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John N. Schumacher, S.J.

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Early Filipino Jesuits: 1593-1930

JOHN N. SCHUMACHER, S.J.

A considerable amount of historical writing has dealt with the failure of the Spanish Patronato Real to create an adequately trained and numerically sufficient Filipino clergy.¹ Almost all of this literature, however, has dealt only with the Filipino diocesan clergy, and relatively little has been said about Filipino membership in the religious orders, whether as priests or lay brothers. An obvious explanation of this would be that if the religious orders generally placed so many obstacles to the creation of a Filipino diocesan clergy, much less would they be willing to admit Filipinos into their own ranks. However, the argument applies only to the admission of Filipinos to the priesthood in religious orders. As we shall see, there were Filipino religious – lay brothers – in the orders before there were any Filipino diocesan priests, and this fact alone is sufficient to demonstrate that the question of a native clergy was not merely one of racial prejudice. The obstacles to the creation of a Filipino clergy were many and complex – cultural, legal, political, and others – and racial prejudice was certainly not lacking on the part of many Spanish religious. But apart from prejudice, most of these obstacles affected the admission to the priesthood, not to religious life as such. Hence there were some Filipinos admitted to the religious orders as lay brothers, even as early as the end of the sixteenth century, few though they were. But it was impossible that there should be a Filipino priesthood without higher education, and such education was not opened to Filipinos

* For abbreviations used in the footnotes, see p. 308.

1. See Horacio de la Costa, S.J., and John N. Schumacher, S.J., *The Filipino Clergy: Historical Studies and Future Perspectives* (Manila: Loyola School of Theology, 1979), in which the relevant literature is cited.

effectively till the end of the seventeenth century.² For a lay brother, in the context of the sixteenth century, though some Spanish cultural background was necessary to enter a Spanish religious order and share a common life together with Spaniards, there was no need for higher education. They were nonetheless full members of the religious orders, just as much as the religious priests, to whom they were joined by fraternal bonds of the same vows.

I. PRACTICE OF THE FRIAR ORDERS UP TO 1898

For purposes of comparison, it will be useful first to take a brief glance at the practice of the other orders before discussing the practice of the Jesuits up to the time of their expulsion in 1768. Though all the religious orders in the Philippines (except the Jesuits) have published catalogs of their members for the Spanish period as far as this data could be determined from their archives, these lists or catalogs present certain difficulties to one seeking to determine the Filipino members of the orders. Since both Filipinos and Spaniards often had Spanish family names, it is only occasionally that a clearly indigenous surname will identify a Filipino with certainty. Moreover, the fact of having been born and admitted into the order in the Philippines does not make it clear whether one is dealing with one born into the Spanish community (*criollos* or *Españoles Filipinos*, and Spanish mestizos) or into the Filipino community (Indios, Chinese mestizos). Even such a term as *natural de . . .* ("native of . . .") was commonly used of Spaniards as well as of Indios, and though one may suspect that a man listed as being a native of a province distant from Manila and a few other Spanish centers like Cebu or Vigan was a Filipino rather than a Spaniard, there can often be no certainty on the point.³ In spite of these difficulties, however, we can affirm with certainty of

2. Filipinos (*Indios*) were admitted to the Colegio de San Juan de Letrán and the Colegio de San José as *capistas* (domestics, who in turn received some education in Spanish) even in the first half of the century, but it was only toward the end of the century that they were able to follow the full curriculum of the *bachillerato*.

3. Though some of the catalogs specifically state ethnic identity, others do not. And though certain surnames, derived from those of saints, are probable indications of an Indio before the nineteenth century, evidence that might be available on this score is cancelled out by the practice in some orders (e.g., the Recoletos) of dropping one's family surname in favor of a patron saint's name on entering religious life.

at least a few in each order that they were Filipinos in the modern sense of the word.

A. THE AUGUSTINIANS

The first native Filipino listed as belonging to a religious order was Martin Lacandola, no doubt of the family of the ruler of Tondo, who was admitted as *hermano donado*, "but died in Manila in 1590 a short time after receiving the habit."⁴ The term *donado*, however, does not signify one with full membership in the order, but rather one who, without taking the public religious vows, dedicated himself to working in close association with the missionaries, while still remaining a layman in the canonical sense of the word.⁵ An Augustinian in the full sense, however, was Fray Marcelo de San Agustín, a lay brother (*hermano lego*), who was born in Malate, made his profession in 1652, and died in the monastery of Manila in 1697.⁶ Of him Father Gaspar de San Agustín, surely not one to be lavish in praise of Indios, says:

He can be considered the crown of the Tagalogs for his rare virtue, and and for how well he has served the convento of Manila in various offices. . . For he is the most skillful organist known among the Indios . . . He is a composer and master of the chanters and minor sacristan, and has made and written many books for the choir. Above all he is a great servant of God.

San Agustín goes on to mention that Fray Marcelo was brought up in the monastery from childhood, which perhaps indicates that he had earlier been a *donado* and then in his mature years had been admitted to the religious profession. It is also noted that

his parents were *principales* and the place where the church and the sacristy of the convento of Manila are at present used to be the land of his grandfather. This was a reason which also contributed to his being given the habit. . . .⁷

4. Elviro J. Pérez, *Catálogo bio-bibliográfico de los religiosos agustinos de la provincia del Santísimo Nombre de Jesús de las Islas Filipinas desde su fundación hasta nuestros días* (Manila: Establecimiento Tipográfico del Colegio de Sto. Tomás, 1901), p. 67.

5. The precise nature of the bond between the *donado* and the religious order, and its degree of permanency, varied from order to order, but it always remained a step short of full incorporation into the order by the religious profession of public vows. In the Augustinian order, as seen in Lacandola's case, it apparently involved receiving a religious habit. This was not so among the Jesuits.

6. Pérez, *Catálogo*, p. 200. He is the first Augustinian to be definitely identified as an Indio.

7. Gaspar de San Agustín, *Conquistas de las Islas Philipinas* (Madrid, 1698), pp. 490-91.

The citation of the debt of gratitude owed to the family of Fray Marcelo, as well as of his skill and virtue, indicate that it was not ordinary to admit Indios to full membership in the order. Several Spanish mestizos were admitted around this same time as lay brothers, and a few others before the end of the seventeenth century born in provincial towns or even barrios may possibly have been Indios in spite of their Spanish surnames, but nothing is said as to their race. In 1701 Fray Ignacio de Sta. Teresa Noruega, "indio mestizo" from San Roque, Cavite, was professed, and became a priest.⁸ Though the meaning of "indio mestizo" is unclear, it probably means a mestizo of Chinese and Indio parents, a supposition which finds some support in the fact that he later went off to China as a missionary. In the eighteenth century Damian Rosario, "natural de Pampanga," entered in 1761, dying two years later. Very likely he was an Indio or Chinese mestizo, but was admitted only as a donado.⁹ In the early nineteenth century one Chinese mestizo was admitted as a priest in 1816 and died in 1841.¹⁰ There are also in this period some lay brothers who because of their provincial origin could possibly be Filipinos, but there are not enough data to be sure, especially since by the nineteenth century Spaniards lived more freely in the provinces. In any case, by the middle of the century Augustinians were no longer admitting novices in Manila, whatever their race, an indication of the growing polarization after 1849 between the Spanish peninsular friars and the Filipino secular priests over the possession of the parishes. The same phenomenon will be noted in other friar orders.

B. THE FRANCISCANS

Though the Franciscans had already opened a novitiate in Manila in 1580, the admission of Filipinos, Chinese, or mestizos was prohibited from the beginning and no Filipino appears to have been admitted before the end of the eighteenth century. Indeed there was reluctance even to admit Spaniards in the Philippines.¹¹

8. Pérez, *Catálogo*, p. 383. Various Spanish mestizos with their respective entrance dates are listed on pp. 204 (1665), 207 (1678), 210 (1699).

9. *Ibid.*, p. 393.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 700.

11. Mariano Rubio, O.F.M., *Tómas de hábito y profesiones de la Provincia de San Gregorio de Filipinas (1583-1736)* (Madrid, 1961), pp. 10-11, 25-27. (This book is an offprint of an article in *Missionalia Hispanica* 18 (1961): 211-50, 273-350).

Apparently the first Indio to be admitted was Fray Baltasar Mariano, who had been a donado for many years, and was professed as a lay brother only a few weeks before his death in 1794.¹² The only other one recorded who was clearly an Indio was Fray Jose Isidro Garcia, born in Mahayhay and a servant to the Franciscan parish priest there, who urged him strongly to become a Franciscan. Professed in 1816 and intended for the priesthood, his vocation seems to have existed only in the mind of his patron. He escaped three times from the monastery, and was finally expelled from the order, never having been ordained.¹³ Several others who were admitted in the first half of the nineteenth century, both as priests and as lay brothers, are noted as being "del país," which may perhaps indicate Indios. However, the fact that all those admitted between 1700 and 1794 were peninsulars, makes it more likely that the phrase designates Spaniards born in the Philippines.¹⁴

C. THE DOMINICANS

The catalog of Dominicans who belonged to the province of Santísimo Rosario de Filipinas lists not only "hermanos donados" for the eighteenth century but also several "hermanos terceros profesos" who could conceivably be Filipinos, but neither should the latter be considered members of the order in the full sense of the word. In the seventeenth century two lay brothers (*legos*), both of whom made their profession in 1630, are noted as "perhaps native (*indígena*)" of their respective provinces. They were Bros. Alonso de la Madre de Dios of Cagayan, and Domingo de la Encarnación of Pangasinan.¹⁵ The first two Filipinos admitted to

12. Eusebio Gómez Platero, O.F.M., *Catálogo biográfico de los religiosos franciscanos de la provincia de San Gregorio Magno de Filipinas desde 1577 en que llegaron los primeros a Manila hasta los de nuestros días* (Manila: Imprenta del Real Colegio de Santo Tomás, 1880), p. 624.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 641.

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 624, 641, etc.

