

The Historiography of the Philippine Revolution in Mindanao

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ABSTRACT

The dearth of historical data pertaining to the Philippine Revolution of 1896 in Mindanao creates a general notion that the revolution did not affect the Philippine south when in fact, one of the controversies during this period happened in Surigao. This paper aims to shed some light on the controversies of the revolution in Mindanao by examining historical notes and sources on Mindanao during the period. The sources include the books of Peter Schreurs, MSC, entitled *Angry Days in*

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Mindanao published in 1987 as Humanities Series No. 17 by the University of San Carlos in Cebu City and by the National Historical Commission of the Philippines in 2000; the *Readings on the History of Northern Mindanao* compiled by Renato Reyes y Bautista and published by the Department of History and Political Science of Xavier University in Cagayan de Oro City in September 1978 which discusses the Bautista Manuscript on the Philippine Revolution in Misamis Oriental by Francis C. Madigan, S.J.; and *The Battle of Bayang* by Federico V. Magdalena published by the Mamitua Saber Research Center of the Mindanao State University in Marawi City in 2002.

KEYWORDS

Philippine Revolution, Mindanao, Surigao, Controversies, Missionaries

INTRODUCTION

Mindanao, the second largest island in the Philippine archipelago, was the place where the longest resistance against the Spanish colonizers was fought for more than 300 years. Hence, it is ironic that its role and participation in the Philippine Revolution of 1896 and the Philippine-

American War of 1899–1901 are not well known. Notwithstanding, a look into historical records shows that the spirit of resistance in Mindanao is a long and continuous story.

The first would-be conqueror of Mindanao, Esteban Rodriguez de Figueroa, was vanquished by a native Buayan warrior, Ubal, with a well-aimed blow to the head from his *kampilan* in the marshlands of Sarangani Bay in 1596. This encounter was followed by the protracted Moro wars led by three sovereign Sultanates of Mindanao and Sulu, namely the Sultanates of Maguindanao and Buayan in Mindanao and the Sultanate of Sulu. In the course of more than 300 years of unrelenting warfare against the Spanish colonizers as well as against the Americans who succeeded the former, the Moros of the sultanates were joined by their kinsmen: the Borneans of the kingdom of Bornay, the Ternatans of Moluccas, the Sangirs from Sarangani, and a non-Muslim native group, the Caragans of the east coast. Thus, it can be rightfully said without fear of contradiction that Mindanao and Sulu, the Philippine south, is the land of revolutions.

The dearth of historical sources pertaining to the role and participation of Mindanao and Sulu in the revolution of 1896–1901 has unfortunately undermined and obscured that historic role in the history of the Philippine struggle against colonial oppression. This paper on the historiography of the revolution in Mindanao is an attempt to rectify this oversight.

**ANGRY DAYS IN MINDANAO, BY PETER
SCHREURS, MSC, 1987 UNIVERSITY OF SAN
CARLOS PUBLICATIONS, CEBU CITY**

This little known book by Peter Schreurs, MSC, depicts the historical events in the province of Surigao in the Pacific littoral as well as in the surrounding areas of Agusan, Caraga, and the San Agustin peninsula. It centered on the role played by a family of revolutionaries, the Gonzaleses of Surigao: Jantoy, Florencio, Simon, and Wenceslao. Their father, Jantoy, whose real name was Juan Gonzales, was a native of Ormoc in the province of Negros. Their mother, whose surname was Rodriguez, was a native of Surigao to where Jantoy migrated and begot his family. Jantoy's wife was already deceased at the time of the revolution.

Schreurs wove his account of the revolution in Surigao based mainly on the diary of Dom Ricardo Romero, OSB, and the writings of Fr. Pablo Pastells, S.J. Fr. Pastells was one of the main writers of the *Cartas de los Padres de la Compañía de Jesus de la Mision de Filipinas*, a monumental compilation of letters of Jesuit missionaries in Mindanao. When published in 1887 by the Los Amigos del Pais in Manila, the *Cartas* consisted of ten volumes. These two works were supplemented by newspaper reports published in the *Diario de Surigao*, a local daily.

To cross reference the two primary sources Schreurs cited John Taylor's *Philippine Insurrection Against the United States* and Marion Wilcox's *Harper's History of the War in the Philippines*. T. M. Kalaw's *The Philippine Revolution in*

typescript form was likewise mentioned but unfortunately, it was tainted by some factual errors. Schreurs' book was disadvantaged by its lack of a bibliographical or reference list that would have provided the full heuristic information regarding the provenance of his work. He seemed contented to allow the in-text citations (which were extensive enough) to attest to the integrity of his sources.

