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# Philippine Islam and the Society of Jesus

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THOMAS J. O'SHAUGHNESSY

**F**OUR centuries ago Islamic penetration into the Far Orient reached its northeastern limit at Mindanao and Palawan in the Philippine Archipelago. By the middle of the fourteenth century, little more than seven hundred years after Mohammed's death, Arab traders over the sea routes south of Asia had brought his religion to Johore and Malacca near modern Singapore. From these points they gradually extended their expeditions, first to Borneo and the Sulu Archipelago and then to the southern coasts of Mindanao. After the final collapse of the Javanese Empire of Majapahit in the late fifteenth century, Islamism hastened its spread and by 1490 the Mohammedan states of Maguindanao in Mindanao and of Sulu in the chain of islands extending southwest of Zamboanga had come into being.

As the promotion of trade and the Mohammedan religion mutually benefited each other and both in turn were aided by integration with the people, it was the common practice of the newcomers to marry the daughters of native rulers, adopt local customs, and identify their interests with those of the people among whom they settled. This was also the procedure followed in the southern Philippines, where the proselytizers assumed the title of sultan or datu and gradually succeeded in obtaining from their subjects at least a nominal adherence to Islamism. Hence the seven hundred thousand Moslems in the Philippines today, although deriving in part from the Arab-Malay rulers



of Borneo and Malacca and from slaves later taken from all parts of the Archipelago, are in the main descendants of the peoples who inhabited these lands at the coming of the preachers of Islam. Indications of their diversity of origin persist even now in the variety of dialects spoken by the Moslems of the Philippines. The two largest linguistic units are the Sulus of the Sulu Archipelago and southern Palawan and the Maguindanaos of Cotabato Province, other important groups being the Lanaos, found chiefly in that Province, the Samals, inhabiting the coasts of the Zamboanga peninsula, the island of Balangingi, and some islands south of Jolo,<sup>1</sup> and the Yakans of Basilan Island and the Province of Zamboanga.

These Moslem peoples, while culturally less advanced than the civilized Christian population, have by membership in a monotheistic religion such as Islam, possessing its own art and literature, acquired a cultural superiority over their still pagan kinsmen in the less accessible regions of the southern Philippines. Like Moslems in other parts of the world, incorporation into a supranational religion and a consequent social ascendancy have brought them to an intermediate position in the cultural scale beyond which they, like most peoples now professing Islamism, have not made any advance.

#### ARRIVAL OF SPANIARDS

When Magellan led the first Spanish expedition to the Philippines in 1521, the Moros,<sup>2</sup> extending their rule from the kingdoms already established in the south, had begun to occupy strategic coastal points in other parts of the Islands. By the time Legaspi undertook the conquest of Luzon in 1570 his chief opponents were the Mohammedans under Rajah Soliman, whose settlement at Manila and the consequent conversion of many of the inhabitants had resulted from trade relations with the Moslem principalities in Borneo and the southern Philippines. To Spain belongs the achievement of checking, within the space of eighty years, the Moslem advance at its western and eastern extremes: the fall of Granada in 1492 being the final blow to Mohammedan power in Spain and the capture of Manila blocking its further advance into the Far East. There can be little

doubt that, had the arrival of Spain in the Philippines been delayed, the entire Archipelago would soon have been Islamized and that the way would have been opened for a further penetration of Islam into Formosa, China, and Japan. The Spanish conquests eventually eradicated Mohammedanism from Luzon, the Visayas, the northern and eastern coasts of Mindanao and all of Palawan north of Puerto Princesa. In the rest of the Archipelago the small numbers of the Spanish forces prevented sustained military campaigns and the permanent occupation of posts in Moslem territory (with the exception of Zamboanga), until the use of steam vessels in the middle of the last century broke Moro sea power and made feasible further subjugation by Filipino-Spanish forces.

#### FIRST JESUIT-MORO CONTACT

The first members of the Society of Jesus to come to the Philippines arrived in 1581, shortly after the period of initial conquests, and by 1600 had founded schools in Manila and Cebu and reductions in various parts of Leyte and the Visayas. Their first advance into Moslem territory was occasioned in 1596 by the expedition of Captain Esteban Rodríguez de Figueroa against the Moros of the Rio Grande in Cotabato, which represented the first Spanish attempt to colonize Mindanao. At the invitation of the Captain two Jesuits, Father Juan del Campo and Brother Gaspar Gómez, accompanied him on this venture. After Figueroa had been killed in the fighting near Buhayen, Brother Gómez had the body brought back to Manila and buried in the Jesuit church of that city. Father del Campo remained with the army at Nueva Murcia near the mouth of the Rio Grande where, stricken by fever, he expired on August 11, 1596, at the age of thirty, being the first member of the Society to die in Mindanao.<sup>3</sup>

#### FATHERS GUTIERREZ AND CARPIO

During the next four decades individual Jesuits occasionally visited the Moro kingdoms in the south either as chaplains accompanying expeditions<sup>4</sup> or as prisoners of Moro pirates<sup>5</sup> or as representatives of the Spanish government to the Moslem

rulers. One of these last was Father Pedro Gutiérrez, who was born in Colina, Mexico in 1593 and entered the Society at Tepozotlan in 1611. Having labored with the Tarasca Indians of Mexico for some time after ordination, he was sent to the Philippines in 1622, being assigned first to Dagami, Leyte, and later to Dapitan where he founded eleven villages and baptized more than twenty thousand Subanos and Lutaos. In 1632 after the Joloan Moros had captured Father Juan Bautista Vilancio, a Neapolitan Jesuit then sixty-nine years of age, Father Gutiérrez visited the aged priest captive in Jolo. So great was his happiness at meeting Father Vilancio that the Moro captor, noticing it, raised the ransom he was demanding to fifteen hundred pesos.<sup>6</sup> By the time Father Gutiérrez returned with the sum several months later, Father Vilancio had died, but he used the money to liberate many other captives, among them Father Juan de San José, a Recollect, who afterwards became vicar general of his order.<sup>7</sup>

Father Gutiérrez was later appointed rector of the residence of Zamboanga and acted as envoy to various Moslem rulers of Mindanao and Jolo. Corralat, in his time the greatest sultan of Mindanao, although known for his hatred of the Spaniards, to the expansion of whose power in Mindanao he was for many years the chief obstacle, nevertheless esteemed Father Gutiérrez whom he received on several occasions between 1630 and 1640.<sup>8</sup> After several Moslem rulers had granted him the use of their banners, thus enabling him to travel with relative freedom and safety, he circumnavigated Mindanao and was the first to map that Island. After a life of missionary labor quietly done in tranquil agreement with Christian and non-Christian alike, the good Father passed peaceably away in Iligan in 1651.

Very different was the fate of a contemporary of Father Gutiérrez, Father Juan del Carpio. Born in 1582 in the old kingdom of Leon, he too entered the Society at Tepozotlan in Mexico in 1614 and took his first vows in Manila two years later. In December 1634 in the eighteenth year of his missionary labors in the Visayas, four hundred armed Moros sent by Sultan Corralat appeared before Ormoc, Leyte, where he was

then stationed. After the invaders had fired a small fort which Father del Carpio, with fifty Christian Filipinos, had defended, the priest was captured, stripped, made to kneel, and beaten in the face with his shoes. Finally, in fulfillment of a vow made to Mohammed, Corralat had him beheaded with a *campilan* or Moro sabre and his body cut into small pieces.<sup>9</sup>

#### MORE VIGOROUS SPANISH POLICY

In this year of Father del Carpio's death Moro raids on the Visayas and other Christian territories even as far north as Luzon had reached an intensity before unequaled. It now became evident to the Spanish authorities that occasional expeditions sent from the northern islands into the territory of the Moros could not check their piracies. Accordingly the petition of the Jesuits in 1635 for the establishment of a permanent garrison at Zamboanga to protect missionaries and Christians traveling in southern waters was favorably received and on April 6 of that year Captain Juan de Chaves with three hundred Spanish and one thousand Visayan troops disembarked at that point. Two months later the construction of a stone fort was begun, plans for which had been drawn by Father Melchor de Vera, S.J. Although this fort and the one at Sabanilla are the best known products of his skill in military engineering, Father de Vera, architect, mathematician, canonist, and man of many talents, designed various other forts throughout the Islands to protect the population against Moslem incursions.<sup>10</sup>