15. Hilario Ocio y Viana, *Reseña biográfica de los religiosos de la provincia del Santísimo Rosario de Filipinas desde su fundación hasta nuestros días* (Manila: Colegio de Santo Tomás, 1891), nos. 56 and 57. In his later work, *Compendio de la Reseña biográfica de los religiosos de la provincia del Santísimo Rosario de Filipinas desde su fundación hasta nuestros días* (Manila: Colegio de Santo Tomás, 1895), pp. [3] and [14], Ocio repeats the qualification "quizás indígena" with regard to Domingo de la Encarnación, but not for Alonso de la Madre de Dios. Fr. Pablo Fernández, O.P., in a personal communication, informed me that he is inclined to think that both were more probably donados, even if the probability of their being native Filipinos, hesitantly advanced by Ocio, should be correct.

the order to become priests were two Chinese mestizos, Frs. Francisco de Borja de los Santos and Dionisio Vicente de los Reyes, in 1777, shortly after the two had been the first Filipinos to receive a doctorate from the University of Santo Tomas.¹⁶ Two other Chinese mestizos were admitted to become priests in 1816 and 1841. The last Filipino (apparently a Tagalog from Malolos) was admitted in 1846, when he had already been a secular priest for some years, Fr. Santiago de Victoria, who took the name José de Sta. Teresa on entering the order.¹⁷

D. THE RECOLETOS

The first clearly identifiable Filipino Recoleta was the lay brother, professed in 1660, Fray Juan de Sta. María, a native of Macabebe, Pampanga. His parents' surnames were Dimatulac and Uri respectively, leaving no room for doubt of his being an Indio.¹⁸ Another lay brother of Indio parents was Fray Bernabé de la Asunción from Romblon, who was professed in 1692.¹⁹ The first priest who was probably an Indio, or at least a Spanish mestizo, was Fr. Narciso de Jesús María, who was professed in 1813.²⁰ Undoubtedly Indio was Fr. Mariano de Sta. Rita of Calumpit, Bulacan, whose family surname was Lacandola, professed in 1818.²¹ The lay brother, Fray Leocadio de la Virgen del Carmen, from Binondo, professed in 1848, was the only other probable Filipino candidate before novices stopped being admitted in Manila in the early 1850s.²²

16. Ocio, *Compendio*, pp. [16], [25]. See John N. Schumacher, S.J., "Nationalist Student Activism in Manila in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," *Philippine Historical Review* 4 (1971): 191-93; and Pablo Fernández, O.P., "La diócesis de Nueva Cáceres en 1796," *Philippiniana Sacra* 5 (1970): 373.

17. Ocio, *Compendio*, pp. [16], [17], [25]. The record speaks only of his being "natural de Malolos," ambiguous in itself, but the fact that he is also said to have been "muy español" points to his having been a Filipino; otherwise the remark would be superfluous.

18. Francisco del Carmen Sádaba, O.A.R., *Catálogo de los Religiosos Agustinos Recoletos de la Provincia de San Nicolás de Tolentino de Filipinas* (Madrid: Imprenta del Asilo de Huérfanos del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús, 1906), p. 759.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 761.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 765.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 766.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 768.

E. GENERAL PICTURE OF THE SPANISH PERIOD

Summing up the above data, one may see that several, perhaps all, of the friar orders admitted at least one or more lay brothers, though none of them in significant numbers. Secondly, the number of priests was even more insignificant, three Dominicans and one or two Recoletos, all of them toward the end of the eighteenth century or the beginning of the nineteenth.²³ Finally it may be noted that by approximately mid-nineteenth century no candidates were any longer being admitted in Manila, even Spaniards. One reason for this has already been noted – the growing antagonism between Spanish friars and Filipino secular clergy. Another likely explanation is that by that time all the orders had colleges in Spain specially destined for the training of missionaries to the Philippines, and no doubt felt that comparable training for religious life could not be given for an individual or for a small number in Manila.²⁴ As will be seen, when the Jesuits began to receive applications to enter their order in the latter part of the nineteenth century, their superiors insisted that the training of these prospective religious must take place in Spain.

II. THE JESUITS TO 1768

Jesuit policy on admitting Filipinos to the Society of Jesus differed from that of the friar orders in two respects, corresponding to the historical situation in which the Jesuits found themselves during the two periods of their existence in the Philippines. During the period prior to their expulsion in 1768 they showed as little inclination as most friar orders to admit Filipinos. On the other hand, during the latter part of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries they were the first, and for a long time, the only order to have Filipino members, at least priests.

23. In 1794, Bishop Domingo Collantes, O.P., wrote to the king, complaining of the failure of the religious orders to admit qualified Filipinos needed to staff the parishes, to which the king replied with a royal cedula in 1795 ordering it to be so done. See Fernández, "La diócesis de Nueva Cáceres en 1796," pp. 367-69.

24. The Augustinian college of Valladolid was founded in 1759, the Recoleta college of Alfaro in 1824, the Dominican college of Ocaña in 1830, the Franciscan college of Aranjuez in 1853, and the Jesuit college of Loyola in 1852. Eventually the orders were allowed to open other houses of formation in Spain to supplement these.

A. SPANISH JESUITS ADMITTED BEFORE 1768

Barely two years after the arrival of the first three Jesuits in the Philippines, both the superior, Fr. Antonio Sedeño, and his companion, Fr. Alonso Sánchez, were proposing the opening of a novitiate in the Philippines. The Philippine Mission was still a part of the province of Mexico, and it was with instructions from the provincial of Mexico that the pioneers had come to Manila. Writing to the Father General Claudio Acquaviva on 17 June 1583, Fr. Sedeño refers to one of the points of these instructions — that he was not to admit anyone to the Society in the Philippines. However, Sedeño observed, already two Spaniards had asked to be admitted, one as a lay brother, and the other himself already a priest and dean of the cathedral chapter of Manila. (This was Fr. Diego Vásquez Mercado, who some years later would be made bishop of Yucatán in Mexico, and in 1610 would return as archbishop of Manila). More requests were expected to follow. It seemed therefore proper that authorization to receive novices in Manila be given. Not only would this solve the difficulties in getting from Spain or Mexico the large number of missionaries needed, but those admitted in the Philippines would be more suitable, since they would already have knowledge and experience of the country and be better adapted to work there.²⁵

In another letter to Acquaviva written the following day, Fr. Alonso Sánchez, after arguing lengthily against sending to the Philippines criollo Jesuits, born in Mexico, whom he considered to be generally unfit, repeated Sedeño's arguments at great length. For, he declared, though theoretically one would not be able to have so orderly and proper a novitiate in Manila as in Mexico, yet in what was really substantial, just as good a novitiate training could be given here as the earliest Jesuits had received, and the Jesuits would furthermore be trained in a way which would make them effective workers in their mission in the Philippines.²⁶ However, just three months later, Sánchez had changed his mind, considering that without a novitiate house and a group of other novices from whom to receive the example of humility and detachment from the world, it would not be a good idea ordinarily to

25. *Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu*, [ARSI] *Phil.* 9, 11-11v, 17 June 1583.

26. *Ibid.*, *Phil.*, 9, 18-18v, 18 June 1583.

receive candidates. Possibly in some emergency an exception could be made for lay brothers, but not for priests.²⁷

It should be noted that in all this discussion, there was no question of admitting Indios or mestizos, or even criollos, whether from Mexico or the Philippines, but only peninsular Spaniards who had come to the Philippines and now wished to enter religious life. In fact, when criollo novices did actually begin to be admitted to the Society in Manila in the late 1590s, considerable controversy arose both in Manila and in Rome about their admission. After some vacillation in policy they finally were admitted, and apparently continued to be admitted during the rest of the century.²⁸ However, though a more stringent later policy cannot be documented, when the Jesuits were expelled by the Crown in 1768, the list of those expelled contains only three Philippine-born Jesuits, presumably criollos.²⁹

For the policy against Spanish mestizos was even more absolute. They were not to be admitted, it was decided in the time of Acquaviva's generalate, and there is no evidence that there was ever any change in this policy.³⁰ One reason, perhaps, why at least the shortage of personnel did not force them to reconsider their policy in later times, is that by the second half of the seventeenth century the Philippine Jesuits were receiving substantial numbers of missionaries from other European countries, to compensate for the inability of the Spanish provinces to provide sufficient manpower.

B. FILIPINO JESUITS BEFORE 1768

With these antecedents it seems improbable that any Filipino — i.e., Indio or Chinese mestizo — novices would have been admitted. But as a matter of fact, one Pampangueño was admitted to the Jesuit novitiate in 1593, not in the Philippines, but in Rome. Apparently he was the first Filipino ever to be admitted to full membership in any of the orders. The young man was called Martin Sancho, and he left the Philippines in 1586 at the age

27. *Ibid.*, *Phil.*, 9, 19-19v, Sánchez-Acquaviva, 8 September 1583.

28. H. de la Costa, S.J., *The Jesuits in the Philippines, 1581-1768* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1961), pp. 235-36.

29. See the list of Jesuits with their places of birth in Nicholas P. Cushner, S.J., *Philippine Jesuits in Exile* (Rome: Institutum Historicum, S.I., 1964), pp. 162-73.

30. de la Costa, *Jesuits*, pp. 234-35. Though the case of Julian Cruz discussed below was an exception, it confirms the existence of a negative general policy.

of ten, in company with Fr. Alonso Sánchez, S.J., who was on his way to Spain and Rome as agent of the colony and of the bishop to seek solutions for Philippine problems from the king and the pope. According to Fr. Colfn, Sánchez brought him along, "not so much to be his servant as to be a sample of the natural ability and capacity of the Indios of the Philippines. . . ." ³¹ He was apparently a great sensation in Spain, even being presented to King Philip II, who questioned him on his catechism and was impressed to know that he was practically living like a religious with his practices of prayer, penance, and frequentation of the sacraments.

Martin went on to Rome with Fr. Sánchez, and there, at the age of 17, he was admitted to the novitiate in 1593 for the Spanish Jesuit province of Toledo. On taking his vows as a Jesuit, he spent the next few years in that province in Spain until he could embark with an expedition of missionaries leaving for Mexico, where he arrived in 1599. In February 1601 he took the galleon from Aca-pulco for Manila, returning to his native land after fifteen years. Unfortunately it was to be a brief reacquaintance, since he died shortly after his arrival in Manila, only twenty-five years of age, and eight years a Jesuit. The cause of his death was tuberculosis, whose source is not hard to imagine considering the years of living in unheated Jesuit houses during European winters. These undoubtedly had taken their toll of the young man from the tropics, not to speak of the galleon voyage, so often fatal to a large number of the passengers and crew. ³²

Fr. Horacio de la Costa states in his history of the Philippine Jesuits that Sancho was the only native Filipino to be admitted to the Society before the expulsion of 1768. ³³ By the term "native Filipino" de la Costa meant "Indio," since he himself narrates the request by Fr. Juan de Irigoyen, one of the Jesuits who went to China from the Philippines from 1678 to 1685, that the Chinese-Filipino mestizo who had accompanied him and worked with him there, apparently as a donado, should be admitted to the Society. ³⁴ Irigoyen's request itself makes clear the exception-

31. Francisco Colfn, S.J., *Labor evangélica*, ed. Pablo Pastells, S.J. (Barcelona: Henrich, 1900), 1:349.

32. *Ibid.*; de la Costa, *Jesuits*, p. 191.

33. de la Costa, *Jesuits*, p. 234. He inadvertently calls him here *Alonso* Sancho.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 441.

ality of the case, noting that “according to the customs of this Province this cannot be done without Your Paternity’s approval, because he is a mestizo, that is to say, of Chinese and Indio parentage. . . .”³⁵ The young man, Julián Cruz (or Julián de la Cruz) was admitted on 31 December 1689, at the age of 31, took his vows as a Jesuit, and died on 29 January 1714.³⁶ Unfortunately the Father General’s letter answering Irigoyen’s request is not extant, and it is impossible to know what may have been said with regard to general policy on such admissions. Nor do we have knowledge of any subsequent cases in this matter.