In 1998, Schreurs published his English translation of Fr. Pablo Pastells' three-volume work *Mission to Mindanao* under the auspices of the Claretian Publications in Quezon City. Another of Schreurs' work also featuring the revolution in Surigao is *Caraga Antigua: The Hispanization and Christianization of Agusan, Surigao and East Davao (1521–1910)* published by the University of San Carlos in Cebu City as Humanities Series No. 17 in 1989. The second edition was published in 2000 by the National Historical Institute (now National Historical Commission of the Philippines) in Manila. This latter work contains the account of the rebellion in Caraga in 1631, one of the bloodiest and longest revolts to occur in Mindanao, particularly in Caraga and Surigao which lasted until the end of the 17th century.

Schreurs' shorter versions of the story of the revolution in Surigao were published in the *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society* of the University of San Carlos, and one article was featured in *The Journal of History* of the University of the Philippines Diliman. Excerpts of the same publications were likewise printed by the local broadsheet, *Surigao Weekly Monitor*.

HOW THE STORY OF THE REVOLUTION IN SURIGAO WAS MADE

Sometime in the 1960s, while living in Agusan, Schreurs read an article by Leo Cullum, S.J., in *Philippine Studies*. It was entitled “Notes of the Revolution in Surigao.” The topic became a conversation piece among the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart of Jesus (MSC), a Dutch congregation living in the east coast of Mindanao at the time. Pursuing his interest, Schreurs found two important primary sources: *Historia con Visos de Novela de Nuestra Prision en Surigao* written by Dom Ricardo Romero, OSB, and the *Mision de la Compañia de Jesus de la Mision de Filipinas* (Pablo Pastells, S. J., 1916) in three volumes.

Now engaged in serious research, Schreurs found some more sources at the National Archives in Manila, as well as the Archives of the Jesuits at the Ateneo de Manila and the Benedictines at San Beda College. Then in 1981, while in Spain, he spent a couple of weeks in Sant Cugat del Valles where a Jesuit archives nestled in a place called Centro Borja. Here, he was assisted by Fr. Francisco Sola, S.J., who introduced him to the missionaries of the province of Aragon. These Jesuits had worked in the provinces of Agusan and Surigao during the time of the revolution and wrote about their experiences. Many of their letters found their way to the *Cartas* but a large number, especially those that dealt directly with the revolution were never published. These letters were archived at St. Cugat where they also retained a copy of the *Diario de la Casa de Surigao*, a diary in manuscript form written at the time of

the revolution. It was kept by the parish priest of Surigao, Fr. Alberto Masoliver, S.J.¹

Schreurs provided a candid portrayal of Fr. Ricardo Romero, OSB, one of the important sources for his book, *Angry Days in Mindanao*. He described Fr. Romero's account as caustic and dripping with sarcasm, owing presumably to the former's unhappy experiences during the revolution in Surigao. This description was part of a general historiographic preface to the book which at the same time served as an introductory to the characterizations of the main protagonists of the revolutionary days in Surigao. Both Romero and Pastells were missionaries in the east coast of Mindanao and were eyewitnesses to the events of 1890–1900s.

Their accounts were mainly about the imprisonment of the Benedictines and the Jesuits by the Gonzales family, two of whom, Simon and Wenceslao, were appointed officials of the Malolos government by Emilio Aguinaldo. Simon became military commander for Mindanao and Wenceslao was governor of Mindanao. Their brother, Florencio, who was a colonial employee in Cebu planned a rebellion that did not come to pass because he was captured and executed one day before the “Tres de Abril” of 1898, the date of the uprising.

Fr. Pastells, S.J., had spent many years in Mindanao, first as parish priest of Caraga and then of Bislig between the years 1870s and 1880s. He was well-acquainted with Dr. Jose Rizal who spent four years in exile in Dapitan

before his execution in 1896. Schreurs commented that some of the contents of Pastell's *Mission to Mindanao* were "not original in so far [*sic.*] as he mostly condensed them from the original *Cartas*."² Nevertheless, the three-volume work was lauded for its wealth of information. On the other hand, Fr. Romero's book, *Historia con Visos de Novela de Nuestra Prision en Surigao* (1903) was described as partly factual and partly literary. When the revolution spread to Mindanao, Fr. Romero was the assistant parish priest of Cantilan in Surigao. He was a young man of 28 years and had been in the Philippines for only two years.

THE CONTROVERSIES SPAWNED BY THE REVOLUTION IN SURIGAO

The Missionarii Sacratissimi Cordis (MSC) was a Dutch religious congregation which succeeded the Benedictines in Surigao in 1908. Besides inheriting the spiritual stewardship of the Surigaonons from the Benedictines, these Missionaries of the Sacred Heart of Jesus also came into possession of Fr. Romero's manuscript now called a booklet. For some time, Romero's work was kept a secret and access to the booklet was forbidden out of prudence by the MSC fathers. Schreurs adduced two reasons. First, Romero's work was strongly biased against the Surigaonons particularly the revolutionary family of the Gonzaleses. Second, the killing of Jantoy, Simon, and Wenceslao by the camp of Prudencio Garcia, the local lieutenant of the Tercio de Policia in Caraga, aroused a deep-seated feud between the members of the two families.

