resting place for the travellers of Manaoag on their way to Nueva Vizcaya, it also provided a sure refuge in cases of attacks from the ferocious Igorrots.³⁴

These two towns served as springboards for the successful restoration of the missions of Ituy with the appearance of Fr. Francisco de la Maza in the scene.

³¹ The missionaries commenting on the towns of Ituy said: "The land is cool and the sun shines brightly during the day, but at night, the whole place is wrapped in darkness." Antolin, *op. cit.*, Fol. 10V.

³² Fr. Antolin wrote: "In the 17th century, there existed some negrito families east of Pangasinan in a place called "Nono" between the towns of Puncan and Sta. Rita". Ibid, Fol. 20V.

³³ *Ibid.*, Fols. 22-23V.

³⁴ Ocio, *op. cit.*, p. 92-95.

From 1702 and on, more Dominican missionaries, headed by Fr. Francisco de la Maza, arrived in Burubur (a former native settlement in the vicinity of present town of Aritao), which became the center for further spiritual conquests. These zealous men tried to resume the missionary activities in Nueva Vizcaya, especially when some natives expressed their willingness to be baptized. Among the noted converts was a boy called Pigu who was later given the name "Luis Beltran". He became one of the influential natives who aided the missionaries in the work of evangelization.

The mysterious death of Fr. de la Maza was described by Pigu sixty years later; "A chieftain of Balibon sent him a hand-woven blanket as a gift, telling the bearer, 'give this cloth to the Father, just as it is, and when he receives it, he will smell it.' A few days later, he got sick and died."³⁵

The Isinay settlements were bereaved of missionaries for more than ten years due to the hostile attitude of the Ilongots from the East. In 1717, the Augustinians temporarily took over the Vizcaya missions. Fr. Alejandro Cacho reached Burubur and planted a molave cross in the Caraballo mountain. With Luis Beltran Pigu acting as an interpreter, he called a meeting of the converts to suggest to them the transfer of the settlement at Burubur to a more accessible area. In 1717, he established the Mabato settlement which was later called "Buhay", now the town of Aritao. Beltran became the chief of this new settlement.³⁶

To organize a more orderly collection of tribute and to protect the converts from the Panoypoyes' and Ipituyes' attacks from the West, a fort was established in Aritao in 1729.³⁷

³⁵ Luis Beltrán Pigu, "Relación que en Lengua Isinai hizo un Principal de Burubur, llamado Pigu, Capitán de Infantería e intérprete de los Agustinos," Carranglán, 1766, translated into Spanish by Francisco Antolín, "Compendio cronológico sobre el camino para Cagayán por la provincia y misión de Ituy. Su descubrimiento, entradas y sucesos," APSR, MSS, "Cagayán", tomo 30, fols. 72-73); also cited by Malumbres *op. cit.*, pp. 18, 21, 153, 155, 161 and also in Scott *op. cit.*, p. 80.

³⁶ "Conquistas Espirituales de los Religiosos Agustinos Calzados de la Provincia del Santísimo Nombre de Jesús de Filipinas, hechas en estos cuarenta años en la Alcaldía de Pampanga," in Angel Pérez, *Relaciones Agustiniánas de las Razas del norte de Luzón* (Manila, 1904) p. 42; also cited in the *Historical Data of Nueva Vizcaya*, MS, Filipiniana Section, National Libraries, Manila, pp. 16-18.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

In 1740, the Dominicans again took over the Vizcaya missions. Fr. Juan Ormazza stayed in Buhay until 1743. He acted as peace-maker between the Isinay converts and the violent Panoypoyes.³⁸

Fr. Juan de la Cruz Moya and other missionaries extended Christianization to the areas of Bambang and Dupax in 1745, and it was during their time that two government military expeditions, headed by Lorenzo Dipangan and Vicente Ibarra respectively, were dispatched against the warlike Panoypoyes and Ipituyes.³⁹

The attacks of these pagan tribes were characterized by murder, cattle-rustling, tribute-collecting, and occasional demands for human victims to be offered as an act of appeasement to their false gods. In 1755, Fr. Cristóbal Rodríguez was allowed to visit a Panoypoyes' settlement. He observed that the settlement, composed of about 600 hundred persons, was well organized. The older men conducted the affairs of the community without interference from the women and youngsters. He also was allowed entrance to the Ipituyes' territory. The settlement had 172 houses decorated with life-sized carved statues of spear-bearing warriors, presumably used to give the impression of a stronger defense force than they actually had.⁴⁰

The Panoypoyes' attacks threatened the continued existence of the Christian settlements in Buhay and Dupax. It was because of this that the missionaries asked the assistance of Oidor José Ignacio Arzádum of Pangasinan. To repel the uprising under the Panoypoy chieftain Sapac, he produced a troupe of 270 men in June, 1745. The army was joined by a detachment of Isinay reserves. The expedition destroyed the fields and houses of the heathens. The successful troops displayed fire, power, valor and tactical skill. Indeed, the Panoypoyes suffered one of the bloodiest defeats in Igorot history.⁴¹

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ Bernardo Ustáriz, O.P., *Relación de los sucesos y progresos de la misión de Santa Cruz de Paniquí y de Ytuy, medias entre las de Pangasinán, Cagayán y Pampanga*. Año de 1745.

⁴⁰ Vicente de Salazar, O.P., *Relación de la conquista de Pituy por la tropa de los cagayanes*, año de 1748" (APSR, MSS, "Cagayan", tomo 29, Fols. 195-202; also cited by Scott, *op. cit.*, pp 84-85).

⁴¹ *Relación de los sucesos y progresos de la tropa que de Cagayán se despachó para la misión de Buhay el año de 1750, escrita por el R.P. Fr. Vicente de Salazar* (APSR, MSS, Section "Cagayan", tomo 29, Fols. 152-155).

There was peace that followed the triumphant victory of the Christian forces. More neophytes expressed their willingness to join the missions.

In 1747, renewed uprising were started by the Ipituyes. A good number of the Christian troops led by Cuarto Maddela managed to keep the Ipituyes at bay. In one of the skirmishes between the pagan and the Spanish forces, Maddela was accidentally killed by one of his own men.⁴²

The government forces increased their resources in the following encounter with the pagan Ipituyes and Panoypayes. They caused vast destruction to the lives and properties of these pagans.

In the meantime, the missionaries continued their efforts in consolidating the Isinay settlements. Fr. Domingo Caro built a strong church and convent in Bambang in 1774 and in Dupax in 1777.

Now and then, the Panoypayes and the Ipituyes would renew their warlike activities and caused fear among the converts in the Christian settlements. More punitive expeditions were sent against them burning their houses and fields.

The Panoypayes and the Ipituyes later withdrew into the Cordillera fastnesses. It was only then that the Christian settlements grew in number as more pagans from the various communities joined the converts.

Among the Ifugaos: Attempts to Penetrate their Territories

a. Among the Kianganes

The year 1736 marked the beginning of the work of evangelization among the Ifugao tribes. In that year, as previously stated, the missionaries reached the neighborhood of Cauayan, a town to serve for many years as the center of apostolic activities to the south and to the west.⁴³

The Kianganes, Mayoyaos, Bungianes, and Silipanes inhabited the mountains lying west of Cauayan. The Dominicans were first

⁴² It was believed that the violence and fury of these heathens were due to some kind of narcotic roots which they took before the encounter. *Ibid.*

⁴³ Manuel del Río, O.P., *Relación de los sucesos de la misión de Santa Cruz de Ituy, en la provincia de Paniquí, media entre las de Pangasinán y Cagayán, en las Filipinas. Año de 1739.*

attracted to the Gaddanes living on the plains, but eventually the missionaries turned to the Ifugaos because of the violent acts they inflicted against their neighbors. They would swoop down from the mountains to filch and sometimes to decapitate the unfortunate Christian converts whom they found on their way.

To remedy this grim situation, the Spanish government established military forts in Bagabag in 1752; in Santiago (Carig) in 1772; in Echague (Camarag) and Angadanan in 1776 to protect the relocated Christian converts from the Ifugao attacks. Later, Cauayan, Camarag, Carig and Angadanan were all moved eastward to safer locations in 1765 and the road following the banks of the Magat downstream from Bagabag was rerouted through what are today Cordon and Santiago (Carig) to Echague (Camarag).⁴⁴

In 1772, Don Mateo Cabal, one of the ablest Christian Commanders, was put in charge of the Fort of Carig (Santiago) and the anti-Ifugao fort in Bagabag. It was through the efforts of Cabal that punitive expeditions had been organized to crack the hard nut of the Ifugao resistance. The Fort at Bagabag, opened in 1752, was intended to stop Ifugao killings along the highway. The Government was spending about a thousand pesos a year to maintain these two garrisons.

All in all, the government expeditions were successful, with the exception of one encounter in 1767 where they experienced an embarrassing defeat. This could be attributed to the greed of some Christian natives who tried to pillage the enemies' abandoned houses instead of attacking the infidel host. It was at this instance that the pagans were able to regroup their forces and successfully break the Christian ranks by hurling spears and stones at them. The Christian natives panicked and thereafter fled.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Julián Malumbres, *Historia de Nueva Vizcaya*, pp. 80-81, as cited by Scott in *op. cit.*, pp. 160-164.

⁴⁵ Fr. Antolín gathered the following facts: "The good-sized troop was accompanied by three missionaries so there would be no needless killings. The vanguard opened the way with musket fire against the pagans who were blocking the pass, and entered within the sizable central settlement of Kiangnan itself, and because the pagans had retreated, on a sudden impulse the ill-advised and greedy Christians of the troops began to separate and go through the houses to sack them. The pagans reenforced their forces with spears and stones and the soldiers panicked and fled. They ran into the

The courageous commander Cabal managed to tame some Ifugaos in 1778 when he started to move 420 of them down from Amduntug, Camandag, Cauayan, Ipudtol, Ibanot, and Mamabud to a new mission site in Addiawan, now part of Solano. Here they settled in 74 houses that had been built for them, each provided with a pig, chickens, garden and fields of corn and camotes. The new settlers were given a resident priest whom they provided with small living quarters. By October of 1778 a new church was built by the native converts. In spite of all these attractions, the resettled Ifugaos could not be kept for long in the new place because after sometime, they would fight back and disappear from the settlement.⁴⁶

For a period of ten years, the government seemed to have relaxed its attitude towards the Ifugaos. However, in the year 1789, with the renewal of violence, the government saw the need for new punitive expeditions. The Ifugaos, for instance, attacked treacherously 9 soldiers outside the Diadi outpost, wounding two soldiers including the corporal in charge. Eight days later, they again killed a Christian from Cauayan. The nephew of Mateo Cabal was not spared when he was murdered near Carig in 1793. This audacity so incensed the native converts that they formed their own expedition of 300 troops and marched toward the mountains. For six days, the native troops destroyed five villages and killed those who tried to defend themselves.⁴⁷

The government expedition against the Ifugaos was organized by Mateo Cabal. The troops set out from Carig under the command of a certain Sergeant Padilla. After hiking for six days, they finally reached Kiangnan. They camped near one of the larger Kiangnan settlements. The Kiangnanes were able to get reinforcements from their neighbors. This made them put up a strong resistance against the government troops. Lack of food provisions, lack of organization, and harsh treatment of the soldiers

delayed rearguard where the three religious were, and all took precipitous flight in the greatest disorder. The Ifugaos gave chase and even captured some belongings. There would have been a real disaster if some soldiers with muskets had not covered the retreat from behind and stopped the adversaries." ("Notices of the Pagan Igorots," Part I, pp. 237-239).

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ Malumbres, *Historia de Nueva Vizcaya*, pp. 86-88, as cited by Scott, *Discovery of the Igorots*, pp. 162-165.

and the native volunteers caused great demoralization among the government forces. They finally decided to retreat to Carig.⁴⁸

It was not until after the interlude of the successful defense of Kiangnan by the Ifugaos that a priest entered this largest Ifugao settlement in peace. Fr. Juan Molano, O.P. reached Kiangnan in 1801. He found the Kianganes to be very industrious. He enjoyed looking at the many irrigated fields or "payaos" and was amazed by the excellence of the Ifugao houses and granaries. Fr. Molano spent two days in Kiangnan.⁴⁹ After surveying the place, he concluded that 5 or 6 missionaries would meet the need for the evangelization of Kiangnan. However, he also observed the difficulties of traveling to the mountains so that even if a rough road were constructed from Bagabag to Kiangnan it would be a long, painful and dangerous journey because the Ifugaos frequently attacked and beheaded not only the strangers but even their fellow infidels.⁵⁰

Fr. Molano tried to win the friendship of the Kianganes by distributing little presents to them. He was well received as a friend and visitor but the natives avoided all discussions pertaining to religion. They refused to have a permanent priest among them because they averred that their "anitos" or "bunis" would be displeased.

In August 1802, a year after Fr. Molano's visit to Kiangnan, the Spanish government asked Fr. Manuel Garcia, O.P. to lead a punitive expedition. He agreed to do so, but nothing happened to it because his guides misled him into the forest and left him afterwards.⁵¹

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ Juan Molano, "Sus Viajes y descripción de Kiangnan" APSR, MSS, Section "Cagayan", tomo 32, Doc. 1, Fols. 250-252; also refer to W. H. Scott. "Notes on the History of the Mountain Province II", *University of Baguio Journal*, 1973, p. 134. Fr. Molano's diary stated: "I finally succeeded in getting into Kiangnan and out again safely, and its natives because they bear themselves so well... for they are given to labor as is to be seen in the huge payaos (irrigated fields) they have, for there is no doubt that tremendous sweat went into their construction, both in channeling the water and in transporting the stones with which they enclose their town and payaos. Their staple food is rice."

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ Manuel García's report (no date) in Julián Malumbres *Historia de Isabela*, Manila, 1918, pp. 108-113; also in "Carta de P. Manuel García sobre los Igorrotes de Cagayán y sobre una expedición de los soldados a los Montes de la Cordillera Central," 1807, APSR, MSS, Section "Cagayan" tomo 24, Doc. 23. Fols. 77-84.

