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**Ideas Juridico-Teologicas de los Religiosos
de Filipinas Sobre La Conquista de Las Islas
by Por Fr. Jesus Gayo Aragon, O.P., Ph.D.**

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full recognition for it. Nowadays we praise the educated minds of José Rizal and Claro Recto, but we forget that the type of early teen-age education that produced those minds is forbidden.

(5) Dr. Hernandez suggests that a greater percentage of the national income should go for the support of public schools. I suggest that the Government study seriously how it can cut down its educational appropriation by partly subsidizing private schools, including schools under the supervision of a Church. It is cheaper partly to subsidize private schools, under government inspection, than totally to support the present primary school system. If the people in a barrio want a Catholic grade school, it is cheaper to subsidize it partly and close up the public school. The same for certain provincial high schools as regards the Provincial Government. I am fairly sure Dr. Hernandez would be in favor of this system also, since he mentions sympathetically the systems of England, Holland, Ireland, Canada. The financial argument is very strong here, and it is probably the only one that will appeal to the Government at present. The concomitant benefits of greater peace, more religion, more morality, more liberty, more democracy, I believe would be insufficient against the present powerful current of Masonic tradition, that has public education so within its grasp that we have had for years a most intimate union of State and Church—the Philippine State and that Church that is the Masonic religion. A strange anachronism at present, but a powerful fact, for which many influential men are always ready to do battle.

I advance these views with due humility, I trust. On most all other points of Dr. Hernandez, I would be in substantial agreement. A few points might need further clarification, e.g., the practical workings of the proposed accrediting association, the feasibility of *government* exams for entrance to universities. As a closing salute, Dr. Hernandez is again to be felicitated on his very intellectual and carefully prepared booklet.

WALTER F. HYLAND

IDEAS JURIDICO-TEOLÓGICAS DE LOS RELIGIOSOS DE FILIPINAS SOBRE LA CONQUISTA DE LAS ISLAS. Por Fr. Jesús Gayo Aragón, O.P., Ph.D., Imprenta de la Universidad de Santo Tomás, Manila. 1950. pp. ii-242.

This judicious and well-documented study is the extended version of the inaugural lecture given by the Archivist of the University of Santo Tomás at the beginning of the school year 1950-1951. It deals with the Philippine phase of what Lewis Hanke calls "the

Spanish struggle for justice" which accompanied, and to a certain extent influenced, the Spanish struggle for empire in the sixteenth century. As in the West Indies and the American continent, so in the Philippines the struggle for justice was waged chiefly by the missionary priests and bishops who ventured forth with the captains and *conquistadores* and were the most exacting critics of their policies and exploits.

The focal point of the struggle was whether the Spanish monarchy had any just title to sovereignty over the lands and peoples conquered by its subjects. However, Fr. Gayo enumerates five distinct if closely-related problems posed by the Spanish colonization of the Philippines. They were: "the legitimacy of the conquest of the Islands by the Spaniards; the requisites for a just war and the rights flowing from it; the proper method of preaching the Gospel; the legitimacy of the conquest of China; and finally, the justice of collecting tribute" (p. 9).

Fr. Gayo divides into three periods or phases the efforts of the Philippine missionaries to reach a solution of these problems which would be in conformity with Catholic doctrine. The first phase, from the arrival of the Legaspi expedition in 1565 to 1581, was characterized by the courageous opposition of the Augustinian friars to the unjust treatment of the Filipinos by their conquerors. The second phase, 1581-1586, saw the celebration of a diocesan synod by the first Bishop of Manila, Fray Domingo de Salazar, O.P., and the holding of a general *junta* or council of the colonists, in which it was decided to send Father Alonso Sánchez, S.J. as the colony's accredited representative to Madrid and Rome. Both these assemblies, the one ecclesiastical, the other civil, provided the occasion for detailed and lengthy discussions of the King's title to sovereignty over the territory already conquered and the liceity of further conquests, particularly the proposed invasion of China. The third phase, 1587-1599, was crowded with exciting developments both in the Philippines and Spain. In the Philippines, the momentous controversy over the collection of tribute from the natives broke out between Bishop Salazar and Governor Dasmariñas, as a result of which the aged but indomitable prelate determined to return to Spain to give Philip II a personal account—"barba á barba"—of the sad state of the colony. Meanwhile, another controversy was raging at Madrid between Alonso Sánchez and a group of Dominican theologians on the question of the use of armed force in the propagation of the Gospel. This controversy occasioned the writing of two important treatises, the one by Bishop Salazar himself (who arrived in time to enter the lists against Sánchez), and the other by his illustrious successor, Bishop Benavides, in which the whole Philippine situation was reviewed in the light of the principles laid down by Master Francisco de Vitoria.

