

The Comandancia de Itaves: Late Nineteenth-Century Dominican Sources for the History of Kalinga and Apayao

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ABSTRACT

In the mid-nineteenth century, the Dominicans were asked to take charge of mission work in the Comandancia de Itaves and later in Apayao. Documentation of the Dominican involvement with the Kalingas and Apayaos forms part of the three-volume work of Fr. Julian Malumbres on Cagayan, Isabela, and Nueva Vizcaya (1918–1919). This article focuses on the Comandancia de Itaves from the point of view of Fr. Ramon Zubieta. It examines his survey of physical and human geography published by Malumbres in *Historia de Cagayan*, and his letters about the mission published in *El Correo Sino-Annamita* (1891–1895).

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KEYWORDS

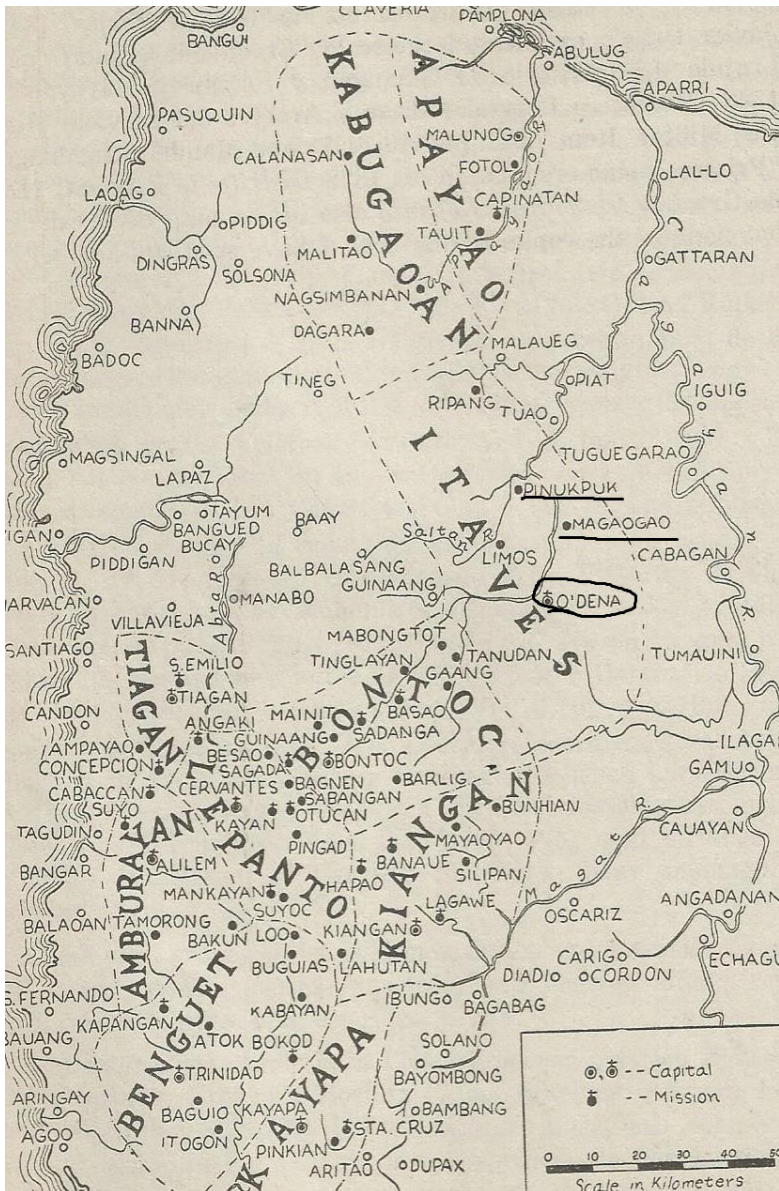
Comandancia de Itaves, Cordillera, *reducción*, Dominicans, mission