There is, however, record of what seems to be a similar admission of a Filipino – most probably a Chinese mestizo to judge from his name – Felipe Sonson of Pampanga, who was among the members of the Jesuit mission in the Marianas who were killed by the natives in 1684.³⁷ He is mentioned several times in a series of documents listed in the Maggs Brothers Catalogue no. 442, most of them letters from various Jesuits to the Duchess of Aveiro, great benefactress of the Marianas mission.³⁸ Describing a “Lista de los Padres y Hermanos que están en las Islas Marianas,” dating from about 1681, the cataloger concludes by saying “Two other martyrs of the list are the native Brother Phelipe Sonson and Brother Pedro Pavon.”³⁹ A letter of 30 May 1686 to the Duchess by Fr. Lorenzo Bustillo, S.J., is reported as describing “the martyrdom of Padres Pedro Canaano and Pabon [sic], and the death of Padre [sic] Phelippe [sic] Sonson, a native of Pampanga ‘whose solid virtues were an example to his countrymen, and who, being a

35. The entire letter of Irigoyen, from ARSI, *Phil.* 12, 88r, is to be found translated in the appendix to Joseph S. Sebes, S.J., “Philippine Jesuits in the Middle Kingdom in the 17th Century,” *Philippine Studies* 26 (1978): 206-8. The quoted passage is on p. 208. Since Irigoyen mentions that Cruz had taken a private vow of chastity, de la Costa supposes him to have been already a donado, which is very likely.

36. The data as to his birth and entrance are taken from the 1696 catalog of the Philippine mission, when he was already in his seventh year as a Jesuit, though the name is missing from the catalog of 1690, when he would have just entered. (ARSI, *Phil.* 2, 493v). His death date is given in the 1719 catalog (*ibid.*, 3, 132 v). The name appears both as Cruz or de la Cruz in the sources.

37. I am indebted for the reference to Sonson to Professor James Cummins of the Department of Spanish, University College, University of London.

38. *Bibliotheca Americana et Philippina*, Part III, Catalogue no. 442 (London: Maggs Brothers, 1923). The catalog is more than a mere listing, since it describes each document, and at times quotes lengthily from them in translation. I have not seen any of the originals myself, and quote from these excerpts.

39. *Ibid.*, no. 1873, p. 147.

noble among his own people, is now, we believe, from his blameless life, a most noble citizen of the Realm of Heaven.’”⁴⁰ A letter of Fr. Antonio Zerezo to Fr. Balthasar de Mansilla, dated in Agadna [Agaña], Guam, 17 May 1686, is quoted as saying: “We have also learnt of the death of the saintly Philippine, Filipe [sic] Sonson. . . .”⁴¹ Finally, a note of the Duchess of Aveiro from about 1686 to Fr. Luis Morales, S.J., written on the back of a list of martyrs, says she is returning it “because I think that of the five or six martyrs and the good Sonson we can make a report which I shall have printed.” The compiler notes after the name of Sonson that he was “a native Catholic who perished with the Padres.” The list itself contains the names of four priests and Bro. Pavon (a Spaniard), not that of Sonson.⁴² From these contradictory annotations and partial quotations, a series of questions arises: was Sonson a Filipino? was he a Jesuit or not? And if a Jesuit, was he a priest or a brother?

He was in fact a Filipino from Macabebe, Pampanga. Fr. Pedro Murillo Velarde speaks of him as an “Indio Philipino” who was attacked by the Guamanians together with Bro. Pavon.⁴³ He does not, however, give him the title of either *Padre* or *Hermano*, a fact which is also true in both the direct quotations from letters given above (as distinct from the annotations of the cataloger). He was rather a donado, as is explicitly noted after his name in the manuscript Jesuit catalog of personnel in the Marianas mission in 1681-1682.⁴⁴ Born in 1611, he had joined the Jesuits in 1667, at the age of 56, and had spent the past thirteen years in the Marianas as a helper in domestic labors, particularly as carpenter. Hence he would have been 73 years old when killed with Bro. Pavon in 1684.

40. *Ibid.*, no. 1936, p. 202. The fact that he is spoken of as “being a noble among his own people,” i.e., a member of the *principalta*, indicates a Chinese mestizo family which had intermarried with the Pampangueño principales long before that became common in the eighteenth century. See John Larkin, *The Pampangans* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), pp. 48 ff. In fact, Larkin lists a “Songsong” as *gobernadorcillo* of Macabebe as early as 1630 (p. 36). As will be seen below, Sonson was a native of Macabebe. The family was evidently thoroughly Filipinized if one of its members held office early in the century.

41. *Ibid.*, no. 1937, p. 203.

42. *Ibid.*, no. 1950, p. 216.

43. Pedro Murillo Velarde, S.J., *Historia de la Provincia de Philipinas de la Compañía de Jesús. Segunda parte* (Manila: Imprenta de la Compañía de Jesús, 1749), f. 360v, no. 813. Murillo spells his name “Sanzon.”

44. ARSI, *Phil.*, 2, 417v.

The fact that he was explicitly listed in the Jesuit catalog with the title "Frater" [brother], that he had worked so many years with the Jesuits on a dangerous mission, and had died with general acclamation of his sanctity, makes one wonder why he was not admitted to the Society of Jesus as a full-fledged member, as his fellow Pampangueño, Bro. Julián Cruz, was just five years later. There would seem to be no more reason than the fact that no one took the trouble, as Fr. Irigoyen did, to ask for a dispensation from the general rule against admitting mestizos. Perhaps it was Sonson's case which gave rise to reflection on the matter, and led to Irigoyen's making his request just about the time Sonson's death became known in Manila.⁴⁵ However, we have no evidence of the prohibition against admitting mestizos ever being lifted completely, nor do we have any evidence of any other Filipino ever being admitted as a coadjutor brother in the Philippines before 1768. The admission of Martin Sancho in Rome, apparently without difficulty, is an indication that it was differences in culture rather than race prejudice in the strict sense of the word which was chiefly responsible for the failure to admit other Filipino Jesuits. However, if that were the only reason, one would have expected that the eighteenth century would have seen a change of policy. Such a change did not take place before 1768; whether it would have in the latter part of the eighteenth century or the beginning of the nineteenth, as happened in the friar orders to a limited degree, can only be a matter for speculation.

III. FILIPINOS ADMITTED TO THE SOCIETY IN SPAIN IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

It has been noted above that those friar orders which had admitted at least some Filipinos ceased to do so by the middle of the nineteenth century. One factor in this change of policy was the increasing number of recruits coming from the missionary

45. Filipinos were not the only ones admitted only as donados without passing on to full membership in the order as coadjutor brothers. See de la Costa, *Jesuits*, pp. 316, 503, for examples of Spanish donados working with the Jesuits in the Philippines. One, for example, was managing the hacienda of Lian for the Colegio de San José. Others were engaged in building chapels, teaching catechism, and otherwise assisting the missionaries. The 1716 catalog lists ten donados, some Filipinos, some Spaniards (ARSI, *Phil.*, 3, 89v).

colleges set up in Spain in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century precisely to provide Spanish missionaries for the Philippines. Another was undoubtedly the growing antagonism over possession of the parishes between the friar orders and the Filipino secular clergy by the middle of the century, as well as government suspicion of all Filipino priests as being politically unreliable. It was in this situation that the Society of Jesus was restored in Spain in 1852 and given back its old house of Loyola as a seminary to provide missionaries for Cuba and for the Philippines. Though originally destined only for the missions of Mindanao, through a series of circumstances the Jesuits soon found themselves working also in Manila, engaged in education in the Ateneo Municipal and the Escuela Normal de Maestros.⁴⁶

A. POLICY TOWARD ADMISSION OF FILIPINOS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

In the situation of increasing antagonism against the friar orders on the part of educated Filipinos or *ilustrados*, the Jesuits won considerable favor among that class, for reasons which are too complicated to be fully explained here. Likewise, leaders among Filipino priests opposed to the control of the parishes by the friars, like Frs. Pedro Pelaez, Jose Burgos, and Mariano Sevilla, were in close relations with the Jesuits.⁴⁷ The increasing nullification of the Filipino secular clergy under pressure from the government perhaps also tended to favor the Jesuits among young educated Filipinos whose thoughts were turned toward the priesthood.

The first indications of such aspirations date from around 1880, meager as they are. There is, first of all, the often-quoted statement of Jose Rizal, written in a letter to his fellow-Propagandists in Madrid in 1889, that "if it were not for 1872, Rizal would now be a Jesuit, and instead of writing the *Noli Me Tângere* would have written the opposite."⁴⁸ Since in 1872 Rizal was a boy of

46. For this history of the Jesuits in the nineteenth century, see Pablo Pastells, S.J., *Misión de la Compañía de Jesús de Filipinas en el siglo XIX*, 3 vols. (Barcelona: Editorial Barcelonesa, 1916-17).

47. See my *Readings in Philippine Church History* (Quezon City: Loyola School of Theology, Ateneo de Manila University, 1979), pp. 266-70; and *Father Jose Burgos: Priest and Nationalist* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1972), pp. 27, 110-11, 268-69.

48. *Epistolario Rizalino*, ed. Teodoro M. Kalaw (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1930-38), 2:166.

eleven just about to enter the Ateneo Municipal, it is evident that his thoughts of becoming a Jesuit dated not from that time, but more likely from the late 1870s when he graduated from the Ateneo, or the early 1880s when he continued to frequent his alma mater and was active in the Congregación Mariana, even though he was by then a student at the University of Santo Tomas.⁴⁹ The most obvious meaning of his words is that he had thoughts and desires of entering the Society of Jesus, but on reflecting on what had happened to Fr. Burgos and his companions, to whose nationalism he was heir, he concluded that he would not be able to serve his country as a Jesuit under the prevailing situation of Spanish misrule and discrimination. Nonetheless, the fact that he gave serious thought to the matter makes it likely that he must have received some signs of encouragement in this direction from a Jesuit or Jesuits.

However, if some Spanish Jesuits may have been open to the idea of admitting Filipinos to the Society, there is no evidence of any official effort to attract Filipino vocations. In 1886, spurred on by the shortage of priests for Mindanao, a few Jesuits were discussing the feasibility of opening a seminary for Filipino priests to serve in Mindanao.⁵⁰ However, it is clear from the correspondence that it was not a question of a seminary for Filipino Jesuits, but for Filipino secular clergy who would assist the Spanish Jesuits in Mindanao as coadjutors and be under their direction. Though the proposal was rejected, it is an indication of the prevailing mentality of not actively seeking Filipino vocations to the Society of Jesus.

B. NOVICES FROM THE PHILIPPINES IN SPAIN TO 1900

One source, however, gives indications that shortly before this a native Filipino may have been admitted to the Society in Spain for the first time since the restoration of the Society, or at least that a

49. See Leon Ma. Guerrero, *The First Filipino* (Manila: National Heroes Commission, 1963), pp. 37-63; also Rizal's *Memorias de un estudiante de Manila*, passim.

