

## **HISTORY OF CAGAYAN DE ORO: A BRIEF INTRODUCTION**

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The City of Cagayan de Oro is one of the largest cities in the north coast of Mindanao. Largely due to its strategic location which makes it accessible by air, land, and sea transportation, the city has often been regarded as the "Gateway to Mindanao."<sup>1</sup> Cagayan de Oro is also called the "City of Golden Friendship" because of the "world-renowned and unmatched hospitality and friendliness of its people."<sup>2</sup>

This paper is an attempt to trace briefly the history of Cagayan de Oro from 1622 to 1780. In a more specific sense, it will (1) discuss the relationship existing between the early Cagayan natives and the Maguindanao people under Sultan Kudarat, (2) determine the reaction of both the Cagayan natives as well as the Maguindanao people to the presence of the Recollect missionaries in Cagayan, and (3) explain the process of Christianization among the natives as one of the most tangible effects of their encounter with the Spanish missionaries.

A short discussion on the early settlers of what today is called Cagayan de Oro is now in order. It is believed that the Bukidnons and the Manobos were among the early settlers of Cagayan de Oro. Most of these people established their early settlements along the riverbanks and coastal areas, common in the Philippines during the precolonial period. One of the settlements was located along the present Cagayan River as confirmed by the early Recollect Missionaries. This settlement called Himologan (Kalambogohan) was described by the Spanish missionaries as:

It had no other approaches or mode of ascent than certain ladders made of rattan (bexucos), which resemble strong osiers. When removed it was fortified and protected from the invasions of enemies.<sup>3</sup>

The description indicates, among other things, that in addition to the riverine location of Himologan, it was situated in a high elevation because ladders were needed to help one enter the settlement. Moreover, the choice of the site of Himologan must have been motivated largely by the settlers' need for security and protection.<sup>4</sup>

Quite recently, archaeological diggings were made in the environs of Cagayan de Oro, particularly in the areas of Huluga and Hulugan Caves. These places are situated along the Cagayan River, about eight kilometers south of Cagayan de Oro City proper. Based on the material culture and human remains found in these sites, it is claimed that about 2,500 years ago<sup>5</sup> man had already inhabited the banks of the present Cagayan River. This is true in the case of the Hulugan Cave which, as had already been mentioned, is located along the banks of the Cagayan River.

Furthermore, the Huluga findings strengthen the belief that prior to the appearance of the Cagayan settlement, there was an earlier settlement which must have been located in Hulugan. This settlement was probably the Himologan that the Recollect missionaries had visited in 1622. The presence of the said earlier settlement may lead us to think that Cagayan is only a second settlement. This view is supported by the result of Father Francisco Demetrio's analysis of twelve legendary accounts related to Cagayan de Oro. Father Demetrio said that:

Although these 12 legends have a number of points wherein they differ, yet there is one thing they tell together: the present city of Cagayan is only the second settlement. There was an earlier sitio. This sitio was situated somewhere up the river, 8 kilometers towards the south.<sup>6</sup>

During the reign of Sultan Bwisan, the great grandson of Sultan Kabungsuwan, the first Muslim missionary in what is now Cotabato, the early settlement of Himologan was considered a part of the Maguindanao territory. It was reported that the inhabitants of Himologan were required to pay a yearly tribute starting the rule of Bwisan in Maguindanao.<sup>7</sup> This was continued up to the time of Sultan Kudarat who came to the throne in 1609 as the successor of his father, Sultan Bwisan. The settlement of Himologan was retained as tributary and as such the settlers continued also to pay their dues through the yearly collectors from Kudarat's court.<sup>8</sup>

It is now quite obvious that the relationship between the inhabitants of Himologan and the Maguindanao people from the time of Sultan Bwisan to the time of Sultan Kudarat was more political than religious. Kudarat succeeded in establishing the Maguindanao supremacy in the Pulangi Valley and reputed as one of the most powerful among the Maguindanao sultans, was more of a ruler than a missionary. This political relationship was perhaps the reason that despite Kudarat's supre-

macy in Mindanao, there were no traces of the early settlers of Cagayan being Islamized. However, had it not been for the arrival of the Recollect missionaries who introduced Christianity, it would have been possible for the people of Himologan to have been Islamized through the Lanao area.