Another expedition was organized in 1810 to punish the hostile Ifugao chiefs named Kalagi, Tayahan, Pinkiyan and Simbayum. They were captured and brought to Manila where they were later executed.⁵²

(a) *Among the Mayoyaos*

The first Dominican missionary to establish permanent contact with the Mayoyaos was Fr. Juan Prieto, O.P. who, among others, headed an expedition which left Cauayan in June 26, 1818. He was accompanied by 500 men, 20 Negrito scouts and three Igorot guides.⁵³

Fr. Prieto intended from the start to get the cooperation of the Mayoyaos in the punishment of the culprits responsible for the murder of three Cabagans. The hundreds of Cabagans were determined to wage their bloody vendetta on the Mayoyaos.⁵⁴

On June 29, 1818, Fr. Prieto entered the heathen territory and was received by men from Mayoyao, Bulu, and Adanayan. This was followed by the surrender of the murder weapons (spears and cutlasses). Accompanied by these natives, the Christian troops reached Napu, an Ifugao settlement. Fr. Prieto was glad to receive rice, camotes, taro, sugarcane, mongo beans, tomatoes and cucumber brought by the women and children to serve as peace offerings. The priest reconnoitered the place and thereafter built a camp for the night near Higu. The murderers, it was learned, came from Higu. The following day, Fr. Prieto demanded the surrender of the culprits. He guaranteed safe conduct for them and their families. The headtakers were given two days to surrender. It could be because of fear of being killed or being sold to slavery that they ignored the ultimatum. Fr. Prieto took all the necessary precautions to avoid useless bloodshed. He first counselled the innocent Ifugaos to stand clear and sternly

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ Juan Prieto, "Sus Viajes a los pueblos infieles Gaddanes y Mayoyaos sacados de Una Carta a Nuestro P. Provincial Carlos Arbea en 15 de Octubre de 1816," APSR, MSS, Section "Cagayan" tomo 24, Fols. 219-238. Also refer to Juan Prieto, "Sobre cristianos e infieles de Cagayán en 1818," APSR, MSS, Section "Cagayan" tomo 24, Fols. 1-29 and "Expedición Militar a los Igorotes en el año 1818," APSR, MSS, Sec. "Cagayan" tomo 24 Fols. 1-29 as published by Malumbres in *Historia de Isabela*, pp. 43-160.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

ordered his men not to touch anything except the actual culprits and their goods. The attack against the headtakers began and in the brief skirmish, they were killed but their families and properties were spared. Only some palay from the culprits' houses was confiscated.⁵⁵

From that time on, Fr. Prieto made frequent visits to these valleys. The most peaceful visit to the Mayoyaos was made by him on April 13, 1819. He was welcomed by the people and was joined by them when he said his first mass in those mountains.⁵⁶

It was the valour and the charisma of Fr. Prieto that could readily explain his successful contact with the fierce Mayoyaos. He so captivated the hearts and the good will of these pagan tribes that when he went to Manila in 1825 to participate in the Provincial Chapter, they volunteered to escort him. The impression created on these people as they entered the gates of the City in their primitive attire could be very well imagined.⁵⁷

Fr. Prieto died in 1830. The Ifugaos would soon resume their policy of violence and again create unrest in the Christian settlements of the lowlands.

Attempts at Conquest

In 1830, a series of expeditions were sent by the government to subdue the mountain tribes. They were also intended to help the government in enforcing the Tobacco Monopoly. For this task, Lt. Colonel Guillermo Galvey was appointed as "Comandante General de Igorrotes."

In December of 1830, Galvey undertook his first direct crossing of the Cordillera from the South China Sea to the Magat Valley. On the way, he passed through Benguet, slept one night in Ambayek and reached Dupax in January 1831.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ Juan Prieto, "Apuntes de sus Viajes a los pueblos de infieles Gaddanes y Mayoyaos, Sacado de Una Carta a Nuestro Provincial Fr. Carlos Arbea," APSR, MSS, Sección "Cagayan" tomo 24, Fols. 219-238. "It is common among the pagans who are so used to taking heads that they would rather die in battle than give up what they have taken from their *Ngayao*."

⁵⁶ "Diario de La Tropa que acompañó al muy R.P. Juan Prieto en su expedición en el mes de Junio de 1820", APSR, MSS, Sección "Cagayan" tomo 24, Fols. 1-5; also refer to Malumbres, *Historia de Isabela*, pp. 166-173.

⁵⁷ Joaquín Fonseca, O.P., in *Historia de los PP. Dominicos en las Islas Filipinas*, Madrid, 1871, T.V. pp. 455-463.

⁵⁸ *Expedición de la 1a. travesía que hice de la grande cordillera desde esta provincia hasta la de Cagayán, volviendo por la Nueva Ecija, en diciem-*

Galvey was determined to reach the Ifugaos and punish them for their crimes. The previous years, the Ifugaos were back again to their murders and robberies. For instance, they raided Carig and Bagabag in force and attacked the Dominican Provincial Fr. Carlos Arbea on the trail. This incident almost cost Fr. Lorenzo Fondevila his life. To strike back against them, Galvey attacked Kiangan in March 3 and 4 of 1832. In the course of this expedition he destroyed 18 sitios and then returned to Bagabag. Galvey also intended to do the same with Mayoyao; however, he failed when he was not able to get fresh supplies from Carig due to lack of cooperation from the governor of Cagayan.⁵⁹

It took the Ifugaos three years to recover from Galvey's destructive onslaught and then they continued murdering, robbing and harassing strangers. In 1834, for instance, they killed five Christians and in 1835, sixteen. These events prompted the government to send a punitive expedition in 1837. Galvey was ordered to head a force that would establish forts in Kiangan and Mayoyao. An impressive force of 70 soldiers and 500 cargadores equipped with rifles marched from Bagabag. The Kianganes, for their part, withdrew before the attacking forces and so Galvey's troops entered Kiangan unopposed. The Commander ordered immediately the construction of a Fort in Magulang. After leaving a detachment there, Galvey returned to Bagabag to get fresh supplies in order to provision his troops for three months. With a new force, he crossed the Magat River and reached Mayoyao. The construction of the Fort in Mayoyao was started with the cooperation of some natives. After three months Galvey had to return to Bagabag for more reinforcements. Unfortunately, an epidemic struck the government forces in Kiangan, and the whole force had fallen ill. The two forts could not be properly manned

bre del año 1830 (APSR, MSS, Section "Cagayán", tomo 35, Doc. 6, Fols. 342-344).

⁵⁹ *Expedición de la 2a. travesía de la gran cordillera a Cagayán y Quiangán en los montes de esa provincia, en marzo de 1832* (APSR, MSS, Section "Cagayán", tomo 35, Doc. 6, Fols. 348v-352); *Diario de la tropa de los tres pueblos Bagabag, Lumabang y Bayombong que pidió el Sr. Comandante de armas de las partidas de Pangasinán, Dn. Guillermo de Galvey, para auxilio de la entrada de Quiangán y Mayoyao, que hace en total el de ciento y noventa y dos individuos y treinta soldados de ambas fortalezas de estas Misiones, y está a mi cargo. Yo, el Alférez Dn. Domingo Carrión* (APSR, MSS, Section "Cagayán", tomo 31, Doc. 6, Fols. 176-178).

and there was great difficulty in sending new reinforcements. This was the reason why these forts had to be abandoned before their actual completion.⁶⁰

Subsequent government attempts to conquer the Ifugaos did not prosper. However, years later, a courageous Spaniard would lead the Christian troop to its final victory. The coming of Don Mariano Oscáriz would change the picture. In him the Ifugao people would finally meet their match.

THE CONQUEST (1837-1849)

IFUGAO DEFIANCE

The Ifugaos continued to repel Spanish influence and conquest. For quite sometime, they boldly rejected the presence of a permanent missionary and soldiers, because in their opinion their old beliefs and independence were thereby threatened. The ruggedness and inaccessibility of the mountains coupled with the density of the vegetation contributed to bolster their defiant attitude. Often, swooping down on the lowlands, they would ambush the travellers by hiding in the bushes by the wayside or beneath the bridges built over the many creeks that crisscrossed the province. They also robbed the Christian lowlanders and often went to the extent of beheading them carrying their heads as trophies to their mountain fastnesses.

This uninhibited exercise of this spirit of independence and savagery could not but arouse the reaction of the Spanish officials and the missionaries. On the other hand, the precautionary measures taken by the Spanish authorities to prevent such bloody incidents often proved futile because of the astuteness of the ambushers as well as the negligence of the Christians in obeying orders.

Even the Dominican missionaries had their share in these perils. In Nueva Vizcaya, they were practically under siege in

⁶⁰ Guillermo de Galvey, *Expedición a Quiangán y Mayóyao en los montes de Cagayán, en febrero de 1837*. (APSR, MSS, Section "Cagayán," tomo 35, Doc. 6, Fols. 365-373.)

their own convents and could not even go out to administer the last rites without armed escort. In fact, oftentimes they had to take up arms either to defend themselves or to lead the Christians who took to the field in order to fight for the protection and security of their homes.⁶¹

Thus the Christian towns in the lowlands were practically in a state of siege. Nobody dared go out to the roads or leave their houses because even children fetching water or women washing clothes were attacked while doing these daily chores. In fact, those from the out-lying barrios who wanted to go to mass in the poblacion had to seek the protection of armed escort.

One of the most tragic incidents happened to the Dominican missionary, Fr. Gerónimo Rubio, the vicar of Carig. He left this place to assume his new post in Camarag. He proceeded to his destination unescorted because he could no longer wait for the sergeant-escort who was dilly-dallying with some young women. As he was crossing a creek, a band of heathens took him by surprise, beheaded him and committed other atrocities on his body.⁶²

This continued state of violence grimly affected the economic state of the province specially in regard to agriculture and trade. It was at this time that the missionaries and the faithful once more begged the governor-general of the Islands to remedy the situation.

The Conquest Begins

When Governor-general Narciso Clavería visited Nueva Vizcaya in 1846, he appraised the situation well and was able to observe by himself the deplorable effects caused by the violent inroads of the heathens. It was due to the governor-general's interest and concern that Don Mariano Oscáriz,⁶³ was appointed

⁶¹ Francisco Gaínza, "Borrador de la memoria sobre Nueva Vizcaya, 1849," AUST, Sec. A, Rollo 138, Doc. 6, Fols. 404-446.

⁶² Francisco Gaínza, O.P., "Análisis de la Memoria de Nueva Vizcaya" as published in *Dario de Manila*, 26 February, 1849, and found in AUST, Section "Folletos", tomo 115, pp. 10-14; also: *El P. Alamo sobre los mayó-yaos* in APSR, MSS, Section "Cagayán", tomo 24, Doc. 30, Fols. 355-356.

⁶³ Mariano Oscáriz was born in Pamplona, Navarra, Spain in 26 July, 1817 and after a brilliant military career in the first Carlist war, he came to the Philippines in July 1844 as an aid-de camp of Governor Clavería. Appointed Governor of Nueva Vizcaya at the start of 1847, he acted as such with general applause until November of 1851. His next assignment was

governor of Nueva Vizcaya, with ample instructions to bring to an end such calamitous state of affairs. The courageous appointee immediately left Manila to take possession of his post, and with the authorization of the Central government, soon took the necessary steps to inflict severe punishment on the aggressors.⁶⁴

The first expeditionary force led by Oscáriz himself and composed of 107 soldiers, 4 guards, and 323 townspeople, left Fort Begoña for Mayoyao on March 29, 1847. The troops were divided into several groups. Forty soldiers were directly under the command of lieutenant Miguel Vallejo; another forty formed a second group under Francisco Garrido; a column of townsfolk was headed by Miguel Lumido, and another twenty-nine soldiers and twenty natives constituted the last group under Cipriano Borromeo.⁶⁵

As planned, the troops crossed the river Magat in the morning and rested near the creek of Balingan. Early in the afternoon, after having resumed the march they camped at the foot of Mt. Appacan. They crossed the mountain on the 30th, and on the thirty-first attacked the town of Napu, which fell without much resistance. The soldiers burned the ricefields, and destroyed all the other crops of tobacco, taro and camote. The dikes in the terraces were busted. A total of 135 houses went up in flames.⁶⁶

The expeditionary troops passed Adaoy and Langayan on April 2 and 3. Seeing that resistance was useless, the Mayoyaos did not lift a hand to defend the said places and allowed the soldiers to march unopposed. A total of 100 houses and a great number of ricefields were either put to the torch or destroyed here. The

Mindanao, where he realized prowess worthy of his name. In 1855 he was back in Madrid and three years later we see him joining the Franco-Spanish expedition to Cochinchina. He died in 29 August, 1863 in Pamplona (*Cfr. Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada Europeo-Americana*, Hijos de J. Espasa, Editores, Barcelona, tomo XL, pp. 833-834. Also: Francisco de Arce, *Noticias de la Vida de Don Mariano Oscáriz*, Madrid, 1864.

⁶⁴ Francisco Gainza, "*Memoria sobre Nueva Vizcaya*", Manila, Establecimiento tipográfico de los Amigos del País, 1849, p. 31; also refer to Pablo Fernández, "Mayoyaos in 1850," *Acta Manilana*, No. 3 April 1967, p. 49.

⁶⁵ Mariano Oscáriz, *Expedición militar al Mayóyao* (1847) in APSR, MSS, Section "Cagayán", tomo 24, Doc. 36, Fol. 239.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* 2392, ff. *Relaciones Históricas Dominicanas*, Vol. III, AUST, (typescript) pp. 99-105.

soldiers noted that almost all the houses that they burned were decorated by human skulls.⁶⁷

When the government forces reached the heart of Mayoyao on April 3, they also burned and destroyed an additional number of houses and fields. However, a good number of houses were spared because the Mayoyaos convinced of the futility of further resistance, sued for peace. On April 5, Oscáriz planted the Spanish flag in the center of the Mayoyao territory.⁶⁸

Peace Overtures

The peace treaty could not be finalized as fast as expected because the Mayoyao chiefs could not guarantee compliance with the conditions set by the Spaniards. Oscáriz always emphasized in his dealings with them that he meant business. He told chief Balaso on one occasion that he was determined to continue destroying houses and fields as a punishment for the murders and acts of barbarism of his people.⁶⁹

Then a face to face encounter between Oscáriz and Mantiging (father of the chief Balaso) was arranged. The conditions set by the Spaniards were as follows: the Ifugaos would provide 40 hostages to be detained in Fort Begoña; they would pay an annual tribute of 1 ganta of rice per person; and lastly, when visiting the Christian towns, they would not cross the river Magat without first passing Fort Begoña and without reporting to the Commander who would provide them with safe-conduct to the town of destination. The presence of the forty hostages at the Fort would serve as a guarantee of compliance with the conditions specified and for the prevention of future murders and robberies.⁷⁰

In May, 1847, the Mayoyao chiefs gave the required hostages. At this instance, they also sought military aid against their enemies

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ Mariano Oscáriz, *Operaciones militares de Nueva Vizcaya, Mes de Febrero de 1848*. Dated in Camarag (Echague) 27 February, 1848 (APSR, MSS, Section "Cagayán," tomo 31, Doc. 7, Fols. 398-401).