What Schreurs failed to identify as a third reason was the role of persons who remained in the background but who, nevertheless, played an active and determinative role in the outcome of events.

In a capsule, the chain of events and circumstances that transpired in the east coast provinces of Mindanao during the last decade of the 19th century began in the early 1890s. In 1893, Jantoy and his son, Simon, were deported to Jolo for filibusterism. At this time, Wenceslao was an employee of the Bureau of Customs in Manila while Florencio was a clerk at the *ayuntamiento* (city hall) in Cebu. After their return from exile, Simon settled in Tago, a *visita* of Tandag where Fr. Francisco de Paula Sanchez, S.J., was parish priest. From this time on, the two could not hide their mutual dislike for each other. In 1895, Jantoy was elected *gobernadorcillo* of Surigao but was not able to assume the position because of the record of his deportation and charges of tax evasion against him. Surigao and the whole east coast at this time was rife with rumors about the imminent revolutionary struggle. The provinces were allegedly overrun by revolutionaries from Luzon.

The underground activities in Surigao had strong links with Cebu and Manila. Then in 1898, before Florencio was arrested and executed in Cebu, his brothers Wenceslao and Simon had returned to Surigao. Soon after, the brothers were deported to Manila but were stranded in Iloilo. From Iloilo, they proceeded to Hong Kong then again back to Manila where they attended sessions of the Malolos Congress. They were finally appointed as officials by Emilio Aguinaldo.

Upon their return to Surigao, Wenceslao and Simon proceeded to implement the instructions of the President of the Republic. The first was to arrest and imprison the missionaries. The second was to take over the monies of churches and convents as revenues for the Malolos government. In his book, Schreurs carefully unraveled the moves of the missionaries in a number of chapters showing that the latter were not as helpless as might be supposed. On the contrary, they anticipated every move that the Gonzaleses were going to make upon their return to Surigao. The missionaries gave instructions to the townspeople about what to do in the face of the growing presence of insurgents in the province. They even went to the extent of spreading news about how another foreign power, i.e., the United States, would seize power from the Malolos Republic.

Into this troubled and confusing situation entered Prudencio Garcia whose loyalty to the colonial government of Spain was impeccable. He was also known as a friend of the missionaries and did not take kindly to the latter's imprisonment by Wenceslao. Garcia had earlier styled himself as the defender of Caraga but owing to the revolution-charged atmosphere, he moved his entire regiment to the hills prepared to defy the Spaniards, the revolutionists from Manila, or any other would-be aggressor of Caraga. In this way, he believed that he and his men had earned the reputation of "rebels."

Thus, there emerged two rebel camps in Surigao; one led by the Gonzaleses who were officially designated by President Emilio Aguinaldo, and the other, the self-

appointed “defender of Caraga” Prudencio Garcia. Although the Garcia camp was based in Caraga, an old town south of Surigao, Garcia expanded his domain northward and even offered a redrawing of the boundaries of the two camps. Wenceslao who was appointed governor of the whole Mindanao naturally refused.

This stalemate made an armed confrontation inevitable. Garcia’s course of action was precipitated by the imprisonment of the missionaries of the whole east coast. Garcia, an erstwhile protector of the missionaries, now saw himself as their liberator. He proceeded towards the provincial capital at Tandag where Wenceslao Gonzales was based as governor. There, with a group of so-called volunteers, all of whom were enemies of the former, arrested Wenceslao, his brother Simon, and father Jantoy and threw them in the stockade. The killing of the Gonzaleses in a lonely beach in Cortes took place on April 4, 1899.

The controversies arose initially because Prudencio Garcia denied that he ordered the execution of the Gonzaleses as Fr. Romero had stated in his book. Next, since the Gonzaleses were legitimate officials (except Jantoy) of the revolutionary government of the Malolos Republic and Garcia was not, the order for their arrest, not to mention their execution, was at the very least illegal. Garcia should have been court-martialed. So if it was not Garcia, who was behind the arrest and killing of the Gonzaleses? Unfortunately, Schreurs only had the word of his main source. The rest of his informants were concededly of like mind and disposition.

Most of the eyewitnesses to the tragedy of the Gonzaleses were partisans; hence, they could not be expected to provide an impartial or honest answer that would uncover the truth behind the event. Cortes was a small town and so was the rest of the municipalities on the whole east coast of Mindanao. In towns such as these, everybody knew everyone and no piece of news or information could be kept a secret.

Why Schreurs did not interview ordinary citizens of the town of Cortes or Gigaquit? How could one explain the reaction of the townspeople against the legally constituted government of the Gonzaleses? What really happened in Cantilan and what role did the Benedictines play in declaring the “neutrality” of the town? Besides Garcia, who else had a motive for eliminating the Gonzales family?