In 1637 the Moro stronghold at Lamitan, situated on the coast of southern Mindanao near Lapitan Point<sup>11</sup> and defended by two thousand Moros, was taken by Filipino-Spanish forces based on Zamboanga and commanded by Governor Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera. But Corralat, the great Maguindanao sultan whom the Spaniards most wanted to take dead or alive, managed to make his escape during the fighting. In the following year Corcuera led an expedition to Jolo, routed its four thousand Moro defenders, and garrisoned the fortifications with two hundred Pampangan soldiers. After this partial occupation of Moslem domains the Society of Jesus was in 1637 as-

signed the island of Mindanao and in 1638 that of Jolo as missionary territory.<sup>12</sup>

In 1636 Venerable Father Francisco Mastrilli of the Province of Naples, having landed at Manila on his way from Lisbon to Japan where Saint Francis Xavier had revealed that he would die as a martyr for the Faith, was invited by Corcuera to accompany him on the expedition then in preparation against Lamitan. Father Mastrilli accepted the invitation and fearlessly aided the soldiers in the fight for the Moro stronghold, three bullets passing through his cassock in the fray. Returning to Manila he continued his voyage to Japan where he arrived in August, 1637, and was martyred on October 14 of the same year.<sup>13</sup>

After Corcuera's conquest of Jolo in 1638 Father Francisco Martínez<sup>14</sup> began the evangelization of that island by baptizing a dying Mora, Maria Ligo, who was restored to life when on the point of being buried. She thereupon recounted a vision which made a deep impression on much of the populace. Father Martínez's work might have resulted in the conversion of these people, but it was checked by the scandalous behavior of Governor Gaspar de Morales whom, with Captain Ginés Ros, Corcuera had left in command of the garrison.<sup>15</sup>

When the Moros resumed hostilities, partly as a result of this conduct, General Pedro Almonte, governor of Zamboanga, came over to Jolo in June, 1639, and killed every male Moro he could find, leaving five hundred heads hanging from trees. One of his officers, Captain Agustín de Cepada, on one occasion engaged a large group of Moros equipped with helmets and armor, left four hundred of them dead on the field, and captured three hundred more, losing but seven Spanish and twenty Filipino soldiers in the battle.<sup>16</sup> In the light of this ruthless suppression of a ruthless foe, Father Velarde's words become more meaningful.

The Joloans, having been subjected by the bravery of Don Pedro de Almonte, began to listen to the Gospel . . . . The fervent Father Alexandro López was preaching in that island, to whose labors efficacy was given by the hand of God with many prodigies . . . . God opened their eyes . . . and in those islands a very notable Christian church was formed.<sup>17</sup>



FATHER ALEJANDRO LÓPEZ

The Father López here mentioned is one of the most distinguished Jesuit missionaries in Philippine history. Born in Jaca, Aragón, in July 1604, he went to Mexico at the age of nineteen, spent several years there in commercial pursuits, and coming then to Manila entered the Jesuit novitiate on August 28, 1631, after studying for some time at the College of San José. Father Mastrilli took him as companion on Corcuera's expedition to Mindanao in 1637, this being the first of his many visits to Moro territory both as a missionary and as an envoy to the Moslem sultans of Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago on behalf of the Spanish governors. While engaged in these labors he managed to compose in the Samal dialect a grammar, a dictionary, and a catechism.

Highly esteemed by the Moros, he too was granted by Corralat and the Sultana of Jolo<sup>18</sup> the privilege of using their flags to travel safely in the seas of southern Mindanao. Nevertheless, despite his influence with the Moslems of Mindanao, other considerations intervened to bring about his death at their hands. On December 15, 1655 Fathers López and Juan de Montiel,<sup>19</sup> his companion on an embassy from Governor de Lara to Corralat, had their heads laid open with sabre strokes at the order of Balatamay, Sultan of Buhayen. In this deed Corralat<sup>20</sup> connived, affirming in letters to the Moslem kings of Jolo and Ternate that "we have killed the Fathers because they sought that we be Christians and thus it will be good that we all act as one to return to our [Moslem] faith."<sup>21</sup>

## MOSLEM CONVERTS

This fear on the part of Corralat and his implicit reference to conversions to the Christian Faith already made were based on the successes obtained by the missionaries in Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago. After the expedition of Almonte Father López had been active in these regions, especially in the island of Pangutaran, fifty kilometers from Jolo, where, it is said, "the people received the law of Christ with readiness."<sup>22</sup> The Moros of Jolo itself are described in 1552 as ready to "listen without any reluctance to the matters of our holy Catholic faith from

the mouth of the [Jesuit] fathers . . . willingly.”<sup>23</sup> This would indicate that the Society did not cease its efforts to evangelize Jolo even after the withdrawal six years before of the Spanish garrison from that island, under pressure of an alliance between the Moslems and the Dutch, and the consequent departure of a large group of Moslem converts with their Jesuit pastors for Zamboanga.<sup>24</sup>

Even before this accession of converts Zamboanga had become a center of the Society's apostolate with the Moros. In 1639 Father Melchor de Vera had written from that city to tell of the baptism of some of the Moros in the vicinity and of the hopes of the Jesuit missionaries for a great conversion.<sup>25</sup> Three hundred kilometers due east of Zamboanga near Cotabato in south central Mindanao Corcuera in 1637 had opened the way to the evangelization of the Moros of the region by a treaty with Mongcay, Sultan of Buhayen, which provided that adult Moslems should not be urged, but children could be instructed and baptized, and on that occasion the Governor himself brought four hundred Moros to live at Zamboanga.<sup>26</sup>

In the following year Father Francisco Angel,<sup>27</sup> having been captured by Mongcay, was freed by Tapuri, that Sultan's engineer and munitioneer. Tapuri had taken captive a Tagalog girl about thirteen years of age who persuaded him to become a Christian and to live among Christians if he would marry her. He agreed and, having induced twenty members of his family to follow his example, came first to Zamboanga and then, on October 22, 1638, to Manila with eighty liberated Christian captives, intending to seek baptism and to settle with his wife in the town of Cabuyao thirty-five kilometers south of Manila.<sup>28</sup>

#### VARIOUS VICTIMS OF THE APOSTOLATE

The fate of Father Andrés de Zamora a little more than a year later may have been to some extent provoked by Tapuri's defection, which represented no small loss for Mongcay. Father de Zamora entered the Province of Aragon in 1616, arrived in the Philippines in 1626, and was dismissed from the Society three years later. Having shown signs of sincere amendment, he was readmitted and sent, while still a novice, to the difficult

and dangerous mission in Buhayen. There he preached to both Spanish soldiers and to Moros "more by example than by word," say his biographers. On August 13, 1639 he wrote to Father Luís de Pedraza, rector of Zamboanga, telling of Balamay's attack upon the Spanish forces<sup>29</sup> and of his own conferring baptism on a dying Moro soldier who requested the sacrament.<sup>30</sup> Mortally wounded in an ambush prepared by the Moros of Buhayen, Father de Zamora died on December 28, 1639. After almost two years his body was found incorrupt, although the remains of an officer buried with his were then little more than dust.<sup>31</sup>

Two and a half years later also in Buhayen Father Bartolomé Sánchez, not yet twenty-nine years old, followed Father de Zamora, his predecessor, in martyrdom. Father Sánchez had been born in Murcia on August 24, 1613. Hearing the account of the martyrdom of three Jesuits in Japan and desiring to imitate them, he ran away from home and at Cadiz stowed away on a boat bound for Mexico on which a group of Jesuits was also traveling. He started his noviceship on the boat, continued it at Tepozotlan, Mexico, and finished it in Manila, arriving there in 1625.<sup>32</sup> His meeting Father Mastrilli during the latter's sojourn in the Philippines quickened the young man's desire for martyrdom and he presented the visitor with a document inscribed in his own blood in which he vowed to proceed to Japan, if superiors, he wrote, "give me permission for this; and to give there my life for Christ when the occasion for martyrdom shall present itself."