⁷⁰ Oscáriz in his diary of the expedition to Mayoyao reported his encounter with Mantiging: "I specified to them that the Governor-general meant business because of the murders and violence they had been committing and had therefore decided not to let them live in their territory any longer. I also had come to make a survey of how we would inflict damages and how many men were needed to destroy all their houses and fields". (Cfr. *Expedi-*

in Silipan. Oscáriz readily agreed and started to reconnoiter Silipan for several days.⁷¹

The news of the strength of the expeditionary forces spread like wildfire. The other towns sought peace before they could be attacked. The Kianganes sent feelers to the Spaniards expressing their desire to contribute a troop of 200 men for a punitive expedition against Silipan. A similar peace offering was made by the Bungianes when they voluntarily sent a group of laborers to Fort Begoña to help in the construction of a road between Cauayan and Gamu.

Later, Oscáriz received news which made him decide to return to Mayoyao. He learned that seven murders had been committed by the Mayoyaos at the Fort of San Luis. For breaking the peace treaty, he was determined to punish them severely. He immediately left Carig for Mayoyao. After investigating the incidents, he was happy to note that the Mayoyaos kept the peace treaty to the letter. The Silipanes, who were instigated by a Mayoyao renegade named Nayadong, were the culprits. With the aid of Mantiging, Nayadong was caught but before any investigation could be done, the Mayoyaos shot him to death.⁷²

Oscáriz tasted a sample of Ifugao hospitality during his stay as a house guest of Mantiging. After having rested for some time, the Spanish Commander made ready to wage war against the Silipan territory. Silipan suffered the same fate as the Mayoyaos. Ten villages were pillaged. Houses and fields were razed to the ground. A few houses were spared when the owners readily sought peace. Fresh from his triumphs in Silipan he joyfully returned to Camarag.⁷³

The next target of Oscáriz was Kiangnan. However, the Kianganes quickly made peace overtures. Governor Oscáriz made it clear to them that unless they surrendered the apostate soldier Balcanao, he would not discuss peace with them. Balcanao was a

ción militar al Mayóyao (1947) as found in APSR, MSS, Section "Cayagán", tomo 24, Doc. 36, Fol. 241v)

⁷¹ Mariano Oscáriz, *Operaciones militares de Nueva Vizcaya. Expedición al Mayóyao y Silipan. Mes de marzo de 1848.* (APSR, MSS, Section "Cayagán", tomo 31, Doc. 7, Fols. 400-401)

⁷² Gaínza, *Memoria de Nueva Vizcaya*, p. 32.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

Christian deserter who was continuously instigating the Kianganes to wage war against the Spaniards. There was no need for an ultimatum because the Kianganes immediately executed the deserter in the town plaza.⁷⁴

Aftermath

To impress on the native chieftains the sovereignty of the Spanish nation and to give them a sample of Spanish power displayed in the capital city of Manila, Governor-general Clavería ordered Oscáriz to bring down representatives of the subdued tribes to Malacañang. The governor was given the honor to lead 10 ethnic groups that is, the Gaddanes, Negritos, Ilongots of Diffun, Mayoyaos, Silipanes, Kianganes, Ibilaos, Isinays, Attabanes, and Ilongots of Caraballo, from Aritao to Manila. The group left on January 7, and reached Manila on January 18, 1849. The heathens were greeted by Governor-general Clavería at the palace balcony. It is interesting to note that the native chiefs of Mayoyao and Silipan, Menguet and Idijon were so impressed that they bent their knees in token of submission. They also laid their bolos, arrows and spears on the ground as a sign of peace. Governor Oscáriz and Fr. Remigio R. del Alamo collected the arms and offered them to the Governor-general.⁷⁵

It was an unforgettable experience for both the Spaniards and the mountain tribes. The governor-general welcomed his guests and addressed them with Fr. Alamo acting as his interpreter. As a token of brotherly love, he gave them gifts of cloths, agricultural implements, beads and other trinkets which the chiefs and their men appreciated very much. On their part, the mountain tribes entertained the Spanish chief with their war dances, to the

⁷⁴ Mariano Oscáriz, *Operaciones militares de Nueva Vizcaya. Expedición al Mayoyao y Silipan. Mes de marzo de 1848* (APSR, MSS, Section "Cagayán" tomo 31, Doc. 7, Fols. 400-401).

⁷⁵ Letter of Fr. Mariano Martín to Fr. Ramón Rodríguez, Carig, 8 February, 1848 (APSR, MSS, Section "Cagayán" tomo 24, Doc. 39, Fol. 27). "Venida a Manila de algunas castas infieles de Nueva Vizcaya" (AUST, Folletos, tomo 115, pp. 1-3); "Entrada en Manila de los infieles de Nueva Vizcaya," (AUST, Folletos, tomo 115, pp. 8-10); Letter to the Editor of *Diario de Manila* by Fr. Francisco Gainza dated Cauayan, March 5, 1849; Pablo Fernández, "La Cruz Afianza lo que Conquistó la Espada," *Voz Estudiantil*, Oct. 1948, vol. 17, no. 3, p. 16; Henry Geeroms, "Former Spanish Missions in the Cordillera (Northern Luzon) I," *St. Louis Quarterly*, 1965, vol. 3, no. 1, p. 39.

accompaniment of the army band and of the other native instruments they had brought with them from the mountains. It was on this occasion that Fr. Alamo was able to convince Governor-general Clavería to work for the appointment of permanent missionaries among the Ifugaos and its surrounding regions.

Long after their memorable journey to Manila, the native chieftains would still talk of their wonderful impressions of the city government and the great power of the Spanish nation. In fact, the Mayoyao chief Menguet, upon his return to the mountains, enthusiastically said "having seen what I have seen, when I crossed the Magat at Bagabag, I washed my hands and the water carried away my courage."⁷⁶ Indeed, the trip to Manila by these tribes created a lasting effect; the Spanish authorities reinforced their docility and convinced them of the advantages of their vassalage.

The courage of Governor Oscáriz created a lasting impression on the Ifugaos. Several years later, the Ifugaos would still recount how he threatened to take several heads for everyone they murdered. He also amazed them when he fired blank charges at the soldiers making it appear that the soldiers were bullet proof. His bullet-targets were displayed on several occasions. As a consequence of this submission of the mountain tribes, there was peace and prosperity that followed. A marked increase in the production and sale of tobacco was particularly noticed in 1848 to the advantage of both the Spanish government and the native tribes as well. It was not surprising, therefore, that the people of the mountains decided to give Governor Oscáriz a two day fiesta in July of 1848.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ Entre las muchas expresiones que han ido virtiendo en los pueblos del tránsito, dijo Menguet en convite de Carig estas notables: 'Visto lo visto, al pasar el Magat por Bagábag, me lavé las manos, y el agua se llevó mi valentía' (Cfr. AUST, Section "Folletos", tomo 115, p. 22).

⁷⁷ *Diario de Manila*, Jan. 13, 1849; also mentioned in "Fiesta en el Mayóyao," AUST, Folletos, tomo 115, pp. 92-95.

BEGINNING OF EVANGELIZATION (1849-1867)

Prelude of Evangelization

The historic visit of the ten tribes of Northern Luzon to Malacañang opened the eyes of the Manila authorities to the necessity of converting these tribes, particularly the haughty Ifugaos. On the other hand, the Province of the Most Holy Rosary decided to ascertain, through the help of some of its priests in Nueva Vizcaya, the natives' willingness to accept the preaching of the gospel. Frs. Ramón Suárez and Remigio R. del Alamo went up to Kiangnan and Mayoyao, respectively, to accomplish this delicate task.

Fr. Ramón Suárez's Trip to Kiangnan

Fr. Suárez was a missionary in Bagabag where for almost three years he had succeeded in attracting to the Christian faith the Kianganes who frequented the Christian settlements in that place to trade their wares there. With the successful operations of Oscáriz's expeditionary forces, it was no longer difficult to penetrate the once forbidding territory of Kiangnan. Fr. Suárez, with valor and zeal, started his adventurous trip to Kiangnan in 1849. Contrary to what he had expected, the Kianganes he met in the course of his journey were friendly and helpful. Upon reaching Kiangnan, he received a warm reception from the natives who entertained him with their native musical instruments and dances. The men, women and children were richly adorned with colorful beads and trinkets.

After several days in Kiangnan, Fr. Suárez decided to make a survey of the area. He counted the houses, estimated the number of people, interviewed some natives, and examined the terrain. He was by then looking into the possibility of finding a good location for the construction of a chapel and a convent.

It was easy for him to gain the confidence of the natives, who on their part tried to prevail upon him to remain with them. The Kianganes besides expressed their willingness to entrust to him their children for baptism and instruction in the Christian faith, although they themselves showed little inclination to abandon their

old beliefs and practices. The trip was indeed an encouraging experience for the missionary. When the time came for him to return to Bagabag to resume again his parochial obligations, he left Kiangnan with a heavy heart, but not before he had promised that he would acquaint the authorities of their request for a missionary to stay among them.⁷⁸

Fr. Remigio del Alamo among the Mayoyaos and the Bungianes

Unarmed and unescorted, Fr. Remigio del Alamo left the town of Cauayan on March 5, 1849. He reached Fort Begoña on the right bank of the Magat river in the evening of the same day. After resting for the night, he resumed his journey and crossed the Magat on a raft. It was only after a day's travel that Mayoyao chief Mantiging and his son Balaso met him and accompanied him for the rest of his trip. Fr. Alamo enjoyed the beautiful sceneries and was amazed at the Ifugao's ingenuity in the construction of the rice terraces on mountain sides irrigated with water channelled from rivers during certain months of the year. Similar elevated rice fields were found in Bungian.⁷⁹ Fr. Alamo slept in Daggua-yan and in the afternoon of March 9 reached Langayan which gave him a taste of Ifugao hospitality. He gathered all the local chiefs and informed them of the purpose of his visit. The possibility of establishing a mission was explained to them. He discussed their duty to maintain the mission, construct a church and convent, and build a passable road on the mountain slopes. The chiefs were all amenable to the idea.

Fr. Alamo expressed his wish to view the beautiful countryside from the highest Mayoyao peak and the local chiefs volunteered to accompany him. Armed with bucklers and "machetes", they made themselves ready to help the priest-visitor climb one of their lofty mountains. From there, the priest saw the territories of the

⁷⁸ Francisco Gaínza, O.P., "Entrada del P. Suárez en Quiangan", *Diario de Manila del 6 de febrero de 1849*, as found in AUST, Section "Folletos", tomo 115, pp. 15-21; also in the *Letter of Fr. Ramón Suárez to Fr. Francisco Gaínza*, dated 20 January 1849; another letter of the same to the same, dated in Bagabag, 28 February 1849 (Cfr. APSR, MSS, Section "Cagayán", tomo 25, Doc. 12).

⁷⁹ "Diario del P. Remigio del Alamo," in AUST, Section "Folletos", tomo 115, pp. 217-254; also refer to *Relaciones Históricas Dominicanas*, AUST, unpublished manuscripts, pp. 123-126, and P. Pablo Fernández's *Dominicos Donde Nace el Sol*, Barcelona, 1958, pp. 392-393.

Silipanes and the Kianganes, the Diffun plain and the town of Bagabag.⁸⁰

Back in Langayan, Fr. Alamo in the presence of the local chiefs recommended a suitable site for the construction of a church and convent, although he also welcome their own suggestions on the matter.

On his way back to the lowlands, Fr. Alamo stopped at several rancherias scattered here and there in the Bungian area. The local chiefs whom he met there welcome the idea of a mission among them. He recrossed the Magat river on horseback on March 23. When he reached Fort Begoña, some heathens and the commandant himself insisted on accompanying him for the rest of his journey, presumably upon orders of the provincial governor.⁸¹

Governor Oscáriz, the Vicar of the Dominican Province, and a number of missionaries gave him a hero's welcome. They all awaited his return at the doors of the church in Camarag to the sounds of a band and the joyful pealing of the church bells. The *Te Deum* that followed the enthusiastic welcome reminded those present of the beautiful dawn of Christianization among the Ifugao tribes.

On March 24, Fr. Alamo returned to Cauayan, but not until he was able to bid goodbye to the heathens who had accompanied him. Unfortunately, after less than a month following his Mayo-yao visit, on April 10, Fr. Alamo died of fever at the age of 33 years.⁸²

The Establishment of Christian Missions

(a) Mayoyao and Bungian Missions

Convinced of the willingness of the Ifugaos to hear the Word of God, the Spanish government by the Royal Order of Feb. 1,

⁸⁰ Gaínza, "Subida del P. Alamo al Mayóyao", *Diario de Manila*, 27 de marzo de 1849, as found in AUST, Section "Folletos", tomo 115, pp. 21-25; also: Gaínza, "Oficio sobre el regreso del P. Alamo del Mayóyao", *Diario de Manila*, 8 de abril de 1849, as found in *ibid.* pp. 39-40.

⁸¹ *Diario del P. Fr. Remigio Rodríguez del Alamo, misionero de Cauayan, en su primer viaje al país Mayóyao, mes de marzo de 1849* (MS in AUST, Section "Folletos", tomo 115, pp. 217-254)

⁸² Gaínza, "Necrología del P. Alamo", *Diario de Manila*, 29 de abril de 1849, as copied in AUST, Section "Folletos", tomo 115, pp. 45-50.

1849 decreed the establishment of two missions in Mayoyao and Bungian. The duty of providing missionaries fell upon the shoulders of the Province of the Most Holy Rosary. The government support consisted in a year allowance of five hundred pesos. In the beginning the Prior Provincial wanted to appoint only one missionary, but due to the insistence of the governor-general, two resident missionaries were appointed for this pioneering task. The names of Frs. José Tomás Vilanova and Ruperto Alarcón⁸³ were presented for approval. The latter was suggested in lieu of Fr. Francisco Gaínza, who had fallen gravely ill.⁸⁴

The two young missionaries were given all the good wishes and blessings of their enthusiastic supporters. The leave-taking ceremonies on September 20, 1849 were witnessed by the missionaries of the neighboring towns. Among those present were Governor Oscáriz and Fr. Gaínza who had barely risen from his sickbed and travelled all the way from Cagayan to Camarag for the purpose of helping in the preparations. The ceremonies commenced with a *Te Deum*, followed with the blessings of their Superiors and the cordial wishes of their colleagues.