***READINGS ON THE HISTORY OF
NORTHERN MINDANAO,
BY RENATO REYES Y BAUTISTA, 1978,
XAVIER UNIVERSITY, CAGAYAN DE ORO CITY***

This 250-page volume work was the result of efforts by the Department of History and Political Science of Xavier University to put together historical works, published or unpublished, that pertained to the history of northern Mindanao. The publication also marked the holding of the first national conference on local and regional history conducted jointly by the Philippine National Historical Society, the National Historical Commission of the Philippines, University of the Philippines Diliman, Mindanao State University, and Xavier University on

September 22–24, 1978 in Cagayan de Oro City. The theme of the said conference was: “To focus attention on and promote interest in the field of local/regional historiography as an important tool in the writing of a truly national history for the Filipinos.”

According to one of the authors, the goal was to publish monographs and other works about the different provinces in the archipelago to encourage history writing. Five historical works were included in the compilation: 1) “Pangil Bay and the Founding of Misamis” by the late Fr. Miguel A. Bernad, S.J., 2) “The Early History of Cagayan de Oro” by Francis C. Madigan, S.J., 3) “The Bautista Manuscript on the Philippine Revolution in Misamis Oriental” edited by Fr. Madigan, 4) “History of Camiguin” translated by Francisco A. Mallari from the Spanish manuscript of Vicente Elio y Sanchez, and 5) “The Bukidnon of North Central Mindanao in 1880” by Frank Lynch S.J., a translation of a letter of Jose Maria Clotet S.J. All five were previously published, duly referenced, and acknowledged by the compilers of Xavier University.

Although this section of the historiography of the Philippine revolution in Mindanao is focused on the Bautista narrative, its publication in the same compendium of historical works with four other histories of northern Mindanao has enhanced and amplified the understanding of the revolutionary period in the south. Geographically, these studies encompassed the towns and villages of today’s provinces of Misamis Occidental, Misamis Oriental, Zamboanga del Norte, and Bukidnon. The narratives were often carried on and spilled over to the eastern parts of

Agusan and Surigao, reflecting the interconnectedness as well as continuity of the historical events in Mindanao.

For instance, the history of “Pangil Bay and the Founding of Misamis” by Fr. Miguel Bernad, S.J., was taken from his book, *History Against Landscape*, published in 1968 by the Solidaridad Publishing House in Manila. While essentially a reconstruction of local history in Misamis Occidental, the narrative centered around the historic Pangil Bay which guards the entrance to the whole western part of northern Mindanao. The bay swarmed with Moro pirates who would raid the native settlements for slaves. Thus, the towns in northern Mindanao learned to live with violence and danger as part of their daily existence. The arrival of the Spaniards provided them the possibility and later the choice to continue their subjection to the Maguindanaos or to throw in their lot with the newcomers and change their way of life. They chose the latter.

“The Early History of Cagayan de Oro” by Fr. Francis Madigan, S.J., presents the close relationship between the establishment of the first permanent settlement in Tandag on the east coast in 1609 by the Recollect Fathers (i.e., The Fall of Tandag) and the Christianization and conversion of Cagayan whose ancient name was Himologan. Earlier in 1596, the Jesuits founded the first mission in Butuan in Agusan. It was from Butuan that the Recollects who succeeded the Jesuits heard of Himologan and its ruler, Salangsang. Himologan was a fortress built on a high hill and at the time was a tributary to the Maguindanao sultanate. It was located in the vicinity of the lake where

the Moros or Maranaos lived. Throughout their long history, the ancient people of Himologan feared the Moros and other non-Muslim inhabitants of northern Mindanao. Eventually, they decided to cast their lot with the Spaniards and became Christians in the process.

The “History of Camiguin” was translated from the original Spanish by Francisco Mallari, S.J. On February 15, 1970, the Xavier Folklife Museum and Archives received a donation consisting of two trunkfuls of brittle manuscripts. This large collection belonged to Don Vicente Elio y Sanchez, a contemporary of Dr. Jose Rizal at the Ateneo. The donor of the precious collection was no other than his son, Edilberto. The collection contained original writings in Rizaliana, literary compositions, and local history. There were six folders on the history of Camiguin and its municipalities.

The “Bukidnon of North Central Mindanao” was drawn from a single document, a report by Jose Clotet, S.J., made to his superior at Ateneo in 1889. The contents were his own observations during a stay in Misamis and the testimonies of his confrere, Eusebio Barrado, S.J., and a civil official, Procopio de Alcantara who was the judge of the village of Tagoloan. The original letter was part of the ten-volume *Cartas*. Fr. Frank Lynch was assisted in his translation work by the staff of the Newberry Library.

Finally, the article which is of utmost concern to this historiographical essay is the “Bautista Manuscript on the Philippine Revolution in Misamis Province, 1900–1901.”

It is subtitled Transcript No. 1 of the Research Institute for Mindanao Culture of Xavier University. The transcription by the editor, Francis C. Madigan, S.J., was made in January 1968. Madigan acknowledged the assistance of several colleagues in the university.