50. Archivo de la Provincia de Tarragona de la Compañía de Jesus, San Cugat del Vallés, Barcelona, [APT], "Cartas de Filipinas a los PP. Provinciales de 1863 a 1887," Francisco J. Dalmases, S.J., to Father Provincial, 30 January 1886, 30 July 1886, 31 January 1887; "Cartas de los PP. Provinciales a los Superiores de Filipinas, 1883-1890," Juan Capell, S.J., to Dalmases, 12 March 1886; Juan Ricart, S.J., to Pablo Pastells, S.J., 6 February 1890; etc.

young man born in the Philippines was admitted. Juan Verzosa, born in Binondo, entered the Jesuit novitiate of Vuela in Zaragoza in 1883. Verzosa, did not, however, live to be ordained a priest, for during the second year of his studies of philosophy he died of typhoid fever in Barcelona on 18 March 1889.⁵¹ Despite the statement in a later source, based on a secondhand report, there is reason to doubt whether Verzosa was really a Filipino (Indio or Chinese mestizo) or rather a Spaniard born in the Philippines.⁵² Such racial distinctions were indeed beginning to break down to a limited extent on the part of the young with common goals, particularly those engaged in the Propaganda Movement in Spain. Witness to this is Rizal's statement to his friend Blumentritt, concerning the Filipino activists in Madrid in 1887: "These friends are all young men, criollos, mestizos and Malays; but we call ourselves simply Filipinos. . . ."⁵³ But in spite of the fact that the Spanish Jesuits had broken through such distinctions in changing what had formerly been a school for Spanish boys, the Escuela Municipal, into a school in which Filipinos soon far outnumbered the Spaniards, the Ateneo Municipal, it is clear that they had not all erased such distinctions from their own minds.⁵⁴ It is true that

51. The information on Verzosa comes from a manuscript "History of the Jesuit Novitiate in the Philippines after the Restoration," written in 1938 by Lorenzo Guerrero, S.J., and Pacifico Ortiz, S.J., and located in the Archives of the Philippine Province of the Society of Jesus, Loyola House of Studies, Quezon City [APP], V-15-D; from *Catalogus Provinciae Aragoniae* [CPA], 1890, p. 71; and from Rufo Mendizábal, S.J., ed., *Catalogus defunctorum in renata Societate Jesu ab a. 1814 ad a. 1970* [MCD] (Rome: Apud Curiam P. Gen., 1970), p. 126, no. 6.992.

52. CPA and MCD give no information on nationality; Guerrero and Ortiz, who supposed him to be a Filipino, were citing at secondhand Fr. Francisco Tena, S.J., who was superior of the Philippine mission 1913-21, after which he left the Philippines permanently.

53. Letter of 13 April 1887, *Epistolario Rizalino*, 5:111. Despite Rizal's enthusiasm, however, quarrels soon began among these "Filipinos," in large part precisely along the racial lines of Indio and Chinese mestizo against criollo and Spanish mestizo. See John N. Schumacher, S.J., *The Propaganda Movement* (Manila: Solidaridad, 1973), pp. 58, 70, etc.

54. According to H. de la Costa, S.J., "The Jesuits in the Philippines, 1581-1900," *Boletín Eclesiástico de Filipinas* 39 (1965): 131-32, by the end of the century nine-tenths of the students were Filipinos. As early as 1883, and subsequently through the next decade, there was correspondence between Jesuit superiors and the rectors of the Ateneo, urging on the rectors the necessity of lessening the predominance of Filipinos over Spaniards in the Ateneo, since the government and other Spaniards were accusing the Jesuits of being unpatriotic. I have not, however, found any evidence that they ever actually took steps to reduce the preponderance of Filipinos in spite of the accusations made in 1896 that their schools were the seed-bed of the Revolution and ought to be closed. See APT, "Cartas del P. Capell Provincial a varios

thirty years later, after the Revolution and American occupation, Fr. Francisco Tena, S.J., who is the source for Verzosa being the first Filipino to enter the Society in Spain, would likely not have made any distinction in speaking of the first Filipino Jesuit between Indios and Philippine-born Spaniards.⁵⁵ But in the 1880s and 1890s, the distinctions were very clear in the minds of the Spanish Jesuits and most other people in the Philippines. This will become clearer from the doubts and objections still being raised a decade or two later as to the admission of native Filipinos, even when their novitiate would be made in Spain.

An instance which illustrates the reason for doubting whether Verzosa was a Philippine Spaniard or a native Filipino is an application made to enter the Society in Manila in 1891 by one who was almost certainly a native Filipino. The applicant was a young man named Arcadio Pagua, nephew of the rector of the Manila Cathedral.⁵⁶ Fr. Miguel Rosés, rector of the Ateneo, wrote to Fr. Juan Ricart, provincial of the Jesuit province of Aragon, on which the Philippine mission depended, concerning the application of Pagua, who held a licentiate in law and was twenty-five years old. Though he wished to become a priest, he was ready to be accepted as a coadjutor brother instead if superiors so decided.⁵⁷ The reply of Ricart, himself formerly superior of the Philippine mission, was cautious, and certainly not enthusiastic:

To be able to admit that young man, nephew of the rector of the cathedral, he ought to be gifted with very *outstanding* qualities, even in the eventuality that he would be a coadjutor brother. That latter pos-

PP. y HH. de Filipinas y América, 1882-1883," letter of Juan Capell, S.J., to Juan Ricart, S.J., San Jerónimo de Murcia, 23 March 1883; "Cartas de Filipinas a los PP. Provinciales," letter of Miguel Rosés, S.J. to Jaime Vigo, S.J., Manila, 10 January 1893; "Cartas del Sr. Retana al P. Pastells," letter of 30 September 1897.

55. Tena in fact is cited by Guerrero and Ortiz primarily concerning the talents and virtue of Verzosa, whom he had known personally according to their source. Since the citation is secondhand, Tena's original statement may have dealt merely with the first young man (perhaps a Spaniard by blood) who went from the Philippines to Spain to join the novitiate of the Society.

56. The rector of the cathedral at this time, and since 1877, was Fr. Pablo Zamora (*Guía oficial de Filipinas, 1890* [Manila: Chofre, 1890], p. 94; *Guía. . . 1894*, p. 333). Though I have no direct evidence on Zamora being a Filipino, other rectors of the cathedral prior to and contemporaneous with Zamora were undoubtedly Filipinos, beginning with Frs. Jose Burgos and Jacinto Zamora. The "Estados" in the archdiocesan archives of Manila contain a column-heading for "naturaleza," but leave it blank. The most obvious explanation is that the information was not needed, since all were of the same nationality - Filipino.

57. APT, "Cartas de Filipinas a los PP. Provinciales," 19 April 1891.

sibility ought to be investigated carefully given the fact that he is already a professional. *Let them examine him there, and ponder well his application, and in any case, let him come here on his own account and at his own expense. . . .*⁵⁸

In August, the Philippine mission superior, Fr. Pablo Pastells, wrote that Paguia was on his way, and recommended that he be admitted to study for the priesthood.⁵⁹ Paguia apparently did enter the novitiate of Veruela, since his name appears in the catalog of the Aragon Province for 1892, but evidently did not stay very long, since he was no longer listed the following year.⁶⁰

There were a few other inquiries in these years, but to all of them Ricart replied similarly. It seems one other young Filipino did enter subsequently, but he too left within the year. There is no evidence of further developments in the succeeding years. For one thing, Fr. Juan Ricart was once more superior in the Philippines, and given his cautious, not to say negative attitude, it is doubtful that much encouragement would have been given to young Filipinos in Manila to apply for the Society.⁶¹ At the same time, and perhaps more importantly, the student atmosphere in Manila was becoming more highly charged with nationalist sentiments. Given the obsessive identification of true Catholicism with devotion to Spain, prevalent not only among the friars but among the Spanish Jesuits as well, this atmosphere would not have been conducive to Filipino vocations to a Spanish religious order.

58. APT, "Cartas de los PP. Provinciales a los Superiores de Filipinas, 1883-1890 [sic]," 11 May 1891. Italics in original.

59. APT, "Cartas de Filipinas a los PP. Provinciales," Pastells-Ricart, 26 August 1891.

60. The name given by Pastells, who is the only one to mention it, is Arcadio Paguia. CPA, 1892, however, has in the list of novices only a Juan Paguia (pp. 16, 96). Since the date of entrance into the novitiate (15 October 1891) is within a month of the time when Paguia ought to have arrived in Spain from Manila if he had left in August, it seems too much of a coincidence not to be the same man. The most probable explanation is that the young man was named Juan Arcadio, but was ordinarily called Arcadio in Manila. It was the custom of CPA, however, to list only one baptismal name, in this case Juan. The other possibility is simply an error on the part either of Pastells or of the printer.

61. Ricart was superior of the Philippine mission 1881-88 and again 1893-96. In the intervening period he was in Spain as provincial of Aragon, to which the Philippine mission was subordinate. I can no longer locate the reference to the other novice from the Philippines admitted during the the 1890s, nor the other prospective applications, though they were contained in the correspondence between the Philippine superiors and the Aragon provincials in APT, cited in notes 57-59 above, to which I do not now have access.

The next "Filipino" to be admitted to the Society in Spain, according to some sources, was Narciso Fuentes, who entered at the age of twenty-five on 23 July 1900. Though little is known of Fuentes' life, he was a Spaniard, not a Filipino, even if he entered from the Philippines, for he was born in Barcelona on 24 May 1875. Moreover, after finishing his course of studies in the Society in Spain and being ordained, he never returned to the Philippines, but was murdered in Valencia, Spain, during the Spanish Civil War on 12 August 1936.⁶² Most likely he was a Spaniard who had spent some years in the Philippines either as a government or business employee himself, or as the son of one, in which case he may have grown up in Manila and even attended the Ateneo. Repatriated to Spain after the American occupation of the Philippines, he would have then decided to enter the Society in Spain. Given the uncertain status of the Spanish Jesuit mission in the Philippines at the time, it is doubtful that much thought was being given in Manila to such matters, when both the schools in Manila and the parishes in Mindanao had an uncertain future, and, as will be seen shortly, there was as yet no serious consideration given to the general admission of Filipinos to the Society.