The zealous pair encountered many obstacles before they finally reached their destination. After setting foot at Fort Begoña they discovered that they lacked the supplies needed for a tedious journey. They could not ascertain whether error was committed or not. Travel was most difficult due to heavy rains which caused the overflowing of the Magat river. They were forced to seek shelter and spent their first night with a number

⁸³ Fr. Alarcón was born in Alberca, Cuenca, Spain in 1825, and was professed in the Order of Preachers in 1846. Soon afterwards, he was sent to the Philippines. In 1849, he was assigned to Mayoyao and Bungian with Fr. Vilanova. He was appointed parish priest in Binalonan, Pangasinan, in 1857, elected Prior of Sto. Domingo in 1867, and Provincial in 1874. Fr. Vilanova was born on March 17, 1829 in Spain. He spent the best years of his life in Mayoyao, from 1849-1855. Because of this, he was called "The Apostle of the Mayoyaos". He died at the age of 40 from exposure to the humid climate of Mayoyao. He was greatly mourned by the natives who who had grown to love him as their own. *Relaciones Históricas Dominicanas*, pp. 248-249.

⁸⁴ Gaínza, "Subida de los misioneros al Mayóyao a instalar la misión", *Diario de Manila*, 30 de Septiembre de 1849, as found in AUST, Section "Folletos", tomo 115, pp. 54-58; also mentioned in Hilario Ma. Ocio, *Monumento Dominicano*, APSR, Sec. "Ministerios", tomo 1, p. 293; *Relaciones Históricas Dominicanas*, loc. cit. Pablo Fernández, "Misioneros Entre Igorrotes", *Voz Estudiantil*, vol. 17, no. 4, Nov. 1948, p. 4.

of infidels in a cogon hut. Both of them were soaked to the bones. The impetuous Fr. Alarcón was quick to take off his habits and put on an igorot bahague (G-string) to avoid catching cold. The more reserved Fr. Vilanova who would not remove his wet habits soon felt chilly and became seriously ill with fever. The natives who accompanied them to Bungian helped in keeping the sick priest warm and giving him food which enabled him to recuperate after five days.⁸⁵

The missionary activities in the mountains commenced with a solemn ceremony of September 27. The blessings and exorcisms of the mountains and valleys were followed by the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass.⁸⁶

Complying with the orders of their Superiors, both missionaries stayed together in Mayoyao until December of 1849, when Fr. Alarcón had to establish his residence in Bungian Valley in answer to the insistent pleadings of the Bungianes to have a missionary in their town. The cooperative natives helped build two mission houses made of light materials. The missions were named Nuestra Señora de los Dolores de Mayoyao and Santo Angel Custodio del Bungian.⁸⁷

Fr. Vilanova's genuine love for the natives made him study and understand the Mayoyao psychology. He went on several trips to the lowlands to obtain help and supplies and took advantage of his stay in the mountains to make a census or registry of the inhabitants with the greatest possible care.⁸⁸

Endowed with a charismatic appeal, the Mayoyao's "Apostle" won the hearts of the natives who were by nature shy and suspicious. On one occasion, he gathered the chiefs, spoke to them kindly

⁸⁵ "Noticias de las misiones de Mayóyao y Bungían", as reported in a letter of Fr. Francisco Gainza to Fr. Santiago Romero, Prior Provincial (AUST, Section "Folletos", tomo 115, pp. 58-61); Hilario Ocio, *Compendio de la Reseña Biográfica de los religiosos de la Provincia de Santísimo Rosario*. Manila, 1895, pp. 818-822; AUST, Folletos, tomo 115, pp. 61-69; *Voz Estudiantil*, vol. 17, pp. 5-6

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ Hilario Ma. Ocio, *Monumento Dominicano*, p. 294; also mentioned in *Relaciones Históricas Dominicanas*, vol. III p. 242.

⁸⁸ José Vilanova, "Cartas desde el Mayóyao (1849-1954), AUST, Sec. A. Rollo 138, Doc. 13, Fols. 1-41; also refer to "Servicios del P. José Villanova a la Misión de Mayóyao". 1850, AUST, Sec. C, Rollos 67 and 68, Doc. 10, p. 435.

and distributed to them trousers, jackets and kerchiefs. To the ordinary members of the tribes, he gave blankets, wire and beads. He was never guilty of using force. He won their confidence by persuasion. For instance, his persistent request finally made them call him whenever they had sick or dead relatives who would be needing the sacraments or the Church's blessings.⁸⁹

The establishment of peace among these violent people was a primary concern of both the ecclesiastical and the civil authorities. It was with this objective in mind that Fr. Vilanova tried to improve the political affairs of the community. He wanted to have peace through the proper enforcement of law. The appointment of Balaso as *gobernadorcillo* was a step toward the realization of this objective. Fr. Vilanova also asked the people to elect their *camaranas* (local chiefs). For this purpose he suggested the division of towns into *barrios*, and *barrios* into *rancherías*.⁹⁰

The magical presence of Governor Oscáriz in Fort Begoña served as an inspiration and a source of strength to the zealous Fr. Vilanova. In 1850, when the Governor visited the two missions, he was showered by the Mayoyaos with good will and affection. Fr. Vilanova's proposal for the new division of the mission into three towns was endorsed by Governor Oscáriz to Governor General Urbiztondo in Manila. The division was to be as follows: Belmonte (Dummang), Villanueva de San Pedro (Mayoyao) and Nueva Ocaña (Langayan). This division was approved with some minor changes. Dummang was named Oscáriz after the Mayoyao champion pacifier. Mayoyao was named Vilanova after the mission's first apostle. The Mayoyaos received the news of the town's division jubilantly. So did they hail the announcement by Governor Oscáriz of the plan to construct a new road from the valley up to the banks of the river Magat opposite Carig.⁹¹

The mission prospered under the able administration of Fr. Vilanova. The blessing of the new church and the new road of

⁸⁹ "Letter of Fr. Vilanova to the Prior Provincial", published in *Diario de Manila*, August 29, 1850; also cited in AUST, Folletos, Tomo 115, p. 62; Ocio, *op. cit.*, p. 294, *Voz Estudiantil*, vol. 17, p. 5.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ *Acta Capitulum Provincialium Provinciae Santissimi Rosarii Philippinarum, Ordinis Praedicatorum, ab anno 1802 ad annum 1878, Tomus Tertius, Manilae, Typis Collegii Sancti Tomae*, 1878 p. 225; also in Ocio, *op. cit.*, p. 295; also refer to Pablo Fernández, *Dominicos Donde Nace el sol*, p. 393. and AUST, Sec. Folletos, tomo 115, p. 62.

February 26, 1851 was a very happy occasion. It was graced by the presence of Governor Oscáriz and several missionaries of the lowlands who took time out from their heavy schedule to rejoice on such accomplishments. The activities commenced with a solemn high mass officiated by Fr. Alarcón of the Bungian mission. The hoisting of the Spanish flag, a gift of Mariano Oscáriz, climaxed this memorable affair.⁹²

The transfer of Governor Mariano Oscáriz to the military force in Zamboanga about the end of 1852 was a blow indeed to the mountain missions. The peace and order situation in Bungian and Silipan soon began to deteriorate. Murders and robberies increased in number. As soon as Oscáriz left his post in Nueva Vizcaya, a certain Bulangon of Silipan killed a Christian from Bagabag. His successor, Governor José Ochoteco, organized an expedition but failed to apprehend the culprit. Only July 31, 1853, two natives from Lagawe named Timbuluy and Mangi wounded two soldiers in the garrison, stole 13 rifles and put the Fort to the torch. A similar incident happened in Bungian in June 1854. The Bungianes took advantage of the temporary absence of Fr. Vilanova by sacking the convent and stealing some precious sacred vessels and vestments.⁹³

In 1854, Fr. Vilanova requested his superiors for transfer. The rigors of his work were slowly undermining his health. The cold mountain climate affected him greatly. The Mayoyaos, who had grown to love him could not bear the thought of losing him. They begged him to stay. In return, they pledge their undying support, affection and loyalty to him. Fr. Vilanova could not bear to disappoint them. He did stay until his death on March 10, 1855.⁹⁴

(b) *Mission in Kiangnan*

At the request of the Spanish government, the Dominican chapter of 1851 appointed Fr. Ruperto Alarcón to the Kiangnan

⁹² *Letter of Fr. Vilanova to Fr. Gainza*, dated in Nueva Ocaña on September 22, 1850 (APSR, MSS, Section "Cagayan", tomo 25, Doc. 14, Fol. 7); *Letter of the same to Oscáriz*, dated in Nueva Ocaña, on 27 September, 1850 (in the same Archive, Fol. 6); *Letter of Fr. Vilanova to Fr. Provincial*, dated in Mayoyao, on 28 February, 1851, also *Ibid.*, Fol. 9.

⁹³ "Carta de Padre Alarcón to José Ochoteco", Bagabag, 3-VIII-53, in APSR, t. 25, Doc. 13; also in Malumbres, *Historia de Nueva Vizcaya*, pp. 198-190.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

Mission. He waited until after the rainy season before taking over the new mission in 1852. From local materials, Fr. Alarcón built a church and a convent in the left bank of the Ibulao. The mission was under the patronage of Saint Joachim.⁹⁵

(c) *Mission in Silipan*

Meanwhile, the Silipanes also requested the Spanish government for a missionary who would take charge of their conversion to Christianity. The Provincial Chapter of 1851 entrusted the foundation of the new mission to Fr. Vicente Moreno.⁹⁶ With the cooperation of the natives, he was able to construct a convent and church of light materials in Ulilicon on the left bank of the Ibulao river. Fr. Moreno consecrated the church under the patronage of Santo Domingo de Guzmán.⁹⁷

CONQUEST AND EVANGELIZATION:

Later Developments (1867-1898)

The Closing of the Mayoyao and Bungian Missions

The death of Fr. José Vilanova dealt a final blow to the Mayoyao and Bungian missions. The succeeding missionaries who came after him did not measure up to the examples of Fr. Vilanova's zeal, charity and prudence. The appointment of Fr. José Serran-

⁹⁵ Acta Capitulum, *loc. cit.*

⁹⁶ Fr. Moreno was a native of León, Spain. He was ordained in Ocaña. In addition to his appointment as a missionary of Silipan, he was later on elected vicar of Nueva Vizcaya and vicar of Ituy and Paniqui. He died on June 10, 1858 at the age of 40. Ocio, *Compendio* p. 837; also cited in *Relaciones Históricas Dominicanas*, p. 253.

⁹⁷ Malumbres, *Historia de Nueva Vizcaya*, p. 451; also mentioned in Fernández, *Dominicos Donde Nace el Sol*; also in *Acta Capitulum*, III, p. 237.

coli⁹⁸ as an able assistant of the ailing Fr. Vilanova from 1852-1855 did not fill the void of Fr. Vilanova's irreparable loss to the missions.

Fr. Ramón Reixach who soon took over the missions in 1855 failed to win the confidence of the native converts. He lacked the zeal and tact of his predecessor. His decision to burn the little mission house at Fort Begoña which the converts had built with their sweat and toil made him quite unpopular with them. His acts of indiscretion must have contributed somehow to the closure of the Mayoyao and Bungian missions. The Provincial Chapters of 1859 and 1863 failed to appoint new missionaries and, finally, the Chapter of 1867 completely gave them up.⁹⁹

The closure of the Mayoyao and Bungian missions was also due to the deteriorating conditions of the times. The Provincial Chapter of 1867 saw it fit to transfer these missions to more accessible places. It was observed that the missionaries constantly jeopardized their lives amid violent infidels without the protection of the government forces. Besides, the exposure to the humid and cold weather gradually impaired the health of the missionaries.

The Closing of the Silipan Mission

The first Silipan Mission at Ulilicon was located near the Ibulao river and since this river posed numerous dangers of attacks by the heathens, the Ulilicon mission was later transferred to Magualat. This place conveniently located west of Bagabag, was an ideal spot for the converts. They could use the church in Bagabag before the construction of their own. Moreover, the existence of the military fort of San Juan Bautista near the town could serve as a protection against the assaults of the mountaineers.¹⁰⁰

Fr. Moreno's appointment as the first missionary of Silipan had been acclaimed by the native converts. With the help of the

⁹⁸ Fr. Serrancolí was a native of Sta. María de Besora in Barcelona, Spain. He came to the Philippines in 1849. He was assigned to Mayoyao in 1851. He died in Solano in 1861. (Ocio, *Compendio*, p. 839).

⁹⁹ Julián Malumbres, "Breve relación de los Misiones en Silipan, Bungian y Mayoyao, desde el año 1845 hasta 1888," (APSR, MSS, Section "Cagayán," tomo 35, Doc. 8, Fols. 61-87); *Acta Capitulorum*, III pp. 242-262.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

"bayanihan" spirit of the natives, he constructed a new church and convent both made of light materials near the left bank of the Ibulao.

When the mission was transferred to Magualat in 1859, a provincial church and convent also stood as a clear sign of the natives' cooperation. The Provincial Chapter designated Fr. Fernando Babini¹⁰¹ an Italian, as the new missionary of Magualat.

The last missionary of Silipan appointed by the Provincial Chapter of 1863 was Fr. Francisco Carrozal.¹⁰²

The Provincial Chapter of 1867 which finally abandoned the mission enjoined the Silipan converts to move to the new Christian settlements of Ibaay of Lagawe in Kiangnan. The same reasons which motivated the Provincial Chapter to close the Mayoyao and Bungian missions were also valid for the final abandonment of the Silipan Mission in 1867.¹⁰³

Relocation Begins

The Spanish government could not continuously leave the Ifugao converts exposed to the attacks of their pagan neighbours. The deterioration of the missionaries' health as a result of the humid mountain weather was also taken into account. These were the reasons for the intensive government campaign to convince the Ifugaos to settle in relocated Christian settlements. To allure them, the authorities offered some benefits to those who voluntarily submitted themselves to peaceful relocation. Among the privileges offered first, the families would not be dispersed but would be allowed to live together; second, for the non-Christian members of the family, their customs and traditions not opposed to the natural law would be respected; third, the government would help in the purchase and sale of their crops; and lastly, they

¹⁰¹ Fr. Babini was a native of Faenza, Italy, where he was born towards 1818. He arrived in the Philippines in 1855. He was appointed Vicar Provincial of Nueva Vizcaya and later of Camarag (after his term in Silipan). In 1865, he returned to Italy. Ocio, *Compendio*, pp. 879-880.

¹⁰² Fr. Carrozal was born in Oviedo, Spain on July 4, 1838. He was ordained priest in Ocaña in December, 1856. After his appointment in the Silipan Mission he became Vicar of Solano and later Prior of Sto. Domingo in Manila (*Ibid.* p. 924).