The author, Filomeno M. Bautista, was born in Cagayan de Oro on April 25, 1890. His narrative featured events that he actually witnessed as a ten-year-old child in the year 1900 during the Battle of Cagayan against the American troops. In 1939, his first book entitled *Glimpses of Mindanao* was printed in Manila. While engaged in the writing of this book, he was at the same time preparing the manuscript on the Philippine Revolution in Misamis Province. Bautista admitted that the only written source that he used for his book was the *Census of the Philippine Islands* for 1903. He supplemented this source with interview data from other eyewitnesses of the events of the revolutionary period who were still living in 1936–1939.

In 1957, the existence of this manuscript came to the knowledge of some faculty and university authorities of Xavier University through Norma F. Marfori. They lost no time locating Bautista only to find out that after the war, he had given up working on the manuscript due to illness. The manuscript was handwritten in pencil and because the years had taken their toll on the paper, many passages were illegible. It was agreed that the first order of the day was to produce a typewritten copy of the entire manuscript. The right to edit the manuscript was presumed to have been granted by Bautista.

Madigan admitted having made some preliminary corrections in grammar. He intended to edit the manuscript after which it would be given back to the author for his approval. However, Madigan became occupied with other school matters and instead of doing what he had planned earlier, he decided to turn over the manuscript to his secretary for typing. When the task was done, and upon being assured by his secretary that the typewritten copy was carefully checked, Madigan returned the original manuscript together with a typed copy to Bautista. Madigan kept a carbon copy of the work.

In the meantime, Bautista lost or discarded three-fourths of the original manuscript. The loss did not really bother him since he had the typewritten copy in his possession. However, this dismayed Fr. Madigan who had plans of checking the typewritten copy against the original. (He only had the word of his secretary that the typewritten copy was thoroughly checked. He then gathered several graduate fellows in the university, among them Ramon Corrales, Marilou Palabrica, Alfonso del Fierro, etc., to check the surviving 23 pages against the typewritten copy. A list of the changes discovered in this process was published as appendix in Madigan's publication. Based on this published list of changes (all of which were minor changes, i.e., grammar) and with the concurrence of Bautista, Madigan assured the readers of the fidelity of the published version to its original source.

Bautista's narrative on the Philippine Revolution in Misamis included the early history of the province, its

geography, ethnography, church-state relations, etc. In the case of the latter, the author's bias appeared to favor the religious as against the civil authorities in Cagayan. He stated that the civil government did very little to protect the people against the Moro attacks which were most intense in the 17th–18th centuries. On the other hand, the religious officials were the constant defenders and protectors of the masses against both the Moros and the abuses of the civil government particularly in the collection of taxes. The history contained narratives of the different civil governors regarding their administrations of the province.

THE PHILIPPINE REVOLUTION IN MISAMIS PROVINCE, 1900–1901

In 1896, when the revolution was spreading rapidly in Luzon, the province of Misamis was administered by a new military governor, Lt. Col. Cristobal de Aguilar, who was well-liked by the Cagayanons for being a just and fair-dealing man. He organized volunteers to fight the insurgents from Luzon who were expected to appear sooner or later in Misamis. After the execution of Dr. Jose Rizal in Bagumbayan, the Filipino soldiers in Marawi and Iligan began to show signs of restiveness. Later, a company of armed soldiers mutinied against their Spanish officers and fled from Iligan. Regiment No. 72 of the Spanish forces was hastily dispatched to Cagayan. Nonetheless, an armed confrontation between them and the escapees from Iligan did not take place when the Spanish officers failed to lead the soldiers of the regiment. The escapees then took to the mountains. A second group of well-armed deserters

also left Iligan, but again, soldiers of the Spanish regiment avoided fighting them.

The situation was rife with all kinds of rumors borne out of fear of an imminent violence that created mutual suspicions between the Spaniards in the town and the ordinary townspeople. The former began to hold secret meetings in anticipation of the outbreak of the revolution in Cagayan; the latter stood in fear of Spanish reprisals that could be unleashed on everyone whether or not they were revolutionaries. In this tense situation, the men of Regiment No. 72 stood in a precarious position. Having avoided armed confrontations with the Marawi escapees and mutineers twice, they were now under suspicion of possible treason. Then, a certain Tomas Gigante and a deserter from Iligan told the members of the regiment that they were suspected of being revolutionists and that they would be taken to Iligan to be executed. The whole regiment fled their barracks. The aftermath of these events appeared to confirm the worst fears of everyone.

A reign of terror was said to characterize the last year of Spanish administration in Misamis. One by one, the deserters from Iligan were captured and shot. In Iligan, suspects were publicly executed almost daily and some were drowned at sea.

Finally, the Americans landed in Manila Bay followed by the return from Hong Kong of Emilio Aguinaldo and other leaders of the revolution. In Misamis, Manuel Corrales, Sr. led the reorganization of the town's military

forces. Later, Anselmo Abejuela, an appointee of the Malolos government, arrived as the new military chief of the province but resigned after only a few months in office.