INTRODUCTION

William Henry Scott in *The Discovery of the Igorots* (1987)¹ has outlined the history of the Spanish colonial encounter in the Gran Cordillera Central, basing himself mostly on Spanish sources. The timeline he established has four main parts. The first part covers the early contacts, up to 1700, in which the Spaniards attempted to gain more knowledge of the Igorots, as the inhabitants of the Cordillera were generally called. The eighteenth century was devoted to systematic *reducción* from the western and eastern sides of the Cordillera (reduction, which had the particular meaning of subjugation by means of settling scattered tribes in communities), which involved a combination of military expeditions and missionary work. Scott highlights the moral dilemma that missionaries had about this combination, which had proven counterproductive, and they sought to find a more peaceful, workable strategy for pacification. The period from 1840 to the end of the nineteenth century saw a renewed militarization parallel to the efforts made in Mindanao to complete, once and for all, Spanish domination in the Philippine archipelago. Militarization to eventually gain civil control meant the establishment of a political-military organization with the appointment of a *gobernador politico-militar* in the new province of Nueva Vizcaya (1840) instead of an *alcalde mayor*, and in Abra Valley (Centro de Abra, 1846). Other provinces created under military command were La Union (1850), which included the district of Benguet, and Isabela (1856). Around these new

In 1859, the Comandancia de los Ríos Saltan y Tanodan was created in Kalinga and was abandoned in 1881. In 1889, the Comandancia de Itaves at Magaogao was established, replacing that of Saltan. William Henry Scott gives Fr. Julián Malumbres's reasons for recommending the establishment of comandancias as a way of "reducing" the pagans in the Cordillera: "to provide an authority to whom the Igorots could appeal for justice against lowlanders, who could prevent the spread of 'unpatriotic' Filipino propaganda, and who could punish recalcitrant villages as necessary."² The territory of the Command of Itaves covered what would become the provinces of Kalinga and southern Apayaoas, well as western parts of Cagayan and Isabela, after the Spanish regime.

The Itavi, also called Itaves, Ytabes, Itawis, were a Christian ethnolinguistic group in the lowlands of the Chico River in Cagayan. The Chico River or Río Chico de Cagayan, the "small river" (vis-à-vis the Rio Grande or "big river," also known as the Cagayan River), was the major waterway in the territory of the Comandancia de Itaves, which traversed the foothills into the lowlands of Cagayan where it joined the Rio Grande. Perhaps it was this riverine connection to the lands of the Itavi, and the actual intercourse between highlanders and lowlanders in this area, that prompted the choice of name of the command, which was otherwise largely populated by people known as Kalinga. The word "kalinga" was the Ibanag term for "enemy" and was used in Spanish times to refer to the inhabitants of the mountainous region adjacent to the lower and middle Cagayan Valley.³



Comandancia de Itaves map

[William Henry Scott, *The Discovery of the Igorots: Spanish Contacts with the Pagans of Northern Luzon* (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1974), p. 266.]

The Dominicans who had evangelized the Cagayan Valley had missions on the western side of the Cordillera and were asked to assume mission work in the Comandancia de Itaves and later in Apayao. In 1891, the Dominicans Fr. Ramón Zubieta and Fr. Julián Malumbres were assigned to Itaves and to the Apayaos, respectively. The collaborative effort between the colonial government and the religious orders in the nineteenth century was exemplified in this region. This article presents that collaboration in the newly-created Command from the missionary point of view and labor of Zubieta. His viewpoint shows not only the mentality of the Spanish colonial but also the humanistic thought underlying Spanish colonization in the Philippines, which is not usually elaborated on in Philippine historiography. In turn, the selected material affords a glimpse of the Kalingas' response to the colonial encounter.

Fr. Zubieta's effort to familiarize himself with the territory assigned to him was manifest in the survey of the physical and human geography of the Command. It was published by Malumbres in *Historia de Cagayan*. This volume forms part of the three-volume series together with *Historia de Isabela* and *Historia de Nueva Vizcaya* (1918-1919), a documentation of the Dominican involvement among the Kalingas and Apayao. Zubieta's aforementioned survey of the Comandancia is found in chapter 14, which is titled simply as "Information about the *Comandancia de Itaves*." The longer, original title of this hitherto unpublished manuscript was "Descripción de las cuencas y valles, ríos y montes, etc. del distrito o comandancia de Itaves." Although Malumbres did not give the date of writing, it must have been at least after 1893, after the capital of the Command had been changed from Magaogao to O'Dena, a change that Zubieta himself indicated in the survey.⁴

