CULTURE

DANCE AND MUSIC

Cabugao’s best known contribution to Filipino culture are the folk dances called *Nasudi Nga Ilokana* (Lovely Ilocana) and *Kalapati* (Dove). Like most Filipino folk dances they probably originated anytime between the 16th and 19th centuries, certainly not in pre-colonial times. The music is of the genre characterized by Spanish melodies and slow ¾ *danza* or faster waltz tempo. Today, they remain part of the repertoire of the world-renowned Bayanihan, the national dance troupe.

The Ilocano song is similar in composition to the kundiman that is played in all regions of the country. The entire musical piece is often in a minor key or in two parts with the second part in a major key. The melody and lyrics are a plaintive lament expressing sorrow and despair. The kundiman is reflective of the life of suffering under colonialism and its theme is comparable to that of the spirituals and blues of American “negroes” under slavery.

The happy tunes are mostly heard in the music of the barrio peasants. The melodies also have a heavy Spanish influence but are played in an upbeat 2/4 paso doble tempo and are often syncopated as in the Dixieland piece, “When the Saints Go Marching In.” The barrio string bands, consisting of violins and guitars, traditionally came into town to play folk music, not carols, during
Christmas. The sound of these bands is similar to that of the Mexican mariachi.

The Cabugao Institute Marching Band. The band played for school, military, and civic parades.
bands, and differs only in the absence of brass wind instruments, particularly trumpets.

In the 1920’s and 1930’s, Cabugueño immigrants in the United States and Hawaii began sending home to relatives all kinds of brass and other wind instruments as well as stock arrangements of popular American music. This correspondence enabled the formation of dance bands consisting mostly of the town’s musically inclined schoolteachers who could read the charts. They played for dances in all of the town’s social events. In the 1930’s and 1940’s, the three most popular bands that played the town fiesta circuit were the Remy’s Swing Band from Vigan, and the Laoag Stompers and the Ambassadors from Ilocos Norte. They played the music of Count Basie, Woody Herman, Benny Goodman, Harry James, Glenn Miller, the Dorsey brothers, and other swing bands. The avant garde stompers from Pangasinan played a lot of Stan Kenton’s arrangements. Teacher Mariano Somera was a saxophonist and leader of the local band called “BARCIS” (acronym for Barangobong, Cabugao, Ilocos Sur).

With increased availability of brass and reed instruments, more bands were formed for special events such as parades, funerals, religious processions, and dianas (musical concerts of “wake-up calls” at sunrise of religious holy days). These bands consisted mostly of older men playing martial and funeral music.
Interestingly, they played slow and somber funeral dirges for the funerals of adults, but if the deceased was a child, they played jubilant Sousa marches all the way to the cemetery. The latter was supposedly a happy celebration of an innocent child’s assured place in heaven. From the 1920’s to the 1950’s, two competing bands of this kind were the “Midis” (lakay or old man “Midis”) and the “Pulikin” bands. The loud beating of the bass drum that could be heard all over town was the signal either band gave to its members to assemble for a gig—usually a funeral. The Cabugao Institute also had a marching band for military and school parades. The town always had a good number of talented musicians.

Pre-colonial music is not completely lost, particularly among the people in the barrios. To this day, the Tinguians have music sung in the pentatonic scale similar to that of Chinese music. The scale consists of five successive tones except for the third and fourth notes, which are one-and-a-half tones apart. Thus, if the key note is F sharp, the pentatonic scale on the piano keyboard consists of only the black keys. The popular piano piece “Chopsticks” is played in this key. The most widely known example of a Tingguian song in the pentatonic scale is “Salidummay.”