Bautista's account of the birth of the Malolos Republic which was celebrated in Misamis was highlighted by a parade, music, speeches, and cannonades which lasted for two days. A float was designed to symbolize "La Libertad de Filipinas." A long patriotic poem written by Torribio Chaves was recited by Pedro Akut at the Casa Real. Likewise, a people's association named "Club Popular" was organized. It became a venue and forum for the citizens of Cagayan to discuss events pertinent to the welfare of the province, which included defense preparations against the Americans. Having heard of the American occupation of Luzon and the Visayas, prominent and ordinary citizens of the province gathered at the club to decide on the course of action should the Americans show themselves in Cagayan. The cry was to fight for their homes and liberty. Then, all those present signed a "Pact of Resistance." Most of those who died in the battles of the revolution in Misamis were signatories of the pact.

On March 6, 1900, the *Arayat*, a U.S. man-of-war anchored at the wharf. The Americans informed a delegation of town representatives that they do not recognize an insurgent's flag and that if it would not be taken down immediately, they would be forced to shoot it down. A week later, another battleship docked at the harbor and American military officers demanded the surrender of the whole province to avoid unnecessary bloodshed.

The officers ordered American soldiers to shoot down the Philippine flag.

The American invasionary forces landed at the mouth of the Cagayan River instead of the wharf where the local defenses were located. Upon seeing the superior forces and weaponry being unloaded by the Americans, the military leaders decided to evacuate the town. The military regrouped at Gango plateau and prepared for an all-out assault to retake the town from the invaders. At dawn on April 7, 1900, a sacristan tolled the church bells and almost immediately, the Cagayan fighters surged from all directions to lay siege to the barracks where the American forces were. But the American soldiers were well-prepared for the attack and poured heavy fire on the revolutionists. When the dust cleared, hundreds lay dead on the town plaza. Most of them were Cagayanons.

Two more epic battles needed to be fought before the town could be brought to its knees: the Battle of Agusan and the Battle of Makahambus Hill. On May 14, 1900, Capt. Vicente Roa y Racines, commander of the First Company of Infantry, challenged the Americans who occupied Cagayan to come and fight them on the Agusan Hill. The plan was for the Infantry to deploy themselves on a hill overlooking the main road. The *macheteros* who were armed with machetes (bolos) were told to hide under the houses along the main road. As soon as the Americans came into view, the Infantry were to open fire on the latter and then immediately retreat. If the Americans would go after the retreating forces, the *macheteros* were to attack from behind while the retreating infantry would turn around

and assault the enemy frontally. This plan failed to work simply because the *macheteros* had no leader to lead the attack. Consequently, the entire Infantry was annihilated including the valiant Capt. Roa who defied the order of the Americans to surrender.

The third and final battle for Cagayan was fought on the hills of Makahambus which was the gateway to the fortress of Col. Velez in Langaon. The defenders of Cagayan fortified one of the high hills in Makahambus. On the east side of this hill is the Cagayan River and on the west is a deep precipice. The other peaks of the surrounding hills were higher but it was thought that ascending them was impossible. The Filipinos presumed erroneously, because it was exactly what the American forces did; they positioned themselves on top of another hill overlooking the fortification made by the Cagayan soldiers and from there destroyed the fortress.

***THE BATTLE OF BAYANG AND
OTHER ESSAYS ON MOROLAND,
BY FEDERICO V. MAGDALENA, 2002
MINDANAO STATE UNIVERSITY
(MSU), MARAWI CITY***

The Battle of Bayang and Other Essays on Moroland was written by Federico V. Magdalena and published in 2002 at Iligan City on the occasion of the centennial anniversary of the Battle of Bayang. Magdalena was a professor of sociology and the director of the Mamitua Saber Research

Center of the Mindanao State University in Marawi City. The monograph was published by the Mindanao State University. A preface was written by Faina Abaya-Ulindang of the History Department of the College of Social Sciences and Humanities of MSU where the essays were lauded as valuable contributions to the discipline of history although written by a sociologist.

In commending the work of Magdalena, Ulindang cited his use of eyewitness accounts and the inclusion of rare historical documents in the appendices as important to historians, e.g., the map of Fort Pandapatan in Bayang and the reports of General George Davis and Colonel Frank D. Baldwin.

THE BATTLE OF BAYANG, 1902: A SYNOPSIS

When U.S. troops penetrated the interiors of Lanao in 1902, they were under strict orders to treat the inhabitants kindly, and not to molest them in any way, and never interfere with their religious practices or in the observance of native customs. Consequently, General Davis encouraged his troops to demonstrate congenial behavior in relating to the Moros of Lanao. He offered to buy their ponies and employ them as laborers.

Despite these friendly overtures, the Moros attacked a detachment of cavalry under Lt. William D. Forsyth resulting in the death of one U.S. cavalry man. The Moros lost five men while three others were wounded. These Moros were identified as the followers of the sultan of Bayang.