Complementing the description are Zubieta's letters about the mission, which he wrote to the vicar general of

the Dominicans in the Philippines. Malumbres alludes to them in his commentary on Zubieta's survey and subsequent missionary activities. These letters were published in several volumes of *El Correo Sino-Annamita*, which contains reports on the Dominican missions in China, Formosa, Vietnam, and the Philippines. This annual publication had the other title of *Correspondencia de las Misiones del Sagrado Orden de Predicadores en Formosa, China y Tung-king*, indicating its content.⁵ For this article, the following letters of Fr. Zubieta were used:⁶

- (1) Magogao [Magaogao], 15 August 1891. Vol. 25, 1891, pp. 225232;
- (2) Magogao, 1 September 1893. Vol. 27, 1893, pp. 258263;
- (3) O'Dena, September 1895. Vol. 29, 1895, pp. 430441.

The fourth letter and last letter published in *El Correo Sino-Annamita* was dated September 1896 in O'Dena.

These letters reveal in localized detail the process of *reducción*, which in the nineteenth century continued to be the basic approach of colonization in its twofold dimensions of hispanization and evangelization. The mission of Itaves was entirely new, unlike others, such as Apayao and Quiangan, where previous missionary inroads had been made. Aside from his personal dealings with the Kalingas, Zubieta used the strategy of starting a new settlement with the participation of "old Christians" from neighboring localities. But given the particular character and culture of the people, according to him, the mission made slow progress. Thus the letters give a glimpse of *reducción*, its local adaptation, and the indigenous response to it.

EL CORREO
SINO-ANNAMITA

6
CORRESPONDENCIA

DE LAS

MISIONES DEL SAGRADO ORDEN DE PREDICADORES

EN

FORMOSA, CHINA, TUNG-KING

Y

FILIPINAS



VOLÚMEN XXV

MANILA

—
IMPRESA DEL REAL COLEGIO DE SANTO TOMAS

1891

Cover of *El Correo Sino-Annamita*

BIOGRAPHY OF FR. RAMÓN ZUBIETA (1864–1921)

Zubieta was born in Arguedas, Navarra (Spain), on 31 August 1864. Already a deacon when he was sent to the Philippines in 1888, he was ordained as a priest in Manila the following year. In that same year, he was assigned to Solano in the district of Kiangán, then in the province of Nueva Vizcaya. In 1890, he was designated vicar of Diadi in the same province but left it the following year to be the first missionary of San Antonino de Mayoyao in the Comandancia de Itaves, which had been established the previous year under Natalio O'Dena. He was said to be a tough person, enterprising, and a risk-taker. He made maps and roads in unexplored areas, and built churches and pueblos. He interacted with the locals. In 1898, he became a prisoner of the revolutionaries and suffered deprivations for fifteen months until he was freed and returned to Manila in January 1900. A year after, the Dominican provincial proposed that he establish a mission (the Apostolic Prefecture of Sto. Domingo de Urubamba y Madre de Dios) in the Amazon region of Peru, which had been entrusted by the Holy See to the Dominican order. The mission was quite similar to that which he had undertaken in the Philippines. He remained there for the rest of his life. He was appointed Apostolic Vicar of Urubamba y Madre de Dios, and was consecrated bishop Adrahense in Rome in 1913. He was known to avoid ceremonies and wanted to remain unnoticed. He co-founded with Sr. Ascensión Nicol y Goñi the institute Dominican Missionaries of the Most Holy Rosary (of Pamplona, Spain). He died in Lima on 19 November 1921. He had spent thirty years of his life as a missionary.⁷

A SURVEY OF THE LAND AND ITS PEOPLE⁸

The Dominican missionaries who were in the new province of Nueva Vizcaya thought it was necessary to establish

comandancias toward re-establishing missions in the eastern slopes of the Cordillera Central.⁹ This was on the basis of *reducción* as a principal means, which would be facilitated with military assistance. The Spanish government acted on it with the creation of the Commands of Itaves and Apayao. The former was bounded by the towns of Malaueg and Tuao and the northern tributaries of the Matala River to the north, the mountains of Namambabuy, Amuya, and Isabela to the south, the provinces of Cagayan and Isabela to the east, and the Commands of Abra and Bontoc to the west. The territory extended approximately sixty-five kilometers from north to south, and thirty-five kilometers from east to west. As might be expected, the boundaries of the Command were not clear with respect to which command the most remote *rancherías* [hamlets] were included. The mountainous territory was crisscrossed by seven major rivers and many smaller ones, thus forming many fertile valleys, basins, and ravines.