IV. TOWARD A FORMAL POLICY OF ADMITTING FILIPINOS

Only the radical change in the conditions of Jesuit work in the Philippines would break through the vacillations and uncertainties of the nineteenth century. Though the Jesuits had kept themselves more free than the friar orders from subjection to the nineteenth century Spanish governments' tendency to view missionaries primarily as instruments for preserving Spanish rule in the Philippines, it was inevitable that to some extent they should be forced to assume that role. Anticlerical liberal governments made it neces-

62. APP, V-15-D, Guerrero and Ortiz, "History," p. 2; CPA, 1901, pp. 18, 87 (which do not, however, give any data on his place of birth). APP, V-15, "Jesuitas Filifinos [sic]," an anonymous list made in 1919 (with subsequent additions to 1925), gives his birthplace as Manila. Mendizábal (MCD, p. 364, no. 20.138), however, gives it as Barcelona and supplies the data on his death. Since MCD was done from the general archives of the Society in Rome, it is likely to be more reliable. That Fuentes was in fact a Spaniard is confirmed not only by the fact that he never returned to the Philippines, but that he is never mentioned in the extant documents of the early twentieth century about Filipinos studying in Spain.

sary that the religious orders prove their usefulness for government purposes, and circumscribed even their religious activities with a mass of bureaucratic restrictions and close surveillance. Such an imposed role certainly inhibited thoughts of what in the twentieth century is the most obvious principle of mission theology – that the missionaries' primary task is to prepare a native clergy which will eventually replace them. Such a principle scarcely entered the minds of nineteenth century Spanish missionaries in the Philippines, particularly when government policy was to restrict in numbers and influence the Filipino secular clergy which had come into existence in the eighteenth century, and which was tolerated only because of the inability to supply sufficient Spanish personnel for the needs of the ministry to a growing population.⁶³

The Revolution with its assertion of a Filipino national identity, and the subsequent regime of separation of church and state introduced by the American conquerors, changed all that. The new situation made it clear that the mandate of the missionary was solely that which he had received from the Church, for he was no longer working in a land subject to Spain, but to a foreign power which had at least promised eventually to give the nation its independence. Moreover, new demands were made on the Jesuits by the representatives of the Holy See in the Philippines to run seminaries and accept other ministries. On the other hand, though the Jesuits did not suffer from such a mass exodus of their personnel as did the friar orders, even so, more than one-third of the Spanish Jesuits who had been in the Philippines in 1898 had departed to Spain for good by 1903.⁶⁴ With many of their missions in Mindanao suffering from a drastic shortage of personnel to staff the existing parishes, not to speak of continuing the missions to the non-Christian tribal peoples begun in the last decades of the nineteenth century, clear-sighted men could not help but see that the Philippine mission could not indefinitely depend on Spain. The time

63. Schumacher, *Readings*, pp. 231-33, 253-54, 266-70. As an example of the pressures to which the Jesuits were subject, see the letter of Overseas Minister Victor Balaguer to Governor Emilio Terrero, 15 December 1886, in which he insists on the necessity that "the tribes brought into civilization by the Jesuits. . . should be taught that after God there is the King, there is the Government and the Governor-General, and only then the Jesuit Fathers. . . ." (Museo-Biblioteca Balaguer, [Villanueva y Geltrú, Tarragona, Spain], Balaguer correspondence, vol. 113, p. 48.)

64. Schumacher, *Readings*, p. 311.

was ripe for a change in mentality toward the recruitment of Filipinos for the Society. The initiative, however, would come from the Filipino applicants themselves.

A. FILIPINO JESUITS ADMITTED IN SPAIN, 1906-1912

An unsigned document entitled "El Noviciado de Filipinas," from internal evidence probably to be dated shortly after the foundation of the Manila novitiate in 1913, confirms by its silence concerning any previous attempts the conclusion we have drawn that all the above-named candidates who persevered in the Society after entering from the Philippines were Spaniards. It also indicates why the change in mentality took place at this time.

Consideration began to be given to founding a novitiate in the Philippines around the middle of 1906. What gave rise to this was the great lack of missionaries, especially in Mindanao. The province [of Aragon, in Spain] could offer no remedy to this lack, nor could anyone see any way by which any effective assistance could be obtained.

On the other hand some young men advanced in studies and virtue were being formed in the diocesan seminary of Manila, which for the past two years had been under our direction in the house of San Javier.⁶⁵ Among themselves, somehow or other, some began to talk about the Society and they asked if Filipinos could enter it. It seemed that this hope would help them in their religious and scientific formation, and so they were not told either *yes* or *no*. Rather they were left with their good desire, and they were encouraged not to let their fervor and their desires to sacrifice themselves for Christ grow cool. Soon afterward, six or eight of these presented themselves, asking to be admitted into the Society. . . .

Discussions were begun on the opening of a novitiate, but for various reasons, nothing concrete was done for several years. During this period of time, 5 or 6 novices had been sent to Gandia [the current novitiate of the Aragon Jesuit province in Spain]. They gave a very good account of themselves except for one, the son of a Spaniard, who had come from the Ateneo. He had been admitted so that it would not be said

65. In 1904, at the request of the apostolic delegate, Archbishop Giovanni Battista Guidi, the Jesuits opened a seminary in what had formerly been the Escuela Normal, but which had been turned into the Colegio de San Francisco Javier when the insular government decided to open its own normal school. See Leo A. Cullum, S.J., "San Jose Seminary, 1768-1915," *Philippine Studies* 13 (1965): 458; and Miguel Saderra Masó, S.J., *Philippine Jesuits, 1581-1768 & 1859-1924*, trans. and ed. by Leo A. Cullum, S.J. Manila, 1975], pp. 106-9.

that all had come from San Javier; he left the novitiate before a year was up. Another died in the novitiate with great edification to all for his virtue, fervor, and love for the Society, and after a long sickness which was in some way extraordinary. The others are all continuing, giving complete satisfaction to their superiors.⁶⁶

The first three of those alluded to here can be readily identified, for they entered together on 19 May 1907.⁶⁷ The Spaniard from the Ateneo who left sometime during 1908 was Antonio Rojo;⁶⁸ the Filipino who died in the novitiate was Manuel Alcantara, whose death took place on 19 February 1909, when he was only 17 years old.⁶⁹ The third novice, who was to become the first Filipino to be ordained in the Society of Jesus, was Francisco Xavier Portas. He would live to see the Philippine mission grow into a full-fledged independent province and die within the same year in which the first Filipino Jesuit was named provincial, Fr. Horacio de la Costa.⁷⁰

The other three spoken of as coming from San Javier Seminary to enter the novitiate in Spain before the opening of the Manila novitiate, were Pablo Carasig and Agustin Llenado, on 8 November 1910, and Agustin Consunji, on 20 July 1911. Carasig and Consunji would go on to become priests in the Society, while Llenado left as a scholastic in 1922.⁷¹

Interspersed with the above novices coming from the seminary of San Javier were two priests. Fr. Jose Siguion was to be the second Filipino Jesuit to persevere in the restored Society, entering on 25 August 1908. Siguion, a graduate of the Ateneo de Manila in 1899, had later entered the University of Santo Tomas,

66. APT, E-II-c-3, "El Noviciado de Filipinas," unsigned. The minutes of the meeting of the Philippine mission superior with his consultors for 29 May 1906 mention that several seminarians had applied for admission to the Society. The decision was taken to refer to Rome the question of opening a novitiate at the seventeenth-century site of San Pedro Makati (APP, IV [1], no. 552). On 27 May 1910 the question of opening a novitiate in Manila in the Colegio de San José, if it should be restored to the Society, was again discussed, but inconclusively (*ibid.*, no. 605).

67. CPA, 1908, p. 22.

68. Rojo's name no longer appears among the novices in CPA, 1909, p. 23.

69. CPA, 1910, p. 85.

70. The Philippine mission was separated from the Province of Aragon and attached to that of Maryland-New York in 1927. It became a vice-province in 1952 and an independent province in 1958. Fr. Portas died on 17 May 1964 and Fr. de la Costa became provincial on 8 December of the same year.

71. CPA, 1910, p. 25; CPA, 1912, p. 24; CPA, 1922; APP, V-17, "Seminario Central de S. Javier, Libro de Matrículas," tomo I, p. 4, nos. 77, 80.

where he studied two years of theology, while being an active member of the Congregación Mariana at the Ateneo and frequent writer for its publication, *La Estrella de Antipolo*.⁷² Together with Luis del Rosario, son of Rizal's friend and classmate Anacleto del Rosario, who had graduated from the Ateneo de Manila in 1902, Siguion entered the Jesuit-run Pontifical University of Comillas in Spain in 1904.⁷³ Though direct evidence is lacking, the fact that these two young men both went together to study at Comillas in Spain, Siguion even breaking off his theological studies at the University of Santo Tomas, indicates that most probably both had applied to enter the Society of Jesus at a time when no general policy had as yet been determined on the admission of Filipinos, and that they were therefore encouraged (whether officially or unofficially) to study at Comillas, whose degrees would be equivalent to the studies ordinarily made by a Jesuit scholastic. At the time of Siguion's ordination to the priesthood in 1906, the policy was still under discussion in Manila and he proceeded to obtain his doctorate in theology and canon law, immediately afterward entering the Society as a novice in Gandía on 15 August 1908. Since del Rosario had not yet begun his theological studies when entering Comillas with Siguion, he was not ordained until 10 December 1910, and after likewise finishing his doctorates in canon law and theology, he entered the novitiate of Gandía on 15 August 1911. Both men made their tertianship in Manresa, Spain, in 1912-13 and returned to the Philippines in the latter year as the first Filipino Jesuit priests.⁷⁴

B. OPENING OF THE NOVITIATE IN MANILA

The continuing applications of candidates for the Society, as well as a benefaction which made it financially possible, led to the decision to open a novitiate in Manila in 1912. In that year the provincial of Aragon, Fr. José Barrachina, arrived in Manila to visit the Philippine mission and to open the novitiate. In fact,

72. CPA, 1909, p. 24; Juan de Saavedra, "A treinta días vista," *Cultura Social* 1 (1913): 383-84; "Jose M. Siguion, S.J.," *Philippine Clipper* (November 1960): 3.

73. Saavedra, *ibid.*

74. "El R.P. Luis del Rosario Valdesco de la Compañía de Jesús," *Cultura Social* 1 (1913): 332; "Archbishop Luis del Rosario, S.J., D.D." *Philippine Clipper* (December 1970): 245; CPA, 1912, p. 24; CPA, 1913, pp. 15-16.

before there was even a house for the purpose, he admitted a Spaniard of Manila, Manuel Maluenda, as a novice, with temporary residence at the Ateneo. The following week Maluenda joined two other newly admitted Filipino novices, Maximo Jovellanos and Agapito Santos, staying with them in a portion of the San Javier Seminary, where both had been seminarians until then. The formal opening of the novitiate took place on 13 April 1913 at San Javier, where the novices remained only a few weeks.⁷⁵ On 30 April 1913, the novitiate was temporarily transferred to the vacation house of the Ateneo in Sta. Ana (now La Ignaciana Apostolic Center). The need for the move became evident because of the entrance of seven other novices during the month of April, before the transfer to Sta. Ana. Of these, four were students from the seminary-college run by the Jesuits in Vigan, two were from the Ateneo de Manila, and the other was a seminarian of San Javier.⁷⁶

In the face of this influx of candidates, the decision was taken to put up a separate building for the novitiate. But in May 1913 Archbishop Jeremiah Harty withdrew the seminarians of the archdiocese of Manila from San Javier to a restored San Carlos Seminary in Mandaluyong, under the direction of the Vincentians. Since this left the boarding facilities of the San Javier building largely unoccupied, it was finally decided to place the novitiate there, while devoting the rest of the building to the day-college of St. Francis Xavier.⁷⁷ By the time the novices transferred to

75. Guerrero and Ortiz, "History," pp. 2-3; CPA, 1914, p. 51.

76. Guerrero and Ortiz, "History," p. 6; CPA, 1914, p. 51; "Litterae Annuae Collegii-Seminarii Viganensis Soc. Jesu, 1905-25," [LAV], p. 38 (which indicates that several more from Vigan had applied, but been prevented from entering by their parents). Of the original ten "founders," two persevered in the Society, Manuel Maluenda and Emilio Azarraga, both of whom became priests. Eduardo Aniceto was ordained priest as a Jesuit, but later left to become a diocesan priest. Maluenda, after working some years in Argentina, returned to Spain, where he died in 1955. Maluenda had done his early studies in Spain; Aniceto had come from the Ateneo de Manila, Azarraga from San Javier. See Guerrero and Ortiz, "History," pp. 16-17; MCD, p. 484, no. 26.758; APP, V-15, "Statements of Novices accepting the contents of the General Examen and the Bulls on completion of 1st probation with a brief curriculum vitae" [SNCV], pp. 2, 7, 9, 11. This book consists of statements written and signed by each novice before receiving the Jesuit habit, testifying that he had understood the documents in which the nature of the vocation to the Society of Jesus is expressed. With each statement the candidate gave a brief description of his previous studies or other experience preparing him for the Jesuit life.