The arrival of the Recollect missionaries in Himologan was based on their decision to participate in the missionary work in Mindanao. Prior to this decision, however, the Recollect Order was already in charge of the bishopric of Cebu.<sup>9</sup> Due to Cebu's proximity in Mindanao, the Recollect priests were aware of the slow pace of missionary work on the island and the failure of the earlier missionaries to have firmer hold in their assigned areas in Northern Mindanao. For instance, the Jesuit missionaries at the start failed to "take care of all their enterprises in Mindanao" and "their reduction of Butuan was not assured [because their] visits were made at long intervals."<sup>10</sup> Reacting to this sad situation, the Recollect bishop of Cebu decided to extend missionary activities to as far Mindanao. Having secured the necessary permit from the Bishop and Vice-Patron, there were eight Recollect priests who answered to the call for evangelizing Mindanao. Starting from Surigao, the missionaries established some churches in Tandag, Jigaquit, Butuan and in its interior called Linao.<sup>11</sup> While in Butuan, Fray Francisco de la Madre de Dios and Fray Juan de San Nicolas heard about the people who settled along the banks of the river called Cagaiang (also called Lambago River). These two preachers who were determined to Christianize this people travelled forty *leguas* west of Butuan until they reached the Cagaiang River. With the Cagaiang River as the line of transportation, the missionaries went upstream until they reached the interior settlement called Himologan sometime in 1622.<sup>12</sup>

The presence of the missionaries in Himologan was suspected by the natives headed by Salangsang. It was due to this suspicion that the Recollect preachers left Himologa for Camiguin and stayed there for a while. After some time, the missionaries came with Doña Magdalena Bacuya,\* a Christian convert believed to have come from Butuan and the grandmother of Salangsang the chief of Himologan.<sup>13</sup> Through Dona Bacuya, Salangsang, became a friend of the missionaries and received them "with some affection for he [Salangsang] gave them [missionaries] a little buffet on the cheek . . ."<sup>14</sup> As their living quarters, the missionaries were given a room in the dwelling of Salangsang at Himologan. This friendly relation between Salangsang and the Recol-

lects signified the start of Christianization and the ultimate hispanization of the Himologan settlers, which became apparent in the nineteenth century.

The presence of the Recollects in Himologan was not kept from the knowledge of Sultan Kudarat who at this point still regarded Himologan a part of his Maguindanao territory. Sultan Kudarat interpreted this as an intrusion into his main territory, that is why he sent some of his forces to drive away the missionaries from Himologan.<sup>15</sup> In the subsequent skirmish, the missionaries were saved and Himologa escaped from what could have been a total destruction because of the timely arrival of the Spanish troops from Caraga and Cebu.<sup>16</sup>

Sultan Kudarat did not stop attacking Himologan. Obviously, the Maguindanao attacks caused great trouble to the missionaries and the Himologan settlers. Undoubtedly, these attacks drew the natives and the missionaries closer because of the awareness that both had a common enemy. In effect, this relationship hastened the Christianization of the natives among whom were Salangang and his wife.<sup>17</sup> As Salangang was converted, the conversion of his followers came as a matter of course.<sup>18</sup> This resulted in the increase in the number of Christian converts in Himologan that required the construction of a convent called Cagaiang.<sup>19</sup> Around this convent, the new Christian converts built houses for their dwelling such that by 1624, there were 1,800<sup>20</sup> Christians who settled around the convent of Cagaiang.

What was the original site of the convent of Cagaiang? It is claimed today that the convent called Cagaiang was originally constructed somewhere around the spot where the cathedral of Cagayan de Oro City now stands. From this belief, it may be said that the Christianized settlers of Himologan transferred their settlement from Himologan down to the new site where the present cathedral of Cagayan de Oro is located. This must have been the beginning of the appearance of a new settlement later named Cagayan. This name was probably derived from Cagaiang, the name of the convent.

The presence of the Recollects in Mindanao did not only cause the annoyance to Sultan Kudarat but also cause some frictions with the Jesuit missionaries, ignited by the issue of religious jurisdiction. To solve this problem, Governor-General Fernando Tello designated on February 26, 1624 territorial boundaries for religious ministries in Mindanao. This was done by drawing a line from Point Suluan to Cape San Agustin and assigned the area west of this line to the Jesuits, while

the eastern side was left to the Recollects.<sup>21</sup> Based on this division, Cagayan and the earlier towns established by the Recollects in Northern Mindanao remained under their jurisdiction. With the problem of religious jurisdiction solved, the Recollects continued missionary work in their area of responsibility.