¹⁰³ Malumbres, *Breve relación*, etc., Fols. 69.70.

would be allowed to elect their own local officials subject to the supervision of the authorities of the province.¹⁰⁴

At the start, the Ifugaos received these offers enthusiastically; however, they would refuse to abandon the places of their birth and, once more, these Mayoyaos, Silipanes, Bungianes and Kianganes would escape to the mountain fastnesses. Even the presence of soldiers could not compel them to give up their native independence. The government set a deadline for them to transfer to relocated areas, but to no avail. This prompted the local officials and the clergy to hold a meeting to determine the reasons for the slow process of reduction. They concluded that the troops were unwilling or otherwise could not carry out the final threat to "hunt them down, if possible, like wild beasts."¹⁰⁵

The Mission in Bagabag

Bagabag, a town located in the northernmost part of the province of Nueva Vizcaya, was the first town in that province that could be reached after crossing the river Magat from Isabela and the river Lamut from the Ifugao province.

The mission in Bagabag played an important role in the Christianization of the Silipanes and the Kianganes. It was an ideal relocation area because of its proximity to the military fort of San Juan Bautista. It was easier for the missionaries, as well as the converts, to seek the protection of the military authorities in the fort.

Some of the relocated Ifugaos, however, chose to stay in Bagabag while the others moved to Ibaay and Lagawe in Kianggan.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴ *Documentos referentes a la reducción de Infieles e Inmigración en la Provincia de Cagayán y la Isabela dictados como primeras Disposiciones, Adoptadas por el Exmo. Sr. Gobernador General D. Fernando Primo de Rivera* (Manila, 1881), pp. 10-34. As cited by Scott, *The Discovery of the Igorots*, p. 268.

¹⁰⁵ Malumbres, *Historia de Isabela*, p. 509, as cited by Scott, *Discovery of the Igorots*, pp. 269-271.

¹⁰⁶ The missionaries of Bagabag as listed in the Acts of the Provincial Chapters of the Dominican Province were: Fr. Alfonso Ramos (1802), Fr. Benito Anglada (1810), Fr. Alfonso Alaminos (1825), Fr. Romualdo Jimenc (1833), Fr. Raimundo Gonzalo (184), Fr. Remigio del Alamo (1845), Fr. Ramón Suárez (1849), Fr. Antonio Romaguera (1851), Fr. José de Santa Teresa (1855), Fr. Leonardo Seco (1859), Fr. Manuel Martínez (1863), Fr.

Ibaay and Lagawe Missions

In spite of the closure of the Silipan, Mayoyao and Bungian Missions, the Spanish government directed the Province of Our Lady of the Rosary for the retention of the Lagawe missions in Kiangan and the establishment of another one in Iba-ay in 1864.

The Christian settlements of Silipan, Mayoyao and Bungian were persuaded to move to Lagawe. There were continuous threats to the existence of this mission. In 1857 the heathens burned the church and convent there. For about a year, the missionaries gathered the scattered converts and started to reconstruct the mission. The rewards of their incessant labor could be gathered from a number of converts they had won to Christianity.¹⁰⁷

The first missionary to work in Lagawe after Fr. Alarcón was Fr. Vicente Sales.¹⁰⁸ He had to stay in a poor Igorot's hut until the natives helped him construct a modest house made of "bamboo" reeds and local materials. Fr. Sales made the most of the situation by improvising a makeshift chapel where he offered the sacrifice of the Mass and administered the Sacraments.¹⁰⁹

The road constructed by Fr. Alarcón was improved and widened by Fr. Joaquín Guixá¹¹⁰ who stayed in Lagawe from 1859 to 1862. The modest house built by Fr. Sales was given a new look with the additional construction of a more permanent chapel and rectory made of the best wooden materials found in Kiangan.¹¹¹

Domingo Corman (1867), Fr. Emilio Díaz de la Quintana (1871), Fr. Manuel Tarazona (1878), Fr. Isidoro Martinena (1886), Fr. Manuel Tarazona, (1890-1894). *Acta Capitulorum*, tomo III, pp. 16, 31, 48, 61, 77, 95, 127, 140, 171, 201, 216, 236, 262, 282, 322, 392, 468, 538; also cited in Tomás Madela and Emilio Tolentino, "A Brief History of Nueva Vizcaya," *Journal of Northern Luzon*, vol. II, Jan. 1972, pp. 25-34.

¹⁰⁷ José P. Brugués, "Descripción de Valle de Cagayán". APSR, MSS. Section "Cagayán", tomo 2. Fols. 111-280.

¹⁰⁸ Fr. Sales was born in Valencia, Spain in 1813. He arrived in the Philippines in 1857. After his assignment in Lagawe in 1857 he became parish priest of Binondo in 1862. He returned to Spain in 1866 where he died in the same year after a serious illness. Ocio, *Compendio*, p. 882.

¹⁰⁹ *Relaciones Históricas Dominicanas*, III, p. 253.

¹¹⁰ Fr. Guixá was born on September 8, 1831 in Igualada, Barcelona, Spain. He was assigned to Lagawe in 1859. He was professed in Ocaña in 1855 and arrived in the Philippines in 1858. He became Provincial Prelate in 1881. The Provincial Chapter of 1886 mentioned his appointment as vicar provincial of Spain. He died in 1888. Ocio, *Compendio*, pp. 893-894.

¹¹¹ "Comunicación del P. Guixá al Gobernador Político-Militar de Nueva Vizcaya, 1871." AUST. Sec. C .Doc. 12, Rollo 68, p. 435; also refer to *El Correo*, vol. IV, p. 160.

Self-sufficiency in foodstuffs was achieved by the missionary Fr. Antonio Boschmonar¹¹² in 1865. He initiated the planting of coffee, rice, and other fruit trees.

The arrival of Fr. José Lorenzo¹¹³ in 1862 injected a new life to the Christian Community of Lagawe. He improved the church facilities and initiated the construction of more roads. The number of Ifugao baptisms increased so rapidly that in 1864, Fr. Lorenzo opened the mission in Iba-ay. It received government approval on January 2, 1865 and placed in under the patronage of Nuestra Señora de los Victorias. The new mission at Iba-ay, situated near the Ibulao river, was built on a hill now serving as private cemetery.¹¹⁴ Many rancherías were asked to join the new mission. Gradually, the membership increased and more natives received the sacrament of baptism. In fact, the Provincial Chapter of 1867 noted that all those under 21 years of age were baptized. This statement could very well be explained by the seeming reluctance of the old folks to give up their old beliefs and practices, although they willingly entrusted their children to the missionaries. Slowly however, more adults joined the new religion.¹¹⁵

Fr. Lorenzo was able to convince the adults of Kiangnan relocated in Ibaay to gradually give up their granary-gods, and so in 1866, without fuss, the native converts dragged the statues of these gods and burned them in the town plaza.¹¹⁶

¹¹² Fr. Boschmonar was born in Mieras, a place of the province of Gerona, Spain, on January 17, 1831. He was professed in Ocaña in December 18, 1856, and came to the Philippines in 1860. He became vicar of Solano in 1865. He died this same year, at the early age of 34. Ocio, *Compendio*, p. 912; also mentioned in *Acta Capitulatorum*, III, p. 322.

¹¹³ Fr. Lorenzo's tragic death would be the subject of discussion by many chroniclers. Fr. Malumbres commented on the motive of his death, "I was told that his death had no religious motive, and that it was solely caused by a debtor's anger when he saw his barrels of rice empty." *Relaciones Históricas Dominicanas* pp. 256-257; *Acta Capitulatorum*, III, pp. 444; also in Ocio, *Compendio*, p. 928; One of the best sources of information on the death of Fr. Lorenzo was the *Letter of Fr. Joaquín Guixa to Fr. Pedro Payo*, dated in Bayombong, 22 August, 1868 (fr. APSR, MSS, Section "Cayacán" tomo 31, Dec. 14B).

¹¹⁴ Brugués, *op. cit.*, p. 270; *Acta Capitulatorum* (Provincial chapters of 1863 and 1867) pp. 297, 363; also in Geeroms, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁶ Letter dated Ibaay, January 2, 1867, in Malumbres, *Historia de Nueva Vizcaya*, p. 301; *Acta Capitulatorum*, III, (Provincial Chapter of 1867), p. 363.

The wonderful accomplishments of Fr. Lorenzo were marred by the circumstances surrounding his tragic death. There are several accounts of the deplorable incident. Fr. Malumbres wrote: "I have investigated carefully what had caused the death of Fr. Lorenzo and from what I have gathered, the cause was simply the lending of ₱10.00 to one of the natives of Mapulit in Tuplac named Bumidang. The payment as agreed upon would be in the form of palay within a specified time. When the native convert failed to settle his obligation, Fr. Lorenzo gathered some natives from Ibaay, Ambaoag and Pindungan to help him collect the debt. It seemed that the villagers foresaw the danger and therefore suggested to Fr. Lorenzo to carry arms. However, he felt confident and thereby dismissed the suggestion. When they reached Tuplac, he confronted the debtor and some of his companions and started to bring out the bundles of palay from the debtor's granary. On their way home, the priest stayed behind to be sure that the palay was safely carried. Without any warning, and upon the order of the debtor, a group of men who came from a rice field suddenly struck the missionary with sharp instruments. Fr. Lorenzo staggered away with the support of two little boys and finally a spear hit him again, thus, putting an end to his life."¹¹⁷

Carmelo Saguing, a native of Kiangan, gave the version of the Tuplac people, which was quite a different account from that of Fr. Malumbres. They affirmed that the wife of the owner of the granary was busy weaving a blanket under the granary. When she saw the father entering the granary and taking down the bigger bundles of palay, which had been stored in one of the corners of the granary for seeds, she took the "sword" of her loom and struck the father on his neck. This story attributing the act of violence to a woman, was an attempt to justify the murder in some way. According to this story, the Father aroused the anger of the woman because he was getting the bigger bundles of palay reserved for seeds. The natives of Tuplac imputed the murder to Bumidang's wife, and they thought their story would be

¹¹⁷ *Relaciones Históricas Dominicanas*, III, pp. 256-257; *Acta Capitulum*, III, pp. 474-475.

more credible if they explained why her anger was aroused, which they exactly did by inserting the circumstance of the seeds.¹¹⁸

Fr. Malumbres' analysis of the case was as follows: "I examined carefully whether there was any religious motive in the killing of Fr. Lorenzo. I believe that there was nothing of that sort and that it was merely caused by the debtor's anger when he saw his barrels empty. He therefore, asked his accomplices to assassinate the priest."¹¹⁹

Fr. Lorenzo's successor reached Lagawe in June, 1866. Fr. Bonifacio Corujedo's¹²⁰ brief stint there would be emblazoned in the memories of the natives because of his unfailing charity during a viral epidemic which claimed the lives of many converts. He left Lagawe in December 1868 after making an observation and study of the life and customs of the Ifugaos.

Another tragic incident happened to the missionary Fr. Victorino Garcia,¹²¹ who was officially assigned to Lagawe for a brief period of one year, from 1869 to 1870. His battered body was found at the bottom of a ravine. It seemed that some native heathens entered his residence in the night, stripped him of his clothes and threw him naked off a precipice.¹²²

The historic-archivist Fr. Hilario Ma. Ocio¹²³ introduced a new and effective method of listing the converts' names. When he resumed his missionary activities in Lagawe from October, 1869 to September, 1870, his recording of their complete names was indeed a welcome innovation in the mission's history.¹²⁴

¹¹⁸ Carmelo Saguin, "Hay Mamagulum papadi: the first Father," translated in Henry Geeroms, "former Spanish Missions in the Cordillera," *Saint Louis Quarterly*, Vol. 3 (1965), pp. 47-49.

¹¹⁹ *Relaciones Históricas Dominicanas*, III, pp. 256-257.

¹²⁰ Fr. Corujedo was born in Oviedo, Spain, on October 10, 1841. He came to the Philippines in 1866. Aside from his brief stint in Lagawe, from 1867 to 1869, he also became Vicar of the various houses of the Dominican Order in Isabela. Ocio, *Compendio*, p. 963.

¹²¹ Fr. Garcia was born in Santiago de Troncedo, Oviedo, Spain, on July 31, 1844, and came to the Philippines in 1867 and succeeded Fr. Corujedo in Lagawe on 8 March 1869. Ocio, *Compendio*; pp. 983-984.

¹²² "Oficio del Superior Gobierno sobre la muerte del Misionero de Lagauí, R.P. Victorino García, hallado en un despeñadero, 26 de Abril, 1870," AUST, Sec. A, Rollo 9, Doc. 75, fol. 29.

¹²³ Fr. Ocio was born in Loza Alava, Spain, on January 14, 1841 and came to the Philippines in 1867. He was appointed to the Lagawe mission from 1870-1871, and later assigned to Sto. Domingo where he wrote historical accounts of the Spanish missions in Northern Luzon. Ocio, pp. 969-972.

¹²⁴ *El Correo*, Vol. VI, pp. 180-182.

In the meantime, the peace and order conditions did not improve in the mission settlements of Kiangnan. There were quite a number of untoward incidents that affected not only the safety of the missionaries but of the Christian converts as well. In 1870, an open warfare broke out between Lagawe and Silipan. Four men from Kiangnan were killed on the road to Bagabag and a garrison soldier was speared to death. The following year, three more soldiers were killed in the Kiangnan-Bagabag trail. It was during this crucial period that Fr. Juan F. Villaverde¹²⁵ was directed to take over the Ibaay and Lagawe missions. He became an actual witness to the deterioration of peace and order in the Christian missions. He too, barely escaped death when a spear aimed at him pierced his vestments and struck the door behind him while he was offering the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. Experiences of this kind might have prompted Fr. Villaverde to negotiate for the transfer of the Kiangnan missions to Ibung and Diadi in Nueva Vizcaya.

Mission in Diadi

Fr. Villaverde's negotiations finally bore fruit with the transfer in 1872 of the Lagawe mission to the newly organized town of Diadi. A new church constructed under the patronage of St. Joachim was located in this Christian settlement at the foot of the Mamparang mountain. From here it was transferred to "Picat" where there was a permanent *camarín* later called "Diadi". The pioneering missionary of the new mission was Fr. Marcelino Cascos.