Zubieta gives a very detailed description of the rivers, mountains, and valleys; their location, the direction in which the rivers and streams originated and flowed, where they joined, branched off, or intersected. What he describes may be considered a textual map of the region. The seven major rivers are as follows: Chico (about 125 kilometers long), which local inhabitants called Bangag, Gamunan, Uangag, or the river par excellence), Saltan, Vanga, Matal, Calufuc, Malig, and Sibbug or Siffug.

At first the temporary capital was in the valley of Gamunan, called Magogao after the *ranchería* and later renamed O'Dena in memory of Natalio O'Dena, the first commander of Itaves. The church and mission house were built in the nearby *ranchería* of Bulanao. Zubieta wanted it to be deeper in the mountains, as it would be when it was moved to Lubuagan.¹⁰

Agriculture was entrusted to young people and women. Zubieta observed that in some places agriculture was backward because they needed to fence off their fields to protect them from wild animals, and since Kalingas did not like staying long in one place, they would rather not devote themselves to that task. In other words, this consideration prevented them from cultivating more extensively. He observed that there were many carabaos for farming and horses for hunting and traveling. The Kalingas grew both dry and wet rice.¹¹ Aside from rice, the crops that thrived most were corn, tubers (*camote* and *ube*), coffee, high-quality tobacco, cacao, betel nut, bananas, and sugarcane. The latter was widely used for wine-making (*basi*); sugarcane juice was fermented with the seed of a tree they called *daun*. They also made vinegar out of *basi*, which they sold to the Christians. Zubieta noted that some people kept the wine for six to ten years, in which period its taste and color became similar to rum though less strong.

In the areas contiguous to Cagayan and Isabela, in the basins of the Malig and Siffug Rivers, there was naturally more contact through trade with the lowlanders, especially in Enrile. Dried game meat sold well in the plains, as well as various products of basketry and rope made of vine. There were also cotton fields, which produced fiber for their clothing and blankets. Zubieta mentions that along the Tabog River (valley of Gamunan) and in the ranchería of Tegu from springs of salty water, the people harvested salt by boiling the water. It was not as good as sea salt as it turned out bitter.

The *Descripción* includes the available kinds of trees suitable for building, which were abundant: narra, *sarray*, *pamalilian*, *lasila*, *uhian*, cinnamon, *dungul*. The Kalingas made pottery for cooking and storage. Their metalworks produced weapons, tools, and some jewelry like earrings and armlets.

Trade was conducted by barter, as the Kalingas exchanged their agricultural products and crafts with lowland Christian merchants. The latter went up the mountains carrying textiles, kerchiefs, colored cotton cloth, beads, coconut, and trinkets, which they all exchanged for rice and corn, the principal produce of the Kalinga, and for cacao, tobacco, sugar, dried venison and carabao meat, beeswax, honey, vinegar, rope, lances, and g-strings. The Christians used the latter as sashes or as g-string when they work in the fields. They exchanged salt for a double quantity of rice and similarly so for other articles, so that the traders from the pueblos earned a lot in these mountains because they resold the articles bartered with the Kalinga for very high prices. The old currency that Kalingas used, especially inland, was the string of beads or *quiring* worth from half a real to a peso, and even those valued at ten to twenty pesos, so much so that with one or two of them they could buy a carabao. The more antique and rare they were, the greater their value.

Due to smallpox epidemic, the population suffered a significant decrease. As Zubieta noted, some rancherías that in 1891 had fifty to sixty houses were reduced to half of that during the epidemic, and some to even less. They were defenseless against smallpox, especially as they had not been vaccinated against it. Thus they became so fearful of cholera that they would abandon the houses and even the ranchería where someone succumbed to it. He also observed that they would leave the sick persons behind if they had found another place to stay in. Typhoid fever also wreaked havoc. But Zubieta countered that the region was not as unhealthy as it had been reputed to be by those who had put in doubt that the mission and Command could prosper there. He claimed that no one had died within the year the Command was established.¹²