The first keyboard instrument of the town was the old “harmonium” (pedal-pump organ) of the church, which was imported from Europe sometime in the nineteenth century or earlier. In the nineteen-twenties, Mr. Basilio Inofinada from Sinait was the church organist, and the male choir singers or cantores came from cacantorisan (southern part of town named after the resident cantores). In the nineteen-thirties, Maestra “Itong” Pe Benito took over as organist, and the choir
consisted entirely of women: the Sison sisters (Cianing, Kiday, and Corring) and a few others. Mr. Inofinada’s younger brother, Eufemio, who studied violin at the University of the Philippines Conservatory of Music, and Miss Eden Pacis were the only two piano teachers giving private lessons before and after the Second World War. During that period, there were pianos in the homes of Miss Pacis, the Sisons (Rosario Sison Pilar, Salustiano, Pacifico, and Dr. Teodoro), Bruna Sevilleja, Robustiano Bernardez, Supervisor of Elementary Schools Julian Somera, Pina Savellano, Dr. Luz Apostol, the Gallardos, and the Panos. Mrs. Tomasa Serrano Pano inherited the oldest piano of Cabugao from her grandfather Don Leandro Serrano, who had imported the instrument from Europe in the nineteenth century. Don Leandro’s great-granddaughter, Lutgarda Serrano Sison (Cortes), was the first music (piano) teacher who graduated from a music conservatory, the Holy Ghost (now Holy Spirit) College, in 1952.

Long before the Spaniards introduced European string instruments (guitar and violin) and the harmonium, the natives had their drums, gongs, bells, bamboo flutes, and kutibeng (stringed bamboo). The kutibeng was a bamboo segment plucked like a guitar. It had built-in strings made by separating strands or slivers of the tough outermost layer or skin of the bamboo, raised and stretched over a “nut” at one end and a “bridge” at the other end. As in other primitive cultures, the music and dance were originally performed as rituals of religious worship.
The colonialists introduced Spanish and other recreational dances and music from Europe: jota, fandango, polka, mazurka, gavotte, valse, rigodon de honor, and many more. In the twentieth century, the norte-americanos (North Americans) brought their pop music and ballroom dances. A few earlier immigrants to the United States returned home with the Charleston, fox trot, the big apple, and other dance steps of the roaring twenties. Hollywood sound movies in the thirties continued to update dancers on the jitterbug, Lindy (honoring Charles Lindbergh), boogie-woogie, swing, and Latin-American rhythms. Commonwealth President Quezon was the country’s foremost tango aficionado. His spectator shoes for tango dancing became known as “tango” shoes.

The Americanization process did not completely bury Cabugao’s native culture. Ilocano folksongs were not forgotten. Serenaders continued to sing “old standards” such as No Duaduaem Pay, Pamulinawen, and Bannatiran, along with “My Funny Valentine.” The children continued to learn “Duron-duron kapet-kapet, aramid daguiti babbaket, aglalo no ti suming-et” and other naughty songs like “Natay ni donggialen, nagagara ti ar-arem . . .” Many homes had Victrola phonographs playing Brunswick recordings of Procopio Borromeo’s Ilocano songs as much as Rudy Vallee’s songs and American ragtime. Until the Second World War, only the homes of Dr. Teodoro Sison and Judge Andres Cabanos had shortwave radios playing current “song hits”.

With the advent of the radio, recorded music, and electronically amplified record players after the war came the so-called “jam sessions,” which were
weekend gatherings of young folks for the purpose of dancing. Live bands continued to play for larger community affairs. Ballroom dances were often held for fundraising through the sale of admission tickets and ballots for beauty queen contests. Cabugueños also had a unique traditional fundraiser called the “box social.” The opportunity to have a special dance with a beautiful young lass was given to the highest bidder—a “show-off” but a generous donor to a worthy cause.