77. Guerrero and Ortiz, "History," pp. 6-7; Saderra Masó *Philippine Jesuits*, p. 108, n. 411. The college for lay students was phased out in 1918-19, but in the meantime San Jose Seminary had been opened in the same building in 1915, with fourteen students.

their permanent novitiate on 1 April 1914, in spite of the departure of two of the Sta. Ana "founders," two other San Javier seminarians had entered the novitiate, shortly followed by Luis Pacquing from the Vigan seminary and Gregorio de Guzman from the Ateneo de Manila.⁷⁸ One of the San Javier seminarians soon left, while the second, Inocencio Español, caught the deadly anthrax while the novices were enjoying their vacation in Pampanga, and died shortly afterward, the first novice to die in the Philippines in the restored Society.⁷⁹

The years 1915 and 1916 saw the beginning of a change in the source of vocations, which hitherto had all come from the seminaries of Vigan and San Javier, except for three from the Ateneo de Manila.⁸⁰ These two years which marked the end of the predominance of the Vigan seminary-college, also saw the beginning of vocations from the public schools and non-Jesuit Catholic parish schools. Three entered from Vigan in 1915-16 (and one from San Javier); in the next nine years before the Jesuits withdrew from the Vigan seminary only three other seminarians and one priest-graduate would enter.⁸¹ On the other hand, in 1915 Pedro Dimaano became the first novice to enter the novitiate directly from the public schools, coming from Lipa.⁸²

The school year 1915-16 also saw the reconversion of the Padre Faura building into a seminary, now under the name of San Jose Seminary rather than San Francisco Javier. The Holy See had restored the Colegio de San Jose to the Society of Jesus and specified that its endowment was to be used for the education of priests. Hence the College of St. Francis Xavier was phased out within the next three years, and San Jose became an "apostolic school," that is, a seminary not for any particular diocese, but for any diocese or religious congregation.⁸³ Without the college for lay students,

78. Guerrero and Ortiz, "History," p. 6; LAV, p. 43; APP, V-15-1883-1930, "Societatem Ingressi in Insulis Philippinis, 1883-1930: Dimissi"; SNCV, pp. 24, 26.

79. APP, V-15-1883-1930, *ibid.*; Guerrero and Ortiz, "History," p. 17.

80. The data on the source of novices from the time of the opening of the novitiate in Manila in 1913 to 1930 are taken from APP, V-15, SNCV.

81. SNCV, pp. 28, 32, 34, 36, 46, 72, 76, 79. It should be noted, however, that not all of those who entered from Vigan were seminarians in the strict sense of the word. Most were still minor seminarians, and a few even from the intermediate division of the college.

82. *Ibid.*, p. 31.

83. Cullum, "San Jose Seminary," pp. 456-60.

the building apparently proved large enough to be shared by both the San Jose Seminary and the Jesuit novitiate, as it would continue to be until 1932. The great majority of the novices admitted to study for the priesthood in the succeeding years would first spend some time in San Jose. But the fact that most spent only one or two years there, having earlier attended a public school or a Catholic parish school, shows that the greater part had already applied to enter the Jesuit novitiate, and the preliminary year or two was intended to supplement what was lacking in their previous training.⁸⁴

During 1914 appeared the first novice coadjutor brothers. Two Spanish brothers who had made their first year of novitiate in Spain, Salvador Gómez and Ramón Lluch, arrived in September of that year to join the first Filipino Jesuit brother of the restored Society, Mariano Busque, who had originally entered in 1913 as a scholastic. The following year two other Spanish brothers arrived in Manila for their second year of novitiate. After that, however, the practice of sending Spanish novice brothers was discontinued, and it would be several years more before any Filipino novice coadjutor brothers entered the novitiate.⁸⁵

V. CRISIS OF THE NOVITIATE

During all this time, the Filipino novices who took their vows at the end of two years were then sent to Spain for their further studies, a practice which was continued until 1923.⁸⁶ After that, since the Philippine mission was in the process of being turned over to the American Jesuits of the Maryland-New York province, the humanistic studies of the juniorate were pursued in the Philippines, together with the seminarians of San Jose.⁸⁷ Theological

84. SNCV, *passim*. The handful of exceptions to the rule of preliminary study at San Jose among candidates for the priesthood had either studied in other seminaries or completed their humanities course at the Ateneo de Manila.

85. Guerrero and Ortiz, "History," pp. 17-18. It appears that the Spaniards were sent to the Philippines to accompany Bro. Busque in a special novitiate program for coadjutor brothers, since the first two arrived just as he was beginning his novitiate as a brother, and the last two took their vows in 1916 at approximately the same time as he. There would be no more novice coadjutor brothers until 1919, and these would be Filipinos.

86. The last Filipino scholastics to be sent to Spain for their studies were Jose Rosaura and Juan Trinidad, both of whom later continued their studies for the priesthood in the United States.

87. In 1921 American Jesuits from the Maryland-New York province of the Society were sent to replace the Spanish Jesuits in the Ateneo de Manila and the Vigan seminary-

studies were already being pursued in the United States, as well as tertianship, and beginning in 1924, philosophical studies also.⁸⁸

Studies in Spain do not appear to have been healthy for the Filipinos sent there, very likely due to the effects of winters lived in what were then generally unheated houses. Several individuals had to interrupt their studies for the sake of their health, some teaching part-time for a year in a Spanish college, others returning to the Philippines to recover. Two of the six admitted in 1916-1917, Tomas Icoben and Mariano Ramirez, sent to Spain in 1919, became seriously sick there, the first dying in Spain in 1923, the second, after vain attempts to regain his health by interrupting his studies in Spain, was sent back to Manila in 1925 and died a year later. Similarly, a Chinese student of the Ateneo, Esteban Ty-Chuaco, who entered in Manila in 1918 and went to Spain two years later, contracted tuberculosis in his third year in Spain. After three years of vainly trying to recover his health in France, he returned to the Philippines in early 1926. His health continued to deteriorate even there, and he returned to a sanitarium in France, dying a year later in Paris.⁸⁹

A. DECLINE IN VOCATIONS

Ty-Chuaco had been the only candidate to enter the novitiate in 1918, though four scholastic novices (one of whom was a Span-

college with the intention of eventually transferring the entire mission to the jurisdiction of the Maryland-New York province, as was finally done in 1927. The occasion for the change was the refusal of the British government to allow German Jesuits to continue in the Bombay mission in India, due to World War I, and a similar refusal to allow American Jesuits to replace them. The second refusal was apparently due to the Irish extraction of many American Jesuits, at a time when Ireland was in rebellion against continued British rule, and Indian nationalism was also in movement. The fact that the younger generation of Filipinos now predominantly spoke, and wanted to learn, English rather than Spanish was an added but not decisive factor, as will be seen.

88. CPA, 1921, p. 69; 1923, pp. 42, 89; 1925, p. 92. Fr. Portas was the first Filipino to make his tertianship in the United States in 1920-21; the students of theology and some of those of philosophy transferred there in 1922-23, and the remaining philosophers joined them in 1924-25. Two scholastics were sent to the United States for juniorate studies, but with the paradoxical result that they then were sent to Spain to complete the rest of their studies, and remained in the Aragon province when the Philippine mission was finally transferred to Maryland-New York (CPA, 1923-28: APP, IV, letter of Lawrence Kelly, S.J. to Joaquin Vilallonga, S.J. 4 March 1927; Kelly and Vilallonga were the provincials respectively of Maryland-New York and Aragon at the time.) These two scholastics, and another older Filipino scholastic who transferred to Aragon, apparently eventually left the Society, since their names do not appear in MCD.

89. Guerrero and Ortiz, "History," pp. 20, 22; CPA, 1927; MCD, p. 314, no. 17.329.

iard) and two coadjutor brother novices entered in 1919. The next few years, however, gave indications of problems with vocations. One scholastic and two coadjutor brothers were admitted in 1920, two scholastics and one brother in 1921, no novices at all in 1922, only one coadjutor brother in 1923, and three scholastics (one of whom shortly transferred to the coadjutor brother novices) in 1924.⁹⁰ Though the admissions of those years marked an encouraging beginning of lay brother vocations, the sharp drop in the number of scholastic novices was the beginning of a trend which would continue for the next decade. From the founding of the novitiate until 1918, the number of scholastic novices had ranged from four to eight annually, only once (1914) dropping as low as three. Now six years passed in which only once was even the previous minimum number of three attained. Around 1921, a contributory reason may have been the uncertainty surrounding the transfer of the mission from Spanish to American Jesuits. But in fact the drop in scholastic vocations seems to have been part of a much larger problem. For the decline had already begun three years before the impending transfer was announced.

The fact was that already before 1920 the increasing Americanization of Filipino society, and above all of the educational system, had begun to take wide effect, while within the Society of Jesus, as well as in the other older orders, the language, thinking, and general orientation remained determinedly Spanish.⁹¹ Both in San Jose Seminary and in the Jesuit novitiate, the training continued to be conducted completely in Spanish. Young men desiring to enter from the Ateneo de Manila or from public schools had all been trained in English; what was more — without wishing to compare the merits of each — the orientation of the ordinary young Filipino was more influenced by American customs and values, and he looked on Hispanic-influenced ways as old-fashioned. This problem was to become acute within a few more years, but it seems to have already influenced the drop-off in candidates for

90. APP, V-15-1883-1930, "Societatem ingressi in Insulis Philippinis, 1883-1930: Admissi ad Societatem" for the corresponding years; confirmed by the corresponding volumes of CPA. (The former document is more certain, since at times novices stayed too short a time to be included in the CPA for the coming year.)

91. I have treated this problem more at length in my *Readings*, pp. 342-43, 347-52, 358-59, 362-66; and with regard to the clergy in my article, "The Filipino Secular Clergy: Yesterday and Tomorrow," in de la Costa and Schumacher, *The Filipino Clergy*, pp. 105-10.

the Society of Jesus as early as 1920 or even sooner. Those few candidates who did enter the novitiate were for the most part from San Jose Seminary or the Vigan seminary-college. The latter, moreover, was transferred from the Jesuits to the Society of the Divine Word [SVD] in 1925 and ceased to be a source of vocations to the Society of Jesus.