Diadi, a town located near Bagabag, was situated in the northeast portion of the provincial road of Nueva Vizcaya near Dipacol (San Luis) through which runs the boundary line between Nueva Vizcaya and Isabelita. Its soil was not fertile; it was an ideal place for cattle raising, not for cultivating crops, although

¹²⁵ Fr. Villaverde was known as the "Road-building missionary." He was born in Población, Navarra, Spain on June 23, 1841 and in 1867 arrived in Manila. He spent the best years of his as missionary of Lagawe, Ibaay, Ibung and later became vicar of Solano. J. Malumbres, *Biografía del P. Juan Villaverde*, Manila, 1924, pp. 5-7. Ocio, *op. cit.*, pp. 972-973.

the natives exerted extra effort in planting fruit trees, i.e., santol, nanca, guavas, etc.¹²⁶

When Diadi was not yet well developed, Fr. Malumbres in 1882 went there from Isabela and took along with him immigrants from Calanusian. He later campaigned for the Christians in Bagabag, Bayombong and Bambang to settle there. Among those attracted were the cattle owners, who easily found the place ideal for cattle raising. For the purpose of attracting more immigrants, each cattle owner contributed 5 heads of cattle to the missionary; the immigrants were supplied with fifty cavans of palay primarily for seedlings.¹²⁷

More Ifugaos and Ilocanos moved to Diadi with the coming of Fr. Buenaventura Campa to the Mission. From four to five hundred Ifugaos went down to Diadi in April, 1881. The immigrants encountered a lot of obstacles. The Ifugaos who did not feel lured to the lower areas and preferred the mountain sites showed signs of restlessness. The lands which were not conducive to crop cultivation did not produce enough food supplies. Added to these odds were the poor means of communication which rendered immigration tedious and difficult. The presence of the military did not scare the Ifugaos who refused to move to this new settlements. Later, Fr. Campa counseled the civil authorities not to use force on those who showed intransigence but instead should exercise charity and patience.¹²⁸

In 1881, Fr. Campa transferred to Oscáriz, Isabela, taking along with him some of the Christian converts from Diadi. The others chose to stay behind while some of them were allowed to go back to the mountains.

¹²⁶ Cartas de P. Juan Villaverde: Bayombong, 10 de Abril, 1870 y 24 de Abril, 1870; Ibaay, 5 de Mayo 1870; Lagawe, 29 de Julio, 1870, *El Correo*, Vol. V, pp. 145, 151, 157, 164, 166; also refer to "Comunicación del Provincial sobre trasladar a Diadi y Bintaúan las Misiones de Ibaay y Lagauí, 23 de Marzo de 1872, AUST, Sec. A, Rollo 9, Doc. 87, p. 56, and "Informe del Provincial de Nueva Vizcaya, solicitando la translación de las Misiones de Ibaay y Lagauí, del Quiangan a los distritos de Bintaúan y Diadi", 23 de Julio, 1871, AUST, Sec. A, Rollo 9, Doc. 21, p. 155.

¹²⁷ Tomás Madela and Emilio Tolentino, "A brief History of Nueva Vizcaya," in the *Journal of Northern Luzon*, p. 40.

¹²⁸ "Carta de Fr. B. Campa, Diadi, 21 de Agosto 1881," quoted in Malumbres, *Historia de Isabela*, p. 509.

The decree of Governor-general Primo de Rivera dated January 12, 1881 ordering all the inhabitants of the area especially the dispersed mountain tribes to join formally organized villages was not carried out. The efforts of the missionaries to bring down the Ifugaos to Christian settlements failed. When Fr. Malumbres became the missionary of Diadi, he was convinced more than ever of the unfeasibility of enforced reduction. What disturbed him most was not the expenses that would be incurred by the government but the "futility of relocating mountaineers who have died off in extraordinary numbers due to climate or epidemic and the great melancholy which grips the Ifugao when he finds himself outside his natal territory."¹²⁹

Mission in Ibung

The decision of the Dominican Provincial for the transfer of the mission of Ibaay to Ibung was welcomed by the missionary Fr. Villaverde, for in Ibung he could work under less hazardous conditions. Ibung was situated on the northern part of Solano and on the west of Bagabag in Nueva Vizcaya. Fr. Villaverde campaigned among both the Ifugaos and the Ilocanos to join him in the newly organized mission.

Farm life in Ibung flourished due to the courage and hard work of its veteran Ifugao missionary and through the cooperation of the Ifugao converts and the Ilocano immigrants. The latter easily passed on their knowledge in agriculture to the rest of the group.

Ibung, unlike Diadi, had a fertile soil for crop cultivation, and inspired from this, a farm colony for the Ifugao converts soon emerged.¹³⁰

Fr. Villaverde's success could be seen from his own style of "preaching by example." Often, he tucked his "habit" up around

¹²⁹ "P. Buenaventura Campa al P. Provincial", Diadi, 22 de Diciembre, 1879, *El Correo*, vol. XVI, pp. 73-74; also mentioned in "Plano de Misiones para Reducir a los Igorotes de Nueva Vizcaya, Isabela, y Cagayán por B. Campa," *El Correo*, vol. XIV, pp. 203-207. "Carta desde Quiangan, 23 de de Marzo 1889", *El Correo* vol. XXIII, pp. 418-419; also cited by Scott, *Discovery of the Igorots*, pp. 280.

¹³⁰ *El Correo*, vol. IV (1869) p. 156; also cited in *Acta Capitulorum*, III, p. 522.

his waist and waded out into the fields behind a carabao and showed his mountaineer immigrants how to plow the land.¹³¹

Thus Ibung soon became self-sufficient in foodstuffs. In 1874, the new colony had copious harvests of rice, camote, and mongo. In 1876 the natives produced enough supply which would last them for several months. The planting of other crops like coffee, cacao and fruit trees was also initiated.¹³²

Because of the wonderful results of the relocation of the mountaineers in Ibung, Fr. Villaverde wrote a long "Informe sobre la reducción de los Infieles de Luzón," recommending his system as a means for the total reduction of all Ifugao tribes to the lowlands. Among the points he stressed was the formation of a good political organization. A group of competent men were badly needed to lead the converts in the resettled areas. Together with the civil authorities, they were supposed to pioneer in the building of roads and canals, cultivation of small plantations, construction of schools and other buildings. Native officials must be appointed to aid the Spanish military officials. Each town must have a *gobernadorcillo*, a *regidor*, a peace officer, and a defense group called the "cuadrilleros". The teachers should assist the missionary in the education of the youth. The missionary should act as the liaison officer between the Spanish officials and the natives. His assistance should cover not only the spiritual but also their temporal needs. The mountaineers should be instructed in the building of their houses and the cultivation of the fields. In return, the natives' gratitude should be shown in their willingness to support the convent and the church and the payment of some kind of tribute. During his first year of residence, the convert did not pay the tribute. After the first year and for the next five years, his obligation was two reales and five years thereafter, the tribute was raised to four reales and a communal labor of ten days; still later, to six reales and a polo of fifteen days. Exemptions were given to the aged, the children and the sick. For its part, the government guaranteed protection to the people in their houses and in their fields and also an organized

¹³¹ *El Correo*, vol. XIII, pp. 75-80.

¹³² *Ibid.*

political system in which the natives were divided into groups. For every 20 to 30 families, there was a native chief called "gobernadorcillo" chosen from among themselves. His primary duty was to collect tributes and fines. In return, he was given a position of honor in public functions. In his "Informe", Fr. Villaverde concluded that "the natives would soon realize how mother Spain protected them like children spending great sums to maintain their missions, officials and soldiers. If the Ifugaos refused to go down to the new missions, military expeditions should be sent against them to destroy their houses and fields".¹³³ Of course, such a system was good only on paper. The Ifugaos would go down to the new missions, but after sometime, the vast majority were disposed to defend their independence at all cost and would go back to their native places of birth.¹³⁴

The typhoid epidemic that struck the Ibung mission in 1873 was a most trying experience for the relocated Ifugaos. Many of them perished in this disastrous plague. The efforts of Fr. Villaverde and the Spanish Sergeant Miguel Calafat to save the lives of the stricken mountaineers were indeed admirable. However, the Ifugaos could not be held back any longer. After this unfortunate event, Fr. Villaverde reluctantly allowed some of them to go back to Kiangnan, but not until the zealous missionary vowed to petition for a resident missionary there.¹³⁵

The herculean task of road-building undertaken by Fr. Villaverde received the blessings of the Governor-general. In 1884, the road-building missionary started out a series of road constructions in Northern Luzon. Among the roads built were those from Bagabag to Kiangnan, about 40 kilometers; from Aritao to San

¹³³ "Papeles Misceláneos de P. Villaverde", (APSR, MSS, Sec. "Cagayán" vol. 33, fol. 417).

¹³⁴ Malumbres, *Historia de Cagayán*, Manila, 1918, p. 151; also cited in *Acta Capitulum*, 1890, p. 22.

¹³⁵ "The natives obeyed the order given to them and they went to Ibung... They stayed at Ibung but for a short time. Soon there were many who got ill. Many died after an epidemic. Those who were still healthy went to call on Fr. Juan's compassion. They said: 'Apu, what is to be done; we obeyed your wishes and came here; but you say that our body does not like that we stay here. The people are to be pitied; many are dying. No one will be left if we do not return to our village. Have mercy on us...' Thereupon, Fr. Juan was moved and he gave in to their request. "Yes", he said, "return"; a father will arrive there. Be confident, I shall ask a missionary from the bishop", Saguing, Carmelo, "Hay mamagulun papadi," pp. 47-54.

Nicolas (connecting Nueva Vizcaya to Pangasinan),¹³⁶ 74 kilometers; from Bagabag to Isabela, 25 kilometers; from Ibung to Solano, 16 kilometers; and from Kiangan to Banawe, 15 kilometers. To Fr. Villaverde could also be attributed the setting of the road plans for the entire province of Cagayan and the map of the Province of Nueva Vizcaya. He also completed drawing out the territorial limits of the future politico-military commandancy of Kiangan.¹³⁷

The Provincial Chapter of 1886 gave due credit to Fr. Villaverde's accomplishments by appointing him vicar provincial of Nueva Vizcaya and missionary of Solano.¹³⁸ In spite of such change of venue, the veteran missionary would still conduct trips to other mission areas with a view to improving the communication system among them.

The Restoration of the Kiangan Mission

The final realization of Fr. Villaverde's dream of a permanent missionary in Kiangan after the mountaineers had left Ibung came about in August of 1887, when Fr. Julián Malumbres moved into the Ifugao village where his predecessor had left 15 years before. However, the dangers of heathen attacks continued to haunt the

¹³⁶ It is interesting to note that when the Americans came in 1898, they used and improved the road of San Nicolás and later renamed it as "the road of Fr. Villaverde." Cited in Julián Malumbres, *Biografía de P. Juan Villaverde*, U.S.T., pp. 14-20; "Letter of Fr. Villaverde to P. Vicar Provincial of Ibung, December 11, 1879," *El Correo*, vol. XIV, pp. 71-72; P. J. Villaverde, "Copia de un documento, o carta-informe, referente a la organización de estos igorotes de Kiangan bajo la base de creación de pueblos, autoridades locales, cabezas de Barangay y Cédula personal", AUST, Sec. C. Rollo 69, Doc. 8, tomo 36 p. 437; also refer to "Oficio del Gobierno General, trasladando otro dirigido al Gobierno civil de Nueva Vizcaya para que conceda autorización del uso de armas a los que fueren propuestos por el P. Provincial y P. Villaverde, como ocupados en abrir un camino entre Bayombong y Quiangan, 24 de Noviembre de 1886," AUST, Sec. A, Rollo 13, Doc. 35, p. 34.

¹³⁷ In a document written by Fr. Villaverde in "Los papeles misceláneos", a plan to divide Kiangan into several towns was mentioned. The towns of the Commandancy were as follows: Magulang, Nangaua, Banaue, Ayangan, Sapao, Banao, Boloc, Sabangan, Bungian, San Pablo, Mayoyao, Asin, Boco and Santiago. Magulang the projected capital of the politico military commandancy, which had a population of 3,000 would have a mission, 2 schools and infantry quarters. (APSR, Sec. "Cagayan" vol. 33, Doc. 1).

¹³⁸ After Fr. Villaverde had left Ibung, the other missionaries who came were: Fr. Manuel Blanco (1882); Fr. Ceferino Martínez (1886); and Fr. Ignacio Lagarreta (1896). Tolentino and Madela, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-55.

resident missionary there. Fr. Malumbres, for instance, would travel with his pistol tucked under his habit. He would surround his convent-house with hounds to keep him safe. Once when traveling in the southern part of the district, he barely escaped death. One of his native helpers, who went to catch a horse, got three strokes from a spear. With such experiences as a background, he was able to frame with some authority his own "plan for reducing the infidels".¹³⁹

Father Malumbres' "Sobre Igorrotes Ifugaos" dated March 23, 1889 led to the establishment of the politico-military commandancy of Kiangán. His reasoning was simple. Since no amount of missionary zeal and dedication could put a stop to the robberies and murders committed by the Ifugaos as a result of their sanguinary instinct and superstitions, there was a need for the authorities to take over and help the missionaries in their work of Christianization. He believed that the whole mission area should be divided into politico-military districts similar to those which were already in existence in other places. A new politico-military commandancy in Kiangán would provide the Ifugaos with a chance to appeal for justice against the abuses of the lowlanders and for the authorities to punish recalcitrant villages.¹⁴⁰

The Politico-Military Commandancy of Kiangán

Two years after the appointment of Fr. Malumbres to Kiangán, Gov. Gen. Valeriano Weyler created the new politico-military commandancy there. The military division had an estimated 8,000 hectares with about 30,000 people spread over about 218 rancherías. Its territorial jurisdiction included the barrio of Dulayan, Silipan and the lands near the Ibúlaos where it passed through the Alimit and Magat rivers in the east. From the west were the towns of Bungian and Mayoyao going up to the mountain of Ambulao, and even higher to the mountains of Polis, Battang, and Datu to the northwest.¹⁴¹

¹³⁹ Malumbres, *Historia de Nueva Vizcaya*, pp. 184-190; also refer to Brugués, *op. cit.*, pp. 264-266; "Letter dated Kiangán, March 23, 1889", *El Correo* vol. XXII, pp. 418-419; P. Fernández, O.P., "Restauración de las Misiones de Nueva Vizcaya", *Voz Estudiantil*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 2-3.

¹⁴⁰ Malumbres, "Sobre Igorrotes Ifugaos," 1889, AUST, Sec. 6, Rollo 66; Doc. 14, also cited in "Comunicación del Gobernador-General Valeriano Weyler sobre la erección de Una Comandancia del Quiangan, 1889," AUST, Sec. C, Rollo 69, Doc. 21, p. 438.

¹⁴¹ Brugués, *op. cit.*, pp. 264-266.