**RIGODON DE HONOR**, Spanish version of the French *quadrille* and adopted as the traditional opener of Filipino ballroom dances. The dancers march to a two-step (2/4) music tempo, the gentlemen curtsy to their partners, and the couples exchange partners. The grand finale is a *cadena* (chain), in which the ladies circle one way and interweave with a circle formed by the gentlemen marching in the opposite direction. Among the participants in the photograph are Commission on Elections chairman, Sixto B. Brillantes, and his wife, Azucena Oliver Serrano.
RIGODON DE HONOR
An ILOCANO POEM jointly composed by Judge and Mrs. Andres B. Cabanos and dedicated to Mr. and Mrs. Salustiano S. Sison upon the death of the latter couple’s sixteen-year-old daughter, Charito.
Haladingit a ama nga:

Tanggas ni patay, tanggas ni atidtdag nga aliva,
Dil dixua, ta nakomme aon o manoosungging Kenca,
Rahong nga apaguarod ne saytma a funison ita
Doon sibilig a in kenaka maicanawa.
Damenem cad ita macabiag a gracia,
Tulodmo cad ita rangeen aon patinguana,
Din! Dios, cassium ni Charito, ta uma! Kenca.

Hna Ken ama, ep-epene nga sanga tao a bulva,
Zgem sacon, ta dasami diwon pay maati ipa ida,
Zacana, naat ut Ken nasem man aya
Drien, cacabati, anian ti apquezan,
O mamunungcam a ita ladingityo acon pumada.
Dus, panaguitanepa, ti Dios itidna comar,
Nasilacay man ti aperezan a panmacaula,
Zaracen man ti mysa nga bunga a incau tingtikapaya,
A laen man a rabahem ni patay napnoan ulpitma
Zegasem, cacabati, Dios cadacay mangliobon.

Incon, Charito, incon ti bigay acon patinguana
Zgem ti laguiyon Kenca, manigatt ti panmaya onoaonna
Deoncem ngaus, daqui ti buluvani, ta ispaloronmi Kenca.
Tinipitam man ti ama nga napnoan imbagna
Hna, nganum, nasblues a namadachek Kenca
F amis man bongaymo't panagupapamo cadaumada,
Dinaw con Patay, nagulpitam na rica ti cunnas.

[Signature]
Estefania de tano de Cabanos
Over three centuries of Spanish influence has left an indelible mark on Filipino music. The old European and native folk dances, however, have become theatrical pieces staged only for tourists and other visitors on special occasions.

POETRY

The two most celebrated Ilocano poets, respectively of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, were Leona Florentino (a cousin of Jose Rizal) and Leon Pichay. Cabugao had among its poets Judge Andres Cabanos, Salustiano Sison, and Eduardo Cobangbang. Catalino Cobangbang was a young talented poet who died in 1921 while attending Stanford University. During his student days at the University of the Philippines, Crescencio S. Azcueta regularly contributed his poems to the campus publication, The Philippine Collegian. The town’s most famous poet thus far has been Jose Maria Canlas Sison. After spending eight years and four months as a political prisoner in Fort Bonifacio, his book of poems in English, entitled *Prison and Beyond*, was published and received the Southeast Asia WRITE Award in 1986. The *daniw* or Ilocano poem sometimes was composed extemporaneously and recited in a repetitive melodious singsong intonation called the *dallot*. At a funeral wake, the most theatrical of all poets was the professional mourner, usually an elderly woman. When engaged for her services, she would prepare for her “performance” by learning about the highlights of the life of the departed one and the surviving family members. More than merely eulogizing, she would cover herself with a
manton de manila (a big black veil), and, between sobs, would begin wailing poetic expressions of sorrow on behalf of the family. The melancholic singsong recitation of the dung-aw never failed to move bereaved family members and friends to tears. The crying induced by the dung-aw went on sometimes for hours and seemed to be consoling or even physically therapeutic.

DRAMA AND THEATER

The church became the first theater when Padre Hieronimo Perez’ “Una Gran Comedia de la Toma del Pueblo de Corralat, Conquista del Cerro,” had its premiere performance there in 1637. However, long before the comedia, the daily celebration of mass by the priest had always been a dramatic reenactment of Christ’s life, death, and resurrection. The early native converts were probably more impressed and awed by the colorful pageantry of the mass than by the meaning of their new religion.