One striking feature of this record is the wide divergence of opinion among the missionaries themselves and the freedom with which they spoke their mind. To the Augustinian, Father Rada, for instance, the conquest of the Philippines was an act of injustice from beginning to end. Nor was he alone in holding this. "I have asked," he told the King, "the opinion of the Fathers I have met here. All of them without exception affirm that not one of all these islands was justly brought under Spanish dominion" (p. 17). To the Jesuit, Father Sánchez, on the other hand, the sovereignty of the Spanish Crown in the Philippines was based on more than one legitimate title: five, to be exact. It might be thought that an opinion so favorable to the imperial policy of the government would be accepted out of hand and imposed as official doctrine. It was not. Every single one of Father Sánchez's arguments was challenged, not only by his Dominican critics, but by his own fellow Jesuits. So much for the threadbare myth that thought control was a necessary consequence of Spanish absolutism or of the so-called dogmatism of the Catholic Church.

On the other hand, it would be easy to exaggerate the effectiveness of the criticism to which the Spanish government allowed its acts, agents and policies to be subjected. The Crown and the Royal Council of the Indies were always willing to listen to advice; they were not always prompt to heed it. The eloquent pleas of a Las Casas, a Rada, a Salazar in behalf of the colonial peoples were heard with infinite patience and courtesy; they effected, in the course of time, a partial reform of the most flagrant abuses; but they were seldom reduced to practice without compromise, and were never permitted to diminish in any essential respect the political power or the economic resources of the empire. It is perhaps too much to expect that they should. It is perhaps just as well that they did not. If the Utopian experiments of Las Casas may be taken as a fair indication, some of the more radical reform measures suggested by the Philippine missionaries might easily have led to worse evils than the ones they were intended to remedy.

The treatises of Bishops Salazar and Benavides on the nature of Spanish sovereignty in the Indies, of which Fr. Gayo gives a detailed analysis (pp. 164 ff.), are of great interest to the professional jurist and theologian, less so to the general reader. Both follow very closely in the footsteps of Vitoria, and conceive the sovereignty of the Spanish Crown over the colonies as being in its essence not a temporal but a spiritual sovereignty, since it is nothing more or less than a participation in the universal sovereignty of the Pope (which can only be spiritual), conceded by the latter with a view to the evangelization of the pagan peoples. However, a certain measure of temporal sovereignty is necessarily annexed to this spiritual sovereignty, but only as much as is required to achieve the supreme ob-

jective of spreading the Gospel; and, of course, never to the extent that it would interfere with that objective.

Fr. Gayo rightly calls attention to the fact that this concept of the temporal power of the Crown in the Indies being merely a function of a participated spiritual power wholly dependent on the papal concession of the *patronato* did not find much favor in official circles. And yet, it was extremely difficult to build up a clear case for a temporal sovereignty independent of the papal concession, as Father Sánchez, who attempted it, found out. This was undoubtedly the reason for the curious measure taken in the Philippines of inducing the native population to make an explicit, fully notarized act of voluntary submission to the authority of the Spanish Crown. Such an act could be, and was, taken not only as legitimizing the conquest but as founding a purely natural and temporal sovereignty independent of the Holy See.

Fr. Gayo handles his complex and delicate subject with a clarity and objectivity which cannot be sufficiently praised. He presents both sides of every question with the most scrupulous exactitude, for the most part letting the documents speak for themselves. He was fortunate in being able to exploit the rich resources of the Dominican and University archives, in addition to the materials published by Father Pablo Pastells, S.J., in his edition of Colín, and by Blair and Robertson in their well-known collection.

However, as he himself admits, he has not by any means exhausted the subject. Much remains to be done not only in the way of synthesis and interpretation but even in the preliminary spade work of locating, transcribing and editing source material. A small but significant indication of the local limitations of historical research is the fact that Fr. Gayo was forced to retranslate into Spanish a number of passages from documents which are available here only in Blair and Robertson's English version. It is hoped that the increasing interest in our colonial history being manifested today, stimulated by such excellent monographs as that under review, will lead to a more extensive publication of accurately edited source material.

H. DE LA COSTA

PRINCIPLES OF EDUCATION APPLIED TO THE PHILIPPINES. By Antonio Isidro, Ph.D. Alemar's, Manila. 1952. pp. vii-504. P11.00.

Dr. Isidro's book is the printed edition of a mimeographed manual, which has been in use "in a number of teacher training institutions in Manila and in the provinces". His aim "is to give our