Not long afterwards superiors sent him to Buhayen where he acted as chaplain to the Spanish forces and as missionary to the Moslems. While he was returning to Buhayen from a brief visit to Zamboanga, the troop ship on which he traveled was attacked and overcome by sixty Moro vessels. Despite Corralat's efforts to save Father Sánchez, a Moro datu, Manaquior,<sup>33</sup> recognizing the missionary, with whom he had previously had dealings, cut off his head with a dagger. This martyrdom occurred in the beginning of June, 1642.<sup>34</sup>

On May 7, less than a month before, Father Francisco de Mendoza, a Portuguese who had entered the Society in Mexi-

co and had come to the Philippines in 1623 while still a novice, had been put to death and his body mutilated by the Moros north of Buhayen between Lake Lanao and Baloooy (near Iligan).

#### OTHER MORO CONVERTS

In Iligan, too, and on the shores of Iligan Bay during these years Father Pedro Gutiérrez was carrying on an active apostolate among the pagans and Moslems, many of whom he baptized, thus establishing one of the largest Christian communities in the Philippines of that period.<sup>35</sup> After his death in 1651 the work of evangelizing the Moros continued under his successors, for in 1654 Moros from the Lake Lanao region are reported to have settled at Iligan "in order to be instructed and to live as Christians in that village."<sup>36</sup>

In 1649 four hundred converted Moros from Zamboanga under their own commanders, Francisco Ugbo and Alonso Macobo, were instrumental in suppressing the revolt of the Visayans under Sumoroy on Samar Island. Ugbo, a Samal Moro of great military skill and linguistic talent, had been promoted by Sultan Corralat to high posts in his government, but, on embracing Christianity, he left the Sultan's service and married a daughter of Socsocon, ruler of Zamboanga when it was fortified by the Spaniards.<sup>37</sup>

#### SPANISH GARRISON LEAVES ZAMBOANGA

Although by the middle of the seventeenth century many of the Moslem datus of Mindanao and Jolo had made peace with Spain through the mediation of the Jesuits and had permitted the preaching of Christianity in their territories,<sup>38</sup> other chiefs carried on piratical raids, obtaining aid from the Moslems of Borneo and Celebes and from the Dutch who were allied with them against Spain. These raids were intensified after Spain, under the twofold threat of a full scale war with Holland and an invasion of the Philippines by the Chinese pirate Kue-Sing, withdrew her garrison from the fort of Zamboanga in 1663. This move was a severe blow to Jesuit missionary effort among the Moslems of Sulu and southern Mindanao. In the vicinity of the fort and on the island of Basilan there were at

this time more than three thousand Christian families, most of them former Samal Moros, with their general, Ugbo. In the Sulu Archipelago there lived some one thousand Christian families<sup>39</sup> visited regularly by the Jesuits from Zamboanga since the withdrawal of the garrison from Jolo. Father Francisco Combés,<sup>40</sup> the well-known historian, voiced the protest of the Society to King Philip IV, but to no avail.

Encouraged by the involvement of Spain in other ventures, the Moslem datus equipped new expeditions against Christian territories in 1662. In one of these they seized Father Ventura Barcena, who died as a captive in Tawitawi the next year,<sup>41</sup> and in another Father Francisco de Larrauri, who on condemning their cruelties and their religious beliefs was stabbed to death on September 27, 1663.<sup>42</sup>

The period from 1634 to 1663 marks the golden age of Jesuit missionary labor with the Moslems of the Philippines. In the four decades preceding the abandonment of Zamboanga by Spanish forces eight members of the Society suffered violent deaths at the hands of the Moros and others died either in captivity or as a result of it after regaining their freedom. It belongs to competent ecclesiastical authority to determine which, if any, of them were martyrs in the canonical sense of the word, but all braved difficult assignments in a dangerous mission field and suffered death in the performance of the sacred duties of their vocation.

For fifty-five years southern Mindanao was left without police protection, but the Jesuits during this period continued working among the pagan Subanos on the west coast of that Island, basing their expeditions on stations at Dapitan and Sindangan.<sup>43</sup> Jesuit contact with Moro rulers did not wholly cease even during this interval, for at the request of Governor Zabálburu (1701-1709) Father Antonio de Borja, Jesuit rector at Marakina, successfully acted as mediator in a dispute between the Sultans of Jolo and Mindanao.<sup>44</sup>

#### RENEWED MISSION EFFORT

In 1718, to check Moro piracy, Governor Bustamante re-occupied Zamboanga over the negative vote of Manila authori-

ties and strong protests from those who disliked seeing any increase of Jesuit jurisdiction even in missionary territory. After this date Jesuits again engaged in evangelizing the Moslems<sup>45</sup> and in journeying to the Rio Grande region (modern Cotabato City) and to Jolo to liberate captives taken by Moros in their raids.<sup>46</sup>

In 1744 King Philip V of Spain at the request of the missionaries wrote letters to the Sultans of Tamontaca and Jolo which, on arriving at Manila in 1746, were carried to their destination by Father Francisco Sassi, rector of Zamboanga, and by Father Sebastian de Arcada. When the King in his turn asked the Jesuit provincial superior to assign missionaries to Tamontaca and Jolo, Fathers Juan Moreno and Sebastian de Arcada were appointed to the first post and Fathers Juan Angeles and José Villelmi to the second, the Governor giving all of them the rank of extraordinary ambassadors. When Alimud Din I, Sultan of Jolo, came to Zamboanga in 1748 to receive Father Villelmi, whom he esteemed for his knowledge of the Arabic language, that Father had just died and Father Patricio del Barrio was appointed in his place. Although the missionaries destined for Tamontaca were received well at Matiling, the court of the Sultan of Mindanao, they discovered that the Moros were planning an ambush of Spanish forces and both men were obliged to withdraw.<sup>47</sup>

In Jolo all went well at first. Jesuit missionaries having come to Jolo according to the terms of the agreement built a church there, translated a summary of Christian doctrine into Sulu, and freely evangelized the populace.<sup>48</sup> By such concessions to the Jesuits, however, the then reigning Sultan, Alimud Din,<sup>49</sup> aroused widespread dissatisfaction and an opposition party led by his cousin Bantilan<sup>50</sup> forced the withdrawal of the missionaries late in 1748 and in the following year of the Sultan himself with his family and retinue.

Alimud Din received little consideration from Governor Zacharias at Zamboanga but was given leave, despite the protest of the Jesuits,<sup>51</sup> to go to Manila where he was received with great ceremony. Having, after some time, expressed a wish for baptism, he was assigned two Jesuit Fathers as instructors in

Christian doctrine.<sup>52</sup> The acting Governor-General, Bishop Juan de Archederra, strongly desired that the ceremony take place, but the archbishop of Manila and especially the Jesuits were as strongly opposed to it.<sup>53</sup> Finally the Governor-General sent Alimud Din to Paniki in his own diocese where on April 29, 1750 the Sultan made profession of Christianity and together with some of his suite was baptized by a Dominican religious.<sup>54</sup>

The next governor, Francisco José de Obando, decided to reinstate Alimud Din in Jolo and in May, 1751 sent out seven war vessels to accomplish this purpose. While the deposed Sultan was on his way to Jolo, an ambiguous letter of his to the Sultan of Mindanao fell into the hands of Governor Zacharias who, after having it translated into Spanish, pronounced it treasonable.<sup>55</sup> Alimud Din was intercepted and with Datu Asin, who had come from Jolo to escort him back, was imprisoned, first at Zamboanga and then in Fort Santiago in Manila.