The comedia and the zarzuela (musical operetta) are no longer performed regularly during town fiestas. Drama is not normally part of the curriculum at the elementary and high school levels. No community theater has ever existed. To this day, no opportunities exist for young people to learn and experience acting and other theater skills.

This writer, as a musician, participated in radio, television, and movie productions in Manila, and became an actor trained on the job in the late forties.
and early fifties. Twenty years later, he became a Hollywood actor and was featured in the movie “My Favorite Year” starring Peter O'Toole. The picture was nominated for Golden Globe and Oscar awards in 1983. He has

AL SEÑOR CAPITAN DON PATRICIO AZCUETA. Front page of a nineteenth-century greeting card, which consisted of a booklet describing the life of St. Patrick of Ireland. It was beautifully handwritten and handpainted, and dedicated to Don Patricio on his birthday by his nephew, Cabugao artist Mariano L. Pacis. The border of each of its twelve pages was identically “illuminated” (colorfully decorated) with an elaborate floral design.
FELICES
DÍAS TIEMPO
A SR. C.D. PATRICIO ASCUE A.

A. S. C. Y.
“MY FAVORITE YEAR.” Acclaimed as one of Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer Studio’s all-time best movies and nominated best picture for the 1983 Golden Globe Awards and Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences (Oscar) Awards. As one of the featured players, this author portrayed a “Filipino ex-bantamweight boxing champ.” According to Mel Brooks, the comedian-writer-producer, the Filipino character fictionalized as Brooks’ stepfather was written into the script when he remembered a real-life Filipino “character” who lived in his Brooklyn neighborhood.
“MY FAVORITE YEAR.” Two scenes featuring Ramon C. Sison as husband “Rookie Carroca,” Lainie Kazan as wife “Belle Steinberg,” Mark Linn-Baker (star of TV “Perfect Strangers”) as stepson “Benjie,” Lou Jacobi as brother-in-law “Morty,” and Peter O’Toole as the alcoholic superstar, “Alan Swan.” O’Toole was nominated for an Oscar Award for Best Actor in a Leading Role and Golden Globe Award for Best Actor in a Motion Picture – Comedy/Musical. Lainie Kazan was nominated for a Golden Globe Award for Best Actress in a Supporting Role – Motion Picture. The picture was nominated for a Golden Globe Award for Best Comedy/Musical. The writers, Dennis Palumbo and Norman Steinberg were nominated for a WGA (Writers Guild of America, USA) Award for Best Comedy Written Directly for the Screen.
UNIVERSAL PICTURES “MACARTHUR”

GREGORY PECK

RAMON SISON
“THREE-THOUSAND FAJITAS.” “Three-thousand” as in Imelda Marcos’ three-thousand pairs of shoes. A television commercial for the fast-food chain, Taco Bell, in which this author did one of his several portrayals of the Philippines’ first—and hopefully last—dictator.
“FERNWOOD 2NITE.” A nightly television series of the mid-nineteen-seventies which spoofed the Johnny Carson Tonight show and other talk shows, starring Martin Mull. This author played the role of “Reverend Chung Hee,” portraying real-life Reverend Moon of Korea and his alleged involvement in dirty politics in Washington, D.C.
“BACKSTAIRS AT THE WHITE HOUSE.” This writer portrayed Monico Lubao, who was the Filipino valet of William Howard Taft (played by Victor Buono) while the latter was Governor-General of the Philippines and, later, President of the United States. “Backstairs” was a National Broadcasting Company (N.B.C.) television mini-series adopted from Lillian Parks’ reminiscences of her thirty years on the White House staff. The White House of the Taft presidency was accurately depicted, lavishly decorated with tropical plants and furnishings from the Philippines (see “ballatinao” furniture from the Cabugao exhibit in the 1904 St. Louis Exposition on page 247). The series received in 1979 Emmy Award nominations: 2 for outstanding supporting actors and two for outstanding supporting actresses. In 1980, the series also was nominated for Golden Globe Award for Best TV Series – Drama.
“BACKSTAIRS AT THE WHITE HOUSE”
“OPERATION PETTICOAT.” “The Japanese are coming!” Grandpa Gallardo (portrayed by this writer), his family, and all the villagers were trapped in the pink United States submarine. Nothing this good ever actually happened in the Philippines during World War II. This comedy television series aired in the mid-nineteen-seventies starring John Astin and with American-born Filipino actor Jesse Dizon one of regular members of the cast.
"OPERATION PETTICOAT"  ABC-TV  CHANNEL 7
JESSE DIZON  RAMON SISON
“TROOP BEVERLY HILLS.” Released in 1990, this feature film included in its story Filipino dictator Marcos (again portrayed by this author) and his wife, who were transplanted by Hollywood magic from Hawaii to Beverly Hills. Actors Shelley Long (“Cheers”) and Craig T. Nelson (“Coach”) starred in this production.
appeared in other Hollywood feature films and television productions since the nineteen-seventies.