RANCHERIAS	NUMBER OF HOUSES	NUMBER OF SOULS
Bulanao	30	250
Magogao	50	440
Gamunan	45	425
Pipingao	35	336
Addan	24	124
Caraballan	20	94
Pinapo	35	325
Tabog	17	68
Anmau	32	290
Viga	40	250
Mabalaca	45	425
Apapon	50	520
Bacarri	80	800
Vila	35	300
Another nearby	30	255
Pasaguin	28	200
Namarang	25	255
Bafamban	40	330
Guinabbual	45	465
Bagu	10	70
Nanong	40	495
Three nearby	45	299
Another in Tanudan	25	275
Farthest boundary	20	260
Sacsac	15	95
Ammasian	25	260
Bulayangon	35	235
Vago	16	95
Madanum	15	117
Two others	24	180
Calauan North & South	24	1,055
Salacsos	28	390

Bulaguian	60	700
Eleven in Malig and Siffug	60	2,100
Eleven in Dilayan	60	2,600
Twelve in Rimus	60	4,050
Thirteen in Buaya	60	2,065
Eight in Calafug	60	1,090
Mabaca	35	450
Tegu	30	450
Totals	1,109	24,213 ¹³

(Julian Malumbres, *Historia de Cagayan*. Manila: Tipografia. Linotype de Santo Tomas, 1918, pp. 234-236)

MISSION WORK AND REDUCCIÓN

Zubieta saw his mission as one of “conversion and civilizing” (*conversion y civilización*).¹⁴ To achieve this primary objective, he targeted the traditional strategy of reducción or resettlement. He began with building a rectory and church at Magaogao, which was also the headquarters of the political-military Command. The work was done with much difficulty as he had to procure the materials and direct the construction. In the process, he befriended the local elite or *principales* as the tried and tested starting point. To extend his mission beyond the existing settlements of Bulanao, Tabog, and Gamunan, which were closest to Magaogao, he saw the need to build temporary shelters further afield. Again this was based on the principle that the missionary had to be in close and constant contact with the people in this case, the Kalingas. From Magaogao, he wanted to reach Rimus and Pinapo (Pinukpuk), and from there to other ranchería. As always, the lack of funds for these projects slowed him down, aside from the typhoid attacks that he suffered as he adjusted to the new environment.¹⁵

Two years after his arrival, Zubieta was writing that he had gained the confidence of the people. He visited them frequently,

and some visited him at the rectory and he gave them gifts. They also came with requests for alms, medicine, or protection, which he always tried to address. Nevertheless, he was puzzled by their reluctance to be baptized or to have their children baptized. He found out from the Kalingas that they were avoiding the fiscal consequences of becoming Christian. If they were baptized, they would begin paying tribute and render labor (*polos*) for road construction, postal service, or services to the local officials. They saw the Christian *indios* subjected to such demands, and in this light, they naturally wanted to remain free. Zubieta recognized the logic of their reasoning, as the choice of “savagery out of convenience.” They enjoyed freedom of movement, not having to bring personal documentation with them to go from one town to another. Indeed, some lowland Christians had left their towns to go to the wilds to enjoy the same privileges of the Kalingas. Zubieta concluded that while the situation remained that way, the process of settlement (*reducción*) in the Central Cordillera would advance very slowly, despite the efforts of missionaries and the presence of military forces. In such situation, he was most apprehensive about the continuance of violent acts against Christians.

What did he recommend as a long-term solution? The imposition of tribute on pagans, in the same way as on Christians. And those who converted to Christianity and were incorporated in settlements would be dispensed from fiscal and service obligations for a few years. He argued that Kalingas were not so poor as to be unable to pay the tribute that Christians paid. Even granting that some would withdraw deep into the mountains or resist, the net effect would still be a greater general good in terms of conversion and civil life. He specified that the people produced surplus rice as well as cacao and excellent tobacco; they had herds of cattle, carabaos, and horses, and from hunting produced dried meat, which they sold to lowlanders. He recommended starting with a lower tribute (which corresponded to the personal *cedula*)

of differing amounts (four to two reales—i.e., half or quarter of a peso—compared to the full peso, which was the regular tribute) to be increased with prudence. The communal work required would increase proportionately (i.e., the lower the tribute, the greater the number of days of corvee).¹⁶

The Dominican's recommendation was sent to Governor-General Blanco, and it was approved as law. The cedula personal of four reales was imposed on all pagan peoples in the colony. The new law was communicated to the Command of Itaves at the beginning of 1895 with some precautionary advice to implement it with prudence, especially if it would cause unrest. Zubieta was disappointed that excessive prudence had dictated non-implementation in the command. He had offered to facilitate the collection of tribute by giving information about the population and convincing the people to pay even in kind. He was particularly upset by the reported incident of killing of Christians by Kalingas who belonged to his mission. He felt his hands were tied as long as the local authorities did not receive definitive orders from Manila to regulate the movements of Kalingas in the Christian towns. He recommended that the *rancherías* where the culprits belonged be punished.