In 1625, about a year after the said territorial boundary was established, Fathers Francisco de la Madre de Dios and Juan de San Nicolas left the new settlement of Cagayan for Bayug and Langaran.<sup>22</sup> They were soon replaced by Father Pedro de San Agustin, dubbed "El Padre Capitan" who took charge of the convent of Cagayan from about 1626 to 1637. Armed with training in theology and inclination to military science, Father San Agustin continued the task of his predecessors. But by the time he assumed responsibility over Cagayan, Sultan Kudarat had already tightened his policy on the Cagayan Christians. For this reason, Father San Agustin mobilized the settlers to construct the necessary fortifications around the village. Cagayan was then surrounded with:

A stout stockade, well proportioned in its outlines, [defended] its curtains with communications of bulwark. In the middle [was] raised another small redoubt, as a place of retreat in case of sudden invasion.<sup>23</sup>

In addition, "towers [were constructed] for the sentinels who stood watch at night"<sup>24</sup> to protect the villagers from future raids of their enemies. Likewise, the inhabitants were trained in the art of warfare and were taught how to "make sallies, to shoot, and to spy those who were in ambush."<sup>25</sup>

Meanwhile, Sultan Kudarat prepared for an attack on Cagayan. This incident finally happened about 1626 when Kudarat sent a punitive force composed of strong warriors to attack Cagayan, after the coastlines of Calamianes islands, Cuyo, Tablas, and Lincapan were harassed.<sup>26</sup> Kudarat's force, however, failed in its mission because it was resisted by the natives commanded by Father San Agustin with the help of six Spanish soldiers and one hundred natives from Caraga.<sup>27</sup>

For a period of about ten years (1626-1636), Sultan Kudarat relaxed his attacks on Cagayan because he concentrated his activities in establishing security measures in the Maguindanao area from the intrusion of the Spanish forces. Father San Agustin took his advantage by putting up stronger defenses for the village and converting more

natives to Christianity. But towards the close of 1636, Kudarat ordered his Maranao subjects to attack the village of Cagayan. The Maranaos succeeded in entering the village from the point where it was not strongly guarded. Many of the villagers were killed and captured. The houses of the inhabitants were sacked; the church and the convent were stripped of their vessels and sacred ornaments; and upon retiring the moros burned the whole pueblo.<sup>28</sup>

The remaining Cagayan inhabitants, headed by the warrior priest, Father San Agustin, pursued the raiders to the Lanao area. In their retaliation, the Cagayan contingent "burned the Moro town, freed the captives, and returned home" quite satisfied.<sup>29</sup> Describing this incident, Father Pedro Herce said that this "bold attack [was] a decisive victory for the Christians."<sup>30</sup>

The defiance against Spanish presence in Cagayan and the subsequent Christianization of the natives did not only come from the Maguindanao Muslims but also from the other tribes of Mindanao. At about the same time that Sumoroy revolted against the Spaniards because of labor conscription in 1649, a Manobo native chief named Dabao headed a revolt against the Spaniards and killed the parish priest of Linao, a village forty *leguas* south of Butuan Bay.<sup>31</sup> This rebellion was Dabao's reaction to the order issued by Governor-General Fajardo drafting the natives over the Philippines to work in the shipyard in Manila. This rebellion spread to as far as Cagayan with the objectives of killing the Recollect priest there. The priest was able to escape, but the village was razed to the ground and the Christian church badly damaged.<sup>32</sup> Two years after, a trouble occurred in the village of Iligan and in the *visita* of Camiguin due to the reaction of some natives to Christianity. Influenced by this trouble, a native chief named Salur headed an insurrection in Cagayan.<sup>33</sup> This insurrection, however, did not cause much destruction because it was timely checked by the Cagayan Christians headed by the parish priest. This incident was later on followed by a series of Maguindanao raids, particularly during the declining years of Sultan Kudarat who had not abandoned the desire to subjugate Cagayan. During this period, the Northern Mindanao coast, including the village of Cagayan and other Christianized towns, were often raided by the Muslims.<sup>34</sup> Although with great difficulty, the Cagayan natives succeeded in defending their settlement during those fearful and trying years such that according to Father Madigan, "no