Certain irritants continued to exacerbate the relationship between the Lanao Moros and the American occupational forces. Examples included the practice of slavery and slave trade, theft of U.S. government property, and killing of American soldiers.

On April 12, 1902, General Adna Chaffee wrote an ultimatum to the sultan of Bayang, Datu Acta of Paigoay, and Amay Tampugao of Tubaran. He was demanding the restitution of U.S. government property stolen by the Moros of Bayang within two weeks and the surrender of the assassins of the American soldiers. The reply from the sultan and datus was a defiant “No!” and the warning that if the Americans came to Bayang, they would have to fight the Moros.

Bayang or Pandapatan was an earthen fort reputed to be more than a hundred years old. It was built to contain as many as 600 warriors, equipped with native cannons called *lantakas*, and surrounded by a deep moat to delay the rapid assault by the enemy. The ground about 10 feet beyond the moat was sown with pointed or sharpened bamboo stakes. Besides the 600 strong warriors of the sultan of Bayang, complement fighters from Bacolod, Butig, Paigoay, Maciu, and Dirimuyud were sent to aid Bayang.

The U.S. forces deployed 800 infantry and 225 dismounted cavalry with four mountain guns, and 80 mules carrying supplies. On May 2, 1902, U.S. guns began pounding the moro *kuta* all afternoon. When night came, the American soldiers prepared to scale the high walls of the

fort in a final assault. Before dawn, the Moros of Bayang had hoisted white flags in surrender to the Americans.

The American victory in Bayang meant the opening of the Lanao region and its absorption into the Western political and economic system. The following year, a full-scale military operation to pacify the lake area was launched from Iligan in the north by General John J. Pershing. The first of a series of campaigns against the Maranaos was conducted at Butig against Datu Uali on September 18–22, 1902. The Rancheria was pulverized while the sultan disappeared into the interiors and was never heard of again. Next was the ancient *pangampong* (village) of Maciu whose chiefs, Tawagon and Gandauali, did not acknowledge U.S. friendship and refused to return stolen U.S. property. Maciu was similarly reduced to ashes with 40 to 50 Moro fighters killed together with one sultan.

Pershing alternated his military tactics with peaceful offerings. He invited all the datus of Lanao to come to Camp Vicars in peace and friendship. He promised to buy their produce, give them medicines, provide jobs, and in every way help them improve their lives, but to no avail. The grand campaign on the Rancheria of Bacolod was planned for execution. The military expedition under Pershing was composed of three troops of cavalry, four companies of infantry, a medical unit, and equipped with field battery of Vickers and Maxim guns. On April 8, 1903, Pershing began the assault which ended quickly. When the dust cleared, sixty Moro warriors lay dead together with several datus from the *kutas* of Maciu, Taraca, Pindolonan,

and Binidayan. Eleven wounded men were the U.S. forces' casualties.

An essay on the Moro cotta (*kuta*) explained the role of this native fortification in the life and culture of the Moros. Every chief had his own cotta where the whole community took refuge in times of war. It was also this fort that the defenses of the community were established. The more important and powerful the datu or sultan, the bigger the cotta; hence, it was an important symbol of the significance of the ruler and community. It also reflected a vital aspect of the Moro culture: warfare was very much a part of life. Moro children from an early age were oriented to war as a way of life.

A biographical essay introduced General Robert E. Lee Bullard, an American civil governor of Lanao, who earned a modicum of respect and admiration from the Maranaos. Bullard was tasked to build a road from Iligan to Marawi despite the non-cooperation and indifference of the American troops in Iligan who believed that the project was impossible. Despite this, Bullard completed the road-building in only ten months by employing Moro laborers and successfully avoiding any hostilities with the latter. Believing that "savagery and civilization could not co-exist," he sought to accomplish the road-building project to bring the Moros to civilization or turn over the whole island to them.

Another essay contained in the booklet of Magdalena was entitled: "Moros, Filipinos, and Americanos: Deadly Triangle of Social Relations." The article was based on a

research project, “Moros and Americans in the Philippines: Three Decades of Love-Hate Relations.” It was Magdalena’s work as a postdoctoral fellow at George Washington University, Washington D.C. in 1989. While there, he conducted a nine-month research in the archives of the American Library of Congress from 1988–1989. The word Mindanao for purposes of this paper included Basilan, Tawi-Tawi, and Sulu.

The last essay was drawn from a lecture delivered by Magdalena while serving as a visiting professor in the University of Hawaii on April 27, 1990. The essay on Moro autonomy and the 1989 plebiscite dissected the problem of Muslim autonomy in the Philippines during the administration of Corazon Aquino. It likewise addressed the outcome of the plebiscite of 1989 held for the purpose of determining how the proposed Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao (ARMM) was perceived and how many were actually in favor or against it.