Four Filipino scholastics and two coadjutor brother novices entered in 1926, of whom only Brother Leonardo Roble persevered in the Society. Three Filipino scholastics entered in 1927, one scholastic and one brother in 1928, and two scholastics in 1929.⁹² It was evident by this time that the Philippine mission was facing a crisis in vocations, precisely at a time when, due to the presence of active Filipino Jesuit priests and brothers, growth rather than decline should have been expected. The answer was that the attitudes and accomplishments of Spanish Jesuits which had proved so attractive to young Filipinos who felt themselves called to the priesthood and religious life in the first two decades of the century, now were proving an obstacle to further growth. The times had passed them by. Moreover, the principal institution of the Jesuits in the Philippines, the Ateneo de Manila, which in the normal course of events should have been a major source of vocations, had proved to be a relatively insignificant one.⁹³ Was the reason to be found in the Ateneo, as some Spanish Jesuits had expressed themselves much earlier, or was it elsewhere?

B. AMERICAN JESUIT CRITICISM OF THE NOVITIATE

The answer was given eloquently by a number of American scholastics and priests writing to the Maryland-New York provincial as early as 1925, four years after the Americans had taken over the Ateneo. All insisted that a good number of their students were both qualified for and interested in the Society, estimates ranging from "several" to "twelve." But all agreed that the pros-

92. APP, V-15, SNCV, pp. 82-105; "Societatem ingressi. . . Admissi," corresponding years. There were also two novice brothers and one scholastic from the Spanish Caroline mission during these years, of whom only Fr. Paulino Cantero, S.J., persevered in the Society.

93. Of the sixty-eight novices who had entered from the time of the opening of the novitiate in 1913, only eight had had at least a part of their secondary education at the Ateneo; two or three more had had a few years of primary education there, but with high school elsewhere (APP, V-15, SNCV, pp. 2-113).

pective candidates found the Spanish type of formation in the novitiate, and for most, the Spanish language in which it was conducted, major obstacles to their entering either the Jesuit novitiate or San Jose Seminary — or any other seminary. The writer who estimated that there were twelve students of the Ateneo thinking seriously of the priesthood added:

And of these twelve, not more than two have anything like a speaking knowledge of Spanish. The others have, if anything, less knowledge of Spanish than the average graduate of our high schools in the States. . . You see at once the practical impossibility of asking such boys to enter a novitiate where the novice master neither reads nor speaks English, and where there is not a single English book in the library. . . .⁹⁴

The very location of the seminary-novitiate was a deterrent in the mind of another writer, who spoke of the many excellent prospective candidates in the Ateneo.

But they have no inclinations, rather I should say, they have a positive repugnance towards entering the novitiate at San Jose as it is managed at present. They know too much about it. It is in the center of the city, just across the street from the government university where many of their companions are attending courses. They see the novices out walking two by two, clad in old soutane and clerical hat, and they know that that afternoon walk of an hour is the only exercise they get, as they are not allowed to play games. Furthermore, though they do not know of the other restraints put in practice within the novitiate, they are familiar enough with the former discipline of the Ateneo to realize what to expect.

We do not demand heroics of boys who enter our novitiates here in the States, yet it seems to me to demand an heroic strength of will for a boy trained under American ideas in the Ateneo to enter that Spanish novitiate. . . .⁹⁵

Another writer extended his considerations to a wider view than that of the Ateneo and the Jesuits.

A very good young fellow, a law-school graduate, recently said to me: "Father, there is not a single seminary in the P.I. where a boy educated in public schools can enter. For they are all conducted in Spanish."

94. APP, III-35, John F.X. Sweeney, S.J., to Father Provincial [Lawrence J. Kelly, S.J.], Baguio, 18 May 1925. However, I have been assured by Fr. Luis Pacquing, S.J., and Bro. Manuel Pascua, S.J., who knew him well, that Father Lisbona did know English, having studied in the U.S.

95. Ibid., Vincent I. Kennally, S.J., to Kelly, Woodstock, Md., 3 September 1925.

And these public schools educate ninety per cent of the boys. And I might have added to him the other difficulty, of how unfit these young priests, educated in Spanish and with Spanish customs, how unfit they are to go out among the people, so large a percentage of whom are educated in the American public schools. Dr. Cesar Guerrero [later bishop of San Fernando, Pampanga], one of the most prominent young priests in the country, who is being spoken of very prominently for a bishopric, summed it up recently in a conversation: "We have a Hispanicized clergy in an Americanized country." It would be the height of folly, of course, to throw off all of these Spanish customs, many of which are so deeply inbred in the life of the people. But on the other hand, must we not make some concession to the widespread Americanization?⁹⁶

In another letter, written by a priest who was to have great influence on future directions of the Ateneo and the Church as a pioneer in social action, a harsher judgment is made.

About vocations — if I have any ability to read character, I am sure that some of the lads here have the 'stuff' of which Jesuits are made. The Spanish idea of mistrusting the native and fearing his fickleness, to my way of thinking, was the condition of things that kept vocations at low ebb. . .

Now where are the likely candidates to be trained? San Jose under Spanish regimen is impossible — the boys won't go. Acquaintance with American ideals has resulted in a preference for American ways. The poor Spanish are different — I don't condemn them — but espionage, lack of trust, suspicion, petty tyranny of the mischievous (not bad!) boy has gathered a large harvest of bitterness. The trouble is that the boys can make a comparison and do so. I am not one of the bolsheviks who condemn the Spaniards. For them the method is good — but not for us nor not *now* for the Philippines. . . San Jose under Spanish regimen is a barrier not a solution.⁹⁷

C. CONFLICT OF CULTURES

Making allowance for some cultural bias on the part of the American Jesuits themselves — much harsher statements from less balanced writers could, however, be quoted — it seems evident that the substance of their collective judgments was accurate. Much has

96. *Ibid.*, George J. Willmann, S.J. to Kelly, Manila, 11 April 1925.

97. *Ibid.*, Joseph A. Mulry, S.J., to Kelly, Manila, 25 March 1925. Italics in original.

been written and said in the past decade or so, notably by Renato Constantino, about the "miseducation of the Filipino." One need not agree totally with everything said on the subject, nor necessarily concur fully with Professor Constantino as to the motivation behind the American-style education with its earnest inculcation of American values. But it is impossible to deny that by the mid-1920s, and indeed earlier outside the schools run by Spanish religious orders, an education was being given, and was being enthusiastically received by the younger generation of Filipinos, which was American in its content, style, and values inculcated. To this factual situation the Spanish Jesuits, particularly those in charge of formation, not only turned an indifferent eye, but actively combatted it in their training of Filipino Jesuits and diocesan seminarians. No doubt they did this in the belief that they were preserving a genuine religious spirit, but in fact they were helping to widen the gap between Filipino society, especially educated society, on the one hand, and the Society of Jesus and the Church on the other.

The letters quoted above were all from 1925, when the Philippine mission was still governed by a Spanish superior and under the jurisdiction of the province of Aragon. However, the situation did not essentially change when in 1927 an American Jesuit was made superior of the mission, and the mission attached to the province of Maryland-New York. For in order to have a house in Manila where the non-English-speaking Spanish Jesuit missionaries still working in Mindanao might have a place to rest and from which to obtain the supplies, etc., they needed for their parishes in Mindanao, the seminary-novitiate house remained under the Spanish Jesuits. No doubt there was a need of some such house for the veteran Spanish missionaries who had struggled so heroically, and were still struggling, often at advanced ages, to keep the faith alive in vast parishes covering half a province or more, where they were the only priests. But in retrospect, it can be seen as disastrous to have selected for that purpose the house which was the novitiate and seminary. The drastic decline in vocations to the Society of Jesus during the 1920s is eloquent proof of that.

Even after the Philippine mission was formally handed over to the Maryland-New York province in 1927, efforts were made by the Spanish superiors not only to maintain the novitiate and semi-

nary under Spanish control, but as far as possible to prevent any American Jesuits from being assigned there to assist in teaching and taking part in the formation of the seminarians or Jesuit novices. Thus, for example, at the request of the rector and master of novices, Fr. Pedro Lisboa, Fr. Joaquín Vilallonga, who after being replaced as superior of the Philippine mission had become provincial of the Spanish Aragon province, assigned a new Spanish scholastic to San Jose, after the transfer to Maryland-New York had been decreed. This was done without the knowledge of either the American superior in the Philippines or the American provincial in New York, precisely in order to prevent the necessity of any American scholastics being assigned to the house.⁹⁸

Again, though the Jesuit Father-General in Rome had ordered in 1927 that a juniorate for humanistic studies, with primary emphasis on English, should be established "as soon as possible,"⁹⁹ Fr. James J. Carlin, superior of the Philippine mission, indicated a year and a half later how little had been done.

Fr. Rector is thoroughly Spanish and, I am sure, sees nothing good in anything American. Teaching of English is begrudgingly conceded. The Novices were not taught until recently when one of the Novices, who knows English very imperfectly, was appointed to teach the others.
...¹⁰⁰

Nonetheless, it was only late in 1929 that Father-General Ledochowski permitted that American superiors might intervene in this anomalous situation, in which the whole first part of the formation process remained outside their jurisdiction and not only hampered the Filipino scholastics in their work as teachers by not giving them a sufficient background in English, but also served as an effective barrier against the primary sources of potential vocations.¹⁰¹ In the face of continuing letters from the Philippines emphasizing the need of de-Hispanizing the formation process in novitiate (and seminary), an American, Fr. James Mahoney, was finally appointed rector of San Jose

98. The Spanish scholastic was José Llohis, S.J. (APP, IV, Vilallonga to Kelly, Barcelona 4 April 1928); further details as to motivation supplied to me in conversation by Fr. Llohis in Barcelona, July 1959.

99. APP, IV (2), letter of Włodimir Ledochowski to Father Provincial [Lawrence Kelly], Rome, 18 October 1927.

100. APP, IV, Carlin to Provincial [Edward J. Phillips, S.J.], Manila, 27 January 1929.

101. APP, IV, Phillips to Thomas A.M. Shanahan, S.J., New York, 11 May 1929; see Shanahan to Phillips, Manila, 6 April 1929.