FINE ARTS

The oldest works of art are the santos, wooden and ivory sculptures of religious figures, in the church and homes of the faithful. Most of the life-size figures carried in processions were carved by skilled artisans of the town of San Vicente, Ilocos Sur. A few of the smaller statues came from Manila and Spain. None of these are known to have been made in Cabugao. The first Cabugueño to graduate from a school of fine arts (University of the Philippines) was Fernando C. Singson. He graduated just before the Second World War. He redecorated and painted the church interior in 1939. He was an artillery officer, a second lieutenant, and was killed in action in Bataan in 1942. His paintings on the ceiling, walls, and altars of the church perished when the church burned in 1965.

On permanent public display are the life-size figure sculptures in stone topping the monuments of national heroes Andres Bonifacio, Dr. Jose Rizal, and General Antonio Luna. In the late nineteen-thirties, during the first term of Mayor Sebastian Siruno, the statue of a nude Caucasian female was seated behind the municipio at the west end of a pool with fountains. It celebrated the completion of the Cabugao Waterworks System, a project began during the previous administration of Mayor Celestino Soller. A controversy arose in which those in favor claimed “art for art’s sake.” The statue, in close proximity to and facing the
church and the convento, was pornography to Padre Getulio Paredes and his flock. To Mayor Siruno's political enemies, the nude woman was Mrs. Siruno!

The works on canvas of Cabugao's artists were used as backdrops of photography studios. These images, mostly landscapes, are preserved in old photographs taken by the Rubianes Studio. The *telones* (stage backdrops) for the comedia and zarzuela were painted by Robustiano Bernardez.

**ARCHITECTURE**

Devastating earthquakes in the seventeenth century toppled many of the two-story Spanish-style brick buildings with heavy tile roofs. This prompted the Spanish colonial government to issue a stricter building code. The houses in Vigan and those of Don Leandro Serrano in Cabugao subsequently were built with walls one meter or more in thickness. However, this type of building was expensive, and only the very wealthy families could afford it.

A less expensive modification conforming with the new building code was the “Antillan” house. The brick wall stood only from the ground up to the second floor, and the rest of the wall up to roof level was made of wood. This Filipino version of the tropical Spanish home in the Caribbean (Antilles) had large or small verandas, sliding capiz-shell-paned windows, and lighter galvanized tin roofs. After the town was burned and bombed in the Second World War, the only Antillan-type house that survived was that of the Singsons south of the Rizal Monument.
At the turn of the century, the Americans popularized the one-story bungalow and split-level homes. The nipa-and-bamboo hut remains the most common habitation for people in the rural areas. Today, houses constructed with concrete hollow blocks are a common sight in the poblacion. In 1964, Roque Canlas Sison, the first architecture graduate (University of Santo Tomas) from Cabugao, designed and built the split-level family ancestral home at the eastern border of the Rizal Plaza.