Appointed by Governor-general Weyler as commandant in charge of the new created commandancy was Juan de Alfaro. Weyler reenforced the military forces so that when he left the country in 1892, the Politico-military commandancy of Kiangan had 135 civil guards, considered to be one of the strongest forces in the entire Cordillera.

Weyler's instructions to the new military commandant were exemplary but soon such noble admonitions would quickly become a dead letter because of the misconduct of the military officials. Among other things, he mentioned that the "politico-military commandant must constantly bear in mind that he was exercising his authority over heathens who were not acquainted with the benefits of good government and who, even if they knew the said benefits, would not value them but would prefer their native independence." His instructions to the authorities were admirable: "Impose authority lightly, not rigidly, and always remember to consult the missionaries. Divide them into groups of small settlements and let them choose their local officials. Improve their towns by opening schools, building roads and more houses. Do not use force but apply persuasion. Make them render communal labor in the season most convenient for them. The collection of tributes must be done with tact, such collection must be made at least to show some token of vassalage. Settle inter-village disputes with fairness and justice. By all means, protect the highlanders from the abuses of the lowlanders or even of the civil officials".¹⁴²

Several expeditions were sent by the government against intransigent towns, villages and persons in the "comandancia." The first expedition was led by a European corporal by the name of Antonio Pavón. His military troops consisted of 18 guards and some 200 volunteer natives. They marched to Nangacaran whose inhabitants were guilty of several murders. This territory suffered damages and casualties. This was followed by a second and a third expedition for the same purpose, the fourth expedition was directed against the carabao rustlers of Lamut. The military commandant organized a well-trained army of infantry

¹⁴² "Instrucciones para el nuevo comandante P. M. de Quiangan (N. A. Comandancias), as cited by Scott, *Discovery of the Igorots*, p. 282.

and guards. The defeated culprits were subjected to some kind of forced labor. They brought the materials for the public buildings under construction and a good number of posts for the telegraph line extension from Bagabag to Kiangnan.¹⁴³

Mission at Magulang

Fr. Malumbres settled for three years in Kiangnan. At the start, he built a convent in Panguinge and later transferred to Bakwanan. He continued his search for a more accessible site. Much later, he found an attractive place where he finally built a church, a convent and a school. This was the Magulang Mission. It was at the very heart of the politico-military district reenforced with a garrison and an infantry. The entire military district constituted the rancherias of Ambabag, Pindungan, Ibaay, Mongayan, Banguigue, Dinapugan, Calagagua, Tuplac, Palao, Boco, Longa, Bainiran, Colo, Ulunzan, Madamin, Panduntugan and Nangacaran. Recorded inhabitants of the new Magulang mission were 5,000.¹⁴⁴

The work of Fr. Malumbres in the restoration of the Kiangnan missions was commendable. His interests were varied. Like his predecessor, Fr. Villaverde, he dedicated much time and effort in the construction of more roads. In fact, he widened the road connecting Kiangnan to Lepanto and Ilocos, which had been earlier planned by Fr. Suárez and retraced by Fr. Villaverde. The said road wound its way up to the Sto. Domingo mountain. His interest in topography, flora and fauna took him to various Ifugao towns, observing and listing what he found interesting and useful in this particular field of study. To gain the confidence of the natives in the new organized Military Commandancy, he was quick

¹⁴³ "Oficio de remisión del Informe de los Padres misioneros de Nueva Vizcaya sobre reducción y tributación de infieles," AUST, Sec. A, Rollo 12, Doc. 28, p. 186; also cited by Geeroms, "Former Spanish Missions on the Cordillera", pp. 41-43.

¹⁴⁴ Brugués, op. cit., p. 274; also refer to Ocio, *Monumento Dominicano*, p. 230; "Relacion sobre esta misión de Quiangan (Magulang), 1893-1895," AUST, Sec. C, Rollos 67 and 68, "Erección de un Pueblo civil en Quiangan (Magulang), 4 de Noviembre de 1894," AUST, Sec. C, Rollo 68, Doc. 1, p. 435; Instancia al vice-real patrono para restaurar la antigua misión de Quiangan, pidiendo se erija un misión en Magulang y se dote misionero con la cantidad de ₱800.00, 8 de Abril, 1895, AUST, Sec. A, Rollo 13, Doc. 8, p. 5.

to denounce military abuses. The natives found in him some kind of a "protector".¹⁴⁵

A series of building constructions took place during the three-year missionary stint of Fr. Malumbres. For better quality construction, he used galvanized iron to reenforce the buildings and also invited carpenters from the lowlands to share their expertise with the local native workers. As a result, the church, the convent, the school, the garrison fort and other town buildings sprouted like mushrooms.¹⁴⁶

Fr. Malumbres also directed his attention to the education of the youth. As for the teachers, he invited a married couple who would be attracted to live in Kiangán, being offered free living quarters, a good salary and a small farm to be cultivated by the students and their parents during their freetime.¹⁴⁷

With a heavy heart, the Kianganes had to say farewell to Fr. Malumbres, whose services were badly needed for the reopening of the Fotel-Capinatan missions in Apayao, which had been abandoned 130 years before. However, their grief turned to joy when the veteran Ifugao missionary, Fr. Villaverde, was reappointed to take over in June, 1891. Governor-general Weyler saw in him a tireless worker who would be an excellent liaison between the military authorities and the native converts. In fact, he was quick to remind the authorities of the wisdom of Weyler's instructions to the new comandancia. On April 23, 1896, for instance, he sent a strongly worded letter to the comandante politico militar Juan de Plaza berating his troops for some abuses against the natives. He described how "they (soldiers) demanded and took palay, pigs or chicken as they wished, whether their owners consented or not, paying one-half peso for something worth four or

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁷ "The teacher's name was Roque Calangan from Bagabag, Nueva Vizcaya. In the beginning, the Father requested him to teach us the prayers but later we also learned how to read and write. The school children were poor, so they had to write on banana leaves. The pens were feathers of chickens. The teacher taught grammar and asked the pupils to memorize the lesson for the next morning." Carmelo Saguing, "Hay Mamagulun papadi," pp. 46-48, also refer to Brugués, p. 273, Malumbres, *Historia de Nueva Vizcaya*, pp. 194-196.

five times even of the goods taken. If they object, the natives run the risk of being shot or killed".¹⁴⁸

Hard work and bad weather easily impaired Fr. Villaverde's health. Because of this, Kiangnan could not longer keep him for long. In January, 1897, he had to leave the place, where he had spent the "best years of his life". Before reaching Manila, he had brief stopovers in Ibung and Bambang. In Bambang, his companion tried to bring him back to health but failed. His condition was aggravated when he arrived in Manila. This prompted the Province of Our Lady of the Rosary to permit him to return to Spain. He boarded the ship "Covadonga" in July and died at sea in August of 1897, a few days before the ship docked in Barcelona. His priests-companions placed his body in a wooden coffin, and performed the burial ceremonies aboard the ship. After his remains had been blessed, the coffin was lowered into the depths of the sea.¹⁴⁹

Restoration of the Lagawe Mission

Aside from the mission of Magulang, the Royal Decree of July 14, 1894 restored the Lagawe missions. The new mission included the rancherias of Burney, Banao, Banud, Montavion, Malvon, and other parts of Silipan. There were about 4,000 people ministered by the missionary Fr. Ildefonso Delgado since November of 1894. Other missionaries who were sent to Lagawe were Frs. Miguel Oliveras, Felipe Zabala and Mariano Urbano. It was later recounted how Fr. Oliveras met his end when in one of his trips to Nueva Vizcaya, he was attacked by a swarm of wasps which caused his illness and death thereafter.

The progress of the missionaries' work was expedited by the cooperation of the worthy politico-military commandants, i.e., Miguel Candela, Rafael Mosteyrin and Juan de Plaza.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁸ "Letter dated Magulang, April 23, 1896, forwarded to the Governor-general by CPM Juan de Plaza, Kiangnan, May 1, 1896," *El Correo* Vol. XXIII, pp. 227-228; "Carta de Valeriano Weyler al P. Villaverde, 1896," AUST, Sec. C, Rollo 67, Doc. 28, p. 434; also mentioned in "Papeles misceláneos del P. Villaverde", APSR, MSS, Sec. "Cagayán" vol. 33, Doc. 1.

¹⁴⁹ Malumbres, *Biografía de P. J. Villaverde*, pp. 29-31, also mentioned in *Acta Capitulum* (1890), p. 6-7.

¹⁵⁰ Brugués, *op. cit.*, pp. 275-276.

The Closing of the Missions in 1898

During the Spanish-American war in 1898, the missions in the Cordilleras were closed. All the Spanish missionaries in the towns covered by the politico-military comandancia of Kiangnan were sent by the insurgent Filipino forces at Solano as prisoners.¹⁵¹ This state of affairs continued with the Filipino-American war. The Kiangnanes witnessed two historic events: the escape of Aguinaldo and his troops on the way of Palanan, Isabela; and the march of the American soldiers who pursued Aguinaldo's capture in Isabela in 1901.

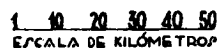
The Filipino revolution brought to an abrupt end the Spanish efforts of Christianizing and civilizing these natives. Old conditions of feuding, raiding, and headtaking were generally resumed until the American occupation of the Cagayan region was made effective from 1898 on.¹⁵²

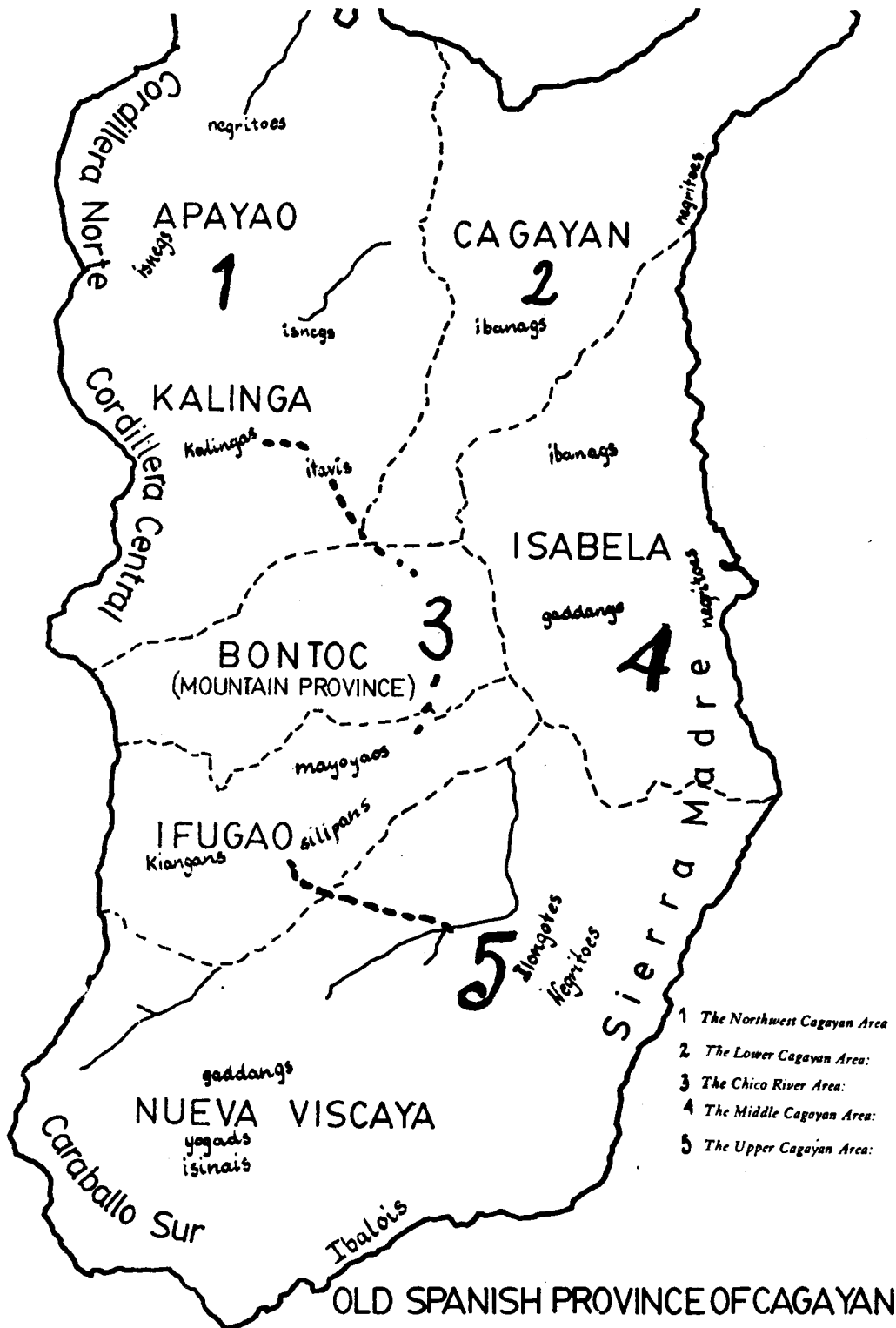
Dr. JOSEFINA LIM PE
University of Santo Tomas
Manila

¹⁵¹ "All the Fathers were brought together in one house in Solano. The way the Katipunan soldiers treated them was exceedingly pitiable: they were made to pound rice, and they were forced to dance. If they did not dance, they kicked them. The habits of some of them were badly torn because of the whiplashes. Their hands were bleeding because of toil. Carmelo Saguing, "Hay Mamagulun Papadi," pp. 49-50.