#### FIERCE MORO OFFENSIVE

Thereupon the Sulu Moslems under Bantilan unleashed against the unarmed and defenseless Christian towns the most savage war in the history of the Archipelago. Formerly raids had been limited almost exclusively to the Visayas and the towns of northern Mindanao, but now they extended to the coasts of Luzon, even as far north as Zambales, the Ilocos, and Cagayan. From March to June in 1754 various coastal settlements were ravaged in Mindoro, Tablas Island, the Calamian Group, Albay, and Batangas, immense booty and hundreds of captives — sometimes the population of whole towns — being taken.<sup>56</sup>

Alimud Din remained in prison until 1763, when the English after their conquest of Manila reinstated him in Sulu, Bantilan then withdrawing to the vicinity of Parang (near modern Cotabato City). Ten years later Alimud Din relinquished the sultanate in favor of his son Israel who, like Fatima, his daughter, had been baptized and educated as a Christian in Manila.<sup>57</sup>

To this last period before the Jesuits by royal decree were expelled from the Philippines belong the exploits of Father

Francisco Ducós, Jesuit missionary in Iligan, in defense of the towns of northern Mindanao. It is related that his father, Colonel Ducós, interviewed Pedro Manuel de Arandia in Spain before the latter's departure to assume the post of governor at Manila, recommending to him Father Francisco Ducós, his son. On his arrival Arandia sought out Father Ducós and finding him a worthy scion of his soldierly father gave him general supervision of military affairs in Mindanao.

Here in 1754 the crops failed and the Moslem datus resolved to plunder the Christian settlements, partly to obtain increased resources and partly to reduce the population and thus eke out the food supply. Thereupon Father Ducós, aided by Captains Valdés, Elizabera, Africano, and Lieutenant Echevarría, organized a defence squadron known as the Iligan Fleet. It was made up of four vessels with five hundred Filipino and two hundred Spanish soldiers. The Moros had three hundred ships manned by three thousand seamen besides many more land warriors. The fighting began in July, 1754 and ranged about the shores of Iligan Bay and Panguil Inlet at its south western corner.

The Moros never seem to have had a chance of victory when opposed by organized and disciplined forces. So, near Liangan, where on August 7 especially heavy fighting raged, Lieutenant Echevarría is cited for outstanding courage and calmness in battle, particularly for having foiled a Moro boarding by directing the pointblank discharge of sixty cannon loads of grape shot into the enemy's midst. Near Langaran at the north western limit of Iligan Bay Father Ducós encountered seventeen Moro vessels which he sank, drowning three hundred Moros.<sup>58</sup> In this last mentioned engagement one of the Jesuit Father's mortars burst, depriving him of an eye and leaving his right hand half crippled. The final results of the three month campaign under his direction were the recovery of five hundred Christian captives and the complete routing of the Moslems with two thousand Moros killed, two hundred Moro ships burned or sunk, and one hundred and fifty captured together with twenty cannon. The Filipino-Spanish side had five men killed, six (one of them Father Ducós) seriously wounded and forty slightly wounded.<sup>59</sup>



## END OF JESUIT MISSION

Father Juan Antonio Tornos was the last Jesuit victim of Moro piracy before the labors of the Society in the Philippines were interrupted by the decree of Charles III in 1767<sup>60</sup> which provided for the banishment of all Jesuits and the confiscation of their property. Moro corsairs captured Father Tornos in 1756 while he was working on the island of Poro and later in an attack on the fort of Buad Island they presented him wasted and sick before the intrenchments as a bargaining point in negotiations for surrender.<sup>61</sup>

In 1768 the provisions of the royal decree were carried out and the Jesuits were expelled from the Islands. At this time their ministeries extended to more than 209,000 souls and in Mindanao alone they conducted a school in Zamboanga and supplied other centers (usually with schools attached to them).<sup>62</sup>

## RETURN OF JESUITS

By 1859, when the Jesuits were permitted to reenter the Philippines, the victories of Claveria and de Urbiztondo from 1848 to 1851 had ended the real power of Islam in the Islands. In 1861 the Philippine government obtained eighteen armed steamboats in which its naval forces chased down pirates who still mounted sporadic attacks on Christian towns. Formerly the oar-driven war praus of the Moros, to escape pursuit by Spanish warships, steered directly into the wind where a sailing vessel could make no headway. But steam powered gunboats with their speed and mobility drove the remaining raiders from Philippine waters and in less than a decade all but ended the piracy that had harrassed the population of the Islands for more than three centuries.<sup>63</sup>

In the early sixties, not long after their return, members of the Society of Jesus by royal commission were invited to settle in the vicinity of the Rio Grande where military operations were in progress to secure effective possession of that region. Accordingly, Fathers José Guerrico and Juan Vidal and Brothers Venancio Belzunce and José Zumeta left Manila in January, 1862 for Tamontaca, a site chosen by the Governor for its proximity to both Moro and pagan Tiruray settle-

ments. It was a lonely plain on an arm of the Rio Grande which had not long before been a battle field in the thrust of governmental forces toward Tumbao, which now marked the limit of Spanish penetration in this part of Mindanao. There the missionaries, after taking temporary shelter in some nearby grottoes, erected a mission house and on February 2, 1863 baptized their first converts.<sup>64</sup>

In the meantime other members of the Society were coming back to mission stations from which their fellow Jesuits had been expelled nearly a century before. Near Zamboanga Father Ramon Barúa in November, 1862 took charge of Tetuan parish and a little later Father Francisco Ceballos settled at Isabela on Basilan Island. On February 1, 1865 Father Francisco Luengo, aided by Father Domingo Bové, began to administer Zamboanga, and in 1867 a missionary was appointed to Manicaan (north east of Zamboanga), which was inhabited by Subanos and converted Moros.<sup>65</sup>

#### PEDRO CUEVAS OF BASILAN

Over on Basilan Island forty-eight kilometers south of Manicaan divine Providence was using an escaped convict to help on the labors of the Jesuits. Pedro Cuevas, a Tagalog prisoner, having fled from a local penal settlement, showed up near Lamitan where, after killing a Moro datu in a quarrel, he succeeded to his office and was later amnestied, thus opening the way to the evangelization of this district. In his place of residence at Guibauan (later San Pedro) many Moros were converted to Christianity and a chapel was erected.<sup>66</sup> By this time other groups of Christians had been formed on Basilan, the largest being at Panigayan, a town about six kilometers west of modern Isabela. In Isabela there were in 1881 more than four hundred and forty Catholics, natives of the town itself or of outlying districts, some of them descendants of enslaved Visayans who were almost as much Moros as the original Basilan islanders. Aided by Brother Miguel Pujol, Father Pedro Llausás was the first to instruct these people in the Faith, his successor being Father Pablo Cavallería, who for forty years labored in the conversion of the Yakan and Samal Moros. When Spanish control ended in 1898 the number of

Christians in Isabela and five neighboring barrios had reached 1,368 not including the sailors at the nearby naval station.<sup>67</sup>

#### FAILURE ON SAMAL

Nevertheless, these successes were offset to some extent by initial disappointment on the island of Samal near modern Davao City. When Fathers Domingo Bové and Ramón Pamies came to that region from Zamboanga in October, 1868, the local governor thought the occasion opportune to open a mission for the Moros of Samal. Accompanying the two Fathers thither, he introduced them to the *datus*, who seemed content and even agreed to erect a house and church for them. When the governor had reembarked for Davao and the Fathers had begun to gather building materials, the Moros decided that they did not want to be Christians after all and began to move out of the settlement. Although by interviews and pleading they were at first prevailed upon to stay, the whole plan finally foundered on the question of tribute from which the Moros declared their exemption. The Fathers thereupon withdrew but continued to minister from Davao to the faithful Christians who in 1870 numbered three hundred.<sup>68</sup> That the labors of the Jesuits near this last mentioned city were attended with success is attested to by the records of twenty-four years later which report the baptism of three thousand Moros in the year 1892 alone.<sup>69</sup>