***SURAT SUG LETTERS OF THE SULTANATE
OF SULU, VOLUME 1 KASULTANAN,
BY SAMUEL K. TAN, 2005
NATIONAL HISTORICAL INSTITUTE, MANILA***

This two-volume work was compiled, transliterated, translated, and edited by Samuel K. Tan, a renowned Muslim historian and scholar. He was the chairperson of the Department of History of the University of the Philippines Diliman and author of several books on the Philippine south. He held many positions in government service and

one of the prestigious positions was the chairmanship-directorship of the National Historical Institute (NHI).

While working on his dissertation for a doctoral degree in history at Syracuse University in New York City, a staff member in the National Archives in Washington D.C. showed him a bundle of documents which, upon close examination, turned out to be letters on sundry topics collected by American officials who were in Sulu from 1899–1935. The letters were written in the arabicized script known in Sulu as jawi and utilized an old form of the Malay language. Tan, a native-born Tausug did not hesitate to secure a reproduction of the documents by microfilm. In this way, 300 documents of this kind were brought back to the Philippines.

In 1995, Tan became the director of the Mindanao Studies Program under the Center for Integrative Development Studies of U.P. Diliman. It was during this time that the 300 jawi documents were transliterated with the assistance of Ustadz Isnani Jamahali and Samier Bakuludan. An annotated bibliography of the jawi materials was published in 1996 as the first volume of the *Jawi Documentary Series* of the Mindanao Studies Program. After this was the transliteration of the jawi documents into Tausug and translation into English.

Transliterating the jawi texts into Tausug was an arduous undertaking. Accuracy was demanded for practically every word transferred from the jawi script to its counterpart in another alphabet. The process was hampered by the differences between the two forms of

writing, e.g., lack of punctuations in jawi. Hence, the work proceeded very slowly. In 1997, a rough draft of some of the transliterated texts was ready for translation into English. Tan's appointment as chairman-director of the National Historical Institute at the time proved to be an auspicious event. At the NHI, the transliterated texts were put into shape and reproduced into transparencies. The publication of the *Surat Sug* was accomplished by the Institute in 2005.

***SURAT SUG LETTERS OF THE
SULTANATE OF SULU, VOLUME II,
KADATUAN KAHADJIAN
KABANUWAHAN KAGINISAN,
BY SAMUEL K. TAN, 2005
NATIONAL HISTORICAL INSTITUTE, MANILA***

In his introduction to the second volume of the *Surat Sug*, Tan explained that the ancient political heritage of the Filipino Muslims goes back to pre-Islamic times. Antedating the advent of Islam in the 13th century, scholars have traced the datuship to Sri Vijayan and Indo-Malayan origins. The institution of datuship introduced a distinct social class that exercised authority over a given kinship-based territory. In the Philippine south, Muslim leaders were given the titles of *raja*, *timuay*, *datu*, *ulang kaya*, *maharaja*, and *panglima*. All these terms are conveniently subsumed under the word "datuship."

The importance of the institution of datuship must be understood if issues relating to the cultural integration of the Muslim peoples are to be clarified. The *Surat Kadatuan* in volume II of the *Surat Sug* refers to all the correspondences,

statements, opinion, etc. written in Tausug, the language used in the jawi documents.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The aforementioned sources depict a more or less coherent picture of the revolution in Mindanao. Reyes' compilation of the "Readings on the History of Northern Mindanao," particularly the reproduction of the Bautista manuscript on the revolution in Misamis or Cagayan, presents a detailed account of the revolutionary events from the perspective of eyewitnesses and those who actually took part in the revolutionary struggle. On the other hand, the sources for the revolution in Surigao were written by representatives from the Spanish establishment, i.e., religious sources. Thus, these two sources may be said to result in a balanced account in which both protagonists—Filipinos and Spaniards—have been duly heard.

The differences or the uniqueness of the events as they happened in the two provinces may also be explained by the differences of the sources. The account in Surigao was partial to the colonial establishment to the extent that the legitimate leaders of the revolution were identified as enemies and eventually put to death. Meanwhile, those in Misamis were narratives of the rebels who fought for the revolutionary ideals even to the extent of sacrificing their lives.

The "Battle of Bayang" provides another episode of the revolutionary period. This time, it was no longer against the Spanish colonial forces but their successors, the

Americans. Since the sources were purely from the American side, understandably the account shows only one facet of the story—that of the American occupational forces. What we are missing is the viewpoint of the Moro or Muslim freedom fighters. This lack is amply compensated for by the two-volume *Surat Sug* or letters from the *kasultanan* and *kadatuan* covering the years of the American occupation of Muslim Mindanao. Although the *Surat* were not narrative accounts of the revolution per se, the letters contained information about random problems and issues arising from the occupational period. In this way, we are provided with a window on the events in Muslim Mindanao from the perspective of the Muslim people.

NOTES

- 1 Peter Schreurs, *Angry Days in Mindanao* (Cebu City: University of San Carlos, 1987)
- 2 Schreurs, 3.

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