Muslim force was able to capture the stronghold of Cagayan.<sup>35</sup>

The end of Sultan Kudarat's rule about 1671, virtually ended Maguindanao threat on Cagayan. In the same year, Father Juan Severo took charge of Cagayan and also pursued the missionary work among the hill tribes in the neighboring places of Cagayan. However, Father Severo did not stay long in Cagayan and he was succeeded by Father Juan de San Jeronimo. It was through the effort of the new priest that the missionary activities of the Recollects were extended eastward to Tagoloan,<sup>36</sup> westward to Bayug, and southward to the Lake Lanao area<sup>37</sup> in line with the order of Father Joseph de la Trinidad who was chosen head of the Recollect Order in the Philippines in 1674. With Tagoloan and Bayug as its earliest *visitas*, the village of Cagayan began to emerge as one of the reduction centers in the Northern Mindanao region. It was due to this development that the early Spanish town planners recognized the importance of Cagayan such that it was made a nucleus of the *cabecera-visita* complex\* established by the Spaniards in what today is the Province of Misamis Oriental. This became more evident, particularly in the nineteenth century.

As a reduction center, Cagayan consequently became one of the bases of missionary operation of the Recollect priests in Mindanao. From Cagayan the missionary work was extended to the nearby areas, resulting in the creation of more *visitas* that were subordinated to the *cabecera* of Cagayan. The new *visitas* which appeared in 1734 were Agusan, Camiguin Island, Gompot, and Iponan. Thus, in 1734, the *visitas* of Cagayan were the following:<sup>38</sup>

Agusan	Gompot
Bayug	Iponan
Camiguin Island	Tagoloan

In 1738, missionary work was extended to the natives around Lake Lanao by Father Hipolito San Agustin, the successor of Father Jeronimo. Aided by some of the converts from Cagayan, the new priest was able to make friends with the natives near the Lake Lanao area. On account of this good relationship, the native chief asked Father Hipolito San Agustin "to send missionaries to Larapan, a Malanao (Maranao) village in order to instruct and baptize" the people there.<sup>39</sup> This, however, resulted in the revival of jurisdiction conflict between the Recollect and the Jesuit missionaries. Due to this conflict, it was reported that the Jesuits incited

a heathen chief named Dalabahan in the mountains of the Cagayan district to attack the Malanaos thinking that the latter would blame their Cagayan friends [Father Hipolito San Agustin and the Cagayan converts] for their hostilities . . .<sup>40</sup>

To resolve the trouble, the Recollects had to elevate it to higher authorities in Manila with the hope that the government would grant them the right to continue on their missionary activities in the Lake Lanao area. Contrary to their expectation, the governor-general maintained that the Lake Lanao areas were retained for the administration of the Jesuit missionaries.

Due to the governor-general's decision, the Recollect priest of Cagayan concentrated on his missionary activities along the coastal areas east of Cagayan. The progress of Christianization on this places was temporarily obstructed because the security of Cagayan was once again shaken by Muslim raids from Sulu. For instance, in 1743 the Muslims conducted their most violent attack in the northern coast of Mindanao where several Christian settlements, particularly in the districts of Butuan and Surigao were destroyed. They also continued their devastating raids on Camiguin, a *visita* of Cagayan. Camiguin was saved from total destruction because the Muslim attack was checked by the Cagayan settlers headed by Father Hipolito San Agustin, aided by a Spanish armada composed by eleven vessels.<sup>41</sup>

The presence of the so-called Iligan Fleet in the town of Iligan commanded by Father Juan Ducos must have been the reason why Cagayan and its *visitas* in the north coast of Mindanao had not experienced Muslim raids for some time after the attack of Camiguin in 1743. However, in 1752 the Muslims from Jolo successfully besieged the fort of Iligan and from there eastward resulting in the destruction of Cagayan's two *visitas* namely: Iponan and Tagoloan.<sup>42</sup> The inhabitants of Iponan and Tagoloan were finally relieved by a combined force composed of Cagayan settlers and Spanish navy from Cebu.