Ultimately, Zubieta reasoned out that the Itaves was a new colonial and mission territory, only about five years old, it required more effort "to form settlements [*pueblos*], then men, and lastly Christians." The first objective in itself was difficult because of the Kalinga culture. They frequently changed habitation to heed the advice of their *anitos*, protect themselves from enemy attacks, or look for more fertile land for planting. He experienced that transitory character in a nearby *ranchería* when it had to look for better land. He noticed that because the Kalingas were limited by what they could plant independently, he brought some Christian families from surrounding settlements to plant in a big field from which the harvest was abundant. Thus

he persuaded some Kalingas to settle in the mission and assigned them land to till together. The result was a rich harvest for less work, which convinced them to stay in the settlement.

As to the second objective of “civilizing” them, Zubieta was concerned with overcoming their religious practices, particularly for healing. Continuance of such practices would render baptism of their children useless. Hence he tried to convince them about the power of medicine. According to him, they were for it at the rectory before resorting to their traditional rituals because they knew that otherwise he would delay dispensing medicine. He did that so that they would not mistakenly attribute the effects of medicine to their healing rituals. His other concern was to eradicate head-hunting, trying to reason out that it led to continuous dangers and desire for vengeance. He was happy to report that in three years head-hunting had been reduced.

Two hundred Kalingas still lived in the mission, some of them tilling the lands he had assigned to them. Zubieta was hoping that the others would follow suit once they saw its advantages. Eighty Christians lived in the mission, almost all of them brought from surrounding pueblos with their personal cedulas paid for. They were provided with carabaos and the means to settle in the mission. Zubieta had built a small cemetery, again as a way to inculcate Christianity, and begun building a schoolhouse. Fifteen children were attending school with him and his fellow missionary Fr. Calixto. He recorded having administered baptism to six persons.¹⁷

CONCLUSION

The Dominican Fr. Ramón Zubieta surveyed the physical and human geography of the Command of Itaves in connection with his very challenging assignment to establish a new mission

among the Kalingas. His work provides a textual map of the topography of the region as well as its human population in the last decade of the nineteenth century. The rancherias were usually located along rivers and rivulets. They were small but with recognized identity; otherwise, it would have been impossible for Zubieta to have named them by location relative to the major rivers. Zubieta appreciated the wealth of the land and the beauty of the terrain. His description of the economic activities of the inhabitants of the Command of Itaves offers a useful starting point for continuing ethnographic work on the Kalingas.

Zubieta's perspective as a Catholic missionary highlights conflicting values in the colonial encounter. He considered it a principal part of his mission to eradicate what he considered superstitious beliefs and practices, those that were not compatible with Christianity and Western medicine. He was thankful for the donation of clothes from Manila, which he encouraged the locals to wear for modesty's sake. He carried on a peaceful battle against the practice of head-hunting. In all this, however, he had a measure of understanding of the religious beliefs and cultural reasons underlying those practices. Together with encouraging peaceful coexistence, he discovered the importance of developing a stable source of livelihood—that is, agriculture on a larger scale—that would encourage the Kalingas to settle permanently in a place. His dream of establishing a school, an instrument of “civilization” and evangelization, was likewise a key feature of his mission. As in the other missions, he brought in Christian natives to live among the Kalingas as a way of inculturating the latter. In all these efforts, his objective was threefold: to create stable settlements, to humanize, and lastly to Christianize.

Zubieta's ideas about how to regulate the movements of the Kalingas and, in effect, establish firmer control over them, were in accord with the increased militarization that the colonial

government had implemented in the Central Cordillera. The civil-military government counted on the support of the religious orders. However, his recommendation to equalize the fiscal burdens of Christian lowlanders and non-Christian highlanders, to remove the perceived obstacle to religious conversion, did not meet with success. Corollary to Kalinga resistance to subjugation to the colonial order was apparently the unwillingness of local authorities to alter the status quo.