Seminary, taking office on 11 September 1930, and Fr. Raymond Goggin arrived from the United States to become the first American master of novices on 26 September 1930. Plans were already underway for a new novitiate building, separate from San Jose Seminary, but it was only on 6 January 1933 that the Sacred Heart Novitiate of Novaliches was formally occupied by the Jesuit novices and scholastics.¹⁰²

The validity of the contention that the Hispanic character of the novitiate training was the major reason for the decline of vocations to the Society in the 1920s was amply vindicated by the immediate and continued rise in the number of novices entering for the priesthood in the 1930s. Five scholastics entered in 1930, nine scholastics and two coadjutor brothers in 1931. Over the twelve years 1930-1941, eighty-one Filipinos entered as scholastic novices and seven as coadjutor brothers, culminating with nineteen scholastics in the year 1941.¹⁰³

The contention that the Hispanized novitiate was particularly an obstacle to vocations from the Ateneo de Manila was likewise amply vindicated. Of the eighty-one scholastics admitted in this period, thirty-six had been students at the Ateneo de Manila, or 44 percent.¹⁰⁴

The mutual distrust of each other's concept of the proper training of Jesuits, or — more fundamentally — their differing concepts of what a good Jesuit must be and do, should not create the impression that there existed a strong antipathy — except perhaps on the part of a few malcontents — between the two national groups. For many Spanish Jesuits continued to work side by side with American and Filipino fellow-religious for another two or three decades, and to agree on the essentials of the Jesuit way of life. It was regrettable that more Spanish Jesuits did not earlier recognize that a substantial change had

102. When the Ateneo de Manila was destroyed by fire on 13 August 1932, it was decided in view of these plans to give the Padre Faura building to the Ateneo (which then enlarged it). The Jesuit novitiate was temporarily housed in the vacation house in Sta. Ana, as in 1913. San Jose Seminary was lodged in the old Jesuit Mission House in Intramuros, until its new building in Balintawak was finished in 1936. See James J. Meany, S.J., "Ateneo," *Philippine Studies* 4 (1956): 161; Guerrero-Ortiz, "History," pp. 23-24.

103. Data compiled from *Catalogus Provinciae Marylandiae-Neo-Eboracensis*, 1930-42.

104. Identification of Ateneans supplied by Antonio Leetai, S.J.; Vicente Marasigan, S.J.; Francis X. Clark, S.J., and Hernando Maceda, S.J.

taken place in Filipino cultural, social, and religious attitudes and practices, a change which undoubtedly was not beneficial in all respects, but which was an incontestable fact nonetheless. If contemporary critics of the American miseducation of the Filipino rightly point out the inhibiting effects Americanization had on the acquisition of a conscious Filipino national identity, the Spanish critics of the 1920s only had a solution to offer which would perpetuate another colonially-superimposed identity, and one which did not even have the virtue of any longer being feasible.

Nor was it true that all Spanish Jesuits thought the same way. Even before 1921 some Spanish Jesuits who had studied in the United States were singled out pejoratively as "americanistas" by other Spaniards, especially by some of the older missionaries.¹⁰⁵ However, as appears from the evidence offered above, it was particularly among those responsible for the novitiate and San Jose Seminary that the tenacious adherence to the "tried and true" ways of the past had prevailed. Well-meant as their intentions may have been, however, they failed, or were unwilling, to see that Filipino society had changed. Their effort to hold back this change or to remain aloof from it were to cause a severe crisis for the Jesuit Philippine mission.

It was indeed lamentable that the farsightedness which had put the Spanish Jesuits in a unique position to serve the Philippine church in the chaotic years at the turn of the century when other religious orders were under attack and the diocesan clergy unprepared, was lacking at this later turning point. One may reflect that it was their earlier success which induced their later blindness to change. Such a failure, if not inevitable, is as understandable as it was lamentable. In analogous circumstances, not a few of their American successors, after many striking successes and achievements, would show a similar failure to read the signs of the changing times three or four decades later as a new sense of Filipino national identity emerged, casting off many of the American trappings of colonial times.

105. E.g., letter of Fr. Jose Grimal, S.J., to Fr. John Fisher, S.J., Baguio, 3 May 1914, APP, III-22. Grimal was writing to a friend in the United States, commenting on the friction caused by an individual American Jesuit, which led some other Spaniards to generalize unfavorably about American Jesuits and Spanish Jesuits who had studied in the United States, like himself.

APPENDIX

Novices Admitted to the Society of Jesus
from or in the Philippines, 1907-1930

<i>Name</i>	<i>Admitted</i>	<i>Grade</i>	<i>Left</i>	<i>Died</i>
Manuel Alcantara ¹	19 May 1907	scholastic	----	1909
Francisco Portas ¹	19 May 1907	scholastic	----	1964
Antonio Rojo ^{1,3}	19 May 1907	scholastic	1908	----
Jose Siguion ²	25 Aug 1908	scholastic	----	1960
Pablo Carasig ¹	8 Nov 1910	scholastic	----	1974
Agustin Llenado ¹	8 Nov 1910	scholastic	1921	----
Agustin Consunji ¹	20 July 1911	scholastic	----	1943
Luis del Rosario ²	14 Aug 1911	scholastic	----	1970
Manuel Maluenda ^{3,4}	7 Dec 1912	scholastic	----	1955
Maximo Jovellanos	12 Dec 1912	scholastic	1914	----
Agapito Santos	17 Dec 1912	scholastic	1921	----
Eduardo Aniceto ⁵	12 Apr 1913	scholastic	1937	----
Emilio Azarraga	13 Apr 1913	scholastic	----	1975
Mariano Busque	19 Apr 1913	scholastic ⁶	1939	----
Pedro Escovar	19 Apr 1913	scholastic	1914	----
Federico Paredes	19 Apr 1913	scholastic	1922	----
Isaias Soller	19 Apr 1913	scholastic	1923	----
Jose Favis	28 Apr 1913	scholastic	1914	----
Severino Ganalon	2 Dec 1913	scholastic	1914	----
Jose Puig ⁷	21 Oct 1913	scholastic	?	----
Inocencio Español	18 Mar 1914	scholastic	----	1914
Luis Pacquing	4 Apr 1914	scholastic	----	----
Gregorio de Guzman	20 June 1914	scholastic	----	1959
Vicente Encarnacion	24 Mar 1915	scholastic	1923	----
Pedro Dimaano	12 Nov 1915	scholastic	----	1977
Jose Eliazo	29 Nov 1915	scholastic	----	1968
Hilario Calugay	19 Dec 1915	scholastic ⁶	----	1934
Joaquin Lim ⁵	4 Apr 1916	scholastic	1948	----
Narciso Mabanta ^{4,12}	24 July 1916	scholastic	?	----
Tomas Icoben	14 Aug 1916	scholastic	----	1923
Mariano Ramirez	2 Dec 1916	scholastic	----	1926
Eusebio Salvador	24 Dec 1916	scholastic	----	----
Juan Gaerlan	5 Jan 1917	scholastic	----	1942

Jose Reyes ⁸	4 Feb	1917	scholastic	1949	----
Bartolome Leong ^{9,12}	10 Feb	1917	scholastic	?	----
Gabino Arcadio	14 June	1917	scholastic	1918	----
Pio Martinez	20 June	1917	scholastic	----	1935
Pedro Clarito	25 Dec	1917	scholastic	1923	----
Esteban Ty-Chuaco	24 June	1918	scholastic	----	1927
Julio Dio	15 Jan	1919	scholastic ⁶	----	1974
Jose Carlos	26 Jan	1919	brother	1919	----
Ramon Blardony ^{4,12}	18 Mar	1919	scholastic	?	----
Angel Centenera ³	20 June	1919	scholastic	1920	----
Filomeno Pacatang	28 June	1919	scholastic	1920	----
Agustin Sinayan	10 Oct	1919	brother	----	----
Pedro Gaabucayan	1 Feb	1920	brother	1920	----
Jesus Gonzalez	4 Apr	1920	scholastic	1933	----
Escolastico Aliman	11 Nov	1920	brother	1931	----
Juan Trinidad	11 Mar	1921	scholastic	----	1948
Jose Rosauero	11 Mar	1921	scholastic	----	1978
Manuel Tan	6 Sept	1921	brother	1940	----
Valentin Ros	12 Jan	1923	brother	1923	----
Manuel Pascua	20 June	1924	scholastic ⁶	----	----
Alfredo Pagua	15 July	1924	scholastic	----	1968
Juan Ledesma	17 Oct	1924	scholastic	----	----
Agustin Bello	24 Mar	1925	scholastic	----	----
Benigno Dagani	24 Mar	1925	scholastic	----	----
Constancio Reyes	10 May	1925	scholastic	1935	----
Rodolfo Cabonce	27 May	1925	scholastic	----	----
Leonardo Roble	15 Jan	1926	brother	----	1965
Jesus Salas ^{10,12}	31 Jan	1926	brother	?	----
Miguel Legarda	26 June	1926	scholastic	1928	----
Miguel Estiller	18 July	1926	brother	1927	----
Pedro Ramiro	3 Sept	1926	scholastic	1932	----
Ricardo Vilorio	27 Sept	1926	scholastic	1930	----
Basilio Salud	7 Dec	1926	scholastic	1930	----
James Cawley	11 Jan	1927	scholastic	----	----
Jose Sumabat	16 Apr	1927	scholastic	1928	----
Apolonio Baluyot	1 July	1927	scholastic	----	1943
Paulino Cantero ¹¹	13 Sept	1927	scholastic	----	----
Pedro Verceles	16 July	1928	scholastic	----	----
Celestino Obispo ^{11,12}	20 June	1928	brother	?	----

Eleuterio Bascos	28 Dec 1928	brother	---- 1977
Emilio Serra	30 July 1929	scholastic	1937 ----
Luis Torralba	30 July 1929	scholastic	---- ----
Pablo Bartolome	30 July 1930	scholastic	---- ----
Rafael Capistrano	30 July 1930	scholastic	1932 ----
Agatonico Montero	30 July 1930	scholastic	---- ----
Rafael Ocampo	30 July 1930	scholastic	---- ----
Alejo Regalado	14 Aug 1930	scholastic	---- 1955

Notes:

- ¹ Entered the Society in Spain.
- ² Entered the Society in Spain after ordination to the priesthood.
- ³ Spaniard.
- ⁴ Transferred to Aragon Province after 1927.
- ⁵ Left the Society to become a diocesan priest.
- ⁶ Transferred to being a brother after entering as a scholastic.
- ⁷ Though a Filipino, entered the Society in Spain, where he made his studies. Transferred to the province of Aragon and later left.
- ⁸ Entered the Society as a priest and left to become a diocesan priest again.
- ⁹ Chinese from the Portuguese Jesuit mission of Macao.
- ¹⁰ From Saipan for the Spanish Jesuit mission of the Carolines.
- ¹¹ Native of the Carolines, for the Spanish Jesuit mission there.
- ¹² Left the Society at unknown date after leaving Philippines.

- APP — Archives of the Philippine Province of the Society of Jesus, Loyola House of Studies, Quezon City.
- APT — Archivo de la Provincia de Tarragona de la Compañía de Jesús, San Cugat del Vallés, Barcelona.
- ARSI — Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome.
- CPA — *Catalogus Provinciae Aragoniae*.
- CPMNY — *Catalogus Provinciae Marylandiae-Neo-Eboracensis . . .*
- LAV — *Litterae Annuae Collegii-Seminarii Viganensis Societatis Iesu, 1905-1925*
- MCD — Rufo Medizábal, S.J., ed., *Catalogus defunctorum in renata Societate Iesu ab anno 1814 ad annum 1970* (Romae: Apud Curiam P. Gen., 1970)
- SNCV — APP, V-15, "Statements of Novices accepting the contents of the General Examen and the Bulls on completion of 1st probation and a brief curriculum vitae [1912-1930]"