In the last half of the eighteenth century, the Muslim danger in Cagayan began to wane giving the Recollect priests the opportunity to extend their work along the coastal areas east of Tagoloan and Gompot. This was encouraged by the expulsion of the Jesuits from the Philippine mission through a decree of Charles III in 1767.<sup>43</sup> Without the Jesuit obstacle, the Recollects were already free to pursue on their missionary

work in Mindanao beyond the areas assigned to them by the decree of 1624. In fact, when the Jesuits finally left in 1768, the areas they administered in Mindanao were turned over to the Recollects. As may be expected, this development resulted in the increase in the number of Christian converts in Cagayan. This may be supported by the fact that Father Pedro de Santa Barbara, the parish priest of Cagayan, converted and baptized a number of natives to Christianity in 1779.<sup>44</sup> Due to the increasing number of Christians, the need for a bigger church was felt by the people. Thus, in August, 1780, a bigger church was constructed about the site where the present cathedral of Cagayan de Oro stands and was finished in the same year. The Christians of Cagayan also chose Saint Augustine as their patron saint on August 28, 1780 which has remained as such to the present among Roman Catholics of Cagayan de Oro.<sup>45</sup>

In effect, the increase in the pace of Christianization in Cagayan also meant the increase in population. The population growth must have been augmented by in-migration from the various parts of the Philippines, particularly in 1780. Among the immigrants of Cagayan in 1780 were the (1) San Jose, De la Rosa, Ramiro, Baz, and Gaerlan families from Luzon and (2) Velez, and Roa families from the Visayas areas.<sup>46</sup> Some scions of these families have remained influential in Cagayan even to the present.

### Conclusion

It is obvious from the preceding discussions that at the time the Recollect missionaries arrived in the early settlement of Cagayan, there was already an existing political relationship between the natives and the Maguindanao people. This relationship was maintained through the annual tribute paid by the natives of Cagayan to the Maguindanao Sultan. Although considered as a Maguindanao territory, there seemed to be no actual Maguindanao occupation of Himologan. The only contact that the Himologan settlers had with the Maguindanao sultanate was done once a year when tributes were collected. Thus, it may be argued that the bond existing between the people of Himologan and that of Maguindanao was loose and superficial. It is apparently for this reason that the inhabitants of Himologan did not develop a strong sense of attachment and loyalty to the Maguindanao sultanate. This may be explained further by the fact that the neglect of the Maguindanao sul-

tanate resulted in its failure to acculturate the natives of Himologan.

The neglect of the sultanate gave rise to the decision of Salangasang to separate from the Maguindanao bondage.<sup>47</sup> Aware of his limited military force, Salangasang was therefore in dire need of a friend and an ally if he expected to achieve his goal. This felt need was finally satisfied because of the timely arrival of the Recollect missionaries in Himologan, whom Salangasang at last befriended. On the part of the missionaries, Salangasang's plan was most welcomed because it could be the most convenient way to achieve their mission—the Christianization of the natives. It was against this background that the success of Christianization and the eventual Spanish colonization of Cagayan must be viewed.

Sultan Kudarat's subsequent attacks on Cagayan undoubtedly hastened the process of Christianization. These attacks were obviously instrumental in establishing a closer tie between the natives of Cagayan and the missionaries. The success of the Spaniards in defending the settlement must have intensified the faith of the natives on the colonizers. Under this situation, it was therefore quite easy on the part of the missionaries to convince the natives to the Christian religion.

The native chief, Salangasang, was really right in his decision to have the Spaniards as his allies, because through the help of the Spaniards he succeeded in breaking up his tie with Maguindanao sultanate. This success, however, did not, in the final analysis make the natives totally free because the Spaniards occupied, controlled and ruled Cagayan. What happened then was merely a change of masters.

#### Footnotes

<sup>1</sup>Robert S. Hendry, ed., *Atlas of the Philippines* (Manila: Carmelo and Bauermann, Inc., 1959), p. 201.

<sup>2</sup>Manuel Quisumbing, "Cagayan de Oro Keeps Pace With Progress," *Mindanao Times Magazine Supplement* (August, 1973), p. 2).

<sup>3</sup>Luis de Jesus, "General History of the Discalced Religious of St. Augustine," *The Philippine Islands*, translated by Emma Blair and James Robertson (55 Vols., Cleveland, Ohio: The Arthur M. Clark Company, 1905), XLIII, p. 232. Hereafter the Blair and Robertson volumes will be abbreviated as BR.