#### TAMONTACA

By 1870 great expansion had taken place at Tamontaca which, as already narrated, began so modestly less than a decade before. So great had been the zeal of the missionaries in evangelizing the pagan Tirurayes that at the end of 1870 Tamontaca had become a town of 1,900 souls, six hundred of them Christians. Shortly after, when the Filipino-Spanish garrison vacated their quarters to settle further upstream, it occurred to the Fathers that the ransom of children enslaved by the Moros could here further the Christian cause. Just at this juncture, as if to implement their plan, a devastating small-pox epidemic occurred, crops were abandoned, and famine ensued, forcing the Moros to sell their slaves to buy food and to lessen the number of mouths to feed. When the need for

capital to carry out this project became known at Manila, there was established a fund raising organization which numbered among its members all the superiors of the religious orders and many distinguished persons of the city. The Orphanage of Tamontaca for Freed Children was then founded by Fathers José Guerrico and Ramon Beá, the former of whom, to give added impetus to the gathering of funds at Manila, wrote in 1881 an account of this work of charity which was later translated into Tagalog and Visayan.

After some years the institution at Tamontaca was expanded to accommodate slaves who had fled from Moslem masters. All the inmates were cared for and instructed and, having come of age, were urged to marry another freed or ransomed person. The government then, having assigned them a plot of land, helped them build a house and provided them with farming tools and a carabao. The orphanage, or refuge as it now became, was housed in two buildings, one for boys in charge of the Jesuits, and the other for girls given over in 1875 to the care of the religious women called *Beatas de la Compañía*.<sup>70</sup>

In 1873 Father Jacinto Juanmartí succeeded Father Guerrico as superior at Tamontaca and governed for twenty-four years. At the end of his incumbency in 1897 in Tamontaca and its immediate environs the descendants of converted Tirurayes and freedmen numbered 2,420.<sup>71</sup> Father Juanmartí, a scholar who wrote a catechism in Maguindanao Moro in 1885 and a grammar of that language in 1892, was respected by the Moros and often mediated between their chiefs and the Spanish authorities. After his death in 1897 Father Salvador Viñas succeeded him until the Spaniards, with about sixty Christian families, left for Zamboanga in 1899, not long after the Treaty of Paris had ceded the Philippines to the United States. At their departure the agricultural colony and orphanage of Tamontaca were dispersed.<sup>72</sup>

#### WORK IN JOLO

In 1876 Father Francisco Baranera, S.J. went as chaplain with the army of Governor-General José Malcampo in the final conquest of Jolo under Spanish rule. As soon as Jolo was

taken, the Governor-General asked for the services of a Jesuit missionary at this post. Father Isidro Batlló arrived with Brother Figuerola in April, 1877 and succeeded after some time in establishing friendly relations with several of the Moro datus and even with the Sultan.<sup>73</sup> Not long afterwards the number of Jesuits in Jolo was increased to four by the arrival of Father Juan Carreras and Brother Antonio Gairolas. Part of Father Batlló's success in dealing with the Moros was due to his fluency in their language in which he wrote two books, one a religious history, composed in collaboration with Father Juan-martí, and the other a Spanish-Moro dictionary.

One afternoon in September, 1879, while Fathers Batlló and Carreras were walking on the beach near the town of Jolo, they were the victims of a surprise attack by two fanatical Moro swordsmen who were cudged to death by bystanders only after they had badly wounded the two priests.<sup>74</sup> As both men were crippled, Father Federico Vila came from Basilan to replace them temporarily and later Father Juan Quintana was appointed to Jolo.

In 1886 Father Quintana's action in persuading a Moro dying in the hospital to receive baptism precipitated a quarrel between him and Juan Arolas, the efficient but rather pugnacious governor of Sulu.<sup>75</sup> Although the Moro, Yusup, who happened to be the secretary of the Sultan of Jolo, had expressed his earnest desire to be a Christian, nevertheless Arolas, fearing some political complication, ordered him buried without a religious ceremony and forbade all missionaries henceforth to enter the hospital.<sup>76</sup> All competent to discuss the matter agreed on the orthodoxy of Father Quintana's procedure, but no one seems to have pronounced on his tactfulness.

At any rate he was replaced in 1887 by Father Estanislao March who, to judge by his letters,<sup>77</sup> got along well with Governor Arolas. Soon construction began on a beautiful church with a new rectory and an adequate cemetery adjoining it. After the conquest of Siasi and Tawitawi Islands the missionary of Jolo made occasional visits to their garrisons. In 1894, the year after General Arola's departure from Jolo, the number of Christians in the Sulu Archipelago was 1,843.<sup>78</sup>

## BUKIDNON

During these years the Jesuits in what is today Bukidnon Province had been making good progress in evangelizing the pagan peoples. In these regions, however, the Lanao Moros to the west and the Maguindanaos to the south had lately intensified their demands for tribute which they wished, in accord with Moslem law, to impose on non-Moslems.<sup>79</sup> When the exaction was not forthcoming, they organized punitive raids against the scattered villages. To defend the inhabitants of this territory against such inroads Father Eusebio Barrado, S. J., a former military man, was requested by General Weyler in 1891 to head a defensive force.<sup>80</sup> The hardy mountaineers, trained by him and armed by the government, inflicted salutary defeats upon the Moro invaders in succeeding years.<sup>81</sup> Both this missionary and Father Ramón Llord, one of his associates, have given accounts of victorious expeditions based on Linabo, not far from the modern town of Malaybalay.<sup>82</sup>

## MOROS UNDER AMERICA

The transfer of regime at the turn of the century had as immediate effects the curtailment of the activity of Spanish nationals and a changed attitude of the state toward the Catholic Church. Some months after the Treaty of Paris had been signed in December, 1898, the Jesuit missionaries in Mindanao came in from their mission stations, assembling first at the larger residences and then proceeding to Zamboanga and Manila.<sup>83</sup> Recognizing as it did the good influence exerted by the missionaries, the American government put no obstacle to their return to their stations, which began the following year. The well established missions had suffered little from the brief absence of the Fathers, but other more recent foundations among the Moslems and pagans had been dispersed and ruined. On Samal Island there scarcely remained a trace of the Christian settlements made up of converts from Islam;<sup>84</sup> Tamontaca had almost disappeared as a Christian town;<sup>85</sup> Taguete near Zamboanga and other isolated centers had been plundered by Moro raiders who had murdered most of the inhabitants.<sup>86</sup>

The new governmental attitude that religion was a purely private affair and that contradictory religious tenets should not

prevent Filipino Christians and Moslems from peaceful co-existence, while bringing certain advantages with it, did not immediately fit into the established order of things. The Moslems themselves did not hold any such theory and the missionaries found it difficult to accept a viewpoint which in their opinion required truth to compete on a basis of equality with error.<sup>87</sup>

The policy of official aid and encouragement given by the Spanish regime to the work of evangelizing non-Christian peoples was not pursued by the new rulers. This, added to the fact that the reduced number of priests was now not sufficient even for the care of the Christians, would have made any extensive apostolate with the Moslems a spiritual extravagance unjustified by circumstances. This insufficiency of priests, made still more acute by the rapid increase in the Christian population of the Philippines in the past half century, has until now left the work of the Society of Jesus with the Moros approximately where it was in 1901 at the gradual return of the Spanish Jesuits to their mission posts.

#### FATHER MCDONOUGH

To this forced neglect of the Philippine Moslem apostolate by the Society after Spanish withdrawal from the Islands there was, however, one exception—the work of Father William McDonough of the Maryland-New York Province. Born in Milwaukee, Father McDonough attended Saint John's College, Fordham, from 1877 to 1879 where he was an officer of the Sodality. On July 30, 1879 as a young man of twenty he entered the Society at West Park, New York and in 1907 he came to the Philippines, thus realizing a long-standing desire for work on the foreign missions.