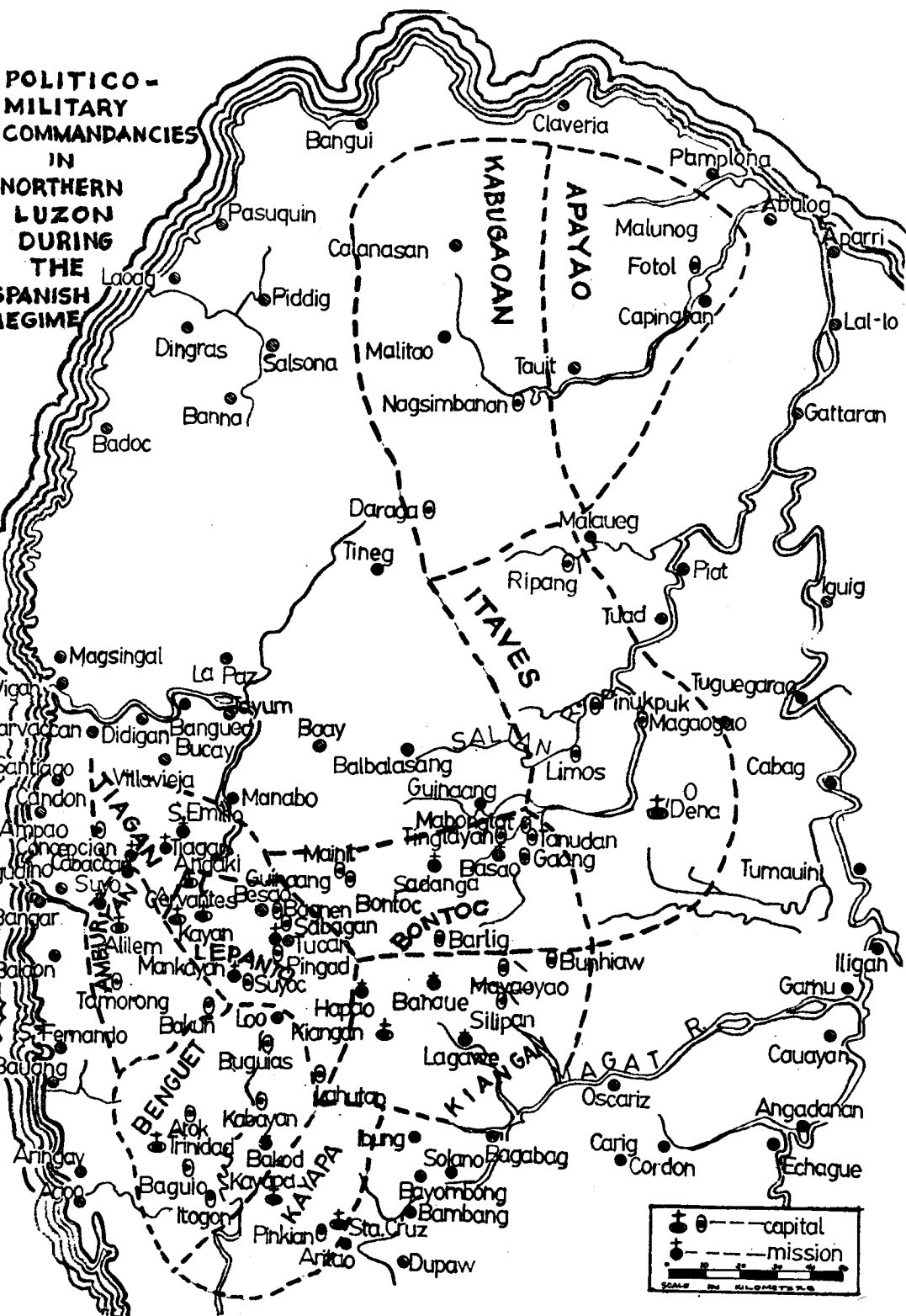
¹⁵² Keesing, *Ethnohistory of Northern Luzon*, p. 180.

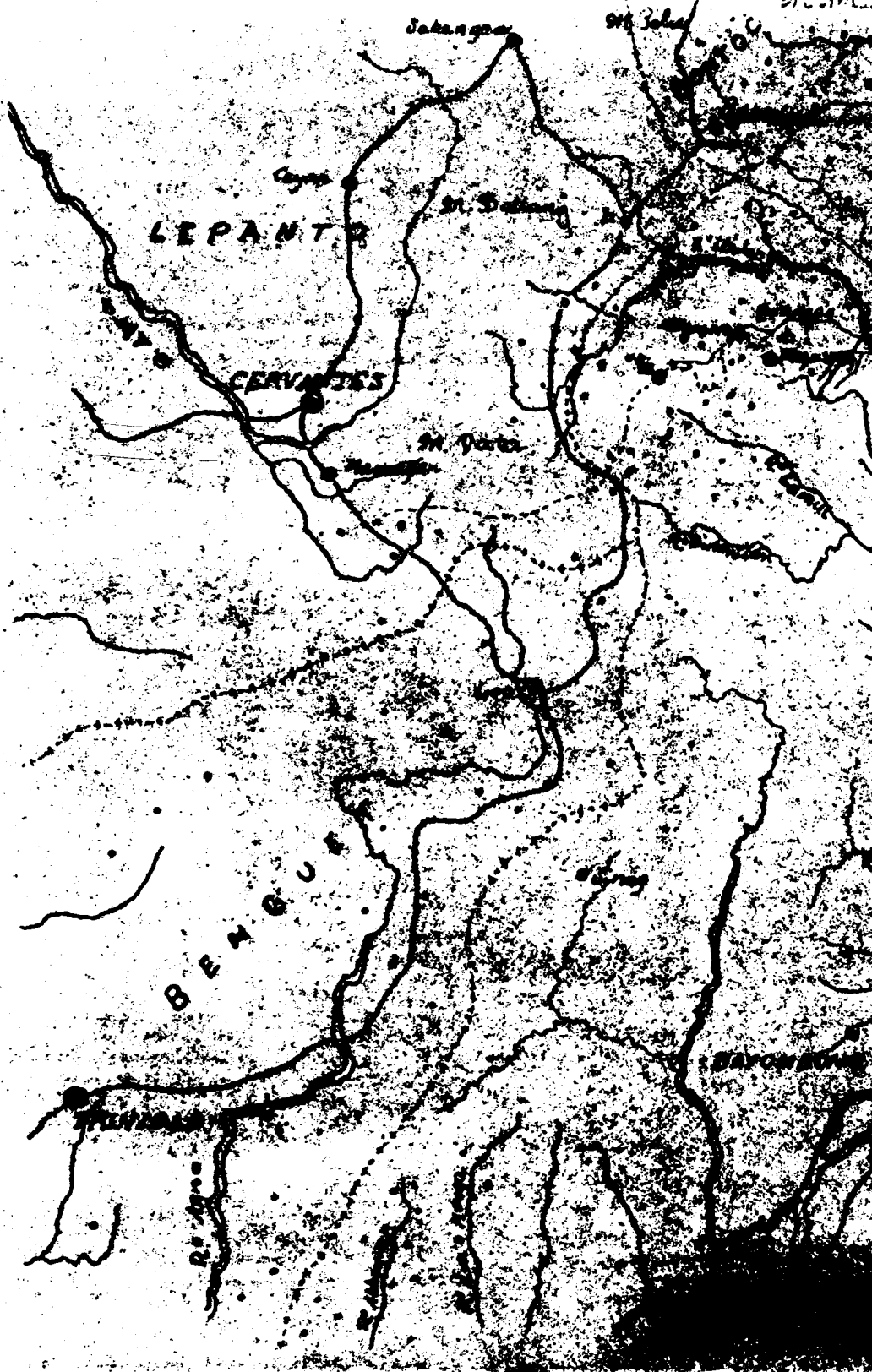
MAR DE CHINA

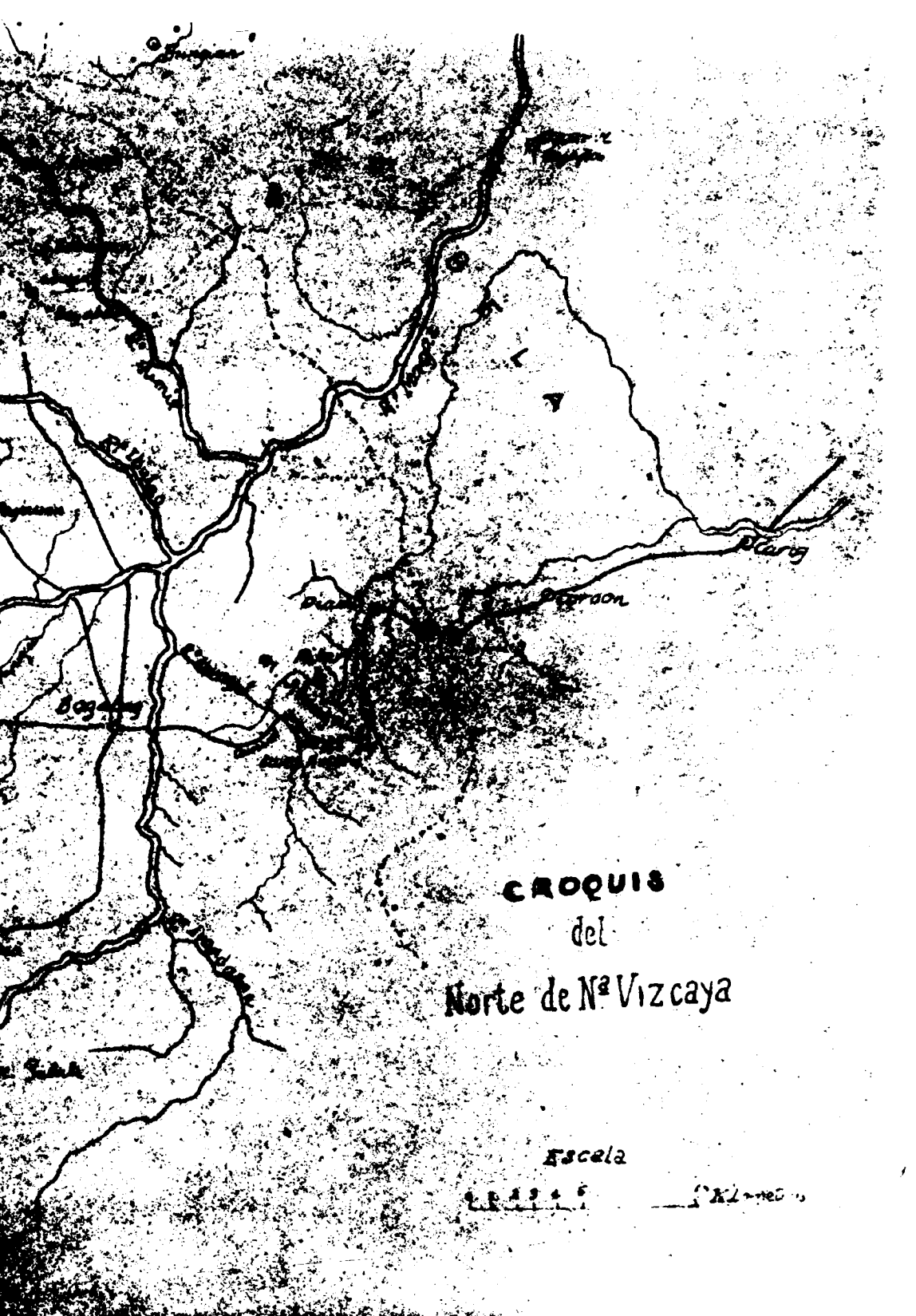




**POLITICO-
MILITARY
COMMANDANCIES
IN
NORTHERN
LUZON
DURING
THE
SPANISH
REGIME**







This map is a copy from another of
Manila, Philippines, Section "Cagay"



L to B no.
El Comandante del
B Montañas



Magalang 22 de Noviembre de 1894.
El Escribiente
Germinio Gadingan

que manifiesta el número de cristianos decapitados por los infieles desde el año de 1830 hasta 1847 inclusive.

PUEBLOS.	AÑOS.																		Totales.
	1830	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	1840	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	
Carig	0	0	2	1	0	5	8	0	1	0	1	0	6	9	11	12	6	6	68
Bagabag	4	3	2	2	1	16	1	1	0	2	2	2	10	4	3	6	4	1	64
Cauayan	0	0	0	0	0	3	2	0	2	1	1	0	2	0	2	0	5	0	18
Calanusian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	4	1	0	0	0	0	7
Furao	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	9
Gamu	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	6
Ilagan	0	0	En este año y siguientes.							20	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	20
Bayombong	1	1	0	2	2	2	2	0	0	0	1	2	1	1	3	3	6	2	29
Lumabang	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	1	2	0	2	0	1	1	12
Angngadanang	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	5	12	21
Camarag	0	0	2	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	3	13	1		26
Suma.....																			280
A los que si se agregan los muertos á principios de este año, resulta un total de																			289

Taken from: *Memoria sobre Nueva Vizcaya*, by Father Francisco Gainza, O.P., Manila, 1849 (a copy can be found in The Dominican Archives, MSS, Section "Cagayan", Tomo 25, Documento 8).

NOTAS.

- 1. Aunque en el estado anterior se ven muertos en 1847, en que fué la primera expedicion, y desde cuya época datan las paces con los *Mayoyaos*, debe advertirse que fueron hechas antes de la misma. La única muerte ocurrida despues fué la de un paisano de *Bayombong*, cuyo asesino fué entregado por los mismos *Mayoyaos* en la expedicion de este año, y fusilado en su presencia. Este hecho es una grande garantía.
- 2. Las muertes de este año fueron hechas por los *Silpanes* mientras la expedicion de *Quiangan* y motivaron la segunda expedicion á su pais por el *Mayoyao*. Desde entonces no ha ocurrido novedad. Es pues constante que los *Mayoyaos* han guardado las paces desde que sufrieron el castigo en Marzo de 1847, y las demás naciones desde que se les ha podido aplicar la medicina. Asi se comprende como ha ocurrido alguna muerte aun en medio de los paces.

Cuenca }
 absoluta }

Errencia - Banao
absoluta

Ctenomys Delac
abundata

Señala al N. 55.º E. a 10 Kilometros
de esta Casaca;

Quarantan de Junho de 1893.

El número de almas es aproximado, he aquí el promedio cuando en las y anteceden
se agotan para que sea lo mas exacto posible.

Distrib. del C. suanense

no que es un que mas se parea a ello

Benencia absoluta }	Cajin	Situado al N. a unos 37 kilometros de esta Ca- la-basta Cajin y otras im- 15000 portantes comprendidos en su radio
Subto	Baci	Situado al S. 10° P a 32 kilometros de esta Ca- nan, Tachuan, Pan. inda 2500 ban, Tachibat, Bili, Tachaban, Agaban proponen su Creacion.
Presencia absoluta	Santiago	Bogabat sigue, Tot Situado al E. 30° S a unos 80 kilometros de es- tigan, Bita, y moli. ba- la Cabeera y 30 de Cajin y Nueva Nicaragua en el 500 y otras cercanias al de sitio llamado Ullucan y tiene la imprenta que llamado Ullucan de familia el en la entre este Distrito y otros la Nicaragua.
(1) El numero de almas es aproximado, habiendo procurado consultar cuantos datos y ante- cedentes estan para que sean lo mas exacto posible. (2) Llamanse Rancherías a unos grupos de Casas habitadas por familias que viven entre 20 hasta 140	Kungun 17 de Junio de 1893	

The scope of the politico-military commandancy of Kiangun with the names of the towns, rancheries, no. of people, and geographical descriptions in 2 documents (document B)