<sup>4</sup>Mardonio Lao, *Cagayan de Oro Before the 20th Century* (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of the Philippines, Diliman, Quezon City, 1978), p. 11.

<sup>5</sup>Francisco Demetrio, "Huluga Cave and the Prehistory of Cagayan de Oro," *Cagayan* (1971), compiled and edited by Francisco Demetrio, p. 12. This figure is based on a very conservative estimate.

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 10

<sup>7</sup>Francis Madigan, "The Early History of Cagayan de Oro," *Philippine Studies*, Vol. XI, No. 1 (January, 1963), p. 101.

<sup>8</sup>De Jesus, *op. cit.*, p. 234

<sup>9</sup>"The Ecclesiastical System in the Philippines," *BR* Vol. XXVIII, p. 274.

<sup>10</sup>De Jesus, *op. cit.*, p. 302

<sup>11</sup>Patricio Marcellan de San Jose, "Provincia de San Nicolas de Tolentino de Agustinos Discalzos de Congregacion de España e Indias," *BR*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 280.

<sup>12</sup>De Jesus, *op. cit.*, pp. 220-221

<sup>13</sup>*Ibid.*, \*Doña Magdalena Bacuya and Doña Magdalena Baluiot must be one and the same person. This is due undoubtedly to transcription of the name from the manuscript sources.

<sup>14</sup>*Ibid.*, p.232.

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 234.

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 238.

<sup>17</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 235.

<sup>18</sup>Diego Aduarte, *Historia de la Provincia de Sancto Rosario de Orden Predicadores en Philipinas, Japon y China, 1582-1637* (Manila: Colegio de Santo Tomas, 1640), pp. 131-132. Reprinted edition.

<sup>19</sup>De Jesus, *op. cit.*, p. 235

<sup>20</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 238.

<sup>21</sup>Marcellan de San Jose, *op. cit.*, p. 342.

<sup>22</sup>"Recollect Missions," *BR*, Vol. XXV, p. 94.

<sup>23</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 95.

<sup>24</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 61

<sup>25</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>26</sup>Gregorio Zaide, "Father Pedro San Agustin-Sword of the Recollects," *Philippine Magazine*, Vol. XXVI, No. 10 (March, 1930), p. 628.

<sup>27</sup> "Recollect Mission," *op. cit.*, p. 62

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>30</sup> Pedro Herce, "The Recollect in the Philippines," *Boletín Eclesiástica de Filipinas*, Vol. XXXIV, No. 435 (January-February, 1965), p. 229.

<sup>31</sup> Diego de Santa Theresa, "Historia General de los Religiosos Descalzos," *BR*, Vol. XXVI, p. 13.

<sup>32</sup> Horacio de la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines, 1581-1768* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1961), pp. 412-413.

<sup>33</sup> Luis de Jesus and Diego de Santa Theresa, "Recollect Missions," *BR*, Vol. XXVI, p. 61.

<sup>34</sup> Pedro de Assis, "General History of the Discalced Augustinian Fathers," *BR*, Vol. XLI, p. 104.

<sup>35</sup> Madigan, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

<sup>36</sup> De Assis, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

<sup>37</sup> "Recollect Missions," *op. cit.*, p. 94.

\*This was the pattern of rural settlement during the Spanish colonial regime. This system was characterized by a string of subordinate cluster of population known as *visitas* which were attached to a principal village called *cabecera*. See John Leddy Phelan, *Hispanization of the Philippines* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1967). p. 47.

<sup>38</sup> De Jesus, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

<sup>39</sup> Juan de la Concepcion, "Historia de Filipinas," *BR*, Vol. XLVI, p. 56.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>41</sup> Herce, *op. cit.*, p. 230.

<sup>42</sup> Concepcion, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

<sup>43</sup> De la Costa, *op. cit.*, p. 582.

<sup>44</sup> Francisco Demetrio, *The Village* (Cagayan de Oro City: Padilla Press, 1968), pp. 201-202.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 202.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>47</sup> Crisogono Abejo, "A Brief History of Misamis Oriental," *Mindanao Athletic Meet Association Program* (Cagayan de Oro City: The Pioneer Press, 1954), p. 3.

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