It was a two-pronged approach: one of economic development and peace, and the other of fiscal equity and military presence. But Zubieta still thought in the mode of a colonial power for whom contribution to the state represented acknowledgement of its authority. Till the end of the Spanish regime, the colonial perspective of the divide between the non-Christian highlanders and the Christian lowlanders remained, even as the usual trade between them continued.

NOTES

- ¹ William Henry Scott, *The Discovery of the Igorots: Spanish Contacts with the Pagans of Northern Luzon*, rev. ed. (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1987).
- ² Ibid., 281.
- ³ Felix Keesing, *The Ethnohistory of Northern Luzon* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1962), 221, 223. The supposition about the comandancia's name is mine based on the geographical and ethnographic information from Keesing.

- 4 Julián Malumbres, *Historia de Cagayan* (Manila: Tip. Linotype de Santo Tomás, 1918), 217.
- 5 For a survey of this publication, see Jorge Mojarro Romero, “Literatura epistolar Dominica de Filipinas en *El Correo Sino-Annamita*: Un índice comentado,” *Philippiniana Sacra* 49, no. 148 (September–December 2014): 403–22. It is a useful instrument to locate the letters of individual missionaries.
- 6 *Correo Sino-Annamita*, vol. 30, 1897.
- 7 Eladio Neira, Hilario Ocio, and Gregorio Arnáiz, *Misioneros Dominicanos en el extremo oriente 1836–1940* (Manila: n.p., 2000), 253–54.
- 8 This entire section is taken from Malumbres, *Historia de Cagayan*, 211–36. As mentioned above, its original title was “Descripción de las cuencas y valles, ríos y montes, etc. del distrito o comandancia de Itaves.” It must be noted that many place names as well as local terms mentioned in Zubieta’s report are spelled in Spanish fashion—that is, using the Spanish alphabet (e.g., *qui* substitutes for *ki*, and *c* for *k*) and phonology. I have attempted to give the current place names that would correspond to a few rancherías that Zubieta mentioned.
- 9 Zubieta mentioned that soon after the Dominicans had sent their reports to the governor-general, the comandancias of Quiangan, Apayaos, and Itaves were established (Malumbres, *Historia de Cagayan*, 213).
- 10 Malumbres, *Historia de Cagayan*, 216–17. Zubieta’s description is rather confusing if we are to locate the places with those same names today. For example, the capital he writes as Magogao (Magaogao) is situated in the present municipality of Pinukpuk, while the mission was located in Bulanao, which is at present a barangay of Tabuk City. He states that the mission was near the capital, but these two places are located actually many kilometers from each other.

- 11 Keesing explains that in most southern areas, especially in the bigger villages, wet rice cultivation was practiced, while the northern part, in general, grew dry rice (*The Ethnohistory of Northern Luzon*, 223.)
- 12 Letter of Fr. Ramón Zubieta to the Dominican vicar-general, Magogao, 1 September 1891, *El Correo Sino-Annamita*, vol. 27 (1891), 231.
- 13 Malumbres, *Historia de Cagayan*, 235–36.
- 14 Letter of Zubieta, Magogao, 1 September 1893 (*El Correo Sino-Annamita*, vol. 27, p. 258). For a more detailed discussion of reducción as a component of the process of the twin civilizing and evangelization, see Marya Svetlana T. Camacho, “Introduction to *Historia de Cagayan*, *Historia de Isabela*, and *Historia de Nueva Vizcaya* by Julián Malumbres, OP,” in *Lumina Pandit II: A Continuum* (Manila: University of Santo Tomas, 2015). A comprehensive discussion is provided by Pedro Borges in *Misión y civilización en América* (Madrid: Alhambra, 1987), particularly pp. 4–9 and chapter 5 on the practice of reducción.
- 15 Zubieta to the vicar-general, Magogao, 1 September 1891, *El Correo Sino-Annamita*, vol. 25 (1891), 225–31.
- 16 Zubieta to the vicar-general, Magogao, 1 September 1893, *El Correo Sino-Annamita*, vol. 27 (1893), 258–61.
- 17 Zubieta to the vicar-general, O’Dena, September 1895, *El Correo Sino-Annamita*, vol. 29 (1895), 430–41.

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