After three years of ministry at Manila, he was sent, first to Zamboanga in answer to General Pershing's request for an American Jesuit to care for the Catholic soldiers, and shortly afterwards to Jolo. From here he returned once or twice a year to minister to the Americans at Zamboanga and in the military posts of western Mindanao, but the main field of his labors was the chain of islands extending southwest from Jolo to Borneo. Passing from one to another, he sought out the

Christian Filipinos, many of whom had not seen a priest since the beginning of the American occupation.

In a letter written in 1914 he made mention of what was to be the absorbing labor of the remaining six years of his life—the “Moro Catechism,” a translation of the Catechism of Pius X into the Joloan Moro dialect. Father McDonough was more than fifty years old when sent to Jolo, but Bishop O’Dougherty, then Bishop of Zamboanga and later Archbishop of Manila, noted that “his conversation was always full of schemes for the conversion of the Moros.” Though living in the midst of privation and discomfort and faced with innumerable difficulties in finding equivalents in Moro to express Christian truths accurately, Father McDonough’s zeal inspired him to learn the language well enough to proof-read the work. During the last five months of his life, although almost prostrated by illness, he supervised the printing of the book in both Latin and Arabic characters, completing it just before his death on Ascension Thursday, May 20, 1920.<sup>88</sup>

The charity and zeal of this fervent priest seem to have brought special graces to the Moslems who came under his influence, for in 1918 we read of the baptism of a Moro from Jolo (Father McDonough’s parish) and the preparation of twelve other Moros for confession and first Holy Communion at the Culion Leper Colony, then under the care of the Jesuit Fathers, Felipe Millan and Francisco Rello. That Father McDonough’s work, although done in solitude and adversity without the prestige of governmental approval, was not unfruitful even in Jolo itself is clear from a letter published posthumously in which he had written:

The Superior of Culion informed me that of all the non-Christians [lepers at Culion] my Mohammedans of Jolo are the easiest to bring into the true fold and to prepare for death. As the death rate there is very high, the number of Moros converted in Culion is larger than that of the new converts in Jolo itself.<sup>89</sup>

Since Father McDonough’s time there have not been wanting individual Jesuits who have tried, amid the almost overwhelming labor caring for the thousands of Christians com-



mitted to their care, to bring the Moros under Christian influence. Thus in 1940 Father Joseph Reith at Dansalan, besides visiting the Moros in the local leprosarium, was conducting with the help of six Franciscan Sisters of Mary a dispensary from which two of the Sisters, accompanied by a Mora nurse, brought medical care to the Moslems of the district.<sup>90</sup>

#### CONCLUSION

It is not easy to summarize the labors of the Jesuits in their three and a half century apostolate in the Moslem regions of the Philippines. Some writers have attempted such an estimate by saying that all the efforts of the Jesuits to convert the Moros were futile<sup>91</sup> or at least insignificant in their results.<sup>92</sup> Even when they made converts from Islamism, Parrado claims, these nearly always abjured Christianity as soon as it no longer brought them material advantages. Such an implicit judgment on the personal motives of those adopting Christianity seems somewhat rash and is contradicted by Concepción, who affirmed in 1788 that "conversions of the Moros are difficult, but those which are successful are stable; they steadfastly maintain the true religion, when they cast aside the errors of their false belief."<sup>93</sup>

Regions where Islamism was more or less firmly established before the arrival of Spain in the Philippines correspond to modern ecclesiastical territories where Catholics today number approximately sixty per cent of the total population.<sup>94</sup> Massive immigration from the northern islands of the Archipelago within the past few decades, particularly since World War II, accounts for the greater part of this high percentage. Nevertheless, much of the original population is descended from converts to Christianity from among the pagans and Moslems of Mindanao, which was Jesuit mission territory for almost three centuries. What proportion of these converts were formerly Moslems cannot be determined, but previous mention in these pages of hundreds and even thousands of Christian families converted from Islamism make it probable that their descendants, especially in Zamboanga, Cotabato, and Davao, form no small minority of the modern total of Catholics.

Even though reliable statistics existed they could not approximate the results of an apostolate of this kind. Numbers fail to represent labors that deserve appraisal only in terms of the zeal and devotion to God's greater glory that make meaningful the lives and deaths of this relatively small group—among the many heroic missionaries of all Orders in these Islands—of Saint Ignatius's sons in a most difficult field of a difficult mission.

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<sup>1</sup> The Samals are also variously known as Samars, Lutaos, Bajaus, and Orang Laut (men of the sea) and include groups speaking slightly different dialects. See Krieger, *Peoples of the Philippines*, p. 38, Combés, *Historia de Mindanao y Joló*, col. 780, Pastells, "Letter to the Father Provincial, Juan Capell, S.J." in Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*, vol. 43, p. 285, Saleeby, *The History of Sulu*, p. 149, and McDonough, "Philippine Islands. Jolo Sulu" in *Woodstock Letters*, vol. 47 (1918), p. 272.

<sup>2</sup> *Moro* from the Latin *maurus* was used by the Spaniards to designate, first the inhabitants of Mauretania in northwestern Africa, then the Moslems, who based their invasion of Spain on that Province, and finally the Mohammedans generally.

<sup>3</sup> Saderra Masó, *Misiones Jesuíticas de Filipinas*, p. 53

<sup>4</sup> Thus Father Pascual de Acuña, S.J., accompanied Gallinato in 1602 on his expedition against the Moros and, having been captured in 1609, was ransomed by Gumaras, datu of Caraga, in 1614. See Combés, *op. cit.*, cols. 694 and 662, note 39. Father Juan de las Misas, S.J., an alumnus of San José College, was martyred by Moros from islands near Tawitawi in 1624. See Combés, *op. cit.*, col. 777.

<sup>5</sup> E.g., Father Melchor Hurtado, S.J., with Brother Diego Rodríguez was captured in Dulag, Leyte, on October 29, 1604. After a year in captivity during which he preached zealously to his fellow captives and his Moslem captors he arranged conditions of peace and was ransomed. Later as envoy he revisited Mindanao. Combés, *op. cit.*, col. 711, Saderra Masó, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

<sup>6</sup> In 1646 a good slave was ransomed for forty pesos, an ordinary slave for thirty, a boy for twenty, and a child for ten pesos. "Treaty of Captain Francisco de Atienza with the Sultan of Jolo" in *Cartas de los Padres de la Compañía de Jesus de la Misión de Filipinas*, vol. 3 (1880), p. 205.

<sup>7</sup> Combés, *op. cit.*, col. 740.

<sup>8</sup> Saleeby, *op. cit.*, p. 176, Saderra Masó, *op. cit.*, pp. 33 ff., and Combés, *op. cit.*, col. 710 f.

<sup>9</sup> Astrain, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Asistencia de España*, vol. 5, p. 686 and Combés, *op. cit.*, col. 702.

<sup>10</sup> Combés, *op. cit.*, col. 740.

<sup>11</sup> Not to be confused with modern Lamitan in Basilan. See Combés, *op. cit.*, col. 754.

<sup>12</sup> Schmidlin, *Catholic Mission History*, p. 324, Zaide, *The Philippines since Pre-Spanish Times*, p. 373, "Why the Friars Are Not Subjected to Episcopal Visitation" 1666, in Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, vol. 36, p. 267.

<sup>13</sup> Combés, *op. cit.*, col. 720.

<sup>14</sup> Born in Egea de los Caballeros, Zaragoza, February 25, 1605, entered the Society May 13, 1622, made his profession on February 2, 1642, and died in Zamboanga on September 17, 1650 after a life of missionary labor chiefly among the Moros. See Barrios, Juan de, "Letter from Sanboangan, April 23, 1638" in Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, vol. 28, p. 62 and Combés, *op. cit.*, col. 719.