RECREATION AND SPORTS

The most recent public edifice built in Cabugao is the gymnasium/auditorium located at the Rizal Plaza. This structure culminated the idea of team sports beginning in the early days of American occupation. Basketball league games are played today in this arena between teams of the town’s barangays.

Before basketball, baseball, soccer, and other team sports, the youth played games, many of which are unknown in other cultures. Many years ago, before American sports and before Japanese Nintendo, the children of Cabugao played tangga with tansan (soda pop caps) or with buli (lead washers), corriendo with marbles, sinnukit with rubber bands cleverly hidden in a pile of sand, and kudisi with bamboo sticks. This writer’s research discovered two other countries where kudisi is played—Mexico and Cuba. In both countries, the game is called quimbombia. During the town fiesta, the children were entertained with piñata, and challenged to climb a greased pole with cash prizes at the top end. On Easter Sunday, not egg hunts but egg cracking contests called colo were held.
The men participated in horse riding contests and horse races. *Juego de Anillo* was a contest of skill in which the horse riders, at high speed, tried to hook a small ring suspended and loosely tied by a ribbon to a horizontal bar. In some towns, the game has undergone a modern innovation and is now played by bicycle riders!

**LANGUAGE**

Ilocanos speak one of eighty-seven Filipino languages, not dialects. Like most Filipinos, they look Asian (or Chinese), speak English, and have Spanish names. Spanish words are common in each of the eighty-seven languages but most Filipinos, since the Americans introduced the English language, no longer speak fluent Spanish.

During the Spanish colonial period, only a few thousand Spaniards were present in the entire archipelago at any given time. Their number increased briefly only in times of crisis when military reinforcements were required in certain areas of civil unrest. In contrast, the Latin-American countries had far larger numbers of Spanish ecclesiastical, civilian, and military personnel at all times. The Philippines was geographically a remote colonial outpost of Spain. The colonial government was consequently administered by Spaniards and criollos americanos in Mexico ruling as “viceroys” (in lieu of the king). The few Spaniards in Ilocos were the alcalde mayor, the “juez de primera instancia” (provincial court judge), the provincial military commander, a few soldiers, and a
few other government officials in Vigan. In Cabugao, as in all the small pueblos, the cura parroco learned the native language to communicate with his parishioners.

**ANTILLAN HOUSE** built in 1936 at the northwest corner of Gobernador Taft and Soller Streets, the home of Dr. and Mrs. Fortunato Pilar.

(oil on canvas 20” x 24”
OLD ANTILLAN HOUSE.  The ancestral home of Dr. Fortunato Pilar in Bantay, and one of the oldest and most photographed landmarks of the Ilocos region.

(oil on canvas 16" x 22")
PILAR ANCESTRAL HOME - BANTAY
Modern SPLIT-LEVEL HOME designed and built in 1964 by Cabugao’s first architect, Roque D. Canlas Sison, at the southwest corner of Rizal and Gobernador Taft Streets.
SISON ANCESTRAL HOME
JUEGO DE ANILLO. A sporting event which was regularly featured during the town fiesta. Men on horseback took turns riding at high speed past an overhead horizontal bar and, with a small lance about the size of a chopstick, tried to hook a ring (anillo) dangling by a ribbon. The horse of any contestant attempting to cheat by slowly approaching the bar would be whipped by spectators to accelerate his speed.

(oil on canvas 25” x 30”)
ESCONDIDO (Spanish word for “hidden”) meant, to young boys, that part of the Rio de Cabugao under the south end of Osmeña Bridge. In this hidden place, they could swim and dare each other to dive from the bridge totally nude!

(oil on canvas 11” x 14’’
Speaking Spanish became a status symbol of the rich ilustrados who were privately tutored. The privileged few advanced their education by attending the Jesuit colegio-seminario in Vigan and the Colegio de San Juan de Letran or the Universidad de Santo Tomas in Manila when these institutions of higher learning opened their doors to natives in the eighteen-sixties.