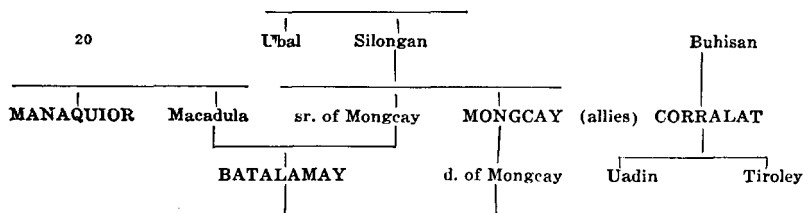
<sup>15</sup> Combés, *op. cit.*, col. 720.

<sup>16</sup> Saleeby, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

<sup>17</sup> Murillo Velarde, Pedro, "Historia de Philipinas" 1749, in Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, vol. 44, pp. 70 ff.

<sup>18</sup> The Sultana here referred to is probably Tuan Baluka (Tuam-baloca in Combés), mentioned by Saleeby, *op. cit.*, p. 396, note *b*, and Combés, *op. cit.*, col. 264.

<sup>19</sup> Juan de Montiel was born in Rioxles, Calabria in the Kingdom of Naples of an Aragonese father and Neapolitan mother. He and his brother entered the Society at Naples where his brother died during his novitiate. Juan, having volunteered for the Indies, arrived in the Philippines on May 29, 1654. After some months spent in finishing his theological studies, he was sent to Zamboanga where he began the evangelizing of the Subanos living on the coasts of the Sibuguey Gulf. Father López took him on his embassy to the Sultan of Mindanao with the intention of leaving him there to instruct the Moros in the Faith. See Combés, *op. cit.*, cols. 564 ff., and Saderra Masó, *op. cit.*, p. 49.



A sketch of the relationships then existing between the various Moslem rulers of Mindanao will serve to clarify subsequent events. When Manaqiur sought to deprive Batalamay of his inheritance at the death of Macadula, Mongcay, an ally of Corralat and father-in-law of Batalamay, turned against Manaqiur. This was fortunate for the Spanish forces, for an alliance of all the Moslem rulers at this time would have spelled catastrophe. The Ubal here mentioned, brother of Silongan and uncle of Mongcay, had killed Figueroa near Buhayan in the expedition of 1596. See Combés, *op. cit.*, cols. 279 ff., and Zaide, *op. cit.*, p. 368.

<sup>21</sup> Combés, *op. cit.*, cols. 549-569, Saderra Masó, *op. cit.*, pp. 34 and 49, de Barrios, Juan, "Letter from Sanboangan," 1638, in Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, vol. 28, p. 62.

<sup>22</sup> López, Juan (?), "Events in the Filipinas Islands from August, 1639, to August, 1640" in Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, vol. 29, p. 199,

Murillo Velarde, Pedro, "Historia de Philipinas" *ibid.*, vol. 44, pp. 70 ff., Combés, *op. cit.*, cols. 421 ff.

<sup>23</sup> de Arceo, Matheo, and others, "Royal Aid for Jesuits Asked by Manila Cabildo", 1652, in Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, vol. 36, pp. 45 and 47.

<sup>24</sup> Murillo Velarde, Pedro, "Historia de Philipinas" in Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, vol. 44, pp. 70 ff.

<sup>25</sup> López, Juan (?), "Events in the Philipinas from the Year 1638 to That of 1639" in Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, vol. 29, p. 158.

<sup>26</sup> "Letter from Corcuera to Felipe IV, August 20, 1637" in Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, vol. 27, pp. 356 ff.

<sup>27</sup> Father Francisco Angel was born in San Clemente, Cuenca, on April 14, 1603, entered the Society on January 14, 1618, and arrived in the Philippines in 1626. Having distinguished himself as a missionary for forty years, he was made rector of Arévalo near Iloilo in October, 1672 and died on February 24, 1676 at Catbalogan in Samar. Combés, *op. cit.* col. 696, Saderra Masó *op. cit.*, p. 51.

<sup>28</sup> Combés, *op. cit.*, col. 666, note 56, and col. 737, Saderra Masó, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

<sup>29</sup> On this occasion the Spaniards were allied with Manaquior.

<sup>30</sup> López, Juan (?), "Events in the Filipinas Islands from August, 1639, to August, 1640" in Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, vol. 29, p. 200.

<sup>31</sup> Combés, *op. cit.*, cols. 315, 328, and 737; Saderra Masó, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

<sup>32</sup> Church law now forbids the taking of the vows of religious life before the age of sixteen.

<sup>33</sup> Manaquior was the uncle and bitter opponent of Batalamay.

<sup>34</sup> Combés, *op. cit.*, cols. 332, 733; Saderra Masó, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

<sup>35</sup> Murillo Velarde, Pedro, *op. cit.*, in Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, vol. 44, pp. 67 f.; Combés, *op. cit.*, col. 205.

<sup>36</sup> Murillo Velarde, Pedro, *op. cit.* in Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, vol. 44, p. 99.

<sup>37</sup> Combés, *op. cit.*, cols. 495 f., 717, 731; Zaide, *The Philippines Since Pre-Spanish Times*, p. 420.

<sup>38</sup> de Arceo, Matheo, and others, "Royal Aid for Jesuits Asked by Manila Cabildo" in Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, vol. 36, pp. 45 and 47.

<sup>39</sup> Saderra Masó, *op. cit.*, p. 35. — Four thousand families then formed a large minority, since even as late as 1800 the population of the entire Philippine Archipelago was estimated at about one and a half million (Zuñiga's calculation), that of the island of Mindanao probably not exceeding one tenth of that figure. In 1663 Mindanao and Jolo must have had far less than one hundred thousand inhabitants.

<sup>40</sup> Father Combés was born in Zaragoza on October 5, 1620, entered the Province of Aragon in Tarragona on May 29, 1633, and came to the Philippines in 1643. As a missionary in Mindanao he frequently acted as mediator between the Spanish authorities and the Sultans of Mindanao and Jolo. Later he taught theology at Manila, was superior at Dagami, and died on his way to Rome in 1665. His *Historia de las islas de Mindanao y Joló* was first published at Madrid in 1667. See Saderra Masó, *op. cit.*, p. 57 and Combés, *op. cit.*, Prólogo, vi ff.

<sup>41</sup> Montero y Vidal, "Hist. piratería," I, pp. 244-252 in Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, vol. 41, p. 313 f.; Saderra Masó, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

- <sup>42</sup> Saderra Masó, *op. cit.*, p. 49.
- <sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 35.
- <sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 59.
- <sup>45</sup> Murillo Velarde, *op. cit.*, in Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, vol. 44, p. 36.
- <sup>46</sup> Saderra Masó, *op. cit.*, p. 35.
- <sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 35 f.
- <sup>48</sup> Saleeby, *The History of Sulu*, p. 181.
- <sup>49</sup> Alimud Din: Arabic 'alimu 'd-din, learned in religion.
- <sup>50</sup> According to the laws of hereditary transmission Bantilan apparently had a stronger claim to the sultanate than had Alimud Din. Many historians call Bantilan the brother of Alimud Din, but he seems to have been his first cousin. See Saleeby, *op. cit.*, p. 181 and diagram I facing p. 158.
- <sup>51</sup> Zúñiga, "Historia de las Islas Philipinas," 1803, and Concepción, "Historia general de Philipinas," 1788-1792, in Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, vol. 48, p. 149.
- <sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 151.
- <sup>53</sup> Foreman, *The Philippine Islands*, pp. 144 f.
- <sup>54</sup> Saleeby, *op. cit.*, p. 182; Zúñiga, *op. cit.*, and Concepción, *op. cit.*, in Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, vol. 48, p. 152.
- <sup>55</sup> Saleeby, *op. cit.*, p. 183, gives the text of this letter in translation.
- <sup>56</sup> Saderra Masó, *op. cit.*, pp. 37 f.
- <sup>57</sup> Zaide, *op. cit.*, p. 377; Saleeby, *op. cit.*, p. 187.
- <sup>58</sup> Canon law now forbids clerics to bear arms *nisi cum iusta timendi causa subest*, to enter military service as volunteers except with the permission of the ordinary, to give assistance in disturbances of public order. *Codex Iuris Canonici*, cans. 138 and 141, #1.
- <sup>59</sup> de Veyra, "Con la cruz y la espada" in *Efemérides Filipinas*, vol. 1, pp. 92-94. — In almost every recorded encounter of Moros with Filipino-Spanish forces (in which Filipinos nearly always outnumbered Spaniards) the Moro dead range from six to twenty times the number of Filipino-Spanish soldiers killed, and sometimes, as here, the proportion is far greater. (See Saleeby, *op. cit.*, pp. 173, 176, 200, 208, 232, and 241.) At first sight it is difficult to explain this fact, for the Moro is known to be a courageous and stubborn fighter skilled in the use of his weapons, and for several hundred years was apparently able to plunder and enslave non-Moslem populations with impunity. Nevertheless it should be noted that Moro incursions in pre-Spanish times were favored by local rivalries and lack of large scale organization on the part of their opponents. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Moro raids were directed against centers whose inhabitants, on embracing Christianity and a higher civilization, no longer carried arms; second, they were planned as hit-and-run attacks that depended for their success on surprise; third, they were frequently made on defenceless women, children, and aged and infirm persons in the absence of able bodied men (Saleeby, *op. cit.*, p. 192). The notorious Moro *juramentado*, sworn to die while killing Christians, is a frenzied religious fanatic who deliberately seeks a surprised and defenceless victim rather than an opponent who might test his courage in a fair contest (Zaide, *op. cit.*, p. 382, note 58). Moreover, the *juramentado* often sets out on his mission in a semi-conscious mania in-

duced by drugs, a preparation for killing not unknown in the underworld. — A reliable means of evaluating the respective fighting abilities of the Moros and the Christian Filipinos would appear to be the testimony of qualified observers belonging to neither group. Such testimony has been given by distinguished officers of the American Army and of the Philippine Constabulary who had experience with hostile Filipinos from 1899 to 1902 and later with Moro opponents in Sulu and Lanao and who expressed their conviction that, both in organized military campaigns and in guerrilla operations, the Christian Filipino is equal or superior to the Moro fighter. "Were Filipinos . . . defending the Lanao country we would have . . . a problem of vastly greater difficulty than the one which now confronts us [in which we fight only Moros], for the force would be brave, desperate, resourceful, and elusive, while now we know beforehand exactly where to find the enemy and what will be his general plan of operations." (Brigadier-General George W. Davis, U.S. Army, in *Report of the War Department*, 1902, ix, 495). "As a fighting man in disciplined units, I consider the Filipino better than the Moro." (Colonel John R. White, Philippine Constabulary, in a letter dated April 5, 1927.) Both citations are in Forbes, *The Philippine Islands*, vol. 2, pp. 42 f., note, and see also p. 11.

<sup>60</sup> This decree was a preparation for the all but total suppression in 1773 of the Society of Jesus by Pope Clement XIV who acted under coercion of the Bourbon monarchs. These latter were angered by their failure to make the Society a puppet submissive to autocratic state control.

<sup>61</sup> "Carta del P. José Segura al R. P. Provincial," 1756, in *Cartas de los PP. de la Compañía de Jesús de la Misión de Filipinas*, vol. 5 (1883), p. 270; Saderra Masó, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

<sup>62</sup> Saderra Masó, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

<sup>63</sup> Forbes, *The Philippine Islands*, vol. 2, pp. 8-9; Saleeby, *op. cit.*, pp. 199 ff., 214, 221; Pastells, "Letter to Father Provincial, April 20, 1887" in Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, vol. 43, pp. 285 ff.

<sup>64</sup> Pastells, *Misión de la Compañía de Jesús de Filipinas en el siglo xix*, vol. 1, pp. 28 ff.; Schmidlin, *Catholic Mission History*, p. 635, note; Saderra Masó, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

<sup>65</sup> Saderra Masó, *op. cit.*, pp. 67 f.; Pastells, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 42 ff.; Schmidlin, *op. cit.*, p. 635.

<sup>66</sup> Pastells, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 392 ff.

<sup>67</sup> "Carta del P. Pedro Llausás" in *Cartas... de Filipinas*, vol. 4 (1881), pp. 162 f.; Saderra Masó, *op. cit.*, pp. 67 f.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 79.

<sup>69</sup> Pastells, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, pp. 80 ff.; *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 12, p. 11.

<sup>70</sup> "Carta del P. José Ignacio Guerrico" in *Cartas . . . de Filipinas*, vol. 3, pp. 162-181.

<sup>71</sup> Saderra Masó, *op. cit.*, pp. 75 f.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 74 and 78.

<sup>73</sup> Two brief but friendly letters of the Sultan to Father Batlló appear in *Cartas . . . de Filipinas*, vol. 3, pp. 33 f.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 97-103; Saderra Masó, *op. cit.*, pp. 70 f.

<sup>75</sup> Saleeby, *op. cit.*, pp. 239 ff.

<sup>76</sup> Saderra Masó, *op. cit.*, pp. 70 f.

<sup>77</sup> *Cartas . . . de Filipinas*, vol. 8 (1889), pp. 76 f., 81 f., 96 f., 98 f.

<sup>78</sup> Saderra Masó, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 89.

<sup>80</sup> "Carta del P. E. Barrado" in *Cartas...de Filipinas*, vol. 9 (1891), pp. 292 ff.

<sup>81</sup> "Carta del P. Barrado al R. P. Quirico Moré," 1891, in *Cartas...de Filipinas*, vol. 10 (1895), pp. 464 f.; Saderra Masó, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

<sup>82</sup> "Carta del P. Ramon Llord" January 24, 1894 in *Cartas . . . de Filipinas*, vol. 10, pp. 561 f.

<sup>83</sup> "Carta del P. Fernando Diego" September 20, 1900, in *Cartas Edificantes de los Misioneros de la Compañía de Jesús en Filipinas, 1898-1902*, pp. 89 ff., and "Carta del P. Salvador M. Viñas" May 30, 1899, *ibid.*, pp. 141 ff.

<sup>84</sup> Saderra Masó, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 74.

<sup>86</sup> "Carta del P. Victoriano Bitrián" August 28, 1901, in *Cartas Edificantes de los Misioneros . . . 1898-1902*, p. 290.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 291.

<sup>88</sup> *Woodstock Letters*, vol. 56 (1927), pp. 1\*ff. and 225 ff.

<sup>89</sup> "A Letter . . . of Father McDonough" in *Woodstock Letters*, vol. 51 (1922), p. 341.

<sup>90</sup> *The Philippine Clipper*, vol. 4, no. 8, August, 1940, p. 1.

<sup>91</sup> Foreman, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

<sup>92</sup> Parrado, Gonzales, "Memoria de Mindanao" in Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, vol. 43, p. 286, note.

<sup>93</sup> Concepción, "Historia general de Philipinas," vol. vi, pp. 273 ff., in Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, vol. 38, p. 136.

<sup>94</sup> Ecclesiastical Territory	Provinces Comprised	Approximate % of Catholics to Total Popu- lation.
Sulu . . . . .	Sulu . . . . .	2%
Palawan . . . . .	Palawan . . . . .	74%
Zamboanga . . .	Zamboanga del Norte, Zamboanga del Sur, and the two Cities of ... of Zamboanga and Basilan . . . . .	62%
Ozamis . . . . .	Misamis Occidental and Lanao . . . . .	45%
Cagayan . . . . .	Misamis Oriental and Bukidnon . . . . .	84%
Cotabato . . . . .	Cotabato . . . . .	71%
Davao . . . . .	Province and City of Davao . . . . .	86%

The source of the above statistics is the *Catholic Directory of the Philippines, 1956*. Appendix.

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