The Ilocano and other Filipino languages were not supplanted, but numerous Spanish words became incorporated into their vocabularies. However, the Spanish words were often corrupted. “Veinte” became “binting,” “camino real” became “kaminoryal,” “como esta” became “komusta,” “camisa de chino” became “kamisatsino,” and so on. Cabugueños are also prone to developing colloquialisms in their own native language from time to time. In the nineteen-forties, “ciano” meant a person who did not keep a promise, and “pastrec” was someone who pretended to refuse an offer.

PHILOSOPHY

The town never ran out of homegrown “pilosopos” (wise guys). Until the late nineteen-forties, two brothers, Jose and Taurino C. Singson, were the only two philosophy graduates, both from the University of the Philippines.
Cabugueños live by their basic philosophies, which are deeply rooted in their Christian beliefs. “Everyone is his/her brother's/sister's keeper.” “All things come from God.” “Whatever happens is God’s will.” “Everything is in the hands of God.” “God knows.” “God is never asleep.” “God is forgiving and merciful.”

**RELIGION**

The town was founded and first settled by the Christian converts (Roman Catholics) among the natives. Not until the end of the nineteenth century was the first splinter group, the Independent Filipino Catholic Church, founded and headed by the rebel (formerly Roman Catholic) priest, Gregorio Aglipay. Father Aglipay himself was the first parish priest of the Cabugao Independent Church. The first “Aglipayano” church was first built on the Serrano property at the southeast corner of Teacher Mellon and Suller Streets. In the nineteen-thirties, Padre Erasmo Alcantara from Abra, the parish priest of the Iglesia Independiente, operated the town’s only printing press, doing the typesetting by hand, on the ground floor of the house of his brother-in-law, Mr. Juan Savella, on Gobernador Taft Street. Some of the first members of the church were Crispin Serrano and Saturnino Azcueta.

Two decades after the Filipino-American War, the American Protestant missionaries finally reached Cabugao. As in the sixteenth century when Spanish missionaries of different religious orders (Franciscan, Augustinian, Dominican, and Jesuit) were assigned regional districts, the Protestant missionaries of various denominations spread out to assigned areas. Several Ilocos provinces, including Ilocos Sur, were the designated area of the Church of Christ Disciples.
In 1922, three missionaries, all doctors of theology—Reverends Higdon, Klein, and Hanna—came to Cabugao and established the Protestant Church. The first ordained pastor was Reverend Ruperto Ines, followed by Reverend Alejandro Ines, both from Sinait. Some of the earliest members of the congregation were the families of Felix Flores (father of Dr. Samson S. Flores and pastor from the year 1933), Antonio Pacis, Patrocinio Suero, Gervacio Suero, Dionisio Sivila, and Vicente Savellano. The capilla (chapel) was built on the eastern half of the Savellano property at the southeast corner of Taft and Rizal Streets. The Reverend Dr. Enrique Sobrepeña was a frequent guest preacher in the nineteen-forties. Through his efforts, the Cabugao Protestant Church became affiliated with the United Church of Christ of the Philippines. By 1994, the church had at least seventy-five member families with Pastor Reverend Basuil leading the congregation.

The new churches include the Iglesia Ni Kristo (Church of Christ), located on the east side of the Camino Real on the southern outskirts of town, and the Church of Latter Day Saints, located north of the Osmeña Bridge.

In all likelihood, the last wave of barangay settlers were Muslims. The Ilocano word “al-la’h” is an expression of concern over one’s misdeed and serves as a reminder that God (Allah—from the Muslims) will punish a wrongdoer. Settlers from India probably brought their Hindu religion. Some of the early Chinese settlers in Ilocos probably practiced their Buddhist religion. If these non-Christian religions existed in Cabugao or in Ilocos in pre-colonial days, perhaps
the Spanish Holy Office of Inquisition had something to do with their disappearance any time after conquistador Salcedo and the Christian missionaries arrived.